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## The Contestation of the Prohibition of *Tabbaruj* on Indonesia Social Media: A Virtual Ethnography Approach on Instagram

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### Abstract

*In the digital era, discussions on the prohibition of tabarruj for women frequently appear in digital content, responding to women's active presence in both real and virtual public spheres, and are variously addressed on social media. This article examines the contestation of the tabarruj prohibition in social media, especially on Instagram, based on the presentation of content, meaning, and acceptance among Indonesian Muslims. The research is included in media text studies about living Qur'an-Hadith on social media. The virtual ethnography method is used to collect data in digital space, especially on the Instagram platform for five accounts: @khalidbasalamabofficial, @humairahijab, @fikihmuslimah, @akhiukhtiantiselfie, and @mubadalah.id. Based on social media searches, the prohibition of tabarruj in these accounts is mostly based on QS. Al-Abzab [33]: 33, the Prophet's hadith, and the views of Islamic scholars. Four of the contents present the prohibition of tabarruj specifically for women, and one content, @mubadalah.id, offers a new reading that tabarruj can be intended for both women and men. Readers more widely reach based on the influence of the content, @khalidbasamabofficial and @ukbriakbiantiselfie accounts, and @mubadalah.id accounts have fewer responses. Instagram, in this case, has become a medium for constructing religious discourse, both among followers of Salafism and supporters of the gender equality and justice movement in Indonesia. The significance of this research shows how the prohibition of tabarruj is understood, accepted, implemented, and even debated in the context of social media in Indonesia and has implications for contemporary religious understanding and practice.*

**Keywords:** Instagram, virtual ethnography, mediatization, living Qur'an-hadith, tabarruj

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## INTRODUCTION

In the digital age, social media produces new spaces for digital expressions of piety, enabling contestation between traditional Islamic norms and modern interpretations. (Husein & Slama, 2018). One of the main trends emerging in the integration of Islam with new media is the representation of Muslim women and gender issues in digital media, especially in the issue of hijab, visual piety, and online identity. Social media such as Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok have become expressive mediums for Muslim women to show their religious identity, Islamic dress style, and respond to stereotypes, challenge dominant authority, and contribute to shaping Islamic discourse in the digital space (Nisa, 2021; Wahid, 2024).

Among these themes, religious discourse on the prohibition of tabarruj is one of the most popular topics on Instagram. Religious figures also make this topic in their lecture material, among others: Ustadz Adi Hidayat (Ceramah Pendek, 2018), Khalid Basalamah (Khalid Basalamah Official, 2020), hingga Buya Yahya (Buya Yahya, 2016). A number of posts on Instagram also provide forms of contemporary tabarruj that are considered to show beauty by wearing thick makeup, wearing soft lenses, wearing false eyelashes, wearing perfume, revealing the aurat, wearing tight, thin clothes, thus revealing curves, and even dancing, which are then uploaded on social media. The rise of this content is suspected to be a response to the activity of women in public spaces, both in the real world and on social media.

The view that places the prohibition of tabarruj on women can be traced from various scholarly interpretations of QS. Al-Aḥzāb [33]:33. Al-Ṭabarī quotes a narration that tabarruj is the display of a woman's adornment and beauty in front of men (Ṭabarī, 2001, p. 97). Ibn Kathīr quotes Mujāhid as saying that tabarruj is when a woman comes out of her house and walks in front of men (who are not her maḥrāms). A narration from Qatadah states that tabarruj is when a woman comes out accompanied by a flirtatious gait and attitude. Muqātil also described the tabarruj of the jāhiliyyah as when a woman wears a khimar to cover her head, but she does not fasten it so that her jewelry, such as necklaces around her neck and earrings in her ears, is still visible in order to show off what she has (Kathīr, 1999, p. 410). Contemporary Indonesian mufasir, Qurasih Shihab, also defines tabarruj as the behaviour of women who show jewelry that is not usually worn by good women or wear something that

is not natural to wear in the presence of men who are, not their husbands. This behaviour invites admiration and stimulation and causes disturbance from men who are not good. (Shihab, 2002, p. 465)

The understanding of the verses of the Qur'an and hadith that prohibit tabarruj on social media also invites pros and cons when viewed from the content presented. Many contents tend to present a textual understanding of the verses of the Qur'an and hadith. The understanding presented is that women are prohibited from tabarruj. The meaning of tabarruj in this case began to develop, starting from the definition, limitations, and forms. Two things remain unchanged for the current context, namely the prohibition of tabarruj and women as the object. Meanwhile, there is very little content that offers a re-reading of the meaning of the prohibition of tabarruj in the current era. This can be observed from the content uploaded by @mubadalah.id. Based on the content presented, @mubadalah.id tries to re-criticize the understanding that often arises today. Often, the prohibition of tabarruj targets women alone, even though men are not free from the potential to attract the attention of the opposite sex (Mubadalah.Id on Instagram, 2023).

Research on the phenomenon of tabarruj on social media, in the context of various studies in Indonesia, has been conducted through literature studies using thematic methods. For example, this phenomenon is studied from the perspective of the Qur'an (Astika et al., 2022), Hadith (Firmansyah, 2017), or according to the thoughts of certain figures (Amir & Mahmud, 2024). The phenomenon of women today, especially in the era of social media, is ultimately responded to variously based on the approach used: between still maintaining a textual approach to the text and a more contextual approach. The phenomenon of tabarruj on social media was studied using a multidisciplinary approach based on several uploads or posts. Studies were conducted using discourse analysis (Al Jauhari et al., 2023), and even semiotics (Habibillah & Miski, 2023)

In the global sphere, the issue of tabarruj prohibition in digital media has not been specifically studied. However, issues related to the religious identity of Muslim women in digital media have been the focus of various studies. In her research, Nisa (2021) Shows that the internet and social media have become important spaces for tech-savvy Muslim women to shape their religious identity through online religious consumption and participation. Digital platforms not only enable expressions of piety and gender activism but also encourage

the fragmentation of religious authority by presenting women's voices in an increasingly diverse and decentralized Islamic public sphere. In a more specific theme, hijab, Akou (2010) argues that the internet acts as a discursive space that allows Muslim women to negotiate the meaning of hijab personally and contextually, while questioning established religious authorities in understanding the religious practice.

Another study from Nisa (2018) as well as Mahmudova and Evolvi (2021) show that social media, especially Instagram, is an important space for young Muslim women to shape and negotiate their religious identity. In Indonesia, Instagram is used as a medium for visual da'wah that emphasizes hijrah and syar'i hijab as symbols of piety, and forms online communities that reinforce religious norms through visual aesthetics (Nisa, 2018). Meanwhile, in the Netherlands, young Muslim women utilize Instagram as a third space to express their hybrid identities, but still face social pressure regarding representations of modesty and piety from their surroundings (Mahmudova & Evolvi, 2021). Both studies emphasize that Instagram functions not only as a space for religious expression, but also as an arena for the construction of norms of Muslim women's piety.

Previous research shows that there have been many studies on the phenomenon of tabarruj on social media, both through thematic approaches based on the Qur'an and Hadith and analysis of the thoughts of certain figures. In addition, contemporary studies have also utilized multidisciplinary approaches such as discourse analysis, netnography, and semiotics. However, there is a research gap in terms of a more in-depth exploration of how the meaning of tabarruj is constructed and exchanged by Muslim women actively in digital spaces, especially through platforms such as Instagram, as part of the negotiation of their religious identity. Global studies have highlighted the role of digital media in shaping Muslim women's religious identities and voicing alternative religious authorities, but have not specifically addressed the issue of tabarruj prohibition as a symbolically and discursively exchanged phenomenon in the context of social media visual culture. Therefore, this research offers a new perspective by examining tabarruj not simply as a violation of the dress code in religious texts, but as a socio-religious construction negotiated through digital practices, thus enriching the discourse on Muslim women's authority, piety, and identity in the era of social media.

This research fills this void by examining the dynamics of the tabarruj prohibition discourse based on the presentation of content, meaning, and acceptance in the Indonesian Muslim community through five Instagram accounts with various religious interpretations.

In the context of religious mediatization, religious teachings related to the prohibition of *tabarruj* are a representation of the shift of religious authority from formal institutions to digital spaces controlled by media logic (Hjarvard, 2008; Miski, 2023). Instagram as a medium of religious mediatization reconstructs interpretations of religious texts through visual aesthetics, popular narratives, and social interactions that shape new religious understandings in accordance with popular cultural genres (Ar-Ridho dkk & Ghozali, 2023, pp. viii–ix). However, on the other hand, the interpretation of religious texts in these contents still refers to and reproduces the interpretive authority of traditionally recognized scholars, religious figures, or religious institutions (Campbell & Connelly, 2015, pp. 273–274), thus showing a continuous pattern of adaptation and legitimacy. The *tabarruj* prohibition represented in Instagram content by accounts referencing the views of salafi figures tends to be textual and directed exclusively at women, while there is only content that tries to reinterpret the prohibition more contextually with a gender equality approach, but it gets a lower response from the digital public.

This research belongs to the study of texts on social media. As the theme raised, the object of study is focused on content that raises the topic of *tabarruj* on a number of Instagram accounts. Instagram is known as a platform that is widely accessed after Facebook, YouTube, and WhatsApp, with a variety of content presentations, both visual, audio-visual, and text-based. Like other social media, the like, share, and comment features also provide space for interaction between users and readers. Due to the large number of accounts containing *tabarruj* prohibition content, the author used a purposive sampling technique with the following criteria: (1) the account explicitly discusses the issue of *tabarruj* prohibition, (2) has a high level of interaction (seen from the number of likes and comments), and (3) represents a variety of approaches to religious texts, both textual-conservative and contextual-progressive. Based on these criteria, five accounts were selected, namely @khalidbasalamahofficial, @humairahijab, @fikihmuslimah\_, @akhiukhtiantiselfie, and @mubadalah.id. The analysis was conducted through a digital discourse analysis approach, by examining how the content of the *tabarruj* prohibition was represented visually and narratively, as well as how religious texts were reinterpreted in digital interactions. Data validation techniques were carried out through source triangulation, namely by matching references to verses, hadith, and scholarly opinions in the uploads with relevant classical and

contemporary Islamic literature.

The virtual ethnography method was used to collect data, in-depth observations, and analysis of social interactions and user-generated content on the Instagram platform related to the topic of tabarruj (Hine, 2000; Nasrullah, 2018). Virtual ethnography in this research is conducted by conducting participatory observations in the Instagram environment, especially on accounts or content that contains topics about the prohibition of tabarruj. The analysis is carried out on digital content, including internal aspects, namely how the content is presented by content creators who are always based on the interpretation of religious texts; and external aspects, namely the response of the audience shown through the number of likes, comments, and shares (Ar-Ridho & Ghozali, 2023, pp. 156–157). Researchers used this approach to understand how Indonesian social media users debate, negotiate, and shape their perceptions of the tabarruj ban through online posts, comments, and discussions.

This research uses the Living Qur'an-Hadith approach to understand the contestation of the discourse on the prohibition of tabarruj on social media. This approach views the Qur'an and hadith as living texts, whose meanings are formed through the practices, experiences, and social interactions of Muslims (Qudsy et al., 2024; Rafiq, 2021). These religious texts function informatively - as a source of normative meaning through interpretation and scholarly authority - and performatively, encouraging social practice and norm formation in the public sphere (Sam D. Gill in Rafiq, 2021, pp. 474–477). The reception of both takes place through textual references, scholarly transmission, and discursive traditions shaped by the socio-cultural context of the people (Rafiq, 2021; Qudsy et al., 2024). Qudsy emphasized five important aspects in the study of living hadith: practice, reception, text, transmission, and transformation (Qudsy et al., 2024, pp. 15–16). In a digital space such as Instagram, content about tabarruj shows how religious texts are reproduced and negotiated by various actors with different epistemologies, in a mediatized religion landscape that brings together text, authority, and technology (Hjarvard, 2008). This research contributes to the study of Living Qur'an-Hadith and gender in contemporary Islam by revealing how the prohibition of tabarruj is interpreted and negotiated by Muslim women on social media as part of digital religious praxis.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### 1. The Prohibition of *Tabarruj* in the Perspective of Text and Religious Authority

Tabarruj is linguistically derived from the word tabarraja-yatabarraju-tabarrujan, which means a woman who reveals her jewelry and beauty to men. Tabarruj of a woman is also interpreted as showing her face with all its beauty. Tabarruj is also interpreted by revealing jewelry that can invite men's lust, such as walking with a swaying figure (Manzūr, n.d., p. 243), vocalizing in a seductive tone, and making spoiled and sexy gestures (Salleh, 2021). She is dressed in tight, flashy, colorful, and other forms that can provoke men's lust for her. A tabarruj woman signifies a loss of modesty, part of a woman's faith (Edet, 2019, pp. 184–185) The prohibition of tabarruj is mentioned in QS. al-Aḥzāb [33]: 33:

وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَىٰ وَأَقِمْنَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتِينَ الزَّكَاةَ وَأَطِعْنَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا

*“And abide in your houses and do not display yourselves as [was] the display of the former times of ignorance. And establish prayer and give zakah and obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah intends only to remove from you the impurity [of sin], O people of the [Prophet's] household, and to purify you with [extensive] purification.”*(English Sabih Internasional)

In the hadith, the Prophet also mentions the prohibition of tabarruj as in Musnad Ahmad number 6850 (Hanbal, 1416, p. 432).

...جَاءَتْ أُمَيْمَةُ بِنْتُ رُقَيْقَةَ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ تُبَايِعُهُ عَلَى الْإِسْلَامِ فَقَالَ أَبَايُعُكَ عَلَى أَنْ لَا تُشْرِكِي بِاللَّهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا تُسْرِقِي وَلَا تُزْنِي وَلَا تَقْتُلِي وَلَدَكَ وَلَا تَأْتِي بَيْنَهُمَا تَفْتَرِيَهُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ وَرَجْلَيْكَ وَلَا تُنَوجِي وَلَا تَبَرَّجِي تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَى

*...Umaimah bin Ruqoqiqoh came to the Rasulullah to pledge allegiance to Islam, so Rasul said: "I pledge my allegiance to you not to associate partners with Allah, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to kill your children, not to tell lies that you put between your hands and your feet, not to mourn, and not to adorn yourself and behave like the people of the previous jahiliyyah"*

According to Al-Farrā', the tabarruj of the jahiliyyah in verse above was when Prophet Ibrahim was born. Women at that time wore shields or shields made of pearls without sewing on the sides. It is also mentioned that they wore clothes with luxurious items. In a hadith, it

is mentioned that the Prophet disliked ten things, including tabarruj with jewelry that was not in its place. Tabarruj refers to showing one's adornment to strangers, which is reprehensible. As for showing it to one's husband, there is nothing wrong with that (Manzūr, n.d., p. 243). Wahbah al-Zuhaylī states that tabarruj displays adornment and beauty to men, such as the chest and neck. For example, a woman who puts a veil over her head but does not tie it so that her neck, earrings, and necklace are visible (Zuhaylī, 2009).

Al-Qurṭubi mentioned that the word tabarruj is taken from the meaning of discretion, like the expression *fi asnanihi burj* (there is a gap between the teeth, i.e., they are loose or separated). The meaning of tabarruj in the verse is to show something that should be covered. Tabarruj of the Jahiliyyah was interpreted differently: 1) tabarruj of those born in the time of Prophet Ibrahim, where women used to wear outer garments made of pearls and then walk as if offering themselves to men. 2) al-Kalbi mentions the tabarruj practiced in the period between Prophet Nuh and Ibrahim, where the women wore outer garments made of pearls whose right and left sides were not sewn or united. At the same time, the clothes were usually so thin that their bodies were visible (Qurṭubī, 1427, pp. 141–142)

Hamka in Tafsir al-Azhar states that the verse about the prohibition of tabarruj is located in QS. Al-Aḥzāb, where verses 28 to 34 are more focused on how the Prophet's household should be, and how the Prophet's wives should be an example that people will follow, associated with their position as "Ummahāt al-Mu'minīn (mothers of the believers)". The beginning of verse 28 therefore begins with the words *yā ayyuhā al-Nabī qul li azwājika* (O Prophet, say to your wives...<sup>6</sup>) which is an indicator of the specificity of the verse for the Prophet, and verse 30 begins with *yā nisā' al-nabiyyi* (O wives of the Prophet...<sup>7</sup>). (HAMKA), 1984, p. 5691).

These two verses (verses 28 and 29) are takhyir verses that give the prophet's wives the choice to either continue to choose the position of being the prophet's wives and therefore they do not need to pursue the world; or if they still insist on the luxury, beauty, and wealth of the world then divorce is the best way. It is also mentioned in the next verse that if the prophet's wife makes a mistake, then the sin she incurs is double, and vice versa. Again, because they are required to be more careful in taking care of themselves due to their position as role models for the people ((HAMKA), 1984, p. 5692).

The historical context of al-Aḥzāb: 33 cannot be separated from the sabab nuzul of al-

Aḥzāb: 28 and 29. In particular, a narration from Jabir ibn 'Abdullah explains the sabab nuzul of these two verses. One day Abu Bakr and Umar wanted to see the Prophet in his house. They found the Prophet sitting pensively, surrounded by his wives. The prophet's face looked gloomy which made 'Umar comfort him. The Prophet told 'Umar that his wives were asking for money. Abu Bakr then pulled 'Aisha by the scruff of the neck and 'Umar did the same to Hafshah. Both of them said: “why do you urge the Messenger of Allah to ask for things that he does not have?”, seeing the two wives of the prophet, the other wives finally withdrew by themselves. After that, the Prophet did not see his wives for a month (29 days) which led to rumors that the Prophet had divorced his wives. It was this event that led to the revelation of the two takhyir verses ((HAMKA), 1984, pp. 5692–5693).

This is associated with the position of the prophet as a Messenger of God and a role model in fostering the ummah with his creed, and not pursuing the world with luxury, wealth, beauty of residence and jewelry that fills the body. Although the wives of the Prophet are ordinary people, but the wives of the Prophet are people who are more respected, therefore they are obliged to maintain self-respect and not follow the behavior of most women in general. Jahiliyyah women when adorned the goal is to look beautiful, stand out, attract others. So after Islam came, women were not prohibited from adorning themselves, but they still had to adorn themselves in accordance with Islamic guidance, adorn themselves modestly, and not flashy. ((HAMKA), 1984, p. 5706-5710).

QS. al-Ahzab: 32-33 sets out specific rules for how these wives should behave. The prophet's wives are forbidden to be gentle with a wink, but are required to speak to others firmly and politely, not to be flirtatious with words, and walk swaying, so as not to invite bad intentions from people who cannot control lust and lust. Hamka also reminded that humanly speaking, men have lust for women, but it is faith that can control it. So the command in the next verse (QS. al-Ahzab 33) is also very related to this verse, namely the command for the prophet's wives not to adorn themselves and behave like the women in jahiliyah al-‘ulā ((HAMKA), 1984, p. 5710). Hamka also said that Islam does not prohibit wearing jewelry. QS. al-A'rāf: 32 confirms that the adornment of the world is not forbidden, because it has indeed been provided by Allah for His servants. So, Hamka emphasized that it is permissible for a person to be wealthy, dress well, own a vehicle and a nice house, as long as he is still willing to pay zakat, is not arrogant and conceited. In this case, Hamka mentions in detail the

jewelry in question - which is usually favored by women - such as gold bracelets, dokoh (necklace ornaments in the form of gold plates), earrings, subang (piercing), safety pins, and rigid bracelets, and various other kinds that women always covet ((HAMKA), 1984, p. 5694). In this case, some of the forms of jewelry mentioned by Hamka are familiar jewelry used in the Indonesian context (dokoh, subang) at that time, which is also still known today.

This incident also shows a strong reason to uphold the belief in the sanctity of the Prophet and the truth of his message. This is the main guidance given by Allah and the Messenger to the wives of the Prophet and every believing woman. Hamka added that this verse does not explain the “fashion” of clothing, or the form of clothing that should be worn. The main message to be conveyed is not to decorate in jahiliyah but to decorate according to the line of Islamic modesty. Clothing is a representation that shows the obedience of a servant who has performed worship (prayer, fasting, zakat) to Allah, so why is this important ((HAMKA), 1984, pp. 5710–5711).

The prohibition of tabarruj has been increasingly voiced in the modern-contemporary period, especially by the salaf scholars. One of them is Shaykh ‘Abdul Aziz bin Bāz. He mentioned that QS. Al-Ahzab [33]: 33 warns women about their obligation to be careful about tabarruj because it will cause fitnah. Likewise, men must be cautious by lowering their gaze and avoiding khalwat and other things that can cause fitnah. Shaykh Bin Baz said that tabarruj means showing beauty and things that can bring fitnah, such as the head, neck, face, chest, legs, etc. Shaykh bin Baz also interpreted tabarruj as meaning clothing that attracts attention (Haqīqat al-Tabarruj wa al-Sufūr, 1445).

Muhammad ibn Shālih al-'Uthaymin was also one of the Salaf scholars who aggressively called for the prohibition of tabarruj. It is on its official website, <https://binothaimeen.net>, QS. Al-Ahzab [33]: 33 and tabarruj al-jahiliyyah are repeatedly discussed in a discussion forum (question-and-answer). al-'Uthaymin states that tabarruj is when a woman goes out to the marketplace or other places with fragrances and beautiful clothes that invite fitnah. According to al-'Uthaymin, tabarruj is haram. ('Adam Taqabbal al-Nisā' li al-Naṣīhat fi Wad'i al-'Uṭur wa al-Tazyīn, t.t.).

خروج المرأة إلى السوق متطيبة متبرجة بالثياب الجميلة الفاتنة خروج محرم لا يحل، لما في ذلك من الفتنة  
بها ومنها، وعلى وليها أن يمنعها من الخروج على هذا الوصف، سواء كان زوجها، أم أباه، أم أخاه،  
لأن هذا تبرج

*[It is forbidden for a woman to go out to the marketplace perfumed, wearing beautiful and seductive clothing, because this is a forbidden way out, and her guardian should prevent her from going out in this way, whether he is her husband, father, or brother because this is tabarruj]*

In Indonesia, a Salaf figure who has also been vocal about the prohibition of *tabarruj* is Basalamah. In a content, Basalamah mentioned that women who perform *tabarruj*, such as uncovering their bodies or dressing up for men other than their husbands and *mabrams*, are immoral. Citing the prophet's hadith, Basalamah also claimed that such actions would prevent them from smelling the smell of heaven and entering it. In this case, Basalamah places women's bodies as an essential discourse for men to monitor and control. Furthermore, it means that men have power over women's bodies, while women must obey their husbands. (Saputra et al., 2023).

## **2. Contestation of Tabarruj Prohibition Content on Instagram**

The understanding of the prohibition of *tabarruj* above has become a topic of discussion in recent years, and it has been raised in several contents on Instagram. This discussion seeks to show the contestation between these contents. Contestation in a social context is a common phenomenon in various societies. The word was first used in English in 1580, meaning "controversy" or "debate". This phenomenon shows the dynamics and diversity of opinions in a society. Regarding the *tabarruj* prohibition raised in social media posts, the author divides it into two views: emphasising the prohibition of *tabarruj* in contemporary times and gendered interpretation of prohibition of *tabarruj* in online tafsir.

### **2.1. Reproduction of Textual Interpretation of Tabarruj Prohibition in Digital Salafi Discourse**

Content about the prohibition of *tabarruj* disseminated on social media, especially on Instagram, is often based on Qur'anic verses, prophetic traditions, interpretations, and opinions of scholars. These religious texts are included in the form of translations, verse numbers, and the source of the hadith or book referred to. In particular, all posts are aimed at women. This is indicated by illustrative images of women wearing head coverings (*jilbab*, *hijab*, veil). The number of likes received indicates high acceptance from netizens.



Image 1.

Visualization of the *Tabarruj* ban name on Instagram

The four uploads above were uploaded by: @khalidbasalamahofficial (khalidbasalamahofficial, 2024); @humairahijab(humairahijab, 2024); fikihmuslimah\_(fikihmuslimah\_, 2024); and @ukhtiakhiantiselfie(ukhtiakhiantiselfie, 2024). Furthermore, the discussion of these contents is presented in the following table,

Tabel 1  
Content Reproduction of Textual Interpretation of *Tabarruj* Prohibition

Account Name and Time of Post	Content and Description of the Upload	Number of Likes and Comments
<p>@khalidbasalamahofficial 9th April 2024</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Title: WAHAI WANITA BERTAKWALAH! JANGAN BERTABARRUJ DI HARI RAYA IDUL FITRI.</li> <li>Includes a quote from QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:33, both the Arabic text and the translation show the Qur’anic prohibition for women not to <i>tabarruj</i>.</li> <li>Referring to the work of ibnul Jauzi in Zaadul Masiir volume 6: 379-380, quoting the view of Abu Ubaidah (<i>tabarruj</i> is showing beauty), and the view of az-Zujaj (<i>tabarruj</i> is showing adornment and anything that can encourage desire (temptation) for you men).</li> <li>The caption adds information about the importance of women's position in Islam so that the Shari'ah aims to protect and glorify their honor. Furthermore, this is corroborated by the redaction and translation of QS. Al-Ahzab [33]: 59, and corroborates about the punishment of</li> </ul>	<p>Likes 26,462; comments 132.</p>

Account Name and Time of Post	Content and Description of the Upload	Number of Likes and Comments
	hell for women - especially - who are dressed but naked, strutting, having camel-hump hairstyles, according to the hadith in Sahih Muslim number 2128.	
<p>@humairahijab 16th January 2024</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First slide, Title: <i>tabarruj</i> bukan sekedar menghias wajah.</li> <li>• Second slide, definition and ruling of <i>tabarruj</i> (<i>TABARRUJ</i> adalah MENAMPAKKAN pesona (kecantikan) dan hal-hal YANG bisa MENGUNDANG FITNAH. Hukumnya: TIDAK BOL3H).</li> <li>• The third slide contains the views of Sheikh bin Baz, who warned that women must be careful of <i>Tabaaruj</i>, <i>SUFUR</i> (revealing jewelry), and the causes of <i>fitnah</i> because women are <i>aurat</i> while both men and women have inclinations towards each other.</li> <li>• The fourth slide defines <i>tabarruj</i> as revealing beauty and things that invite temptation, from the neck, and ears and their adornments, hair, and other things. This includes the face because its charm and adornment can be seen from there.</li> <li>• The fifth slide emphasizes that all of this (previous slides) is <i>tabarruj</i>, forbidden by Allah.</li> <li>• The sixth, seventh, and eighth slides emphasize that in addition to <i>tabarruj</i> being forbidden, what is required of women is to cover up and not reveal <i>fitnah</i> because it is following the content of one of the hadiths, that two groups of people will inhabit hell. The second type is women who are dressed but naked, swaying, their heads like camel humps, so they cannot enter heaven, not even kissing up close.</li> <li>• Referenced from the telegram channel: <a href="https://t.me/AlfatayaatAlafifaat">https://t.me/AlfatayaatAlafifaat</a>.</li> <li>• There is an illustration of a large black-veiled woman without a face and an illustration of makeup tools..</li> </ul>	<p>Likes 1,512; comments 7.</p>
<p>@fikiMuslimah 6th Februari 2024</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Title : Jika syaiton gagal membuat Muslimah melepas hijabnya. Maka syaiton membisikkan</li> </ul>	<p>Likes 6,145;</p>

Account Name and Time of Post	Content and Description of the Upload	Number of Likes and Comments
	<p>Muslimah agar berhijab tidak sesuai tuntunan Syari'at.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is a picture illustration of a fashionable veiled woman in clothes following the latest fashion; the hijab is slung, the arms are still visible, and the soles of the feet are visible.</li> <li>• There is a brief description along with the source of the Qur'an-hadith in the form of a translation of the verse and or female hadith, which targets the provisions of the chest, hands, and feet, which are categorized as <i>aurat</i> and must be covered, as well as the camel's hump hijab style that violates the hadith history.</li> <li>• In the caption, there is an affirmation of the content by including the translation of QS. Al-Ahzab 33, and the definition of <i>tabarruj</i> according to ibnul Jauzi from the book <i>Zadul Masir fi Ilmi al-Tafsir</i> juz 3: 461. (Dari Abu Ubaidah bahwa <i>tabarruj</i> adalah Wanita menampakkan kecantikannya (di depan lelaki yang bukan mahram). 2. From az-Zajaj (<i>tabarruj</i> adalah menampakkan bagian yang indah (<i>aurat</i>) dan segala yang mengundang syahwat lelaki (<i>non-mahram</i>)).</li> <li>• Refer to the website konsultasisyari'ah.com</li> <li>• Caption: Wanita, hijab, jilbab, hijab, aurat, perhiasan, <i>tabarruj</i>, surat al-Ahzab [33]:33.</li> </ul>	<p>comments 26.</p>
<p>@ukhtiakhiantselfie 7th Februari 2024</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Title: Fenomena akhwat streetwear..</li> <li>• There is an illustration of a veiled woman wearing streetwear holding up two fingers.</li> <li>• The content highlights recent fashion developments among Muslim women, who have dressed less tightly and tend to oversize but still often display bold graphic elements, such as large logos and other accents that can attract the attention of the opposite sex.</li> <li>• After that, the translation of QS. Al-Ahzab:33.</li> <li>• Also included is the definition of <i>tabarruj</i> referenced from rumaysho.com (<i>tabarruj</i> adalah perilaku Wanita yang menampakkan perhiasan dan kecantikan serta segala sesuatu yang mestinya ditutup karena hal itu dapat menggoda kaum lelaki. (Rumaysho.com).</li> </ul>	<p>Likes 4,669; comments 162.</p>

Account Name and Time of Post	Content and Description of the Upload	Number of Likes and Comments
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The content mentions product sponsors: safago and aishmadina,</li> <li>• In the caption, it emphasizes that Muslim women's clothing is very tight, not long and wide enough, and avoids <i>tabarruj</i>. <i>tabarruj</i> is not only a ban on makeup, but everything that can attract the attention of men must be avoided.</li> </ul>	

Tabarruj is defined as showing beauty, jewelry, and anything that can encourage lust for men. This definition also aligns with the tabarruj concept of the @humairahijab account. However, this account again emphasizes the law of tabarruj, which Allah does not allow and forbid. This word is written in capital letters to underscore the emphasis. This account also relates to the religious provisions that women are aurat, where men and women tend to like each other. The description section clarifies that the face, the neck, the two ears, and the hair can bring charm, and jewelry usually appears from there.

The @fikhmuslimah\_ account develops what can be categorized as tabarruj, not only a woman who does not wear a hijab but can happen to Muslim women who wear hijab but are not following Sharia. The image of a fashionably dressed woman becomes the illustration presented. At the same time, the @ukhtiakhiantiselfie account displays illustrations of Muslim women who are already dressed covered, loose, and veiled but still show graphic elements that are feared to invite the opposite sex. These accounts define the definition of tabarruj from the verses of the Qur'an and hadith textually. Editorial verses of the Qur'an and Hadith and translations are always displayed in the uploaded content.

These accounts only present the views of tabarruj from Islamic figures, especially from Salafi circles, either through their books, recorded lectures, or writings uploaded in the digital space. The accounts @khalidbasamahofficial and @fikhmuslimah\_ refer to the work of ibnul Jauzi by including the definition of tabarruj according to Abu 'Abidah and az-Zujaj. Meanwhile, the views of the @humairahijab account come from the telegram network <https://t.me/AlfatayaatAlafifaat>, [www: //binbaz.org.sa/fatwas/5](http://www.binbaz.org.sa/fatwas/5), and Fatawa Nur 'Ala Darb (cassette no.5). The figures referred to are Shaykh Bin Baz and Shaykh ibn 'Uthaimin. The @fikhmuslimah\_ account refers to [www.konsultasisyariah.com](http://www.konsultasisyariah.com), and the

@ukhtiakhiantiselfie account refers to the article uploaded to [www.rumaysho.com](http://www.rumaysho.com).

The @khalidbasalamahofficial upload was made based on a recording of the figure's lecture on the official YouTube account. The upload was shared in the context of the Eid al-Fitr holiday. In Indonesia, this holiday is hectic, including people trying to look their best - some people are dressed in new clothes and tidier - some women are usually dressed up. Meanwhile, the @humairahijab account seems to have been created because of the rampant use of makeup tools for dressing up. It is almost the same as the @fikhmuslimah\_ account, highlighting the current Muslimah dress style that follows fashion trends. The @ukhtiakhiantiselfie account targets the trend of Muslim women who have dressed covered, loose, and veiled but still show graphic elements that are feared to invite the opposite sex. If it is associated with their tendency - to understand the texts of the Qur'an and hadith through specific figures - which seems textual, then the reality found in society must also follow what they understand from these religious texts.

In general, the above content also received relatively high appreciation. All of them get the number of likes above the thousand mark. The uploads of @khalidbasalamahofficial, @humairahijab, and @fikhmuslimah\_ accounts were responded to very positively by netizens in the comments section. Almost all comments are supportive, agree with the contents of the upload, feel that they have to introspect themselves and justify their views about the reality of women who dress up when leaving the house, seem to show off, and are considered to violate religious provisions. For example, account @narasi\_kala\_senja commented "Terima kasih ustadz sudah mengingatkan kami..". account @andi\_barabal also accepted the content of the upload by commenting "Ya robb, jauhkan aku dr sikap tabaruj". Account @f\_amalia29 also commented, "Muslimah indo paling banyak wajahnya bisa dilihat Dimana mana, mungkin blm paham ilmunya. Semoga diberi hidayah.Sya bukan orang yg lebih baik.Tp ini pendpt sya saja.Mohon maaf lahir batin". Meanwhile, the @humairahijab and @fikhmuslimah\_ accounts have very few comments and tend to accept the contents of the upload. For example, the account @eb\_ar040201 commented on @humairahijab with, "izin share kak"; others tagged other accounts as a sign that others also knew about the upload.

This is slightly different from the content of @ukhtiakhiantiselfie uploads, which are not only commented on with appreciation, agreement, and support. However, many questions arise from netizens regarding whether what they have been doing so far -using

hats, glasses, using oversized jacket models, batik, branded bags, playing skateboards, using swimming headscarves, skateboard headscarves-, is included in the category referred to in the uploaded content. The @kristiawish account responded with the comment, “Ya Allah, aku kadang pake topi kalo cuaca terim pas antar anak sekolah. Tapi gak ada niatan tabaruj” and the @cia.craft account commented “lah saya pakai topi karena panas, saya pakai kacamata karena minus, gimana tuh”. There are also those who try to be critical of the contents of the upload, such as the @anyth1ngxyou account commenting, “Secara tidak langsung, menyiratkan laki-laki mudah terpancing karena topi kacamata logo gede elemen grafis? Kasian juga laki2 dipandang rendah bgtu....” The comments that seem to respond with questions or criticism can be attributed to the content of the upload, which seeks to expand the scope of tabaruj, unlike @khalidbasalamahofficial's upload. This is because the content of the upload is aimed at Muslim women who already dress covered and loose but still follow current trends and styles.

Content related to the prohibition of tabaruj on social media, such as that posted by accounts like @humairahijab, @fikihmuslimah\_, and others, presents the definition of tabaruj based on Quranic texts and Hadith with a textual approach, referencing the views of Salafi scholars. In this context, the interpretation provided follows an informative purpose by offering knowledge about tabaruj and a performative purpose by encouraging the audience to modify their behavior in accordance with religious teachings. These accounts educate the public on the importance of covering the aurat and avoiding appearances deemed excessive, although audience responses vary, with some fully accepting the message and others questioning the boundaries of tabaruj in a modern context.

This content plays a role in transmitting religious teachings through social media, making the platform a means to disseminate religious understanding in line with a particular interpretation, namely Salafi. However, there are differing responses from the audience that reflect the diversity of understanding in applying religious teachings, particularly regarding the relationship between fashionable appearances and compliance with Sharia. Some audience members show acceptance and introspection, while others question whether certain elements of modern lifestyles, such as wearing accessories or fashionable clothing, fall under the category of tabaruj, which reflects the challenge of transforming religious teachings within a dynamic social context.

## 2.2. Gendered Interpretation of Prohibition of *Tabarruj* in Online Tafsir

One account that presents content to criticize *tabarruj* content in the digital space is mubadalah.id. The content was uploaded on November 23, 2023 and packaged as short videos (reels). At first glance, the short video questions the content regarding *tabarruj* in the digital space. When typing the word *tabarruj* in Google search, the search results only reveal women's identities. The account then questions, so the prohibition of *tabarruj* is only for women? At first glance, this sentence is like a question, but it offers a new view. The alternative view he gives is that the prohibition of *Tabarruj* applies to women and men. The content creator uses "berchandya" music and songs widely used on social media. This aims to follow the trends netizens are favored on social media.



**Image 1.**

### Upload Mubadalah.id

The caption above does not include the redaction or translation of the verse or hadith. At first, the caption writes the reason for labeling *tabarruj* because of the frequent illustrations and objects often pinned on women. The mention of QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:33, frequently used as an authoritative source prohibiting *tabarruj*, tries to link it to the previous verse, QS. Al-Ahzab [33]: 31, which contains the prohibition of adultery. Zina itself is prohibited in Islam for both men and women. So, for him, if the prohibition of adultery applies to both men and women, then the prohibition of *tabarruj* also applies to anyone, be it a man or a woman.

This content has been viewed 12.7 thousand times but is not as popular as other *tabarruj* content when viewed from the number of likes and comments. The content was only liked 418 times and commented on 22 comments. The comments given also contain

pros and cons. There is one account that comments that the above post is considered to violate the religious views taught by the teacher. The @zuaruddin account commented, "maaf izin merepost dawuh guru saya dulu, di dalam al-Qur'an disebutkan azzaniyatu dulu baru wazzani, karena yang lebih besar berpotensi menimbulkan terjadinya itu memang perempuan,,berbeda dgn pncurian, disebutkan assariqu dulu baru wassariqotu". This account was widely responded to by several other accounts by linking to personal experiences and social reality. The @sparkdora account, for example, responded, "oh gitu kak.Sy memang niatnya bukan menarik lawan jenis ya.karena memang saya mencintai diri saya, bukan karena agar lelaki menundukkan pandangan. Toh di lingkungan ponpres yg tertutup juga laki2 bejat tetap cabul ya" (mubadalah.id, 2023).

The content posted by the Mubadalah.id account regarding tabarruj offers a new perspective by critically questioning whether the prohibition of tabarruj applies only to women. Through this approach, the account suggests that the prohibition of tabarruj should also apply to men, challenging the common understanding that focuses primarily on women. In the context of Mediatization theory, this content reflects how social media, through short video formats and the use of trending music, alters the way religious teachings are presented and understood, transforming religious texts into more engaging and easily digestible forms for the audience.

### 3. Understanding the Prohibition of *Tabarruj* on Social Media in the View of Indonesian Muslims

To simplify the understanding of the findings, the following table summarizes five Instagram accounts that discuss the prohibition of *tabarruj*. This table contains the title of the content, the source of Islamic references, the religious approach, as well as the number of likes and comments, to show the pattern of representation and public response to the issue of *tabarruj* in the digital space,

**Table 2**

#### **Summary of Instagram Accounts' Content and Interactions Related to the Prohibition of Tabarruj**

No	Instagram Account	Title or Content Focus	Islamic Reference Sources	Religious Approach	Total Likes	Total Comments
1	@khalidbasalamahofficial	Don't Behave on the Feast Day - a quote from QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:33 and the hadith about women dressed but naked	Ibnul Jauzi, Sahih Muslim, QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:59	Traditional-Salafi	26.462	132
2	@humairahijab	<i>Tabarruj</i> is not limited to facial beautification; rather, it underscores that all forms of physical allure capable of inciting temptation ( <i>fitnah</i> ) are deemed religiously impermissible ( <i>haram</i> ).	Syekh Bin Baz, Hadis Nabi, QS. Al-Ahzab	Traditional-Salafi	1.512	7
3	@fikihmu slimah_	Wearing a hijab that does not comply with shar'i guidelines is considered a manifestation of <i>tabarruj</i> , as exemplified by women who don the hijab while maintaining fashionable or trendy styles.	Ibnul Jauzi, az-Zujaj, konsultasisyariah.com	Traditional-Salafi	6.145	26
4	@ukhtiakhiantiselfie	The Akhwat Streetwear Phenomenon: A critical reflection on Muslim women's attire that, despite being modest in coverage, is deemed overly fashion-oriented	Rumaysho.com, QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:33	Traditional-Salafi	4.669	162
5	@mubadalalah.id	<i>Tabarruj</i> Should Not Be Understood as Exclusive to Women—A reinterpretation of Qur'an Surah al-Ahzab [33]:33 using the <i>mubadalah</i> (reciprocal) approach.	Faqihuddin A. Kodir, QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:31–33	Contextual-Progressive	418	22

Adis Duderija in his book, calls salafism traditional salafism. It is called traditional because it highly appreciates "tradition", in this case, the hadith, which is the highest

epistemological value in understanding and interpreting the Qur'an. The neo prefix indicates that this movement is present in the contemporary era, although this group does not easily accept the idea of modernity. The movement is epistemologically and methodologically a continuation of pre-modern hadith scholars. However, they often use Salafism to describe their movement instead of the term hadith expert. The most influential figures are contemporary Middle Eastern Muslim scholars such as Nashiruddin al-Albani (d. 1999 M), Abdul Aziz bin Baz (d. 1999 M), Muhammad al-Uthaymin (d. 2001 M) and al-Madkhali (b. 1931-). These figures are widely influential globally, not only in the Arab world. The extent of this influence is due to the factor of easier and faster communication. For example, bin Baz has an official website [www.binbaz.org.sa](http://www.binbaz.org.sa), and so does al-Uthaymin, with his official website, [www.ibnothaimeen.com](http://www.ibnothaimeen.com). These and other websites have even been translated into English. (Duderija, 2021, pp. 97–100).

The four contents that emphasize the prohibition of tabarruj above cannot be separated from the influence of neotraditional Salafism. This can be understood from the figures referred to, such as bin Baz and al-Uthaymin, in the two contents above. In addition, the characteristics of the Salafist method of understanding the Qur'an and Hadith tend to be explained concisely, atomistically, without any analysis. This can be observed from the description or content of the four contents above. In addition, the movement tends to base its views on the works of selected authorities in the Islamic tradition. This group is very loyal to the manhaj of Hadith experts as the basic interpretation of the Qur'an-Hadith verses quoted. Usually, the authorities often referred to are traditionalists (muhaddithun) or scholars from the Hanbali school of thought. One of the figures referred to in the content above is ibnul Jauzi (d.1291 M) with his book *Zādul Masīr*. This group also often disregards the views of many prominent Islamic jurists from the Hanafi, Maliki, and Shafi'i schools of thought. (Duderija, 2021, pp. 99–101)

While [mubadalah.id](https://www.instagram.com/mubadalah.id), with its content - which does not get too much response from netizens based on the comments column - can be said to be -one of the parties trying to respond to the widespread influence of gender injustice in cyberspace. Based on its name, this account on the Instagram platform is one of the media actively used to disseminate Faqihuddin A. Kodir's ideas about qirā'ah mubādalah or parallel reading. This still intersects with the movement for gender equality and justice in Islam. In his book, *Qirā'ah Mubādalah*,

Kodir explains that this term is used to build a parallel perspective between the relations between men and women in both domestic and public spaces, based on partnership and cooperation and how Islamic texts include women and men as subjects of the same meaning (Kodir, 2019, pp. 55-60).

This is then apparent from the views presented in the content. The content criticizes the view of tabarruj that has been widespread on social media, asking whether the prohibition of tabarruj only applies to women. The basic principle of mubadalah is also mentioned, namely that women and men should be encouraged to do good together and vice versa. Both women and men should not become and cause fitnah for others. Then, it is mentioned that both women and men are capable of committing adultery. The prohibition of tabarruj itself is still correlated with the prohibition of committing adultery, so actually, the prohibition of tabarruj is aimed at not only women but also men. The Qur'anic verses (QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:33 and 31) are only mentioned implicitly. Such a reading implies a method of understanding al-Qur'an hadith that promotes progressive contextualism.

Saifuddin Zuhry sees that the mediatization of the Qur'an and Hadith is currently a means of constructing religious discourse (Ridho et al., 2023). In this case, those who emphasize the prohibition of tabarruj and those who criticize it both disseminate their ideas in the media. The widespread influence of Salafism in the global sphere also affects the number of its followers in Indonesia. The many accesses, likes, and comments on the above content show this. The comments are mostly positive and accepting of these views. The content of the mubadalah.id account also received positive comments from some commentators. However, the number of accesses, likes, and comments can be less than the response received by the four accounts that prohibit tabarruj.

The contestation over content that presents the prohibition of tabarruj and content that criticizes this view reflects the dynamics of thought among Muslims. On the one hand, content that prohibits tabarruj often emphasizes the importance of maintaining modesty and adherence to the dress code prescribed by religious teachings, arguing that this is part of a Muslim's identity and obedience. On the other hand, criticism of this view comes from a more progressive perspective, which argues that interpretations of the concept of tabarruj should be contextualized and consider social changes and individual rights. This debate shows a comprehensive and dynamic space for discussion in the effort to understand and apply religious teachings in daily life and how traditional values and modernity can intersect.

The findings of this study expand and deepen previous research, such as that conducted by Nisa (2021) and Akou (2010), which explored the construction of Muslim women's religious identities on social media. In contrast to those studies that primarily focused on visual expressions and online communities, this research demonstrates that the prohibition of tabarruj is not merely an expression of piety but rather an epistemic battleground reflecting the tension between traditional religious authority and gender justice-oriented reinterpretations. Furthermore, this study offers a new perspective to the work of Habibillah and Miski (2023), who examined tabarruj representations through meme symbolism. While their approach emphasized static visual representation, the present research highlights the participatory and responsive dimensions of meaning-making, facilitated through comment features and content dissemination. This interactivity illustrates how religious practices are actively received and negotiated by digital publics, reinforcing the framework of mediatization within contemporary Islamic discourse. The finding that Salafi-oriented accounts, such as @khalidbasalamahofficial and @fikihmuslimah\_ -dominate the narrative through a textual approach aligns with Duderija's (2021) observations regarding the epistemological strength of Salafism. Conversely, the contextual approach presented by @mubadalah.id reflects Kodir's (2019) qirā'ah mubādalah framework, offering a critical response to gender bias in textual interpretation.

## CONCLUSIONS

There are two trends based on the uploads of the five accounts above: first, four accounts (@khalidbasalamahofficial, @humairahijab, @fikihmuslimah\_, @ukhtiakhiantiselfie) present religious narratives about the emphasis on the prohibition of tabarruj for women today; second, one account, @mubadalah.id, responds critically to the four contents by offering a new reading that tabarruj is not only intended for women but also applies to men. All contents refer to the Qur'anic verse, QS. Al-Ahzab [33]:33 and four accounts - other than @mubadalah.id - refer to hadith history and the views of Salafi scholars (bin Baz and al-Uthaymin). While @mubadalah.id implicitly refers to Faqihuddin A. Kodir's idea of mubadalah and aligns with the Islamic gender equality and justice movement. In terms of meaning, the four accounts refer to figures affiliated with Salafism-neotraditionalists who tend to be textualist-fundamentalist. Meanwhile, @mubadalah.id refers to the ideas of figures

who tend to be contextualist-progressive. Based on their influence among readers, @khalidbsasalamahofficial and @ukhtiakhiantiselfie received more positive responses based on the number of likes and comments, in contrast to @mubadalah.id uploads, which readers responded to less than the two accounts.

As a concrete step to respond to the dynamics of the contestation of the meaning of the tabarruj ban on social media, this study recommends several policies involving Muslim communities, academics, and social media platforms. Muslim communities, through da'wah institutions and religious organizations, are advised to adopt an inclusive and dialogical approach in delivering religious messages on social media, so that Islamic narratives are more responsive to the digital social context and gender equality. Academics and Islamic educational institutions need to integrate digital-religious literacy into the Islamic studies curriculum to prepare students and researchers to analyze and criticize the reception and re-meaning of religious texts in the digital space. Social media platforms such as Instagram are expected to develop content curation and moderation features that take into account local-religious contexts and engage moderate Muslim communities to combat narrow and discriminatory religious interpretations, with educational campaigns with gender justice-minded Islamic institutions. These recommendations are expected to create a digital space that is more just, reflective, and relevant to the development of Islamic discourse in the digital era.

This research has significance in understanding how the prohibition of tabarruj is perceived, accepted, and debated in the context of social media in Indonesia, especially on the Instagram platform. This research reveals the dynamics between conservative religious narratives that tend to reinforce traditional norms and progressive interpretations that try to recontextualize tabarruj in the digital era. Using a virtual ethnography approach, this study contributes to the discourse of living Qur'an-Hadith and the study of digital piety in the contemporary Islamic world. However, this study has several limitations, such as a geographical focus limited to Indonesia and an object of study centered on several Instagram accounts. For future research, it is recommended that the geographical scope be expanded to explore how tabarruj contestation takes place in the global Muslim community, as well as examine other social media platforms that have different interaction characteristics, such as TikTok or YouTube. This will provide a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics of tabarruj in the digital age.

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