



Navigating Faith and Feminism: Islami.co's Countering-Narrative to Anti-feminism Discourses in Indonesia

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Abstract

Anti-feminism is a movement that is more opposed to reaffirming, maintaining, and increasing the subordination of women by patriarchal forces. For this movement, feminist thinking can lead to deviant actions because these thoughts are not in accordance with religious teachings. The group then uses digital media channels to create anti-feminism narratives which are published on Islamic faith-based information websites. The purpose of this study is to reveal how the representation of feminism in Islami.co media acts as a counter-narrative against anti-feminism discourse echoed by other Islamic groups. This study uses a qualitative descriptive approach. The data collection technique was a literature study of documents from various references and the results of media analysis of Islami.co. The data analysis method used is the framing analysis model of William Gamson and Andre Modigliani which is elaborated with the perspective of Representation Theory by Stuart Hall. The result of the study shows that Islami.co is a digital media counter-narratives against anti-feminist discourse. The representation of feminism in this media is interpreted as part of the struggle of Islam in forming the spirit of justice for all mankind. Islami.co packs facts and clarifies the counter-narrative of anti-feminism discourse through authentic sources such as the Qur'an and hadith as well as various arguments that rely on empirical data. This effort is not just for creating justice and equality, but also as a form of obedience to what is commanded by Islam.

Keywords: Gender Equity; Feminism; Islamic Feminism; Digital Media

Abstrak

Anti-feminisme adalah gerakan yang lebih menentang penegasan kembali, mempertahankan, dan meningkatkan subordinasi perempuan oleh kekuatan patriarki. Bagi gerakan ini, pemikiran feminisme dapat mengarah pada tindakan yang menyimpang karena pemikiran tersebut tidak sesuai dengan ajaran agama. Kelompok ini kemudian menggunakan saluran media digital untuk membuat narasi anti-feminisme yang dipublikasikan di situs-situs informasi berbasis agama Islam. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana representasi feminisme dalam media Islami.co yang berperan sebagai narasi tandingan terhadap wacana anti-feminisme yang digaungkan oleh kelompok-kelompok Islam lainnya. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif. Teknik pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah studi literatur berupa dokumen dari berbagai referensi dan hasil analisis media Islami.co. Metode analisis data yang digunakan adalah analisis framing model William Gamson dan Andre Modigliani yang dielaborasi dengan perspektif teori representasi Stuart Hall. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Islami.co merupakan media digital yang melakukan narasi tandingan terhadap wacana anti-feminis. Representasi feminisme dalam media ini dimaknai sebagai bagian dari perjuangan Islam dalam membentuk semangat keadilan bagi seluruh umat manusia. Islami.co mengemas fakta dan mengklarifikasi kontra narasi wacana anti-feminisme melalui sumber-sumber otentik seperti Al-Qur'an dan hadis serta berbagai argumen yang bertumpu pada data empiris. Upaya ini tidak hanya untuk menciptakan keadilan dan kesetaraan, tetapi juga sebagai bentuk ketaatan terhadap apa yang diperintahkan oleh Islam.

Kata Kunci: Kesetaraan Gender, Feminisme Islam, Media Digital

Introduction

The development of Islamic discourse and gender equality in Indonesia is much more progressive than in Islamic countries, especially in the Middle East. However, this progressive discourse has never become mainstream in society because there are internal challenges from the majority of Muslims who tend to be increasingly conservative due to the strengthening influence of Islamic fundamentalism (Mulia, 2022). Gender issues call for the recognition of women's contributions in various aspects that are considered to belong only to men. This has led to an increase in actors from what was originally only dominated by men, to become increasingly plural with the intervention of women in it. Gender differences are actually not a problem as long as they do not cause injustice to women and men. But in reality, gender differences have created injustice, especially against women. Gender injustice is a social system or structure in which men or women are victimized. These injustices are manifested in the form of marginalization, economic impoverishment processes, subordination or the

assumption that there is no need to participate in political decision-making or making, stereotypes, discrimination and violence (Fakih, 2008).

In the digital space, gender injustice often still occurs. One of the most frequent manifestations is gender based violence. This is because news production in mainstream media often abandons the gender lens. The concept of media with a gender perspective was raised to provide a place for everyone to discuss various gender issues. Thus, everyone can discourse about feminism and other gender issues freely. Therefore, conversations will be created through the media regarding existing gender issues (Sunarto, 2020). Islamic media is seen as a medium to encourage productive thinking and behavior so that Muslim communities can actively participate in applying ideas according to the teachings of Islam which are humanist, inclusive, and egalitarian. This is because Islamic media has a demand to ensure that every information is always balanced so that people can filter information and content related to religious issues that cannot be accounted for wisely and are not easily fooled (Fahrurrozi & Thohari, 2019).

While on one hand digital media can be used to expand and develop the feminist movement, on the other hand it can also be used by antifeminist and misogynist groups to counter feminist ideology. Maryani (2021) revealed the existence of a growing discourse contestation, one of which was through the @indonesiatanpafeminis.id account on Instagram. This study found that online conversations on the @indonesiatanpafeminis.id account revealed misconceptions about feminism from women's groups with religious identities. Furthermore, the conversations also tend to reinforce patriarchal values with gender-biased religious arguments. The antifeminist group behind @indonesiatanpafeminis.id are women who identify with certain Muslim circles that have political, cultural and religious agendas. One of their agendas is to influence the public to reject the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (Maryani et al., 2021).

Antifeminism can be understood as a response to a distinct set of gender-political values that are not espoused exclusively by women (Ging & Siapera, 2019). Antifeminism seeks to reassert control over social and biological reproduction by

reducing women to their reproductive organs and their role as mothers. The movement opposes activist groups that fight for women's rights (Marshall, 2013). Walby sees antifeminism as a more resistant movement to reaffirm, maintain, and enhance the subordination of women by patriarchal forces (Cupać & Ebetürk, 2020).

One of the factors that is often cited as complicating the discussion of feminism in Indonesia is the assumption that feminist ideas, thoughts and movements do not have social and cultural roots in Indonesian society, or in other words, that these ideas and thoughts come from the West or have Western connotations (Arivia & Subono, 2018). Indonesia, as a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, may have different views on how to see and accept feminism as one of the gender concepts and this has led to the emergence of antifeminism groups in Indonesia.

This group then created an anti-feminism narrative that was published on Islamic religion-based information sites. For example, Muslim.or.id contains Gunarsa's writing (2014) which states that, "feminism is a derivative of liberalism in the form of an ideology of absolute freedom without boundaries because it socializes Western thought products in the form of gender equality issues". Meanwhile, in Portal-Islam.id, Noviandana said that Indonesian feminists want to undermine the values of Islamic teachings because Islam is the biggest enemy of feminism (Noviandana, 2022). Other writings in this portal also not to get caught up in word games from fake feminists (Siregar, 2022) that the term gender equality and domestic violence are something outside of Islam because beatings in Islam are educational (Negara, 2022) to feminists with minimalist brains (Siregar, 2021).

In a 2019 report, Indonesian media outlet Deutsche Welle (2019) wrote that conservative Indonesian women's groups are waging resistance to the feminism narrative under the pretext of religion. They accuse feminism of being a Western product and this has drawn criticism from women activists. For the antifeminist movement, feminist thinking can actually mobilize deviant actions because it is incompatible with religious teachings. The narrative of incompatibility promoted by antifeminism is based on the idea that gender equality brought by the feminist

movement only relies on unilateral freedom that is not used by written rules or laws, thus obscuring the suitability of roles according to the capacity of men and women. (Deutsche Welle, 2019)

The problem of discrimination against women in the West is not seen to occur in Islamic teachings. Aliansi Cinta Keluarga/ Indonesian Family Love Alliance (AILA) Indonesia, which is known as assertive advocate for heteronormative patriarchy based on the Islamist ideology, views feminist groups' claims that there is a gender imbalance among Muslims because ulama only come from men as an ahistorical claim. This is because since the time of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH, women have had equal access to the Prophet's knowledge. The obvious examples are Aisyah bint Abu Bakar who is known as a reliable jurist and Hafshah bint Umar bin Khattab who is known as a poet, a reliable speechwriter, and a hadith narrator. Therefore, feminism is no longer a movement to empower women, but to deceive women with claims of oppression, discrimination, and so on (AILA Indonesia, 2020). Additionally, according to AILA Indonesia's claim, the rhetoric of feminists seems to support Islamic aspirations, but departs from a confined worldview. For example, there are those who defend Muslim women wearing the hijab, but the reason is for the sake of 'authority over the body'. This is considered biased. The act of veiling a Muslimah is 'hijacked' as a vehicle to campaign for feminist principles of body authority. At the same time, feminists are considered to marginalize the narrative of the motive for veiling from many Muslim women, namely that they veil because covering the aurat is God's command. (Anita, 2020).

It is clear that a few Muslims have misinterpreted feminism; considered as a movement deliberately created to undermine the faith of Muslims; considered as women's resistance to nature; hostility towards men; women's rebellion against household obligations; and even considered as an attempt to reject sharia. In fact, according to Mulia (2022), feminism in Islam is synonymous with jihad against the hierarchical gender system that erodes women's human potential and reformulates Islam as a source of authority that liberates women. Unlike other feminist movements, feminism in Islam directs its movement towards transformation efforts towards the

realization of a just and democratic social system and institutions by promoting the principles of justice and gender equality based on Islamic teachings and traditions. Therefore, according to Qibtiyah, as long as dialogue with antifeminism groups cannot be done face-to-face, at least there is a written discourse about misconceptions and answers to them to prevent many misconceptions about feminism (Pasinringi, 2021).

Islami.co claims itself as an Islamic media dedicated to disseminating information and ideas that support the growth of a society full of tolerance and peace. Managed by young people who graduated from pesantren, Islami.co is a form of counter-hegemony over provocation-laden websites, so that it can affirm Islam as a religion of *rahmatan lil alamin* and broadcast Islamic values that are full of noble ethics and teachings of living together (Islami.co, 2013).

Islami.co also promotes the issue of feminism in its articles to reconstruct religious interpretations that fight for gender justice in the Islamic context. The researcher believes that this media is trying to fight the existing social hegemony that tends to maintain gender injustice through the presence of feminism perspectives to the community. Through various articles with the tag 'feminism' on its website, Islami.co reformulates the narrative of gender relations from religious texts. Through its website, Islami.co publishes narratives through advocacy of feminist issues and gender justice in the digital space. Digital advocacy aims to balance the narrative or discourse in the digital space which is now filled with antifeminists, misogynists, and sexists (Salsabila & Diera, 2022).

Method

Islami.co has an important role in shaping opinions and influencing its readers. This study observes nine articles linked to the 'feminism' tag on the Islami.co website in the 2019-2020 span that contain counter-narratives against antifeminism discourse. The reason for choosing this period is because in 2019-2020, dynamics occurred in the discussion of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS). The PKS Bill failed to be passed in 2019 by the House of Representatives (DPR) for the 2014-2019 period. At that time, public responses became increasingly diverse. There

were demonstrations supporting and rejecting the PKS Bill. In 2020, the PKS Bill was removed from the list of the 2020 National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). (Kalijaga Institute for Justice, 2022). The PKS Bill has become a polemic topic involving various points of view, including from a religious perspective. Several conservative Islamic groups oppose the PKS Bill on the grounds that the issue of sexual violence should be handled within the framework of religious teachings and customs, as well as concerns about the impact of social change which is considered contrary to conservative values.

The research uses a constructivist paradigm and a qualitative descriptive approach. The data collection technique is a literature review from various references and the results of the analysis of the Islami.co media. The data analysis method used is the framing analysis model of William Gamson and Andre Modigliani. According to them, framing is a way of telling a story or a set of ideas that organize and present the construction of the meaning of events in relation to the object of discourse. In a communication perspective, framing analysis is used to dissect the way or ideology of the media in constructing facts. This analysis examines strategies to select, highlight, and connect facts into the news to make it more meaningful, interesting, or memorable to lead the audience's interpretation based on their perspective (Eriyanto, 2012).

The formulation or model of Gamson and Modigliani (Eriyanto, 2012) is based on a constructionist approach that sees media representations (news and articles), consisting of interpretative packages that contain certain constructions of meaning. Within this package there are two structures, namely the core frame and condensing symbols. The first structure is the central organization of idea elements that help communicators to show the substance of the issue being discussed. While the second structure contains two substructures, namely framing devices (including *Metaphors*, *Exemplars*, *Cathphrases*, *Depictions*, and *Visual Images*) and reasoning devices (including *Roots*, *Appeal to Principle*, and *Consequences*). Based on the phenomena that have been described, researchers are interested in conducting research on how the representation of feminism in the Islami.co media as a counter-narrative to the antifeminism discourse echoed by other Islamic groups.

Finding and Analysis

Total of 62 articles are linked to the keyword 'feminism' on the Islami.co website (Figure 1). Of these, there are nine articles on the Islami.co website analyzed in the 2019-2020 range that have content related to gender justice and contain counter-narratives against antifeminism discourse (Table 1).

Figure 1
Articles Linked to the Keyword "Feminism" on Islami.co Website



Table 1
Articles Contain Counter-Narratives Against Antifeminism Discourse

No.	Rubric	Publications	Author	Article Title
1	Column	July 3, 2020	Anisa Kurniarahman	https://islami.co/apakah-feminisme-diberi-ruang-oleh-islam/ <i>Apakah Feminisme Memiliki Ruang dalam Islam? (Does Feminism Have a Space in Islam?)</i>
2	Column	June 19, 2020	Muhammad Arif	https://islami.co/muslimah-susah-payah-memperjuangkan-kesetaraan-gender-muslimah-pula-yang-menolakny/ <i>Muslimah Susah Payah Memperjuangkan Kesetaraan Gender, 'Muslimah' Pula yang Menolakny</i> (Muslimahs Struggle for

				Gender Equality, 'Muslimahs' Reject It)
3	Column	February 19, 2020	M Alvin Nur Choironi	https://islami.co/kritik-kritik-aisyah-feminis-di-masa-rasulullah-saw/ <i>Kritik-kritik Aisyah: Feminis di Masa Rasulullah SAW</i> (Aisha's Critiques: Feminists in the Time of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH)
4	Column	November 22, 2019	Fawwaz Azmi	https://islami.co/saya-laki-laki-dan-ikut-gerakan-feminisme-karena-sesuai-ajaran-islam/ <i>Saya Laki-laki dan Ikut Gerakan Feminisme Karena Sesuai Ajaran Islam</i> (I'm a Man and I Joined The Feminist Movement because It's in Line with Islamic Teachings)
5	Column	July 29, 2019	Nur Fitriani	https://islami.co/menjawab-tiga-tuduhan-miring-anti-feminisme/ <i>Menjawab Tiga Tuduhan Miring Anti Feminisme</i> (Answering Three Slanted Accusations Against Feminism)
6	Column	April 26, 2019	Abdurrachman Sofyan	https://islami.co/mana-yang-lebih-baik-indonesia-tanpa-feminis-atau-tanpa-kapitalis-patriarkis/ <i>Mana yang Lebih Baik, Indonesia Tanpa Feminis atau Tanpa Kapitalis Patriarkis</i> (Which is Better, Indonesia Without Feminists or Without Patriarchal Capitalists)
7	Column	April 9, 2019	Sarjoko S.	https://islami.co/indonesia-tanpa-feminis-dan-realitas-islam-di-indonesia/ <i>Indonesia Tanpa Feminis Kurang Memahami Realitas Islam di Indonesia, Mengapa?</i> (Indonesia Without Feminists Lacks Understanding of Islamic Reality in Indonesia, Why?)
8	Review	April 5, 2019	Kumaila Hakimah	https://islami.co/gerakan-anti-feminisme-yang-salah-kaprah-padahal-rasulullah-pelopor-feminisme/ <i>Gerakan Anti-Feminisme yang Salah Kaprah, Padahal Rasulullah Pelopor</i>

				<i>Feminisme</i> (The Misguided Anti-Feminism Movement, Whereas the Prophet Pioneered Feminism)
9	Column	April 4, 2019	Dr. Nur Rofiah	https://islami.co/tubuh-perempuan-milik-siapa/ <i>Tubuh Perempuan Milik Siapa?</i> (Whose Body a Woman Belongs to?)

Table 1 above is a list of articles analyzed in this research. Based on the model of Gamson and Modigliani, these articles are then interpreted as the structure of the core frame and condensing symbols which contains two substructures, namely framing devices (*Metaphors, Exemplars, Catchphrases, Depictions, and Visual Images*) and reasoning devices (*Roots, Appeal to Principle, and Consequences*).

Use of Similes and Presuppositions (*Metaphors*)

Islami.co uses *Metaphors* to reveal what is wrong with the antifeminism narrative promoted by certain Islamic groups through various articles published. This metaphor is used to illustrate the bias in thinking about the discourse that has been echoed by antifeminism groups. The concept that women are the mum and men are the imam is translated as a justification that women are subordinate beings. Women's powerlessness over the authority of their own bodies is often detrimental because there is strict control from society with the justification of religious narratives. Women's bodies are seen as mere objects as described in articles 1 and 9 (Table 2).

Table 2
Element of *Metaphors* in Analyzed Articles

No. Article	<i>Metaphors</i>
1	"How can it be that just because she is in a relationship, women are referred to as something that has no value, or as 'free' goods."
5	"If in human rights there are rights of opinion, assembly and association then these rights also apply to men and women, as well as other rights listed in human rights."
6	"If we really hold the principle of "prioritizing preventing harm rather than taking a benefit", we should need Indonesia Without Patriarchy, Indonesia Without Capitalism or Indonesia Without Oligarchy or for those who are aware of the effects of mining threats, they can just make Indonesia Without

	Mining."
7	"In fact, if they are confident, we should be able to claim that Western feminism duplicates the struggles that have been carried out by previous Muslim figures, including the Prophet Muhammad."
9	"The female body, like the male body, is the absolute property of God!"

Not only the body, women's freedom of thought is often seen by antifeminists as excessive and liberal. Based on articles 5,6, and 7, just like men, women also have the same rights to have opinions and make decisions. The value of gender justice that is equal to the concept has also been exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. This fact should be a realization that the spirit of feminism is closely related to the interests of humanity, so rejecting feminism is the same as agreeing with injustice.

Formation and Utilization of Catchy, Contrasting, and Standout Phrases and Jargon (*Catchphrases*)

Contributors of Islami.co uses phrases and jargon in its writing to form ideas about strengthening the importance of feminism and gender justice thinking in living life. The embedding of these following phrases strengthens the narrative of rejection of the discourse of antifeminism, which tends to spread the value of justifying acts of oppression against women through religious verses. Feminism, which is often seen as a resistance to men and the institution of marriage (Khuseini, 2017), is also broken through the phrases. Men and women are two equal entities that are obliged to realize justice and benefit. Both need to work together as khalifah fil ard as their main duty as humans from God. These ideas are reflected in quotes in articles 1, 2, 4, 5, and 7 in Table 3.

Table 3
Element of *Catchphrases* in Analyzed Articles

Article No.	<i>Catchphrases</i>
1	"The beautiful teachings of Islam should not be used as a tool to legitimize patriarchal logic."
2	"The spirit of feminism is the sunnah practiced by the Prophet Muhammad."

4	"Millions of people don't realize that they can be misogynists."
5	"Feminism does not hate men, feminism needs men to work together to form equal relations." "Getting married won't bring down your feminist ideology."
7	"The struggle for humanity is a struggle to uphold the teachings of Allah SWT."
9	"Tauhid in Islam revolutionizes the position of men and women."

Meanwhile, the idea contained in article 9 explains that men are prohibited from demanding that women submit absolutely because as fellow servants of God, both of them can only submit absolutely to Allah SWT. This basic principle of Tauhid also has an impact on the answer to who is the absolute owner of a woman's body. Like the male body, the female body is the absolute property of Allah SWT. Both are responsible for using it in a dignified manner. On the Day of Reckoning (*Yaumul Hisab*) in the future, the human body will even testify directly before Allah as to what it was used for in the world.

Packaging Facts in Articles, Linking Frames with Examples and Descriptions that Clarify the Framing (*Exemplars*)

Islami.co packs the facts and clarifies the counter-narrative against the discourse of antifeminism through authentic sources such as the Quran and hadith as well as various arguments that rely on empirical data. Islami.co discuss how the Quran guides people to be fair to all servants of Allah SWT, including women. There is no distinction between men and women other than degrees of piety. Both are even assigned by Allah SWT to be caliphs on earth who spread goodness and benefit through the domestic and public spheres. These things are illustrated in articles 2 and 5 (Table 4).

Table 4
Element of *Exemplars* in Analyzed Articles

Article No.	<i>Exemplars</i>
2	<p>"The idea of gender equality in the Quran, for example, can be found in (QS. al-Dzariyat [51]: 56) which states that both men and women are equally servants of Allah; (QS. al-Dzariyat [51]: 56) which states that both men and women are equally caliphs on earth; (QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 35) which states that both Adam and Eve are actively involved in the cosmic drama; etc."</p> <p>"The Quran even tells stories of great women several times, such as Queen Bilqis, a female king with great political power, and Maryam, a mother who was steadfast and brave against the flow of public gossip."</p>
3	<p>"There are approximately three dozens of Aisyah's criticisms of the opinions of the Companions that Zainuddin al Zarkasyi managed to curate and elaborate."</p>
4	<p>"We can learn how the Prophet Muhammad's family divided family roles. In many hadiths, Prophet Muhammad washed his own clothes, cooked, and engaged his wives in discussions."</p>
5	<p>"The Quran clearly mentions the cooperative relationship between men and women in several verses, such as; QS. At-Taubah: 71, QS.Ali Imran; 195, QS. An-Nisa': 124, QS.An-Nahl: 97, QS. Al-Mu'min: 40, QS. Al-Ahzab: 35, QS. Al-Hadid: 12."</p>
7	<p>"At a time when jahiliyah women were very restricted and treated as they were, the Prophet Muhammad PBUH gave them a lot of good news, starting to be given a portion in the distribution of inheritance, given access to study, and various other privileges."</p>
8	<p>"At the time of the Prophet, women were free to contribute to society as evidenced by the large number of female hadith narrators in hadith manuscripts which unfortunately became fewer and fewer in later generations along with misogynistic fatwas and false traditions that discriminate against women."</p>
9	<p>"The position of women in the Jahiliyyah society at the time of Islam was deplorable. They were not only treated like animals, but also like inanimate objects."</p>

Article 3, 4, 7, 8, and 9 illustrates that the relationship of equality is the key to the benefit of human survival. Equality guarantees that neither party is superior and inferior. As the Prophet Muhammad PBUH set an example through the treatment of his wives. As a religious leader, war leader, businessman, and statesman, he still did domestic work with his own awareness. Whereas if you look at the context at that time where women were objects and worthless as human beings, Rasulullah PBUH gave a direct example of how he played an active role in household activities and freed his wives to study and work. Thus, it can be mentioned that the Prophet Muhammad PBUH was very feminist by implementing justice from the mind, so the concept of antifeminism that states that feminism is irrelevant to Islam is a fallacy.

Depiction of Issues by Using Connotative Words, Terms, or Sentences to Direct the Reader to a Specific Intent (Depictions)

Islami.co explains that feminism brings awareness about the patriarchal structures in our culture, where traditional views of gender roles often favor men and disadvantage women. However, the discourse of antifeminism often presents views that demean women and support gender inequality. Despite the diversity and complexity of our society, there are groups that use gender inequality as a tool to maintain power and generate bigotry. The situation worsens amidst low literacy and knowledge resulting in inaccurate perceptions of gender issues. Today it must be recognized that patriarchal relations in everyday life still exist. This not only affects the minds of men, but also women and can even influence individuals within a religious framework. This explanation can be seen in article 4 in table 5.

Table 5
Element of *Depictions* in Analyzed Articles

Article No.	<i>Depictions</i>
4	"It's just that our cultural structure is very patriarchal. It's not only men who agree, but some women still consider themselves weak beings who need to be protected and taken care of."
6	"If Indonesia Without JIL (ITJ), Indonesia Without Dating (ITP) and even Indonesia Without Feminists (ITF) appear in a country with flowers like ours, coupled with a low level of literacy, then

	<p>of course all we get are fragile bubbles of fanaticism."</p> <p>"Patriarchal relations in the life we live today are more terrifying. It is not only entrenched at the altar of men's minds, but in women there is still the potential for it to perch. In fact, it can also exist in the bodies of religious people. Just take a look, how many relationships between individuals are chaotic and conflicted, colored by sexual violence, sexual harassment and ending in the loss of life."</p> <p>"Patriarchy is not only at the expense of other humans, but it can encroach through our attitudes towards nature and the environment, which is why feminism exists, which is none other than to block the onslaught of unequal social relations."</p>
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According to Islami.co, feminism is described as a response to the dominance of patriarchy in various aspects of life, both in relationships between individuals and in human relationships with nature and the environment. By supporting feminism, Islami.co seek to overcome patterns of unequal social relations, embrace inclusivity and promote gender justice. In article 6's context, the contrast between pro-feminist representations and pro-misogynist narratives emphasizes the need for more inclusive and just social change. Integrating pro-feminism views with religious moderation and knowledge-based approaches will help counter demeaning views and lead to more positive and inclusive developments for all members of society.

Use of Images that Support Overall Framing (*Visual Images*)

Table 6 shows that Islami.co utilizes visual devices to make it clear that the illustrations used are a description of the article as a whole, namely as a counter-narrative of antifeminist discourse. This is evident from the five articles that feature the same illustration photo, which is uploaded from the @indonesiatanpafeminis account. In addition, the illustration of female students reciting the Quran in article 3 also reinforces the message that women have the same fighting power as men, especially in terms of self-actualization and empowerment of the people, which in this case is embodied through education and critical thinking skills. Another illustration in article 1

also gives the impression that despite having the same gender, each woman has her own uniqueness and expertise. This is in line with the concept of modern feminism that emphasizes intersectionality that respects the different experiences and backgrounds of each woman.

Table 6
Element of *Visual Images* in Analyzed Articles

No. Article	<i>Visual Images</i>
1	Aeich Thimer's painting titled "Arab Women"
2,5,6,7,8	Screenshot of @indonesiatanpafeminis Instagram account March 27, 2019 which has 700 likes with the caption " <i>Fight feminist thinking! And support @indonesiatanpafeminis. In frame: Women who want their generation not to be poisoned by feminism.</i> " Also attached are two comments, namely from @bungbung.nim with the comment, " <i>@bacotloanjir sadisticcc but it's cool! (shocked emoticon)</i> " and @seekorkutu with the comment, " <i>Guys, let's just report this account together instead of commenting! It's useless.</i> "
3	Photo illustration depicting four female students wearing hijab reciting the Quran in a dark room by utilizing the dim light of a flashlight from a used glass bottle.

Conveying the Connectedness of an Element as an Inference of Fact (Roots)

Overall, Islami.co shows that feminism is connected to religious, historical, and humanitarian values, and even in accordance with the positive values held by society. This fact is presented in a series of sentences in several articles that reflect that feminism does not contradict religion or tradition, but instead is in line with human values and spirituality.

Articles 2, 4 and 6 in Table 7 link the spirit of feminism to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH's practice and ijihad in addressing gender injustice. This shows that the principles of gender equality are not contradictory to Islam and are part of the Prophet's efforts to spread the message of justice and humanity. Gender justice is something that is reflected in the teachings of Islam itself. In other words, prioritizing human values should lead to acts of understanding.

Table 7
Element of *Roots* in Analyzed Articles

Article No.	<i>Roots</i>
2	"Historical records reveal that the spirit of feminism is the sunnah practiced by the Prophet Muhammad. The scent of the feminist ijtihad of the founding father of Islam is at least smelled in his efforts to unravel the problems of gender injustice in Arab society, such as eliminating the culture of burying baby girls, seeking inheritance rights for women, seeking recognition of women's testimony, and limiting the number of polygamy. So, in short, the practice of mainstreaming gender equality is not against Islam."
4	"The messages that are more scattered in the Quran are messages about gender equality than the other way around."
5	<p>"Maybe we are more familiar with emancipation, but our ancestors have known the equality of relations between men and women before the arrival of colonizers."</p> <p>"Even if you are not married or choose not to get married, you can still apply feminist values in your daily life. So even if your friend is a feminist and married, unmarried or not married, it is her choice, we never know when someone's soul mate will come, right?"</p>
6	"If in the name of religion, humanity is put on the back burner, perhaps the proponents have forgotten that before they became religious people, they first became human beings."
7	"But as a behavior, feminism, which has a mission to provide equality between all God's creatures, has been carried out thousands of years ago by an anti-mainstream in the Arabian peninsula named Muhammad bin Abdullah."
9	"The bodies of men and women belong to God. But both are responsible for its use in a dignified manner. On the Day of Judgment (Yaumul Hisab), the human body will even testify directly before Allah as to what it was used for in this world."

The responsibility of human beings to use their body, mind and spirit with dignity and moral consideration is also pointed out in Article 9. In this regard, gender justice is not only about social rights, but also about ethics and spirituality. Meanwhile,

articles 5 and 7 remind us that values of equality have existed in previous cultures and traditions. This indicates that the concept of gender equality is not a concept imported from the West. The article also underlines that gender equality is a principle that can be applied by all individuals, regardless of marital status. This shows that equality is not just about marital status, but also about an inclusive outlook on life.

Embedding Moral Thoughts and Claims as a Justification Argument (*Appeal to Principle*)

Antifeminist discourse often says that it is not permissible to challenge verses from the Quran and hadith. But as explained in article 1 in Table 8, criticism of religion is actually criticism of the interpretation and practice of its teachings. The feminist movement can also be read as part of religious interpretations and practices that support gender justice. Equality and justice can also be exemplified by article 2 of a school of feminism, ecofeminism, which emphasizes feminine qualities. This corrects the mistaken view of feminism as wanting to be like men. Instead, feminism is the idea that equality can be achieved by recognizing and promoting the unique qualities within each woman.

Table 8
Element of *Appeal to Principle* in Analyzed Articles

Article No.	<i>Appeal to Principle</i>
1	"When there is criticism of Islam, it is actually criticism of the practice of its teachings."
2	"Among the voices criticizing the second generation of feminism are those who call their movement ecofeminism. For them, the effort to dismantle gender injustice is not by deifying feminine qualities, but by accentuating them. They believe that feminine qualities can become a matriarchal ideology that can replace the patriarchal system in all social relations. So, the movement for gender equality in the West was not necessarily a demand that women be like men as is often understood."
4	"There is no need to oppress people because they think their gender identity is higher than others. If so, how are we different from demons?"

7	<p>"At a time when jahiliyah women were very restricted and treated as they were, the Prophet Muhammad PBUH gave them a lot of good news, starting to be given a portion in the distribution of inheritance, given access to study, and various other privileges."</p> <p>"If the opponents of feminism reject feminism just because it's <i>feminism</i>', should we change the name to something more Arab like <i>'harakatun nisa'</i>? This method of Arabizing terms seems to have succeeded a lot in suppressing obscure movements like this. For example, people have quietly said that tolerance is not an Islamic teaching because they have used the term <i>'tasammub'</i>. To build a relationship, the word <i>'dating'</i> replaced by <i>'ta'aruf'</i> can make you change from a sinful youth to a halal-certified hijrah youth. Should we just Arabize feminism?"</p>
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The next claim from article 4 highlights that judging certain genders as superior to others is a form of oppression. There needs to be recognition and respect for the equal rights of individuals, including in the context of gender. Translation version about the argument regarding the actions of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH's towards women in his time in article 7 shows that Islam has supported giving rights and opportunities to women. This concrete example should be an affirmation that the rejection of feminism solely because of its name can be overcome with a deeper understanding and adaptation according to context.

Depiction of the Effects of Framing the Writing (Consequences)

The framing of the sample articles on Islami.co in this research illustrates the representation of feminism as a counter-narrative to the discourse of antifeminism. The arguments presented underline that feminism has a place in Islam and emphasize the rejection of women's oppression. Article 1, 2, and 6 in Table 9 also highlighted the need to correct misperceptions about Islam and gender justice and the importance of a deeper understanding of religious teachings and humanitarian principles.

Table 9
Element of *Consequences* in Analyzed Articles

No. Article	<i>Consequences</i>
1	"It is not an exaggeration to say that feminism has a place in Islam. Islam is a religion that opposes all forms of oppression, including oppression of women."
2	"The trending of #MuslimahTolakGenderEquality is a form of error in understanding Islam. This error is certainly urgent to be straightened out, because it does not only concern issues of religious understanding, but also concerns humanitarian issues."
3	"This shows that when we look at Aisha, we should not only see her as the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, but also see her as an intelligent woman of her time and her efforts in rejecting the patriarchal culture of her time."
6	"I actually believe that there was a time when the groups that carried ITP, ITJ, ITF felt uneasy about what they were fighting against. It is too abstract, absurd and maybe the solution is promoted the Khilafah ."
8	"Feminism is not about whose status is more noble, let alone about glory in the eyes of God. It's also not about wanting to surpass men, but about getting equal opportunities and respect in society."

In addition, article 3 and 8 also emphasizes the importance of seeing women in a broader framework and appreciating their efforts in overcoming patriarchal norms. Thus, this framing shows that feminism is not about superiority or competition, but about providing equal opportunities and respect for all individuals in society.

Representation of Feminism in Islami.co Media

Representation refers to the process and product of the meaning of a sign. Through representation theory, Stuart Hall (1997) provides an explanation of the production of meaning and its use in social construction. He maps it into three approaches, namely reflective, intentional, and construction approaches. First, the

reflective approach where language functions as a mirror, reflecting the true meaning of things in the world. In the reflective approach, a meaning depends on an object, person, idea or event in the real world. Language also functions as a mirror to reflect the true meaning as it exists in the world. However, visual cues carry a relationship to the shape and texture of the object being represented. Secondly, the intensional approach which uses language to communicate something according to the way the media perceives something. This approach says that the speaker, writer or whoever expresses their unique understanding into the world through language. Third, the construction approach where the media constructs meaning through the language used. This is the third approach to recognizing the public, social character and language. However, meaning does not depend on the material quality of the sign, but rather on the symbolic function.

In the reflective approach, the meaning of feminism in Islami.co leads to the idea of gender justice which is actually the spirit of Islam's presence on earth. This is certainly contrary to the antifeminism narrative echoed by other Islamic groups. Regardless of all developments and streams, feminism has the goal of equality for both men and women in social, political, economic, legal and cultural contexts.

Muslims believe that their religion is *rahmatan lil `alamin*, meaning a religion that spreads mercy to the universe. One form of that mercy is Islam's recognition of the integrity of women's humanity as equal to that of men. That is, the human value of women and men is the same, there is no difference at all. The measure of the glory of a human being before Allah SWT is the achievement and quality of his piety, regardless of his gender as stated in QS. Al-Hujurat, 49: 13.

The assessment that taqwa is solely the prerogative of Allah SWT should lead to the understanding that humans have no right to judge, humans are only instructed to compete to do as much good deeds as possible (*fastabiqul khaerat*). Consequently, women and men both have the potential to become the most pious people. The Qur'an does not give primacy to a particular gender. All humans, regardless of gender, have the same potential to become khalifah fil ardh. This is also stated in QS. al-Nisa', 4:124 and QS. al-Nahl, 16:97.

In its development, the feminism movement eventually became a new alternative as a discourse on the relations between men and women. Similarly, looking at feminism from a religious perspective, there is no difference between feminism in the West and feminism in Islam. The difference between the two is that Islamic feminism is based on religious values (Ilyas, 1998).

Islamic feminism has also become a medium to bring awareness to the oppression of women in the private and public spheres, which is often supported by religious arguments. Islami.co reconstructs the meaning of feminism - which is misinterpreted by antifeminism groups - as an effort to build religious interpretations with a gender-just perspective. This effort is not only for the sake of creating justice and equality, but also as a form of compliance with what Islam commands.

In the intentional approach, Islami.co communicates the idea of feminism according to its perspective and media identity, namely as a counter-hegemony media against other provocative media. Islami.co as a media facilitates male and female article writers in shaping the meaning of feminism that has been interpreted by antifeminism speakers. This antifeminist attitude invites people to believe transcendentally that women are secondary creatures and objects of male authority. Whereas feminism is an ideological position towards inequality that generally harms women, but in principle harms men as well.

Globally, the content structure of mass media coverage has generally not responded equally to women's interests. Mass media coverage generally covers the male public sphere. Starting from state issues, politics, military, sports, local government, to various other male public discourses. But when there is news of women's issues, the spotlight becomes domestic, such as household skills, childcare, cosmetics and beauty, except when there is a female public figure, then it becomes the main news, and even then it does not seem to be the media's agenda setting on that day because the headlines are not followed by other news or writings in other parts of the day's news (Bungin, 2006).

In the construction approach, Islami.co emphasizes the image of feminism as something positive and has no conflict of values with Islam. According to Islami.co,

feminism is not what has always been the main discourse of the antifeminism movement, which underlines that feminism was initiated by the Western world and is considered anti-Islam. Not a few Muslims have misinterpreted feminism; considered as a movement deliberately created to undermine the faith of Muslims; considered as women's resistance to nature; hostility towards men; women's rebellion against household obligations; and even considered as an attempt to reject sharia.

Qibtiyah (2020) explains that there are three groups based on acceptance of feminism, namely literalists, moderates, and progressives. The literalist group tries to explain the verses of the Quran and hadith related to women by definition. The moderate group will accept feminist ideas as long as they do not contradict what is considered fundamental Islamic values. The progressive group considers equality between men and women to be absolute in every aspect of life. The progressive group legitimizes the biologically visible differences between men and women. They believe that both have equal status, position and rights in the family, society and even the state. Based on this, Islami.co is included in the progressive group category because Islami.co raises the issue of feminism in its articles to reconstruct religious interpretations that fight for gender justice in the Islamic context.

Conclusion

Islami.co promotes the issue of feminism in its articles to reconstruct religious interpretations that fight for gender justice in the Islamic context. This media tries to fight against existing social hegemony which tends to maintain gender inequality through anti-feminist narratives in digital media. Through various articles with the tag "Feminism" on its website, Islami.co reformulates the narrative of gender relations from religious texts. This makes it a full of content with counter-narratives of antifeminism echoed by other Islamic groups in digital media.

Islami.co reconstructs the meaning of feminism - which is misinterpreted by antifeminism groups as an anti-Islamic movement - as an effort to build religious interpretations with a gender-just perspective. This effort is not only for the sake of

creating justice and equality, but also as a form of compliance with what Islam commands.

As a mass media, Islami.co responds to the interests of women who are rarely highlighted through the lens of gender justice, which in this case is realized through feminism-themed articles. Although it does not ordain itself as a women's media, Islami.co still provides a portion of the news about gender justice, especially to women. Islami.co also emphasizes the importance of seeing women in a broader framework and appreciating their efforts in overcoming patriarchal norms. Thus, the framing of this representation shows that feminism is not about superiority or competition, but about providing equal opportunities and respect for all individuals in society.

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