

Satire and Moral Critique in Hadith-Based Digital *Da'wah*: Hijab Discourses on TikTok

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Abstract

This article problematizes the use of satirical narratives in TikTok-based digital *da'wah* that quote hadiths on the hijab, focusing on how satire functions both as moral critique and as a mechanism for producing stigma against Muslim women. This study examines how the TikTok account @musuhwanita constructs discourse through hadith-based satire and how these narratives shape social relations between men and women as well as configurations of religious authority in digital spaces. The central research question asks how discursive structures, social cognition, and ideological contexts operate in the satirical representation of the hijab. Empirically, the study is limited to an analysis of video content and audience comments published between August and September 2024, employing Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis. This analysis is conducted from an Islamic normative perspective grounded in the principles of *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar* and *da'wah* digital ethics. This study contributes to digital Islamic studies by demonstrating how satirical *da'wah* reproduces and negotiates the meanings of hadith, hijab, and the representation of Muslim women within contemporary configurations of online religious authority.

Keywords: *Hijab*, *Digital Da'wah*, *Satire*, *Hadith*, *Critical Discourse Analysis*

Introduction

In the contemporary digital age, virtual spaces have emerged as unregulated domains for individuals to articulate their perspectives through diverse forms of content, including those pertaining to women's hijab styles. While this freedom of expression is a hallmark of social media, it also has the potential to cause widespread misunderstanding and slander, especially when the expression of hijab use does not

conform to the principles of Islamic law. This phenomenon is of particular concern in light of the rapid proliferation of social media users, who now account for 63.9% of the global population, as reported by DataReportal.¹ In this context, social media functions as a platform for expression and a space for public interaction, where each user can express criticism, input, or response to a piece of content.

One form of criticism frequently employed in the digital domain is satire, defined as a symbolic expression that integrates humor, irony, and incisive satire. Satire is perceived as a medium for articulating discontent or indignation regarding behaviors that deviate from established religious and social mores. It fosters a more open and contemplative environment for discourse.² In this particular instance, content that features women donning hijabs in a manner that does not adhere to sharia law frequently becomes the subject of satirical critique. The responses of online citizens to this phenomenon vary widely; some support freedom of expression as an individual right, while others consider violations of hijab etiquette to be a form of non-compliance with fundamental Islamic values.³

This article analyzes the TikTok account @musuhwanita⁴ in the context of the propagation of hadiths concerning the hijab that are conveyed with linguistic nuances that appear to discriminate against women. The use of negative diction in the account's uploads, as well as the criticism of the hijab, serve as entry points for understanding the social context behind the constructed narrative. This study focuses on the mental process of receiving information on social media, especially how users cognitively interpret, evaluate, and process information. Employing a critical discourse analysis approach, the author seeks to interpret the narrative construction proffered by the @musuhwanita account as a form of response to gender dynamics in the digital space of contemporary Muslims.

¹ "Digital 2025: Global Overview Report," DataReportal – Global Digital Insights, February 5, 2025, <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2025-global-overview-report>.

² Ananda Hidayanti, "Politik Satire Indonesia Di Media Sosial," *INA-Rxiv Papers*, 2020.

³ Ariel Marcelino dan Dorien Kartikawangi, "Analisis Semiotika Pada Reaksi Warganet Tentang Perbedaan Representasi Ariel Terhadap Citra Disney dan Film The Little Mermaid," *Prosiding Konferensi Linguistik Tahunan Atma Jaya (KOLITA)*, No. 21 (30 Oktober 2023).

⁴ "MUSUH WANITA! (@musuhwanita)," TikTok, accessed April 10, 2025, <https://www.tiktok.com/@musuhwanita>.

The concerns articulated by the aforementioned account manager are widely regarded as a representative expression of the prevailing sentiment within the Muslim community. However, the manner in which these concerns are articulated constitutes the primary focal point of this study. The author's findings are then compared and contrasted with those of Afrizal Fahmi Ali, whose research underscores the significance of Islamic social ethics on digital platforms. This ethical framework aims to promote responsible online behavior and mitigate potential dangers in virtual communities.⁵ This study underscores the necessity to harmonize conventional Islamic principles and contemporary social media practices to cultivate a virtuous and ethical digital milieu. In the context of the hijab, the article examines the diversity of meanings and practices that are developing, including specific policies in several countries regarding the use of the hijab in public spaces.⁶

The main focus of this study is to examine how the TikTok account @musuhwanita on social media displays the spread of hadith and the representation of morals. In addition, this study also highlights the phenomenon of hijab practitioners in the digital space and the response of the @musuhwanita virtual community to methods of criticizing content conveyed through hadith about the hijab. Based on the data obtained by the author, it was found that the method of disseminating hadith content, including the ideological background and narrative of its delivery, also shapes diverse understandings among audiences. The @musuhwanita account, in this case, uses a satirical approach in delivering hadith content, which actually reinforces the negative stigma against women wearing hijabs in the digital space.

This study emphasizes the importance of ethical considerations in the realm of social media, as expressed in Afrizal Fahmi Ali's article entitled "Social Media Ethics: A Contextual Study of the Hadith al-Muslimu Man Salima al-Muslimūna Min Lisānihi Wa Yadihi".⁷ The integration of Islamic values with digital ethics is a crucial aspect that needs to be prioritized in religious outreach and social media discourse.

⁵ Afrizal Fahmi Ali, "Etika Bermedia Sosial: Kajian Kontekstual Hadis al-Muslimu Man Salima al-Muslimūna Min Lisānihi Wa Yadihi," *Tammat (Journal of Critical Hadith Studies* 1, no. 2 (2023).

⁶ Reimia Ramadana, "Hadis Hijab Dalam Pandangan Kontemporer: Studi Syarah Hadis Dengan Pendekatan Kontemporer," *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Usuluddin* 1, No. 3 (2021): 18–21.

⁷ Fahmi Ali, "Etika Bermedia Sosial: Kajian Kontekstual Hadis al-Muslimu Man Salima al-Muslimūna Min Lisānihi Wa Yadihi."

The prevalence of negative stigma against women wearing hijabs on social media is influenced by two main factors: first, the practice of wearing hijabs that do not comply with Islamic law; and second, the emergence of satirical criticism of women wearing hijabs. As concluded by Safitri Yulikhah in the journal "Jilbab Antara Kesalehan dan Fenomena Sosial" (The Hijab Between Piety and Social Phenomena), the hijab symbolizes the piety of Muslim women and has become part of the construction of contemporary lifestyles.⁸ Meanwhile, Abu Nawas highlights the role of social media as a dynamic platform for negotiating religious meaning.⁹

To address the dynamics of these academic issues, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is highly relevant,¹⁰ particularly in understanding the social and cognitive contexts related to criticism of the hijab and stigmatization of women. The analysis process covers superstructure, microstructure, and macro semantics, with the aim of revealing the meaning behind satirical content relevant to the dissemination of hadith, so that the message can be received more accurately by the audience.

The analytical framework in this study maps the critical content discourse of the @musuhwanita account into three main levels. At the superstructure level, the analysis focuses on the critical content scheme and the patterns and types of discussion structures constructed in the account's posts. At the microstructural level, attention is focused on the use of language, diction choices, and propositions that form critical meaning in the narrative content. Meanwhile, at the macrostructural level, the analysis encompasses the background of the themes raised in criticism, the social, environmental, and societal contexts surrounding content production, the socio-cultural dynamics of social media in relation to empirical reality, as well as ideology, discourse polarization, and the public perception of @musuhwanita content.

Van Dijk's CDA model comprises three primary dimensions: text, context, and social cognition.¹¹ The text dimension focuses on the structure and strategy in

⁸ Safitri Yulikhah, "Jilbab antara Kesalehan dan Fenomena Sosial," *jurnal ilmu dakwah* 36, no. 1 (2016).

⁹ Muhammad Zuhri Abu Nawas et al., "Motif dan Identitas Keagamaan dalam Persebaran Meme Hadis Tashabbuh di Media Sosial," *Mutawatir: Jurnal Keilmuan Tafsir Hadith* 12, no. 2 (2022).

¹⁰ Teun A. Van Dijk, "Critical Discourse Analysis," in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 1st ed., ed. Deborah Tannen et al. (Wiley, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118584194.ch22>; Deborah Tannen et al., *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Blackwell, 2001).

¹¹ Teun A. van Dijk, *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511481499>.

discourse, including word choice and paragraph organization or dialogue structure. The social cognition dimension involves analyzing how individual thinking influences text production. This is achieved through the use of interviews or surveys to understand the perspective of the writer or speaker. The social context dimension examines the interaction between discourse and social, cultural, and power issues within society. Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis is not confined to examining texts; it also encompasses understanding how social structures and domination influence the context of discourse.¹² This multifaceted approach enables researchers to assess the impact of context on audience interpretation of textual materials. The use of Teun A. van Dijk's CDA theory is very appropriate for this subject, as it allows for a deep understanding through the dimensions of text, social context, and social cognition.¹³

Based on this conceptual framework, this study aims to examine how satirical narratives about the hijab presented by the TikTok account @musuhwanita play a role in shaping the discourse on male-female relations in Muslim digital culture, while also influencing how audiences understand the principles of the hijab from an Islamic perspective. The focus of the study is not only on the content of the religious messages conveyed, but also on the discourse structure that surrounds them—at the textual, micro, and macro levels—as well as the implications of these narratives for the ethics of digital da'wah and the construction of Islamic values in a contemporary context.

In line with this focus, this study aims to identify and analyze the patterns of satirical narratives used in the dissemination of hadiths about the hijab on the @musuhwanita account, as well as to reveal the implications of the discourse constructed on the dynamics of male and female roles in the Muslimah digital space. With this approach, the study is expected to provide a more comprehensive picture of how religious messages are negotiated, debated, and reinterpreted in social media interactions.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the development of critical discourse analysis in the field of digital Islamic preaching, particularly by highlighting the tension between the practice of freedom of expression based on satire and efforts to uphold Sharia values in the digital public sphere. Furthermore, this research provides a more

¹² Teun Van Dijk, "Discourse as Structure and Process," *New York: SAGE*, 1997, 20–57.

¹³ Van Dijk, "Discourse as Structure and Process,"

nuanced and reflective perspective on the dynamics of the roles of men and women in digital Muslim culture, thereby enriching the academic discourse on social media ethics grounded in Islamic values.

Stigma, Satire, and Representation: A Discourse Study of TikTok Account @musuhwanita

The TikTok account @musuhwanita, which has garnered a substantial following of approximately 386.9 thousand users, exemplifies a form of satirical content that critiques gendered practices within contemporary Muslimah digital culture, particularly in relation to hijab and modesty norms.

Figure 1.1:

The front page of the
TikTok account
@musuhwanita

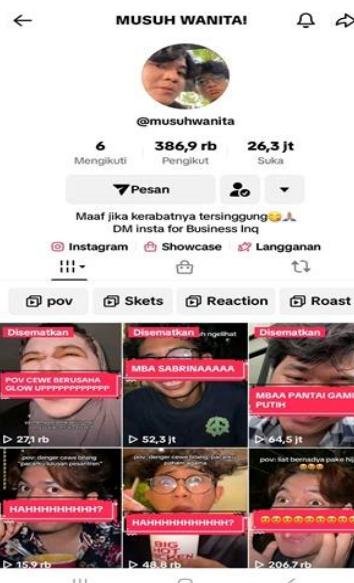


Figure 1.2:

Satire-critical post
by TikTok account
@musuhwanita



Figure 1.3:

Satirically critical
content



As illustrated on the account's homepage (see figure 1.1), the content primarily consists of point-of-view (POV) videos, sketches, reactions, and segments featuring

roasting and criticism, often employing humor to highlight perceived inconsistencies in women's adherence to Islamic dress codes (see Pictures 1.2 and 1.3).

Figure 2.1:

Negative comments by netizens, responding to the gender of the uploaders (male) in the form of Playing victim.



Figure 2.2:

Comments from netizens who cornered supporters of the @musuhwanita account by concluding that the content labeled the content creator @musuhwanita as GAY.



Figure 2.3:

Comments from netizens who consider this content to be a form of discrimination.



This satirical approach generates a dualistic discourse: on one hand, it serves as entertainment that resonates with certain audiences; on the other, it provokes polarized reactions among netizens. For instance, comments on related posts (such as those from @nelijanuarlis2, see Picture 2.1) frequently defend the content as legitimate

social criticism, while others (see Pictures 2.2 and 2.3) accuse the creator of hypocrisy, discrimination, or even personal attacks, including references to the creator's gender and perceived biases.

This analysis focuses strictly on the discursive patterns observed in the account's content and the immediate online responses it elicits, as derived from critical discourse analysis of selected videos and comment threads. The findings reveal how satire functions as a tool for negotiating gendered religious norms in digital spaces, often reinforcing or challenging patriarchal interpretations of modesty.

While broader research on social media content highlights potential negative impacts—such as increased anxiety, depression, or reduced self-confidence among adolescents exposed to harmful or polarizing online material—these general effects are not directly attributable to the specific satirical content examined here. Such psychological and developmental concerns, documented in prior studies,¹⁴ pertain to wider categories of negative digital content (e.g., cyberbullying, violence, or hate speech) rather than the targeted satirical critique observed in @musuhwanita.

Similarly, regulatory responses by platforms like TikTok, including warnings issued to accounts for violating community guidelines on disrespectful or vulgar behavior, and government initiatives in Indonesia to promote digital literacy and protect youth from harmful content,¹⁵ provide important contextual background. However, these measures address general issues of online safety and do not stem directly from the discourse surrounding this particular account.

The @musuhwanita phenomenon thus illuminates the complexities of digital satire in Muslimah online spaces, where humor intersects with gendered religious narratives. It highlights the need for users to develop enhanced digital literacy in order

¹⁴ Chloe Berryman et al., "Social Media Use and Mental Health among Young Adults," *Psychiatric Quarterly* 89, no. 2 (2018): 307–14, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11126-017-9535-6>; Elizabeth Hoge et al., "Digital Media, Anxiety, and Depression in Children," *Pediatrics* 140, no. Supplement_2 (2017): S76–80, <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2016-1758G>; Elizabeth Whittaker and Robin M. Kowalski, "Cyberbullying Via Social Media," *Journal of School Violence* 14, no. 1 (2015): 11–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2014.949377>.

¹⁵ Hana Silvana, *Pendidikan Literasi Digital Remaja dalam Penerimaan Pesan Pada Media Sosial* (Damera Press, 2024); "Konten Negatif Di Media Sosial: Kerikil Tajam Dalam Pembinaan Kebahasaan Pada Anak - Kantor Bahasa Provinsi Lampung," accessed November 1, 2024, <https://kantorbahasalampung.kemdikbud.go.id/konten-negatif-di-media-sosial-kerikil-tajam-dalam-pembinaan-kebahasaan-pada-anak/>.

to critically engage with such content. Collaborative efforts among governments, educational institutions, and families remain essential in fostering a responsible digital environment, particularly for younger audiences. This study emphasizes that while satirical content can spark meaningful debate on gender and representation, its implications should be evaluated within the bounds of the analyzed data, distinct from generalized concerns about social media's broader harms.

Hijab, Ulama, and Social Media: Contesting the Discourse of Meaning

In the digital age, celebrities play a significant role in representing the hijab on social media. Through engaging and inspiring content, they help shape public perceptions of the hijab as a symbol of religious and cultural identity. In this context, they represent a new form of religious authority that resonates more strongly with younger generations. However, debates surrounding the hijab extend beyond textual interpretation to encompass its cultural roots and historical context. For instance, Ibn Rajab al-Hanbali—a prominent scholar in hadith, tafsir, and fiqh—affirms that exposing the awrah (private parts) constitutes a major sin, drawing on Islamic teachings that prohibit such acts.¹⁶ The diversity of scholarly views reflects a tension between a strict, normative approach and a more contextual one that is responsive to social dynamics.

The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), through Fatwa No. 24 of 2017, has issued ethical guidelines for social media interactions, explicitly prohibiting the display of awrah.¹⁷ This fatwa serves as a key reference for Muslims to engage with social media in a manner consistent with sharia. Yet, digital practices often contradict these guidelines. Criticism of non-sharia-compliant hijab styles is frequently expressed through satire, responding to phenomena perceived as deviating from Islamic values. Memes, videos, and humorous posts highlight inconsistencies in wearing hijabs that fail to reflect Sharia principles. A prominent example is the critique of the “jilboobs” trend—tight hijabs that accentuate body curves.¹⁸ Though delivered satirically, such content entertains while simultaneously educating the public about the hijab as an act

¹⁶ Saifudin Amin, *Pendidikan Akhlak Berbasis Hadits Arba'in An Nawawiyyah* (Adab, 2021).

¹⁷ “Hukum dan Pedoman Bermuamalah Melalui Media Sosial,” accessed November 18, 2024, <https://mui.or.id/baca/fatwa/hukum-dan-pedoman-bermuamalah-melalui-media-sosial>.

¹⁸ Alan Sigit Fibrianto and Syamsul Bakhri, “Gerakan Sosial Kaum Perempuan Melawan Euphoria Media Melalui Komunitas Hijabers Di Kota Surakarta,” *Marwah: Jurnal Perempuan, Agama dan Jender* 17, no. 1 (2018): 17.

of obedience to God. Moreover, it fosters discussion on discrimination faced by women who wear hijab in accordance with sharia, thereby helping to reduce negative stereotypes associated with it.

In the contemporary digital era, the hijab has evolved into a multifaceted symbol that transcends its religious obligation, intertwining with modern fashion trends. Social media platforms, particularly Instagram, play a central role in shaping the image of contemporary hijab wearers. This phenomenon, however, also presents challenges, including the commodification of the hijab, which risks diluting its authentic meaning.¹⁹ Much social media content lacks educational value and, in some instances, undermines the dignity of those who choose to wear hijab.

Certain contemporary thinkers, such as Fatima Mernissi, Muhammad Syahrur, and Muhammad Said al-Ashmawi, offer perspectives that frame the hijab primarily as a cultural or social construct rather than a binding religious obligation.²⁰ Their approaches are shaped by modernist, secular, or Western-influenced epistemologies, often emphasizing historical contextualization or critique of patriarchal interpretations rather than traditional fiqh and *uṣūl al-fiqh* frameworks. Within mainstream Islamic legal scholarship, these views do not represent authoritative positions grounded in the Qur'an, Sunnah, and scholarly consensus (*ijmā'*). In contrast, the established consensus among classical and mainstream ulama—across the four Sunni madhhabs—affirms the hijab as a sharia obligation for Muslim women to cover their awrah (the entire body except the face and hands according to the majority view), as a means of protection, modesty, and obedience to Allah.

The interpretations proposed by Mernissi, Syahrur, and al-Ashmawi—such as viewing the command to cover as a historically contingent response to social norms rather than an eternal ruling—frequently diverge from this consensus. While such

¹⁹ Amalia Pribadi Riski, "Agama Dan Perilaku Konsumtif: Komodifikasi Hijab Pada Trend Fashion Remaja Muslim Perkotaan (Studi Deskriptif Mahasiswa S-1 Uin Prof. Kh Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto)" (Uin Prof. Kh Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto, 2023).

²⁰ Rini Sutikmi, "Jilbab Dalam Islam (Telaah Atas Pemikiran Fatima Mernissi)" (Uin Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2008); Ani Amalia et al., "Jilbab Perspektif Quraish Shihab (Studi Komparatif Tafsir Tulis Dan Lisan)," *Arfannur: Journal of Islamic Education* 2, no. 3 (2021): 3; Robiatus Soleha, "Pemikiran Muhammad Syahrur Tentang Jilbab (Studi Pendekatan Hermeneutika Gadamer)" (Universitas Islam Negeri Kiai Haji Achmad Siddiq Jember Pascasarjana, 2024); Muarifah Rahmi et al., "Jurnal Analisis Pemikiran Muhammad Said Al-Asymawi Tentang Hukum Memakai Hijab," *Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Islam* 1, no. 1 (2023): 1.

perspectives may hold sociological interest, they are not equivalent interpretive alternatives within normative Islamic scholarship, as they often prioritize subjective or contextual readings over the primacy of textual evidence (*naṣṣ*) in *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

Within the framework of this study, which centers on satirical *da'wah*, stigma, and critical discourse analysis in digital spaces, these divergent views enrich the contestation over the meanings of hijab. Satirical discourse on social media often critiques the commodification of hijab and deviant trends while reinforcing the normative understanding that hijab is a religious duty rather than merely a cultural choice or fashion accessory. This satirical form of *da'wah* not only entertains but also guides public understanding, steering it away from commodification that erodes the hijab's spiritual significance. Thus, a critical engagement with modernist perspectives highlights the need for a dialogue grounded in fiqh, ensuring that Islamic teachings remain relevant in the digital context.

Satirical Narratives and the Stigma of the Hijab: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the @musuhwanita Account

This section applies Teun A. van Dijk's tri-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to selected satirical content from the TikTok account @musuhwanita, which employs humor and irony to critique contemporary hijab-wearing practices among Muslim women in Indonesia. The account's content, characterized by exaggerated dialogues and POV (point-of-view) skits, highlights perceived contradictions between religious modesty norms and modern fashion trends, thereby engaging with broader debates on gendered religious identity in digital Muslimah culture.

The analysis is positioned within an Islamic academic framework, drawing on van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach to CDA, which examines discourse at three interconnected levels: text (macro-, super-, and microstructure), social cognition (mental models and ideologies), and social context (sociocultural and power relations). This study adopts an evaluative stance rooted in normative Islamic ethics, particularly the principle of *amr bi al-ma'rūf wa nahi 'an al-munkar* (enjoining good and forbidding evil), as derived from authentic hadith. The primary research question—how satirical *da'wah* on TikTok constructs gendered narratives around the hijab—is addressed by

exploring how these texts reproduce or challenge ideological tensions between traditional Islamic modesty and contemporary self-expression.

Date: 09 Agustus 2024

Title: Form-Fitting Hijab that Reveals Body Shape 

Caption: Hijabi lady in tight pants.

Picture 3.1

Man 1: I saw someone earlier, Mat. She was wearing a hijab, but her pants were extremely tight.

Man 2: Wearing a hijab but tight pants?

Man 1: Very tight, Mat. You could clearly see the shape of her body.

Man 2: So what's the issue with that?

Man 1: Isn't she wearing the hijab?

Man 2: Yes, she is.

Man 1: You know that wearing the hijab is supposed to cover the body modestly without revealing its shape.

Man 2: I understand.

Man 1: But here she is, wearing a hijab and tight clothing. That's not in line with the actual purpose of the hijab.

Man 2: So what exactly is the problem?

Man 1: Her clothing reveals the shape of her legs so clearly—it clings to the skin.

Man 2: And where exactly is the fault in that?

Man 1: In Islamic teachings, the aurah must not be exposed. Clothing that outlines the body still violates the principles of modesty.

Man 2: But is that still relevant today? Many people now view the hijab as a fashion statement as well.

Man 2: Why are you so bothered by it? Isn't it just a form of expression? Or do you have a problem with hijabi women?

Man 1: That's not it. I don't hate them. I'm just trying to explain. You've seen it yourself—some of them just want attention.

Man 2: Maybe that's the point—they want to be the center of attention.

Man 1: Come on, Mat... please.

Man 2: But what's actually wrong with wearing a hijab and tight pants?

Man 1: The hijab is meant to properly cover the body. Do I really have to spell this out?

Man 2: Is it really that important?

Man 1: (loses words) ...

Man 2: So—is it important or not?

Man 1: (groans in frustration) Aaaaargh...

Date: 06 Agustus 2024

Title: For All Women, Please Listen to This 

Caption: About Hijab and Tight Clothing

Picture 3.2

Mat: Earlier, I saw a woman wearing a hijab, but her clothes were extremely tight.

Om Tibul: That's exactly what I like.

Mat: But that's not appropriate, sir.

Om Tibul: Who cares?

Mat: You like that?

Om Tibul: I like it a lot.

Mat: How come?

Om Tibul: They provide the content, and I enjoy it.

Mat: So you really enjoy it?

Om Tibul: Yes, because I find it appealing. I genUINely enjoy it.

Mat: But that kind of attire goes against the principles of hijab.

Om Tibul: They're the ones who post it—we're just the viewers.

Mat: That's inappropriate, sir.

Om Tibul: Then who do you think they're posting it for, if not for people like me?

Mat: So you save it and rewatch it?

Om Tibul: Of course. It should be saved, even downloaded.

Mat: Just for free viewing, huh?

Om Tibul: Definitely. Why not?

Mat: You really enjoy that kind of thing?

Om Tibul: They share it publicly on social media for free. So why not enjoy it?

Mat: You like that kind of content?

Om Tibul: Yes. It would be a waste not to.

Mat: But it's hijab—we're talking about women showing off their bodies like that. And you enjoy it?

Om Tibul: Yes, of course. Why wouldn't I?

Date: 06 September 2024

Title: What Some Hijab-Wearing Women Might Be Thinking When Emphasizing Their Chest 

Caption: A woman in a hijab drawing attention to her chest

Picture 3.3

Mat: Women who wear the hijab but intentionally highlight their chest—I'm sure this reflects what some of you are thinking.

Om: Wow, so sensual... I can't resist.

Person 1: The hijab makes me feel even more attractive. Thank you, hijab. Truly, thank you.

Mat: I'm sure when men see me presenting myself like this, they're drawn to my aura—not just my body.

Om: But isn't it fine if the hijab fits tightly like this? No one really objects, right? What matters is that my hair is covered, so technically my aurah is secured.

Person 1: A lot of people support me. Look—every video I post wearing a hijab like this always ends up on everyone's "For You Page."

Mat: I wonder what someone like Hanan Attaki would say if he came across my video. It would be so embarrassing.

Om: Why do I look so beautiful? And why are so many men liking my content? Honestly, I'm so proud of myself. Please!

Person 1: It turns out that wearing a hijab while showing off my "gas cylinder" (slang for prominent chest) really attracts attention.

Mat: Especially with a "gas cylinder," this privileged—it's the perfect bait for someone like Om Tibul.

1. Text Analysis

Van Dijk's model analyzes discourse through macrostructure (global themes), superstructure (overall schematic organization), and microstructure (local linguistic elements).²¹

At the macro level, the dominant theme across the analyzed posts (dated August and September 2024) is the ethical tension between the hijab as a symbol of modesty and its use in form-fitting or attention-seeking attire. This reflects a broader societal debate on religious symbolism versus individual agency in fashion, often framed satirically to expose perceived hypocrisy.

The superstructure reveals a consistent schematic pattern: dialogues begin with a normative critique (e.g., observing tight clothing on hijab-wearing women), escalate through hyperbolic or absurd responses, and conclude with ironic frustration or resignation. For instance, in the post titled "Form-Fitting Hijab that Reveals Body Shape" (9 August 2024), Man 1's conservative stance clashes with Man 2's permissive relativism, culminating in exaggerated exasperation ("Aaaaargh..."). This structure parodies unproductive debates, satirizing both moralistic judgment and uncritical relativism.

Microstructurally, the language employs informal slang (e.g., "Mat," "Om Tibul"), rhetorical questions ("So what's the issue with that?"), and hyperbole to create a satirical effect. Presuppositions include the assumption that hijab requires loose clothing to conceal body shape (e.g., "the hijab is meant to properly cover the body"),²² while negation and irony challenge this (e.g., "But is that still relevant today?"). Metaphors such as "gas cylinder" (slang for prominent chest) and visual references to tight attire amplify the satire, mocking objectification and consumerism in digital spaces.

These elements collectively construct a discourse that mocks extremes: rigid moralism and permissive hedonism, inviting reflection on authenticity in religious practice.

²¹ Teun A. van Dijk, *Macrostructures: An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction, and Cognition* (Routledge, 2019), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429025532>.

²² Syarief Husyein, "Antropologi Jilboob: Politik Identitas, Life Style, Dan Syari'ah," *In Right: Jurnal Agama Dan Hak Azazi Manusia Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta* 4, no. 2 (2015): 326-28.

2. Social Context

The @musuhwanita account operates within TikTok's attention economy, where algorithms amplify provocative content, and Indonesian Muslimah digital culture negotiates global fashion trends with local Islamic norms. The satire critiques the sexualization of hijab-wearing women, echoing hadith warnings against practices that undermine modesty.

Two key hadith inform the normative framework. The first, from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (no. 49), is an expression of the hadith conceptualized by the TikTok account @musuhwanita in its critical content to deny evil, as found in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* No. Index 49 as follows:

حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرٍ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا وَكِيعٌ، عَنْ سُفْيَانَ، وَحَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْمُئْسَى، حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ، حَدَّثَنَا شَعْبَةُ كِلَاهُمَا، عَنْ قَيْسِ بْنِ مُسْلِمٍ، عَنْ طَارِقِ بْنِ شَهَابٍ - وَهَذَا حَدِيثُ أَبِي بَكْرٍ - قَالَ: أَوْلُ مَنْ يَدْأَبَ بِالْخُطْبَةِ يَوْمَ الْعِيدِ قَبْلَ الصَّلَاةِ مَرْوَانُ.
فَقَامَ إِلَيْهِ رَجُلٌ، فَقَالَ: الصَّلَاةُ قَبْلَ الْخُطْبَةِ، فَقَالَ: قَدْ تُرِكَ مَا هُنَالِكَ، فَقَالَ أَبُو سَعِيدٍ: أَمَّا هَذَا فَقَدْ فَضَى مَا عَلَيْهِ سَعْيُهُ
اللَّهُ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ يَقُولُ: «مَنْ رَأَى مِنْكُمْ مُنْكَرًا فَلْيُعْرِرْهُ بِيَدِهِ، فَإِنْ لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ فَلِسَانِهِ، فَإِنْ لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ فَيَقْلِبِيهِ، وَذَلِكَ أَصْعَفُ
الْإِيمَانِ»²³

"He told Abū Bakr b. Abi Shaybah, and even told the author from Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī radiya Allah 'anh, he said, "I heard Rasulullah ṣalla Allah 'alayh wa sallama say, 'Whoever of you sees an evil, change it with his hand. If not, change it with your tongue. If not, deny it with your heart, and that is the weakest of faith.'"

This hadith, which has been verified, was also narrated by Abū Dāwud in *Sunan Abī Dāwud* number 1140, as well as Imam Tirmidhī in *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* number 2172 and then Ibn Mājah in *Sunan Ibn Mājah* number 4013. This hadith is also found in Imam al-Nawawi's commentary in his book *Sharḥ al-Arba'īn*, page 112, which is one of the basic tenets of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*, that faith is a matter of the heart (*qalb*), speech (*lisān*), and deeds (*'amal*).

Referring to the prophetic tradition, "Whoever sees an evil, let him change it with his hand; if he cannot, then with his tongue; if he cannot, then with his heart," the satirical dialogue reflects the ethical principle of *nahy 'an al-munkar* within contemporary digital contexts. Man 1 is positioned as a subject attempting moral correction through verbal means (*bi-lisānihi*), yet this effort fails due to Man 2's resistance. This interaction

²³ Muslim bin al-Hajjaj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. oleh Muhammad fuad Abdul Baqi, vol. 5, 49 (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1954).

illustrates how digital spaces fragment moral authority and weaken the effectiveness of corrective discourse, revealing the structural and cultural constraints faced by *nahy 'an al-munkar* in Muslim digital culture today.

The second hadith (*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, no. 2128) describes “women who are dressed but naked” (*kāsiyāt ʿāriyāt*), interpreted by scholars as attire that reveals body shape or invites temptation, often linked to thin or tight clothing. The satire recontextualizes this in modern terms—e.g., tight pants or emphasis on curves—critiquing how digital platforms normalize such practices under “self-expression” or “fashion.”

Then, from the first hadith as an escort to the discussion of this study, the hadith about the effort to remind a Muslim to deny evil becomes more interesting and stronger because a person’s ability to change evil but is reluctant to do so ends with torment before dying. Then, in terms of social context, note that women who wear the hijab have a close context to the following hadith:

حَدَّثَنِي رَعْبُرُ بْنُ حَرْبٍ، حَدَّثَنَا جَرِيرٌ، عَنْ سُهَيْلٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ: قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ: «صِنْفَانٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ النَّارِ لَمْ أَرُهُمَا، قَوْمٌ مَعَهُمْ سِيَاطٌ كَأَدْنَابِ الْبَقَرِ يَصْرُبُونَ بِهَا النَّاسَ، وَنِسَاءٌ كَسِيَّاتٌ مُهْيَلَاتٌ مَاهِلَاتٌ، رُؤُوسُهُنَّ كَأَسْنَمَةِ الْبُحْتِ الْمَاهِلَةِ، لَا يَدْخُلُنَّ الْجَنَّةَ، وَلَا يَجِدُنَّ رِيحَهَا، وَإِنَّ رِيحَهَا لَيُوْجَدُ مِنْ مَسِيرَةِ كَدَّا وَكَدَّا²⁴

“Zuhayr b. Harb told me, Jarir told us, from Suhail, from his father, from Abū Hurayrah, he said: Rasulullah (peace and blessings be upon him) said: “There are two groups of people in Hell that I have never seen. The first group is those who carry whips like the tail of a cow, with which they whip people. The second group is the women who are dressed but naked, who are (disobedient to Allah Almighty) and invite others to imitate their actions (like prostitutes). Their heads are like the humps of camels, and they will not enter paradise and will not smell its fragrance. Even though the fragrance of paradise will be smelled from a distance like this (a long distance).”²⁵

The keywords in the hadith text above include terms that describe certain characteristics and behaviors. The term *Sinfāni* refers to one of the miracles of prophecy that indicates the existence of two categories of slander that occur in hell. *Kāsiyāt ʿĀriyāt* phrase describes individuals who cover part of the body but still show the other parts

²⁴ Muslim Bin al-Hajjaj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, 5 ed., 2128 (Beirut: Dār Ihyā al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, n.d.).

²⁵ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Naisābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār Ihyā' al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1998), 1680.

to accentuate beauty, often interpreted as wearing thin clothes that show skin color. *Māilatun* refers to the strutting gait of a prostitute, while *mumilatun* word, indicates that they not only behave in this way but also teach it to others. The term Bakht comes from Arabic, referring to the Khorasani camel, a cross between the Arabian and hemiplegic camel, which has two humps, likened to a turban or similar object placed on the head. In the hadith, the phrase “their heads are like the humps of camels” refers to the way women lift and style their hair using a *khimar* or *turban*, or other methods that make the hair look like the humps of camels.

According to al-Maziri, this can also be interpreted as meaning that they do not hold their gaze and do not bow their heads when looking at men. Meanwhile, al-Qādī ‘Iyād explains that what is meant by “women who tend to” is those who style their hair like prostitutes, namely by twisting and tying the hair upwards so that it collects in the center of the head, resembling a camel’s hump. He added that the height of the hairdo caused this shape to gather on top of the head, making it appear thick and slanted to one side, resembling the shape of a hump.

This context reveals power asymmetries: male voices dominate the critique, while women’s bodies remain objectified, reflecting patriarchal dynamics in religious discourse. TikTok thus becomes a contested arena where satire exposes these tensions, urging ethical reflection without direct moralizing.

3. Social Cognition

At the cognitive level, the content both reproduces and challenges mental models of hijab as a symbol of modesty versus fashion. Man 1 embodies traditional schemas linking hijab to aurat concealment and moral responsibility, while Man 2 represents permissive models prioritizing individual freedom and consumerism (“They provide the content, and I enjoy it”). The satire disrupts these schemas by exaggerating them, fostering discomfort and self-reflection.

This discursive strategy reconstructs social representations ironically: it questions normative judgments while exposing how algorithms reinforce objectification. Audience engagement—through likes, shares, and comments—further shapes collective cognition, negotiating ideologies of gender, religion, and digital identity.

In conclusion, the @musuhwanita account's satirical da'wah employs humor to deconstruct gendered narratives around the hijab, revealing ideological conflicts in Muslimah digital culture. By linking textual satire to Islamic normative principles and sociocultural dynamics, this analysis demonstrates how such content critiques superficial religiosity while advocating balanced integration of faith and modernity.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that satirical *da'wah* content on TikTok, as exemplified by accounts such as @musuhwanita, constructs the hijab not merely as a religious symbol but as a contested symbolic battleground imbued with social, cultural, and political meanings. Through the lens of Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, the analysis reveals how such discourses are embedded in broader structures of social cognition, symbolic power, and discursive practices that both reflect and reproduce gendered dominations. Specifically, the selected TikTok videos analyzed in this research frequently employ reductive narratives that portray hijabi women as either symbols of restraint or as inauthentic when their self-presentation deviates from dominant expectations of modesty. These discursive strategies reinforce patriarchal norms while delegitimizing diverse expressions of Muslimah identity in digital spaces.

A central finding concerns the instrumentalization of the Prophetic hadith concerning women who are "dressed yet naked" (*kāsiyāt al-'āriyāt*). In the content examined—particularly from @musuhwanita—this hadith is frequently detached from its original ethical and contextual framework (as a moral reminder emphasizing piety, gratitude, and holistic modesty) and repurposed as a legitimizing tool for moral judgment and public shaming. This selective appropriation exemplifies a broader pattern in contemporary digital *da'wah* practices, where religious texts are invoked to police women's bodies and expressions, often without regard for the hadith's emphasis on compassion and guidance.

While this study adopts a primarily descriptive-critical paradigm informed by critical discourse analysis, it also incorporates a normative Islamic ethical stance. Drawing explicitly on Islamic principles such as *amr ma'rūf nahi munkar* (enjoining good and forbidding wrong), the analysis underscores that such practices should be grounded in compassion, empathy, and contextual understanding rather than punitive

judgment. This hybrid position—descriptive in its methodological rigor and normatively oriented toward justice and human dignity—aligns with the Qur'anic and Prophetic emphasis on mercy (*rahmah*) as the essence of Islamic guidance.

By linking abstract concepts of power and domination directly to the empirical data—such as the recurring tropes of inauthenticity and moral superiority in the analyzed videos—this study avoids conceptual overreach and grounds its claims in concrete discursive evidence. The findings thus contribute meaningfully to the fields of Islamic studies, digital media discourse, and gender studies by offering a nuanced critique of how satirical *da'wah* in Muslimah digital culture perpetuates gendered hierarchies while illuminating pathways toward more inclusive and empathetic forms of religious expression.

Ultimately, the digital public sphere holds transformative potential as a space for constructive dialogue rather than moral condemnation. A reflective, critical engagement with hadith interpretation and the representation of hijab in online environments enables the dismantling of harmful narratives and the cultivation of a more equitable perspective on the diversity of religious expression. This study thereby enriches existing scholarship on Islam and digital culture by highlighting the urgent need for *da'wah* practices that embody the humanistic spirit of Islam, fostering maturity, empathy, and justice in an ever-evolving digital landscape.

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