



## The Domestication of Women in the Narrative of Antifeminism on YouTube Muslimah Media Center

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### Abstract

*This article illustrates how the YouTube platform, particularly the Muslimah Media Center channel of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, has become the main platform for spreading anti-feminist narratives that relegate women to domestic roles. In the context of Indonesia's predominantly Muslim society, this narrative interprets feminism as a threat to Islam, creating tension between traditional values and social change. This article analyzes how the language, symbolism, and narratives used in Muslimah Media Center's YouTube content can influence perceptions and expectations of women in society. While there are diverse views within the platform, there are concerns that narratives that promote the "domestication" of women may reinforce gender stereotypes that disadvantage women in various aspects of life. This article asks important questions about the extent to which these Muslim women have the freedom to shape their own identities on and off these platforms, as well as how they cope with the social pressures and expectations that may be imposed on them. Using discourse analysis provides insights into the role of social media in influencing gender norms and opens up space for reflection and discussion on its impact on social and gender change in societies affected by religious and cultural values.*

**Keywords:** Muslimah Media Center channel, anti-feminism narrative, domestifikasi

**Paper type:** Research paper

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## **INTRODUCTION**

In social life, gender equality is closely associated with social and cultural construction. In certain communities, especially in Indonesia, which has a predominantly Muslim population, there are still differences in the positions of men and women, especially in the division of public and domestic space, that men "are" in the public space, while women are "sited" in the public space. Domestic. Under these circumstances, of course, this has an impact on the limitations of women who want to move into public spaces. However, the development of technology and social media has changed the landscape of human communication and civilization dramatically, especially in religion (Lövheim and Lundmark 2021, Beta 2016, Castells 2010). One platform that has a significant influence in spreading ideology, views, and narratives is YouTube.

The Muslimah Media Center YouTube channel, commonly called MMC, is one of the most popular channels that focus on content relating to women in Muslim societies and has become a center of attention in broader social and political debates (Eickelman and Anderson 2003, Robinson 2017).. Even though it is a source of inspiration and information for many people, this platform has also become a place for spreading anti-feminist narratives that limit the role and potential of women.. YouTube Muslimah Media Center, a YouTube channel with the ideology of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Romaria 2019).. This YouTube channel is managed by Muslim women from Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)..

The Muslimah Media Center YouTube channel often criticizes feminism.. According to them, feminism is a Western product imported by most Muslim countries, including Indonesia, which then risks harming the generation of young Muslim women. The main values of feminism are that women are not domestic creatures, patriarchy is a source of inequality, women have the right to higher education, women can compete in public spaces, and women also have the right to be leaders and have the right to vote (Ryan 1992), considered by Muslimah Media Center as a trap to destroy the rise of Islam.. By citing arguments from the Quran and hadith, Muslimah Media Center shows that feminism is actually contrary to Islam.. Additionally, the Muslimah Media Center points out that the idea of

feminism invites women, especially Muslim women, to break away from following religious teachings and rules.

Feminist discourse is an effort to raise awareness of gender equality between men and women (Mendes and Carter 2008, Arivia 2003, Tong 2009).. However, it is important to note that the feminist discourse that took place and developed in the West is quite contrasting with the Islamic feminist discourse, as the latter is a movement firmly grounded in religious texts (Badran 2009).. So the Muslimah Media Center's seemingly unfounded conclusion that the idea of feminism motivates Muslim women to break the rules of religious teachings is not simply irrelevant..

While anti-feminist narratives are not a new phenomenon, YouTube Muslimah Media Center's role as a platform focused on Muslim and female audiences has brought the issue to the fore.. turn on.. Amid the diversity of perspectives appearing on the platform, some worry that prescriptive narratives about the “domestication” of women may unintentionally reinforce gender stereotypes and hinder progress. women's ministries in various aspects of life.. It is, therefore important to consider how these stories are developed, presented, and responded to by audiences.. This article aims to explore and analyze the phenomenon that has been called "The Domestication of Women" in the anti-feminist narrative that is developing on the YouTube Muslimah Media Center. We will investigate how the language, symbolism, and narratives used in this content may influence perceptions and expectations of women in broader social and cultural contexts. Thus, this article aims to open a space for reflection and discussion about how social media can become a place for spreading narratives that control women and their impact on social and gender change.

By delving deeper into the anti-feminist narrative on YouTube hub Muslimah Media, this article will provide insight into how social media can be used to construct or undermine gender norms. Some studies somewhat related to this study have been conducted by Isatin Ulfah (2012), Rofhani and Ahmad Nur Fuad (2021), Ratna Wijayanti et al.. (2018), Alifatul Lusiana Uswatun Chasanah and Mukhammad Zamzami (2021) and Olivia (2017). This article takes a different model by examining the YouTube channel Muslimah Media Center's critical narrative of feminism. This article argues that, in reality, the narrative constructed

by YouTube Muslimah Media Center aims to further domesticate women in public spaces and reject feminism.

Additionally, this article will also explore how Muslim women active on the YouTube Muslimah Media Hub can have a positive influence in redefining gender norms in Muslim societies.. They can act as story designers who help overcome gender stereotypes and celebrate women who are successful in various aspects of life. The important question here is to what extent these Muslim women have the freedom to shape their own identities within and beyond the context of these platforms. In this subtheme, research will document how Muslim women working in the Muslimah Media Center's YouTube content overcome the pressures and societal expectations that may be placed on them. Are they trying to combine religious and cultural values with their personal aspirations, or are they trying to redefine the concept of an independent and successful Muslim woman??

This article also examines the important role of the Muslimah YouTube Media Center in the formation of Muslim women's identities and its relationship to existing social and cultural perspectives. The Muslim women featured in this YouTube content are often role models for many viewers, and therefore, our discourse analysis will also pay attention to identity construction (Muslim Women in Stories anti-feminism.. This opens an important window into understanding the complex dynamics between religious identities) , gender and social norms in contemporary social media.

## **METHODS**

This article uses discourse analysis methods (Fairclough, 2003) to reveal the complexity of anti-feminist narratives in Muslimah Media Center's YouTube content, especially in the context of the “domestication of women”. The data for this article are three videos/content closely related to anti-feminist narratives on Muslimah's YouTube channel. Media Center, specifically young women in government leadership positions, what millennials say, do they believe gender equality can save women??. and #IndonesiaWithoutFeminists and feminism Are rights really compatible with Islam??

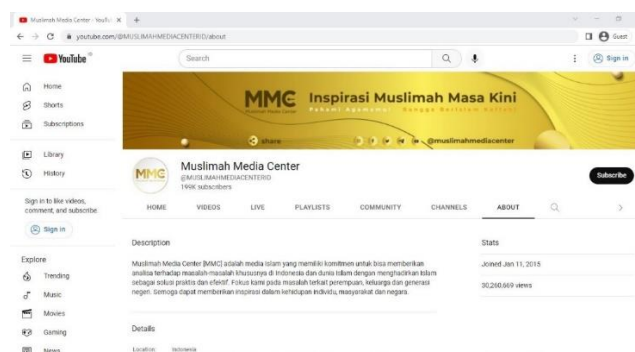
Approach the texts on this platform with an emphasis on a deep understanding of the language and narrative structures used to shape social attitudes and norms toward women. Discourse analysis allows us to identify how language is used to construct social meaning around the role of women in Muslim societies, as well as how anti-feminist narratives can manipulate Correct perceptions about the "domestication" of women. Through descriptive analysis, this article seeks to understand the meaning of words and the social context surrounding the text. Focuses on the relationship between language and power, ideology, or social structures in relation to defining stories, symbols, rhetoric, and how texts create and maintain meaning. It thus allows us to reveal the rhetorical and symbolic strategies used in the Muslimah Media Center's YouTube content to promote anti-feminist views.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### YouTube Muslimah Media Center

Muslimah Media Center (MMC) is an Islamic online media that is committed to analyzing the problems that exist in Indonesia and the Islamic world by presenting Islam as a practical and effective solution. The main focus of the Muslimah Media Center is issues of women, families, and generations of the country. Until this article was written, the Muslimah Media Center had uploaded more than six thousand videos with more than 29 million views of all the videos that had been uploaded. Since the creation of this channel, Muslimah Media Center has had 217 thousand subscribers and 77 thousand videos.

Image 1.1



Source: YouTube Muslimah Media Center (MMC) Channel

The videos posted by the Muslimah Media Center channel often feature Muslim women figures from Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) to answer and explain the current topics, especially Islamic themes and, more specifically, with regard to women. One of the HTI female figures who often appear at the Muslimah Media Center is Iffah Ainur Rochmah, a talented Muslim woman activist who has been in the spotlight during her long journey in the struggle. With experience as a former spokesperson for Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (al-Amin 2013), she has inspired many individuals with her commitment to Islamic values. Dedeh Wahidah Achmad, who once led Lajnah Tsaqofiyah Muslimah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, is another example of a woman who is persistent in fighting for the noble goals of Islam. Rif'ah Kholidah Wahyuni, a preacher from East Java, not only spreads da'wah with enthusiasm but is also a dedicated Muslim defender of Islam. Meanwhile, Ratu Erma Rahmayanti has proven herself to be an accomplished observer of family and generational policies, as well as chair of the Central Leadership Council of Muslim Women of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. The roles of these four women have contributed to illustrating how women should play their roles in the context of religion and tradition. They may reflect or support anti-feminist narratives that emphasize women's domestic roles as a priority while encouraging traditional understandings of gender roles.

**Video 1: Young Women in the Government, What Do Millenials Say?**

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C5RozAmc6CY>)

This video was posted by the Muslimah Media Center YouTube channel on September 30, 2021. Until this article was written, this video had been watched 3358 views and received 1.9 thousand likes. Of course, this upload also received a lot of comments from the audience. The number of comments on this video upload was 606 comments. In this video, Iffah Ainur Rochmah gives her criticism of the Girls Take Over program.

## Image 1.2

### Video 1



This first video discusses the global campaign conducted by the Girls Take Over program, a government program that gives women the opportunity to become leaders for one day. In this program, the Minister of BUMN, Erick Thohir, was replaced by six young women for one day so that they could experience what it was like to be leaders. In this video, there are two parts: the first part is about the opinions of three young women about the video, and the second part shows Iffah Ainur Rochmah's review and criticism.

The three Muslim women stated their opinion that if the program was launched to plan a gender equality program, it was not the right program. The first woman's opinion said: "Actually, I feel this program is too much. This program is not the right program for planning gender equality programs." Meanwhile, the second woman said: "If, for example, the goal is so that women are not oppressed, men are not oppressed, the answer is not gender equality." Meanwhile, a third woman said, "So it's better if you have both programs. Because this is gender equality and also to lead a better future for the existing younger generation." In general, the three women are of the opinion that the Girls Take Over Program is not appropriate. According to discussing gender, it means involving two sexes, namely men and women. They questioned why it was only women and rejected the presence of men.

In the last half of the video, Iffah Ainur Rochmah, as an HTI activist and political observer, expresses her opinion on related issues. There are six things, namely. First, Iffah Ainur Rochmah criticized the policy of appointing several young women as leaders of State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN). He sees this as

symbolic in favor of wider opportunities for women to achieve leadership in the public sector. However, Rochmah also advised not to be too quick to take it as positive support because young women could become focused on material rather than knowledge. This can be seen in his expression.

“Those who should study to gain useful knowledge and later educate their sons and daughters are actually poisoned by material orientation. They do not go to school to gain knowledge that will be useful for themselves or the people but go to school to work for a high career, and household work is no longer a dream that they will live as part of their nature.

Nevertheless, Rochmah criticized current education, which, according to him, was too oriented towards preparation for work and a high career. He believes that education should focus more on strengthening religious and moral values, as well as teaching knowledge that is useful for individuals and society. Iffah believes that young women should focus on improving religious values, correcting the system of capitalism and democracy, and taking on the role of mother and household organizer to maintain Islam and lead world civilization. He also criticized global cultural influences, such as promiscuity and LGBT, which could damage Islamic values. This criticism was expressed in sentences.

"Don't worsen things by increasing the number of programs currently being implemented, which will only become deadly poison for Muslims in the future. Today, we have a lot of concerns due to the promiscuity that has hit this country, the global LGBT epidemic, including affecting Muslim children. They have also been influenced by global culture, Western culture, childfree, and so on.

Rochmah's opinions reflect conservative views about the Islamic religion and the role of women but are also controversial and have the potential to spark debate about gender equality and the values of modern society. Rochmah also criticized global cultural influences, including promiscuity and LGBT, which he said could damage Islamic values and influence Muslim children.

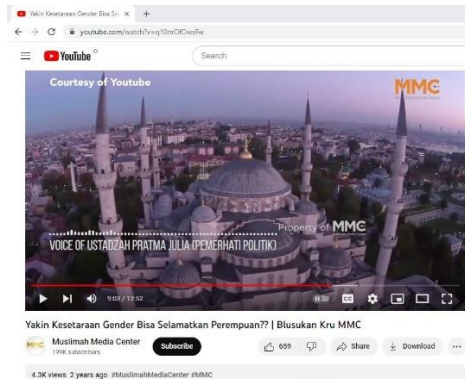
According to Rochmah, a woman's nature is not to lead an institution or company. In other words, strictly speaking, women are not meant to be leaders at all. He quoted a hadith that stated that if a community is led by a woman, woe to that community. The noble role of women, for Rochmah, is as mothers and organizers of domestic life, nothing more and nothing less. Thus, following her way of



thinking, having a high career in the social and political fields is not at all a way of life that is allowed or appropriate for women to pursue.

## Video 2.: Can Gender Quality Save Women?

Image 1.3



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q10mOfOwsFw>

The second video, delivered by Pratma Julia, an HTI activist and political observer, explains that women and gender equality are still a commodity for Western propaganda to attack the Islamic world. Feminist groups adhere to the view that the cause of this problem is the result of gender inequality constructed by culture and religion. In this video, there are several Muslim women who express their opinion that gender equality is the equality of a person's attitude towards both women and men regardless of gender. In the video, Julia launched her criticism of gender equality.

"For the proponents of gender ideas, this destroys the concept of women's self-existence and their golden opportunity to make money, even though the idea of gender equality, including women's economic empowerment, appears to be false, full of utopia and just plain lies. How could you not be embarrassed if the World Economic Forum report at the beginning of 2020 stated that to achieve gender equality, it would take one hundred years? Even in the world of work, gender equality between women and men would take two hundred years.

Julia emphasizes that the issue of gender inequality is actually a complex modeling problem. They note that the concept of women in Islam, which emphasizes the primacy of the mother and housekeeper, should not be seen as

detrimental to women's survival or income-earning opportunities. The author points out that the concept of gender equality often seems like an idealistic and difficult-to-achieve idea, especially if we refer to the World Economic Forum report that it takes a long time to achieve. Furthermore, according to Julia, the confusion between public and family roles is due to the ideology of capitalism, which asserts that a person's happiness is measured by financial achievements. In short, the role of women as mothers and family organizers in Islam is essential.

Julia firmly asserts that gender equality is essentially a product of capitalism that measures women's productivity solely from an economic perspective. They believe that asking women to sacrifice their potential, energy, and thinking to overcome poverty and encourage economic growth is unfair. Julia tries to explain, citing research from Sweden that shows the higher a woman's career, the more fragile her family stability. They denounce the view that gender equality only brings economic benefits and insist that Islam is the only religion they consider to honor women.

**Video 3: *#IndonesiaTanpaFeminis dan Benarkah Feminisme Sejalan Dengan Islam?***

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZsGARyOiFTs>.)

This third video was posted by the Muslimah Media Center YouTube channel on April 23 2019. Until this article was written, this video had been watched 4786 times and received 650 likes. Of course, this upload also received a lot of comments from viewers, as many as 65 comments.

## Image 1.4

### Video 3



This video discusses the hashtag that went viral on social media in 2019, namely #IndonesiaWithoutFeminists, a hashtag movement rejecting feminism that is mushrooming in Indonesia. The speaker in this video is Iffah Ainur Rochmah. Rochmah emphasized that feminists who believe that feminism is not in conflict with Islam are actually unjustified. According to him, the spirit of Islam does not teach about the subordination of women to men, so a Muslim must take all of these teachings whole, not in pieces.

"Feminists think that the problems that befall women today are the result of gender hegemony: men shackle many women, women are not yet free to determine their own attitudes, shackled by the idea that they have to obey men, including obedience. That is because religion commands it. This feminist perspective is certainly influential and even in line with the solutions taken to solve problems.

Therefore, according to Rochmah, feminism cannot solve women's problems in a foundational way but is only part of it and is even the root of all existing problems. He provides a solution that to overcome the problems that occur; a person must return to Islamic law as a whole because the root of the problem is the non-application of Islamic law both in personal life and in the life of the nation and state.

Rochmah emphasized that Islam regulates the roles and relationships between men and women in the family. They refer to the verse of the Koran, which states that men are leaders in the family but also underlines that this leadership must be based on justice and friendship, not domination. In the video, Rochmah criticizes ideologies such as feminism, liberalism, secularism, and capitalism, which she

considers to be contrary to Islamic values. They call for re-implementing God's laws in full within an Islamic caliphate institution as a way to achieve justice and prosperity. This view emphasizes the importance of distancing society from ideas that are considered destructive, as well as making the implementation of sharia a better solution. So, it can be said that Rochmah's sentence reflects a complex view about the role of religion and feminism in people's lives and provides arguments against certain ideologies that are considered incompatible with Islamic values.

### **Obedience in Visual Symbolism**

Referring to the number of viewers of the three videos above, providing an in-depth understanding of the role of influencers in the formation and spread of anti-feminist narratives on the YouTube Muslimah Media Center is the key to uncovering the complexity of this phenomenon. Content creators and influencers on these platforms have a huge influence in shaping viewers' views on gender issues and the role of women. They often have large and loyal audiences, which can influence public opinion on a significant scale.

First of all, it should be noted that content creators at the YouTube Muslimah Media Center have various backgrounds, thoughts, and approaches to gender issues. Some may support the idea of gender equality, while others may hold strong anti-feminist views. In this context, it is important to identify how anti-feminist narratives are communicated through their videos, writings, or presentations. This includes the use of visual symbolism, language, and narrative framing (Wodak 2005) that may be used to associate women with the concept of "domestication."

Visual symbolism is an important component in media, having the ability to convey deep and abstract messages through images and visual representations. In their works, the Muslimah Media Center uses visual symbolism carefully to reinforce the values of piety and obedience in Islam. Visually, it can be depicted that the 3 Muslimah Media Center videos confirm the image of Muslim women's obedience to the attributes of piety. The long hijab (even if not wearing a niqab) (Baulch and Alila Pramiyanti 2018, Young 2014) strengthens the argument that obedience and piety are a strong basis for them to convey religious messages (Lewis

2010). The hijab, in this context, emphasizes norms of piety and obedience that are acceptable to the Muslim community. This helps construct a gender identity that conforms to religious norms.

Affirmation of identity in the media strengthens group identity (Azad 2017, Samad 1998). The YouTube Muslimah Media Center helps form a group identity for viewers who identify themselves as members of the Muslim community. The symbols used can strengthen the sense of solidarity and unity in the community. Simultaneously, this easily serves as a means of constructing individual identity. Visual symbolism can also play a role in the construction of individual identity. By being seen wearing a long hijab it is seen interacting with religious symbols that one might feel a stronger self-identity as a devout Muslim woman.

Thus, the visual symbolism in the Muslimah Center's media videos not only conveys messages of obedience and piety but also plays an important role in shaping individual, group, religious, and gender identities in the media context. This illustrates how powerful the influence of the media, especially in terms of visual symbolism, is in helping the formation of individual and social identity. YouTube Muslimah Media Center influences the construction of Muslim women's identity. On these platforms, Muslim women who appear in content often serve as role models for many young viewers looking for inspiration and guidance. However, this role can also bring complex pressures and expectations in carrying out the role of a Muslim woman.

### **Narrative of Anti-Feminism and the Domestication of Women**

The construction of Muslim women's identities on YouTube Muslimah Media Center influences women's self-perceptions, and the role of women in Muslim society plays a key role in understanding how anti-feminist narratives work. It is necessary to pay attention to and identify how Muslim women in YouTube Media Center content feel that compliance with social and religious norms is contrary to the principles of gender equality. This involves analyzing narratives that emphasize women's roles as household guardians or mothers who take full responsibility for the success of the family (Brenner 2011). A deep understanding of how these narratives influence Muslim women's self-perception and image is key to understanding the complex dynamics behind their identities.

The anti-feminist narrative on this channel includes various arguments and views opposing the feminist movement in Islam.

It can be said that these three videos reproduce traditional norms. Anti-feminist narratives can strengthen traditional norms about women's roles in Islam, such as the role of mother and wife who supports her husband (Sauda 2014, Suryorini 2012, Susanti 2014). The values of equality are questioned again, as in the second video. This can make some women feel that their identity is tied to this role. Obedience is important for women by emphasizing the importance of ownership and obedience to religion and culture, which are considered Islamic norms. This can influence Muslim women to prioritize obedience over personal ambitions or aspirations.

Rochmah clearly states in the third video:

"Even in the hadiths, it is also explained how the relationship must occur between men and women in the family: that their relationship is not the relationship between a director and his employees, let alone a slave and his master - not like that, but the relationship between men and women, their life in the household, is *h}aya>t al-suh}bah* (life of friendship)."

He tries to position women as mere domestic creatures through the verses of the Koran that he quotes. However, Rochmah instead annulled her own opinion. First, he wanted to show that career women are prohibited by the Shari'a through the Koran surah al-Nisa [4] verse 34, that men are the leaders of women, but then he canceled his own opinion by stating that the life of husband and wife in the household is a life of friendship. This means that Rochmah himself, as the speaker in this video, was not observant that he fell into a trap that he made himself. Rochmah emphasized that women are only followers of their husbands who are leaders, but the two of them are friends. Moreover, in fact, using this verse to legitimize the domestication of women is very naive because if the husband as a leader allows or even encourages his wife to pursue her career, this already shows that there is no problem that can be questioned by the Muslimah Media Center.

"We reject the idea of feminism because this idea does not originate from Islam, because this idea carries the spirit or content, not only of releasing women from the shackles of oppression but also carries the spirit of releasing women from unconditional obedience to the rules of their religion [...] it is clear that the idea of feminism is against Islam and we must reject it."

Rochmah's statement, which attempts to criticize feminism in advance, certainly seems absurd. As a term, "feminism" does not originate from Islam but as an idea, namely the promotion of egalitarianism, when the Koran was revealed in front of Arab society, which is full of patriarchal culture. The Muslimah Media Center itself seems confused and confused about criticizing feminism, but it turns out that Islam itself has promoted gender egalitarianism before Allah. Furthermore, the Muslimah Media Center's accusation that feminism actually encourages or invites women to disobey the rules of their religion is certainly baseless and could even be said to be reckless. In fact, the arguments in their *ijtihad* are based on two main sources of Islamic teachings, namely the Al-Qur'an and hadith.

The accusations made by the Muslimah Media Center seem absurd. It is very likely that the Muslimah Media Center is confusing Islamic feminism and Western feminism, and this shows that Rochmah, in the 3rd video, does not know the problems she is facing.

"It is true that the developing idea of feminism causes the problem to become complicated and new problems to emerge, but the fundamental problem is that God's laws do not apply in all aspects of our lives today. "Therefore, it is not enough for us to carry out a campaign for Indonesia without feminism, but the struggle that we must carry out is a struggle to make people aware that we must be free from all --isms that oppose the implementation of God's laws."

In the end, the Muslimah Media Center smuggled in an effective solution, which was the main point of HTI's ideology, namely the implementation of Islamic law. First of all, it is important to remember that the idea of Islamic feminism is extracted directly from Islamic texts themselves. Mernissi (1991a, 1991b, 1992, 1993) emphasized that the sources of Islamic teachings, the Koran and hadith, emphasize gender equality between women and men before Allah. By relying on Mernissi's postulation, it can actually be detected that the Muslimah Media Center confuses the idea of gender equality as being solely derived from Westernism, even

though, in fact, authoritative Islamic sources themselves loudly promote the idea of gender equality.

The rejection of the feminist movement, as stated by Rochmah (video 3), is a very provocative narrative. Criticism of the feminist movement in Islam, which seeks to redefine the roles of women and men in society, is being questioned again (Anwar 2021), and a conservative mindset is being voiced again by the Muslimah Media Center. It is very possible that for Muslim women, efforts to achieve gender equality are steps that conflict with their religious beliefs. Negative stigma towards feminist groups or feminist thinking has emerged again. This can make Muslim women feel limited in exploring their own identity and potentially feel conflicted between religious identity and personal aspirations. Apart from that, the Muslimah Media Center's rejection of all types of isms has no basis in argument at all. If the rejection is based on the fact that these isms are Western products, so they are not value-free, of course, this will directly impact the Muslimah Media Center as autocriticism because they themselves are not value-free but are full of the values of Hizbut Tahrir which have been around since began to carry very antagonistic prejudices against the West (Triatini and Tahir 2009).

Anti-feminist narratives often rely on strong and emotional language to influence viewers. Words like "tradition," "family values," or "kindness" to seduce viewers with the argument that traditional views of women are better for society and religion. Not only that, the use of framing is also an important strategy in anti-feminist narratives. The content is formulated to depict the feminist movement as a threat to traditional values and religious identity. Viewers are told that feminism is a destructive ideology and has the potential to undermine the solid foundations of Muslim society. Therefore, this framing attempts to seduce the audience so that they feel the need to support anti-feminist views as a bulwark against social change, which the Muslim Media Center group considers dangerous.

Finally, it is also necessary to consider the role of the YouTube Muslim Media Center platform as a communication medium in spreading anti-feminist narratives, which ultimately lead to efforts to domesticate women. Understanding the interactions and feedback provided by viewers with the number of likes on the three videos above can help in understanding the extent to which this narrative can



influence the views and attitudes of viewers, especially young viewers. The creativity in spreading this narrative is interesting, especially when accompanied by the development of other social media (Nisa 2018). Apart from YouTube, the Muslim Media Center interacts with Instagram (@muslimahmediacenter) and also Facebook

The domestication narrative carried out by the Muslimah Media Center (MMC) is a process of trying to change people's views or understanding of certain issues by adapting or adjusting their messages to be more in line with local culture and values. In the context of the Muslim Media Center, the domestication narrative includes their efforts to convey religious or social messages to Muslim communities in language and contexts that are closer to their daily lives.

It is important to ensure again that in the narrative of Muslim women's domestication, the Media Center pays attention to and promotes gender equality and women's rights in Islam. Too much emphasis on traditions or particular cultural norms can ignore the values of equality that should be emphasized.

## **CONCLUSION**

The anti-feminist narrative of the Muslimah Media Center YouTube channel, which has the HTI ideology, seeks to domesticate the role of Muslim women who are now moving into the public space. They use arguments to support the arguments they present. The arguments they put forward are not on target and seem inconsistent. Their view that feminism can encourage Muslim women to disobey religious rules is a reckless and baseless accusation. It seems that the Muslimah Media Center does not recognize the work of Muslim feminists, especially in deconstructing gender-biased interpretations.

This kind of narrative of the domestication of women through the YouTube platform can be detected as targeting young people, most of whom do not have enough equipment to filter religious information. So, psychologically and cognitively, the preaching carried out by the Muslimah Media Center is quite worrying because it easily indoctrinates uncritical young people to dismantle the narrative being presented. The need for counternarratives on various platforms is inevitable. What needs to be considered is the impact of globalization and global connectivity on the spread of anti-feminist narratives. The internet and social media allow ideas and views to spread quickly and reach a much wider audience than ever

before. Therefore, the anti-feminist narrative that appears on YouTube Muslimah Media Center not only affects local viewers but can also impact viewers around the world, including those who may have different cultural and social backgrounds.

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