



Digital ta'aruf and gender identity: A study of gender performativity

Elsa Tania^{1,*}

¹ Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, South Tangerang, Banten 15412, Indonesia.

*Correspondence: elsatania@gmail.com

Received Date: November 24, 2025

Revised Date: December 19, 2025

Accepted Date: January 28, 2026

ABSTRACT

Background: The phenomenon of online taaruf has emerged as an alternative method of finding a spouse in the digital age, widely used by Muslim youth. Its scope in the virtual world has brought this phenomenon into new dynamics in gender relations, differing from traditional taaruf. **Methods:** Through qualitative methods by interviewing 13 informants and using NVivo as a data analysis tool, as well as gender performativity theory, this study aims to explore the performance and expectations of gender roles during online taaruf, their changes after marriage, as well as participants' views on polygamy and how gender differences influence differing perspectives on such practices. **Findings:** The findings of this study indicate that women tend to present a feminine image, capable of performing domestic tasks, and patient. Meanwhile, men more often showcase leadership, responsibility, and authority. **Conclusion:** This study concludes that online taaruf reinforces traditional gender roles based on religious norms, where there is an imbalance of authority between men and women. These findings emphasize the urgency of gender-based digital literacy. **Novelty/Originality of this article:** The novelty of this study lies in applying gender performativity theory to understand how participants in digital taaruf perform and negotiate their gender roles, how these performances shift after marriage, and how gender differences shape perceptions of polygamy in the digital era.

KEYWORDS: gender; gender performativity; online ta'aruf; polygamy.

1. Introduction

In social life, marriage serves as the initial and obligatory step in establishing a family relationship (Khatun et al., 2022). In Indonesia, marriage has long been regulated since ancient times by customary laws, including religious laws. It was only after gaining independence that Indonesia succeeded in legalizing marriage through Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, commonly known as the Marriage Law (Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, 1974). In the past, marriages were entirely arranged by parents, including the selection of a prospective spouse, as was common during the 1950s and 1960s (Hefner, 2005). Over time, this arranged marriage practice gradually shifted toward the Western-style dating system, wherein individuals choose their partners independently rather than through parental arrangement. However, Islam, as the majority religion in Indonesia, regards dating or being alone with the opposite sex as sinful and morally inappropriate behavior (Hefner, 2005). Consequently, Islam has come to serve as a mediating force between traditional arranged marriages and modern dating trends through the introduction of the ta'aruf concept (Hefner, 2017).

Cite This Article:

Tania, E. (2026). Digital taaruf and gender identity: A study of gender performativity. *Journal of Gender Equality, Disability, Social Inclusion and Children*, 3(2), 149-165. <https://doi.org/10.61511/jgedsic.v3i2.2026.2465>

Copyright: © 2026 by the authors. This article is distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).



Ta'aruf has become increasingly practiced among Indonesian Muslim youth as a middle ground for finding a spouse without engaging in dating (Hefner, 2017). Today, ta'aruf is no longer viewed merely as a form of religious observance but has evolved into a social phenomenon, giving rise to communities and distinctive cultural trends (Handayani, 2022). Technological advancements have also brought significant transformations to matchmaking practices, including ta'aruf. In the digital era, a new form known as online ta'aruf has emerged, enabling individuals to seek potential partners through digital platforms. This form of ta'aruf has also reshaped the modes of communication between prospective partners (Rochadiat et al., 2018).

Scholarly research on taaruf has been conducted from various perspectives, with Islamic religious perspectives being the most dominant (Dhiya et al., 2024; Ghufrani et al., 2024; Nisa, 2021). Islamic teachings regulate the concept of taaruf through the Qur'an and fiqh munakahat, which permits online taaruf under specific conditions (Dhiya et al., 2024). While taaruf is considered an effective means of selecting partners in accordance with Islamic teachings (Ghufrani et al., 2024; Saleh et al., 2025), it also carries potential risks of gharar or loss (Dhiya et al., 2024; Rahim et al., 2023).

The proliferation of taaruf practices has generated business opportunities through the commodification of religion (Hidayat et al., 2024; Saifullah, 2018), mirroring dating applications such as Tinder that commodify users' emotions (Illouz & Kotliar, 2022). Within the Indonesian context, taaruf is inseparable from cultural and political influences, exemplified by the Gerakan Tarbiyah's utilization of taaruf for socio-political Islamization (Asyari & Husnul Abid, 2016), as well as its alignment with traditional Javanese culture that discourages dating prior to marriage (Hefner, 2017; Hefner, 2005).

However, research specifically examining online taaruf from a gender perspective remains limited. Hefner (2017; 2005) argues that taaruf practices in Indonesia have transformed from traditional practices that disadvantaged women to more moderate forms, while Surur et al. (2024) found that these practices can perpetuate gender domination. No studies have specifically investigated gender performance in online taaruf processes and their transformations following marriage. Similarly, although taaruf platforms frequently accommodate interests in polygamy (Fathurrahman & Zulhaqqi, 2020; Sari, 2023; Surur et al., 2024) No research has examined the perspectives of male and female taaruf participants on this practice.

This study addresses these gaps by investigating the gender performances and expectations displayed by online taaruf participants and their transformations after marriage, as well as participants' perspectives on polygamy and how gender differences shape divergent views on this practice. Hefner, (2017) notes that within the ta'aruf process, both prospective partners retain the capacity to negotiate certain boundaries of patriarchy. In the context of differing gender dynamics, male participants in ta'aruf tend to act as risk-takers, whereas female participants are generally more risk-averse (Surur et al., 2024).

Using a qualitative approach, the researcher conducted interviews with 12 informants who had participated in online ta'aruf through a digital platform called @akadprojectid, including both single and married individuals, as well as 1 informant who served as the platform's administrator. The selection of @akadprojectid was based on its stringent participant screening process, which ensures that members adhere to the Salafi manhaj. Unfortunately, the researcher was unable to obtain precise data regarding the total number of active participants on the Akad Project, whether those who remain active members or those who have since married.

Adherence to the Salafi manhaj is one of the key requirements for participants in the Akad Project's ta'aruf program. Distinct from the broader cultural norms commonly observed in Indonesia, the Salafi manhaj constructs its own unique gender dynamics. Within this framework, women are regarded as aurat, entities that must be concealed, and as potential sources of fitnah (temptation). Consequently, it is deemed impermissible for women to travel frequently without a male guardian, to wear perfume, or to use makeup. Moreover, within the household, women are positioned as servants to their husbands and are prohibited from leaving the home without their husbands' permission. In contrast, men

are viewed as leaders and primary breadwinners (Mundzir, 2021). This group also frequently promotes the practice of polygamy as one of the righteous paths to attaining paradise (Wahyudi & Wahyudin, 2021).

Many Indonesian Muslims have converted to or aligned themselves with this group, a transformation commonly referred to as hijrah, which denotes a form of spiritual migration (Rosyidah & Damastuti, 2023). One of the key practices consistently promoted within the hijrah movement is ta'aruf (Rosyidah & Damastuti, 2023). Akad Project is one such ta'aruf platform that provides a space for hijrah adherents, not only to seek marriage partners but also to pursue polygamous relationships. The requirements for participating in ta'aruf on the Akad Project are consistent with Salafi manhaj traditions, such as adherence to Salafi teachings and a willingness to observe ta'aruf practices aligned with Islamic norms as interpreted within the Salafi framework. The platform also explicitly encourages and promotes polygamy, viewing it as an integral part of Islamic law.

One of the key theories in gender studies is Judith Butler's Theory of Gender Performativity. In *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), Butler argues that gender is not a fixed identity but rather the result of repeated actions shaped by social and cultural norms. Gender is neither natural nor essential; instead, it is continuously produced and reproduced through behaviors and interactions that conform to societal expectations (Butler, 1993a; He, 2017; Kakoliris, 2025).

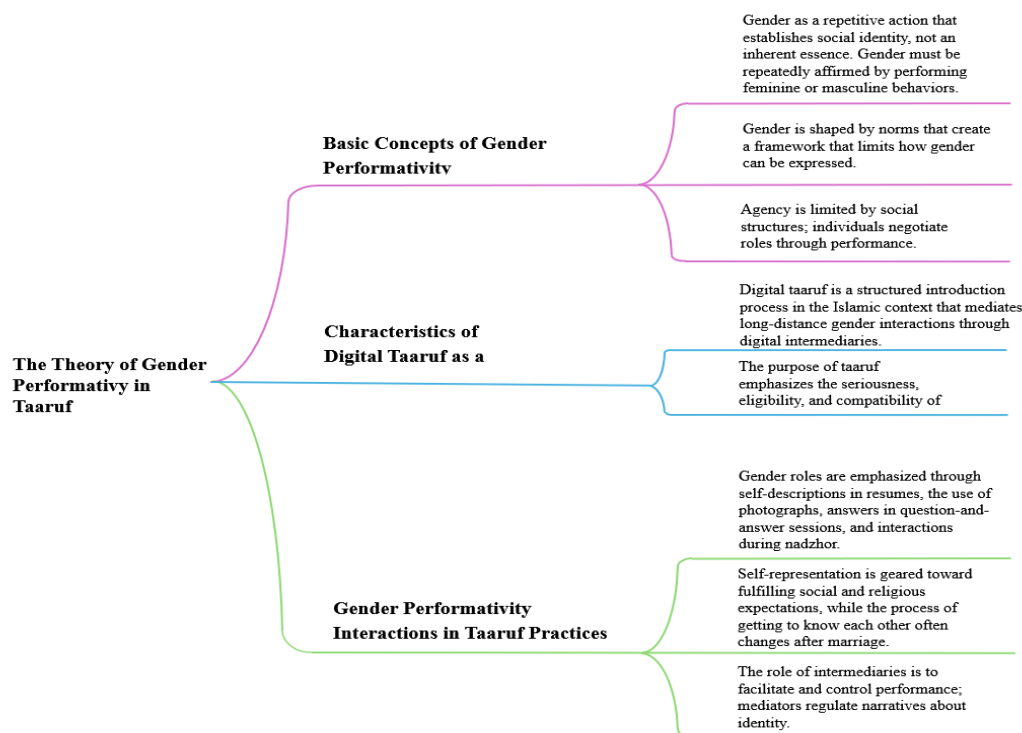


Fig 1. The concept of gender performativity theory in digital courtship.

In the context of online ta'aruf, this theory provides a framework for understanding how participants construct and present themselves in accordance with gender norms embedded within Islamic teachings. Gender performativity also extends to digital spaces, where individuals consciously curate their self-representation to meet social and religious expectations. Therefore, this theory serves as the conceptual foundation for addressing all the research questions in this study.

In the Theory of Gender Performativity, Butler (1990) conceptualizes gender not as an inherent or fixed identity, but as a series of repeated actions, gestures, and expressions that are continuously produced and regulated through social norms. These performative acts are not neutral; they are shaped by dominant discourses that define what is considered appropriate or legitimate behavior within a given context. In the setting of ta'aruf, religious norms function as a powerful regulatory framework that structures how participants

construct and present their gendered identities. Individuals are not merely expressing themselves freely, but are actively negotiating expectations tied to modesty, piety, and moral conduct. As a result, the process of self-presentation in ta'aruf becomes a strategic, socially conditioned performance in which participants align their behavior with religiously sanctioned ideals to be perceived as suitable partners.

This study seeks to explore how online ta'aruf participants perform and present themselves throughout each stage of the process, how these performances evolve after marriage, how they perceive and prepare for the possibility of polygamy, and how gender differences shape these perceptions. Accordingly, the aim of this research is to describe the performative behaviors of online ta'aruf participants and their transformation after marriage, as well as to examine their perceptions of and readiness for the practice of polygamy.

The present study is concerned with the following inquiries: (1) How does the performance of online taaruf participants change throughout each stage of the taaruf process?; (2) How does the performance of online taaruf participants change after marriage?; and (3) What are the perceptions and readiness of online taaruf participants towards polygamy, and how do gender differences influence these perceptions? The aforementioned inquiries allow for the conclusion that the objective of this study is threefold: first, to describe the performance of online taaruf participants and its changes after marriage; second, to examine the perceptions and readiness of online taaruf participants towards polygamy; and third, to observe the differences in gender roles in these perceptions.

This article is organized into several sections. The following section presents a literature review that examines previous studies on the ta'aruf phenomenon from various perspectives. Next, the researcher outlines the theoretical framework employed in this study. The subsequent section explains the research methodology and procedures. Finally, the last section discusses the contextual analysis and findings, followed by the conclusions drawn from this research.

2. Methods

2.1 Research Design

This study employs a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach, which enables an in-depth understanding of individuals' lived experiences regarding online ta'aruf (Neubauer et al., 2019). Data were collected through in-depth interviews with twelve members who served as primary informants and one administrator of the online ta'aruf platform @akadprojectid, who acted as the key informant. The twelve members were selected using a purposive sampling technique (Ahmad & Wilkins, 2025), with the criteria that participants must be members of Akad Project, have undergone ta'aruf at least up to the nazhor (face-to-face meeting) stage, be either married or single, and adhere to the Salafi manhaj.

The researcher conducted structured interviews guided by predetermined questions, as well as unstructured interviews to explore participants' experiences in greater depth, particularly among the primary informants. In addition to interviewing online ta'aruf participants, the researcher also interviewed the Akad Project administrator, who is also the platform's owner, and sought confirmation from the spouses of married participants. This triangulation of sources was employed to ensure the validity and reliability of the data. In each interview, researchers ascertained that they had obtained the necessary permissions from the informants. The interviews were conducted online, as most informants resided outside the Greater Jakarta area (Jabodetabek) and preferred virtual interviews via Google Meet. Each session was conducted individually to ensure participants' openness and comfort. The interviews lasted approximately one to two hours each and were carried out between April 13 and May 15, 2025.

2.2 Data Analysis

Subsequently, the researcher transcribed the interviews verbatim. Data reduction was then performed through a coding process to help identify recurring patterns and overarching themes within the data. The coding was conducted using the qualitative analysis software NVivo 12. The resulting codes were then aligned with the themes relevant to the research questions. In addition to interviews as the primary data source, the researcher also utilized a range of literature as secondary data to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the study.

Akad Project was selected through social media outreach. The researcher first contacted the platform's administrator, who then facilitated connections with informants meeting the established criteria. Of the thirteen informants in total, four were single members, two women and two men. Meanwhile, eight were married couples who had met and married through Akad Project but had not engaged in polygamous practices. The remaining informant was a female administrator of the Akad Project.

Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Informants

Characteristics	Percentage	Total
Gender		
Woman	54%	7
Man	46%	6
Address		
Bojong Baraja	8%	1
Jakarta	8%	1
West Java	38%	5
Bengkulu	8%	1
Lampung	8%	1
Makassar	15%	2
West Pulo Nangka	15%	2
Age		
20-25	38%	5
26-30	54%	7
31-37	8%	1
Education		
S1	38%	5
High School/Equivalent	62%	8
Work		
Admin Akad Project	7.7%	1
Gardener	7.7%	1
Teacher/Teacher	15.3%	2
Housewives	30.8%	4
Private Employees	30.8%	4
Self employed	7.7%	1
Income		
< 500,000	38%	5
500,000 – 1,000,000	8%	1
1,000,000 – 2,999,999	8%	1
3,000,000 – 4,999,999	31%	4
5,000,000 – 7,999,999	15%	2
Status		
Single	31%	4
Married	69%	9
Duration of Marriage		
< 1 year	44.4%	4
1 year	44.4%	4
5 years	11.2%	1

All informants in this study were drawn from diverse regions across Indonesia, namely Bojong Baraja (8%), Jakarta (8%), West Java (38%), Bengkulu (8%), Lampung (8%), Makassar (15%), and West Pulo Nangka (15%). In total, the sample consisted of 13 participants, with women comprising 54% and men 46%. In terms of age distribution, 38% were between 20–25 years, 54% between 26–30 years, and 8% between 31–37 years. Regarding educational background, the majority of informants (62%) had completed senior high school or an equivalent level, while 38% held a bachelor's degree (S1). In terms of occupation, 30.8% were housewives, 30.8% were private employees, and 15.3% were teachers.

The remaining informants were distributed equally (7.7% each) across the roles of Akad Project administrator, gardener, and self-employed worker. With respect to income, 38% of informants earned less than IDR 500,000 per month, 8% earned between IDR 500,000 and IDR 1,000,000, and another 8% between IDR 1,000,000 and IDR 2,999,999. A total of 31% reported monthly earnings between IDR 3,000,000 and IDR 4,999,999, while 15% earned between IDR 5,000,000 and IDR 7,999,999, indicating a predominantly lower-middle socioeconomic profile. Regarding marital status, 69% of informants were married, while 31% were single. Among those who were married, 44.4% had been married for less than one year, 44.4% for approximately one year, and 11.2% for five years.

This study uses the concept of gender performativity to analyze how gender manifests itself through repeated practices and interactions in online partner search. This study is based on the assumption that gender results from culturally influenced expressions in social interactions. The research problem points to digital taaruf as a significant and religiously influenced area where platform features enable curated gender expressions and may cause tension between religious expectations and online self-presentation. Key questions include how gendered expressions occur and evolve after marriage and how gender influences attitudes toward polygamy. Findings suggest that women online emphasize femininity and religiosity, while men emphasize masculinity and religious competence. Expressions change after marriage. Men and women have different views on polygamy, although both agree on its legality.

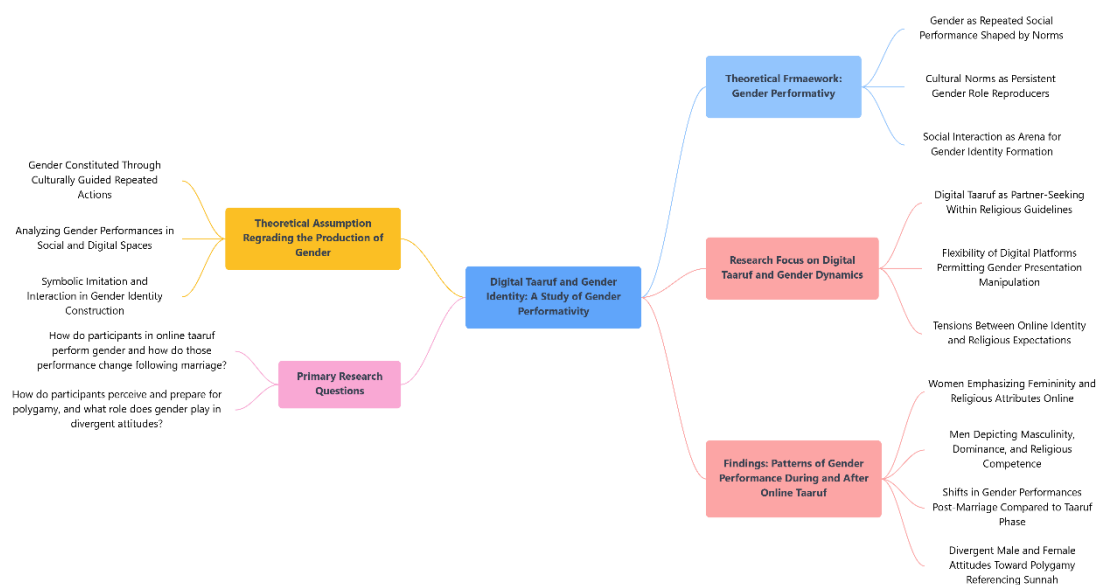


Fig 2. Conceptual framework.

3. Results and Discussion

The ta'aruf phenomenon in Indonesia has continued to evolve alongside the growing trends in matchmaking. Since the 1950s, patterns of partner selection in Indonesia have shifted from parental arrangement (traditional matchmaking) to individual choice through

Western-style dating, which is considered inconsistent with Islamic teachings. Islam, as the majority religion in Indonesia, subsequently emerged as an alternative that allows individuals to choose their own partners while remaining in accordance with Islamic law, through the practice of ta'aruf (Madya, 2017). Although Western-style dating remains widely practiced among today's youth, online ta'aruf has also become a popular choice among young Indonesian Muslims and has further expanded with the rise of its digital form (Fathurrahman & Zulhaqqi, 2020).

The ta'aruf phenomenon has become increasingly prevalent in Indonesia with advances in technology and social media. These technological developments have directly influenced ta'aruf communities by introducing a new alternative, online ta'aruf (Fathurrahman & Zulhaqqi, 2020). The rise of online ta'aruf has also coincided with the growing popularity of the hijrah movement, particularly among young Muslims in Indonesia. The hijrah movement, especially in the digital era, has widely promoted online ta'aruf as an alternative to dating for Muslim youth seeking to avoid it (Fathurrahman & Zulhaqqi, 2020). In addition, one of the driving forces behind the increasing promotion of online ta'aruf is the Indonesia Anti-Dating Movement (*Gerakan Indonesia Anti Pacaran*), which also advocates for Islamic approaches to partner selection (Rosyidah & Damastuti, 2023).

3.1 Akad project as a platform for ta'aruf

@akadprojectid, commonly known as Akad Project, serves as an interactive platform for its followers who seek marriage in accordance with Islamic law based on the Salafi manhaj. The account, which has approximately 22.6 thousand followers, facilitates Muslim youth adhering to the Salafi manhaj in finding a prospective spouse. However, limited information is available regarding the exact number of active participants or those who have successfully married through Akad Project. The management of Akad Project as a ta'aruf platform grounded in Salafi values can be observed through its principles and various programs. These include weekly discussion sessions conducted via WhatsApp groups, an Instagram channel that shares Islamic studies on marriage, ta'aruf, and polygamy, among other topics. Additionally, several offline gatherings have been held in various regions, although such activities have not taken place in recent years.

The phenomenon of online ta'aruf on the Akad Project platform illustrates that economic motives remain the primary foundation. This is evidenced by the commodification of religion through paid programs, such as the differentiation between regular and premium members, the sale of e-books on ta'aruf knowledge within the Salafi manhaj, and other similar practices. The commodification of religion and marriage is indeed a common occurrence across many online ta'aruf platforms due to the emergence of promising market opportunities. Although on some other platforms, such as Indonesia Anti Pacaran (ATP), which offer paid programs, still prioritize ideology as their main foundation by providing initiatives aimed at strengthening participants' religious convictions (Rosyidah & Damastuti, 2023).

Prospective members who register via WhatsApp messages are required to undergo an assessment of their faith, *tauhid* (monotheism), and a reference to an ustadz to ensure they adhere to the Salafi manhaj. After passing this screening process, they may choose between becoming a regular member (free of charge) or a premium member (subject to a fee based on the selected duration). Subsequently, members are added to a gender-specific WhatsApp group and asked to complete a personal information form. This form serves as the basis for their Curriculum Vitae (CV), excluding private details such as name, ID card photo, personal photo, and phone number, which are omitted for confidentiality reasons.

"At first, we registered, then filled out the link, which was like a CV. But before that, we were screened first and asked questions by Umu Muhammad, such as whether we were familiar with the Sunnah. After being screened through that process, the member answers the questions, and Umu Muhammad reviews the answers. If the member is deemed

suitable, they are admitted into our group. Then we provide them with an empty CV to fill out. After that, they are categorized as either regular or premium members, and the procedures are explained there, what the difference is between regular and premium." (WA, May 11, 2025)

After the CVs are published through the @akadprojectid social media account, both male and female members may propose ta'aruf to other members by contacting the admin. The admin acts as an intermediary between the two members throughout the question-and-answer process up to the nazhor stage, a phase in which the prospective couple is allowed to see each other's faces and communicate directly in the presence of a third party.

3.2 The tradition of ta'aruf within the salafi manhaj

Currently, numerous platforms serve as spaces for online ta'aruf, both those operating under the Salafi manhaj and those that do not. Ta'aruf has become appealing to many Muslims because it involves an intermediary between prospective partners and begins with the submission of a personal biodata as an initial stage of introduction. However, unlike the general practice of ta'aruf in Indonesia, ta'aruf within the Salafi manhaj tends to be more private, as participants typically do not include their photographs in the biodata. Photographs are only shared once both parties agree to proceed with the ta'aruf process, serving as an initial step for each to view the other's physical appearance (Nisa, 2011). However, based on an interview with SA on May 12, 2025, in certain cases, individuals, particularly women, choose not to display their photographs to the opposite gender at all. The process of revealing one's face occurs only during the nazhor stage, which marks a further stage of introduction involving direct, in-person communication.

"I told the admin that I requested that it not be given to Ikhwan (when requested or submitted), just for the admin." (SA, May 12, 2025)

Taaruf is practiced not only among unmarried individuals but is also frequently used as a means to facilitate polygamous marriages (Fathurrahman & Zulhaqqi, 2020). Within the Salafi manhaj, polygamy is considered relatively common, as many Salafi scholars actively advocate for its practice (Wahyudi & Wahyudin, 2021). Consequently, taaruf platforms operating under the Salafi manhaj often provide space for participants who wish to engage in polygamous arrangements, ranging from the procartner selection and taaruf itself to the inclusion of religious lectures discussing the practice.

3.3 Gender performance and expectations in the ta'aruf process

In theory, Butler (1990) asserts that gender must be continuously affirmed and performed in public according to prevailing social norms. This dynamic is evident throughout each stage of the online taaruf process. The first stage, following successful registration as a ta'aruf member, involves completing a personal profile or CV and submitting a photograph. Within these self-descriptions, members perform and present their identities to be viewed by potential partners of the opposite gender. All female informants in this study demonstrated similarities in composing their self-descriptions, opting for a natural and modest portrayal that emphasized traditionally feminine traits such as obedience, patience, compassion, nurturing qualities, calmness, domestic skills, and financial management. In contrast, male informants tended to highlight traits associated with responsibility, trustworthiness, self-control, and professional stability. Beyond personal and physical characteristics, each informant also disclosed their health conditions within the CV. One participant, SU, stated that she listed nearly all illnesses she had experienced out of concern that concealing such information might cause problems in the future. The inclusion of health-related details in the CV reflects the informants' openness

and seriousness in presenting themselves, as such information is perceived as a determinant of marital compatibility.

This pattern is closely related to gender role expectations after marriage, in which men are positioned as heads of households responsible for the welfare of all family members, while women are expected to serve their husbands and manage domestic affairs, including childrearing (Masngudi et al., 2025). These idealized gender roles encourage individuals to perform identities aligned with the normative images of husbands and wives as prescribed within Islamic teachings. (Masngudi et al., 2025) further emphasizes that the concept of *keluarga sakinah*, an ideal harmonious family envisioned by Muslims, reinforces patriarchal gender expectations, which often emerge even before marriage.

Unlike the self-description section, the photos submitted to the Akad Project administrator are viewable only by the prospective partner, with the member's explicit consent. The researcher found notable differences between men and women in their choice and disclosure of photos. AI and SA, both female participants who had married through the Akad Project, chose not to allow their photos to be shown to *ikhwan* (men) before reaching the *nazhor* stage. As SA stated during the interview on May 12, 2025, "I told the admin that my photo should not be given to the *ikhwan*, only to the admin." Meanwhile, other female informants (SU, WA, SI, and N) selected natural photographs; without makeup, without *niqab*, full-body, and informal in nature. According to the interview with N on April 19, 2025, this preference for natural photos was grounded in Islamic teachings that discourage women from wearing excessive makeup.

Islam provides clear guidance on how women should maintain modesty and adorn themselves. Within Islamic teachings, women are subject to certain boundaries regarding adornment. Islam prohibits *tabarruj*, which refers to the act of women displaying their physical beauty, whether through ornaments or by revealing their attractiveness, in public, particularly in front of men who are not their *mahram* (Rahmi et al., 2025). In modern society, many women tend to ignore the prohibition of *tabarruj* and prioritize fashion and modern appearance, which contradicts the teachings of the Qur'an. (Mohammad & Rhain, 2024). However, Muslim women who adhere to the Salafi *manhaj*, particularly the female informants in this study, contest such tendencies by demonstrating their commitment to practicing Islamic teachings that prohibit *tabarruj*.

Meanwhile, male participants tended to choose formal photographs, such as those used for academic certificates. In this context, there were fewer expectations placed on men regarding the selection of their photos. T, a male member of Akad Project who is now married, stated that he chose a formal photo simply because he rarely took selfies. Other informants (W, AR, and KH) offered different reasons, explaining that formal photos were the best images they possessed, as such photos clearly displayed their faces and conveyed a more respectable and authoritative appearance.

"I rarely take photos, and even when I do, they do not seem appropriate. So, I decided to submit a formal one, my graduation photo. It was also my most recent and, in a way, my best photo. After all, we want to appear respectable and dignified." (KH, April 13, 2025)

Gender roles and characteristics are also performed during the question-and-answer stage. The researcher found that men, positioned as leaders, tended to take a more active role in asking questions, while women were generally more passive. Female participants typically asked questions related to economic stability, occupation, household planning, the husband's view on wives working, and expectations regarding a wife's role. In contrast, male participants commonly raised questions about polygamy (whether it is permitted or not), post-marital life, the woman's relationship with her family, and her personal character. However, during this stage, both male and female participants had not yet reached the point of negotiating gender roles.

"Oh, discussions about role negotiation usually do not occur during the question-and-answer stage but rather during the nazhor process. So far, the Q&A sessions have been one-

sided. I mean, when I answered their questions, that was it, there was no real exchange or follow-up discussion. It's different from nazhor, where we can talk directly; that's when actual negotiation takes place." (N, April 19, 2025)

At this stage, several female informants stated that they preferred to be questioned by the ikhwan (men) first before asking their own questions. This reflects the position of women as being dominated by men, as in the teachings they adhere to, women are viewed as ma'mum, followers of men (Rosalina & Mujahidin, 2025). During the nazhor stage, both prospective partners are allowed to communicate more freely while being accompanied by a third party. Consequently, role negotiation typically takes place at this stage.

The characteristics displayed by the informants, both in their CVs and during the ta'aruf process, support Butler's assertion that gender performance is inseparable from prevailing social norms, in this case, religious norms (Butler, 1993b). Members of the ta'aruf platform Akad Project tended to highlight their piety and modesty, which are central teachings in Islam. The repeated exposure to religious doctrines within the Salafi manhaj, reinforced through religious education and community discussions within Akad Project, shaped a distinctive form of gender performance that differs from that found in broader society.

These findings reinforce Gender Performativity Theory, in which Butler argues that gender is the result of repeated acts (Butler, 1990). In this study, based on the interview with UA on May 15, 2025, it was found that gender norms are internalized within Akad Project, particularly among followers of the Salafi manhaj, through weekly discussion programs among members, sharing sessions hosted by the platform owner and mentor via Instagram, online posts emphasizing Salafi teachings on marriage, ta'aruf, and polygamy, as well as reading materials specifically provided for Akad Project members that explain Islamic perspectives on marriage and ta'aruf.

However, despite these repeated practices, such actions alone are insufficient to construct a stable gender identity. Therefore, in addition to participating in Akad Project activities, all informants also regularly attend religious lectures by Salafi scholars, either online or offline, based on their respective religious references.

3.4 Changes in gender performance and expectations after marriage

Changes within marital relationships are a common occurrence, particularly among couples who have not known each other for an extended period. The idealized image they present during the courtship process often evolves as their individual personalities become more apparent over time (Lavner et al., 2018). This dynamic is similarly observed among couples who became acquainted through online ta'aruf. S, the husband of SA, explained that:

"Yes, there are changes, but sometimes those changes are not as expected. There are negative sides, like, 'Oh, so this is how it is.' It turns out my wife can be disobedient, even though during ta'aruf she said she would always obey." (S, May 13, 2025)

Similarly, SA expressed that there were noticeable differences between her husband's performance as presented in his CV and his behavior after marriage, which consequently altered her expectations, particularly regarding religious study and financial management. She stated:

"At first, I was annoyed because he seemed different from what was written in his CV, but after seeing that he still behaved kindly, I thought, 'Well, that's okay, those other things are just bonuses'" (SA, May 12, 2025).

Changes in performance, whether positive or negative, are natural in marriage. However, such changes become particularly interesting in the context of online ta'aruf, where individuals present themselves not through long-term interaction or intensive communication, but rather through self-descriptions written in a CV. Some informants

mentioned that their partners' characteristics, as written in the CV, were consistent with their behavior after marriage. In fact, AR, the husband of SI, stated that his wife's conduct after marriage exceeded what she had presented in her CV and during ta'aruf. Nonetheless, others shared similar experiences to S and SA, noting variations between their partner's self-presentation in the CV, during ta'aruf, and after marriage.

Alongside these shifts in self-performance, expectations of gender roles also evolved over time. WA, the wife of RI, acknowledged that her expectations regarding gender roles changed from before marriage, after seeing her husband's CV, during ta'aruf, and following marriage. Initially, she believed that an ideal wife must be entirely obedient to her husband so that he would treat her well and fulfill her material needs, a belief reinforced during the ta'aruf process. However, after marriage, her perspective shifted; she realized the importance of having personal financial independence, as her husband could not always meet all her desires. This shift in expectations is not only based on performative choices or discursive negotiations, but also on responses to material constraints. Butler (1993) explains this as the fluidity of gender identity that can be changed and negotiated, but Butler cannot explain it adequately due to the lack of analytical tools for these material constraints.

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1977) revealed that "humans are motivated to fulfill their needs in a hierarchical order." The differences in life after marriage and her husband's inability to fulfill WA's desires forced her to face economic realities that necessitated a renegotiation of gender roles. Bourdieu (1977) reveals what is known as the "dialectic of objective structures and incorporated structures." WA, who previously believed that a good wife was one who stayed at home, obeyed her husband, and did not work, collided with the objective structure, namely her husband's inability to fulfill her material needs. Ultimately, what caused WA's habitus to change was not only because she "chose" to display a different gender, but because she was "forced" by material reality.

According to RI on May 10, 2025, differences in gender performance and expectations are believed to stem from the limited time couples have to truly understand one another. In Butler's terms, gender can be likened to clothing in a wardrobe—something that can be selected in the morning and put back at night. In the case of online ta'aruf, the gender performed through self-descriptions in the CV and during interactions can shift depending on the image one wishes to project, a process made even more flexible in the dynamic nature of virtual spaces (Butler, 1993b). However, the changes that occur in gender performance in this case are not as simple as changing clothes, as Butler suggests. Goffman (1959) characterized this transition in his theory of Dramaturgy, distinguishing between the "front stage" and the "back stage." The "front stage" is the portion of the performance during taaruf that is displayed by the informants. Marriage facilitates the expression of an alternative facet of the self, which is referred to as the "back stage." These findings also align with (Lavner et al., 2018), who assert that individuals characteristics naturally evolve and become more transparent as the duration of marriage increases.

3.5 Polygamy from the perspectives of women and men among online ta'aruf participants

Islam permits polygamy under specific conditions, including a limitation on the number of wives, the obligation to ensure equitable treatment among them, and particular circumstances that may justify the practice (Bature & Abba, 2025). These conditions indicate that polygamy is not an unrestricted right, but rather a regulated institution embedded within ethical and social responsibilities. However, the interpretation and implementation of these requirements often vary across cultural and legal contexts, leading to different practices and justifications. As a result, polygamy remains a subject of ongoing debate, not only within Muslim communities but also in broader society, particularly concerning issues of gender justice, equality, and the potential for misuse (Ritonga et al., 2025).

Akad Project also serves as a platform that accommodates members who are interested in practicing polygamy. This is evident in the CV form participants are required to complete, which includes a question about their openness to polygamy. The rationale behind this is

that Akad Project is an online ta'aruf platform grounded in the manhaj Salafi, a branch of Islam whose doctrinal foundations are limited to three primary sources: the Qur'an, Hadith, and the consensus (ijma') of the salaf al-salih (Saparudin & Emawati, 2023). Salafi Muslims tend to view polygamy as an act of faith, falling within the category of sunnah that approaches obligation, and often regard it as a spiritual test for women in demonstrating steadfastness and willingness to share their husbands with others. Numerous scholars and kyai within the Salafi manhaj have actively promoted polygamy as a means of upholding the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah (Wahyudi & Wahyudin, 2021). This differs from the views of some other Muslims, some of whom impose strict conditions, while others prohibit it unless it is unavoidable. Some scholars argue that the commandment of polygamy was actually intended to reduce the number of polygamous marriages in Arab society, where men often married dozens or even hundreds of women (Sugiyono & Al-Hakam, 2025)

All informants acknowledged that polygamy is a sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad and is legally permissible both in religious and state law. However, although none of the informants had personally practiced polygamy, differing attitudes toward the willingness to engage in it were evident between male and female participants. Most of the male informants, all of whom were employed and earned more than Rp.1,000,000 per month, viewed polygamy not merely as a religious teaching but as a noble form of shari'a that should be practiced when the necessary conditions are met.

They not only accepted polygamy in a normative sense but also expressed an affirmative desire to practice it once they considered themselves ready. The male informants agreed that polygamy constitutes a sunnah of the Prophet that is challenging to fulfill, as it requires preparedness in terms of financial capacity, time management, and mental resilience. In particular, T and S, both of whom are married, stated that while they are not yet ready to practice polygamy, their wives have not granted permission and even tend to threaten them whenever the topic arises. Nevertheless, they maintain the aspiration to engage in polygamy, believing that, in time, their wives will eventually come to accept it.

"My wife has strictly forbidden it and even threatened me about it. Once, jokingly, I said, 'Dear, what if I practice polygamy?'—but she immediately refused. She even warned me not to bring it up again. So, for now, I've been threatened already," S explained. "But we never know what the future holds, right? Everything is in Allah's hands; He can change hearts at any time. I keep praying that, little by little, her heart will be convinced. We can never predict what lies ahead." (S, May 13, 2025).

Another male informant, AR, who works as a private employee, and W, who works as a gardener, stated that polygamy is a difficult practice that cannot easily be carried out by ordinary men. Both agreed that polygamy is a Sunnah practiced by the Prophet Muhammad, yet they expressed no desire to engage in it themselves due to the moral burden it entails. They also acknowledged that men are given the option to practice or refrain from polygamy; however, the very existence of this choice, they argued, increases men's moral and religious responsibility.

Meanwhile, the female informants generally agreed with the religious legitimacy of polygamy but expressed a personal unwillingness to be in such a marriage. Their reasons included emotional unpreparedness to share a husband, a perceived lack of spiritual and moral maturity, the belief that polygamy is suitable only for exceptionally pious women, and the conviction that there are many other Sunnah practices to follow. The most common concern among them was the fear that their husbands might fail to act justly, which could lead to harm (mudharat). This aligns with Aminah's (2023) assertion that many women reject polygamy due to fears of injustice within the family structure.

Except for WA and SU, the other informants stated that they were not ready to be involved in a polygamous marriage, even if it promised the reward of paradise. Some of them even expressed strong rejection when a man they were engaging with in the ta'aruf process indicated his desire to practice polygamy. They also tended to decline proposals from men whose CVs explicitly stated their openness to polygamy.

“Yes, polygamy is part of the Sharia, right, Mbak? Personally, I don’t see it as a problem, and I don’t hate it or anything. Polygamy is meant for extraordinary women—but I am not one of those women, so I cannot do it.” (SI, April 25, 2025).

Meanwhile, WA and SU expressed their willingness to engage in polygamy. SU, an active member of Akad Project, stated that she had initially rejected the idea of being in a polygamous marriage. However, she is now willing to be the first wife in such an arrangement, although she is not ready to become a subsequent wife (second, third, or fourth). Her reason is that she does not want to cause emotional pain to the first wife if she were to assume that position.

Interestingly, the researcher found a distinctive perspective in the case of WA, a member of the Akad Project who is married to RI. She expressed her wholehearted acceptance of polygamy and even stated that she would support her husband if he chose to pursue it. However, RI, her husband, admitted that he is not yet financially capable of engaging in polygamy. WA explained that her willingness stems from her desire to seek Allah SWT's pleasure (rida). She also acknowledged that she might not be able to fully serve her husband in old age and therefore hopes that another woman could later fulfill his marital rights more fully.

WA's view aligns with (Al-Tkhayneh & Nser, 2019) findings, which indicate that many women who consent to polygamy do so because they perceive themselves as lacking the capacity to serve their husbands adequately as they age.

From these findings, a clear difference emerges between male and female perspectives on polygamy. This reinforces Butler's assertion that gender is constituted through the repetition of actions grounded in social norms (Butler, 1993b). In this context, the repeated religious discourse surrounding polygamy, through weekly discussions, question-and-answer sessions within the Akad Project, and ongoing Salafi teachings, functions as a performative act in the construction of gender. The study reveals that the tendency among men to desire polygamy, even when constrained by certain factors, stems from the internalization of religious norms that are continuously reinforced.

In contrast, although the female informants conceptually acknowledged polygamy as one of the sunnah practices, indicating an internalization of the religious norm related to it, they personally rejected the idea of being in a polygamous marriage for various reasons. This rejection constitutes a performative act that challenges the gender expectations embedded within the religious norms surrounding polygamy. (Butler, 1990) highlights this phenomenon by asserting that the dynamic nature of gender allows individuals to resist and even subvert prevailing gender norms and cultural expectations, thereby creating new expressions of gender aligned with their own values. Furthermore, the researcher found no significant relationship between the informants' occupations or income levels and their perspectives on polygamy, among either male or female participants.

4. Conclusions

Online ta'aruf has increasingly become a popular trend among young Muslims in Indonesia, involving both men and women. One of its platforms, Akad Project, has gained thousands of followers on social media. This study found that women tend to present themselves as modest, natural, and obedient, emphasizing traits such as nurturing, humility, financial management, and household competence. Meanwhile, men tend to present themselves as authoritative, responsible, capable leaders, and caring figures. This aligns with Butler's argument that individuals tend to perform in accordance with the norms they adhere to. In the context of online ta'aruf, religious norms appear to be more dominant than cultural ones, as reflected in how participants' performances are more grounded in Islamic principles than in local cultural expectations.

After marriage, noticeable changes in gender performance emerged among couples who met through online ta'aruf. These changes occurred gradually, beginning from the

nazhor stage (face-to-face introduction) to post-marriage interactions. The performances initially presented in the CVs often differed from those exhibited during nazhor, and continued to shift after marriage.

Furthermore, this study identified distinct differences between male and female ta'aruf participants in their views on polygamy. Although none of the informants had direct experience with polygamy, they all acknowledged it as a legitimate Islamic teaching. However, most male participants not only accepted polygamy normatively but also expressed a willingness to practice it when conditions allowed. In contrast, most female participants rejected the idea of being in a polygamous marriage, citing various personal and emotional reasons, while a few accepted it out of obedience or to ensure their husband's happiness. Over time, the internalization of Islamic norms appears to shape men's sense of authority in making personal decisions and women's inclination toward obedience and acceptance, often without prioritizing their own comfort or agency.

This study has initiated a discourse on gender relations in the digital age, particularly within the context of religiosity. The findings of this study can serve as a foundation for all parties involved in online ta'aruf to initiate an open, secure, and equitable dialogue between women and men to discuss sensitive issues in marriage, thereby reducing the potential for performance and reality gaps, as well as differences in perspective between couples. This study also opens opportunities for developing gender-based digital literacy that focuses not only on cybersecurity but also on awareness of identity construction and gender relations in the digital space. The aforementioned implications ultimately support efforts to establish more egalitarian and equitable gender relations in contemporary Muslim marriage.

This study is limited to a single online ta'aruf platform, which may not fully capture the broader dynamics of online ta'aruf practices in Indonesia. Future research is encouraged to enrich the discussion by exploring multiple ta'aruf communities, thereby gaining a more comprehensive understanding. Additionally, it is important to further investigate polygamy from a gendered perspective within specific Muslim communities as a focused area of inquiry.

Acknowledgement

The author would like to sincerely thank the reviewers for their insightful, valuable, and constructive feedback, which has significantly improved the clarity, depth, and overall quality of this article.

Author Contribution

E. T. was responsible for carrying out the literature review, analyzing and interpreting the findings, drafting the manuscript, and performing the final proofreading. The author has thoroughly reviewed and approved the final version of this manuscript for publication.

Funding

This research received no external funding.

Ethical Review Board Statement

Research was conducted in accordance with established ethical standards for social research, including voluntary participation, confidentiality, and the protection of participants' identities.

Informed Consent Statement

Informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to data collection. Participants were fully informed about the purpose of the study, the voluntary nature of their participation, and their right to withdraw at any time. Anonymity and confidentiality were strictly maintained throughout the research process.

Data Availability Statement

Not available.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declare no conflict of interest.

Declaration of Generative AI Use

During the preparation of this work, the author used Grammarly to improve the manuscript's grammar, clarity, and academic tone. After using this tool, the author reviewed and edited the content as needed and took full responsibility for the publication's content.

Open Access

©2026. The author(s). This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License, which permits use, sharing, adaptation, distribution, and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license, and indicate if changes were made. The images or other third-party material in this article are included in the article's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the article's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder. To view a copy of this license, visit: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

References

- Ahmad, M., & Wilkins, S. (2025). Purposive sampling in qualitative research: a framework for the entire journey. *Quality and Quantity*, 59(2), 1461–1479. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-024-02022-5>
- Al-Tkhayneh, K. M., & Nser, K. K. (2019). Emirati women's perceptions of polygamy according to age, employment, and educational level. *Humanities and Social Sciences Reviews*, 7(5), 911–916. <https://doi.org/10.18510/hssr.2019.75117>
- Aminah, U. N. (2023). The Denial of Polygamy as the Excuse for Men's Sexual Desire. *Jurnal Perempuan Dan Anak (JPA)*, 6(2), 71–78. <https://doi.org/10.22219/jpa.v6i2.24300>
- Asyari, S., & Husnul Abid, M. (2016). Expanding the Indonesian tarbiyah movement through ta'aruf and marriage. *Al-Jami'ah: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 54(2), 337–368. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2016.542.337-368>
- Bature, H. I., & Abba, B. (2025). The Concept and Ethics of Polygamy in Islamic Teachings. *International Journal of Education Effectiveness Research*. <https://doi.org/10.70382/hijeer.v06i8.017>
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans). Cambridge University Press.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies That Matter* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Dhiya, I. L., Falakha, N., & Hami, W. (2024). Online ta'aruf (Islamic premarital introduction process) Melalui Media Sosial Prespektif Fikih Munahakat. *QadauNa Jurnal*, 5, 2. <https://ojs.iainbatusangkar.ac.id/ojs/index.php/Juris/article/view/959/849>
- Fathurrahman, & Zulhaqqi, G. L. (2020). Fenomena Online ta'aruf (Islamic premarital introduction process) Online Dan Praktik Komodifikasi Perkawinan Di Dunia Digital. *Kafa'ah Journal*, 10(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.15548/jk.v10i1.327>
- Ghufrani, A., Halimatussa'diyah, & Pathurrahman. (2024). The Implications of the Concept of Soulmates in the Qur'an on the Ta'aruf Phenomenon in Indonesia. *Jurnal Kajian Keislaman*, 1, 42–47. <https://doi.org/10.56566/jks.v1i2.220>
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Doubleday.
- Handayani, D. S. (2022). Ta'aruf Rules in Digital Room: Study of Matchmaking Process on Biro Jodoh Rumaysho Social Media. *Asy-Syir'ah: Jurnal Ilmu Syari'ah Dan Hukum*, 55(2), 223. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajish.v56i2.1041>

- He, L. (2017). The Construction of Gender: Judith Butler and Gender Performativity. *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*. <https://doi.org/10.2991/iccsh-17.2017.166>
- Hefner. (2005). The New Muslim Romance: Changing Patterns of Courtship and Marriage Among Educated Javanese Youth. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 36(3), 441–459. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002246340500024X>
- Hefner. (2017). *Religion, Public Policy and Social Transformation in Southeast Asia* (D. Sofjan, Ed.; Religion). Globethics.net. <https://doi.org/10.58863/20.500.12424/166847>
- Hidayat, A. A., Arifin, A. Z., & Falah, M. B. (2024). Religion and Business: Capitalization of Religion in Online Ta'aruf Accounts. *Transformatif*, 8(1), 67–84. <https://doi.org/10.23971/tf.v8i1.7926>
- Illouz, E., & Kotliar, D. M. (2022). Capitalist subjectivity, tinder, and the emotionalization of the web. In *The Routledge Handbook of Digital Consumption* (pp. 229–240). Taylor and Francis. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003317524-22>
- Kakoliris, G. (2025). Judith Butler on Gender Performavity. *Dia-Noesis*, 2025(17), 57–74. <https://doi.org/10.12681/dia.41735>
- Khatun, M., Islam, A., & Latif, A. K. M. A. (2022). The Multifaceted Significance of Marriage: Exploring Its Role in Religion, Family Dynamics, Social Cohesion, and Economic Context. In *International Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities* (Vol. 7, Issue 1). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.58885/ijssh.v7i1.55.mk>
- Lavner, J. A., Weiss, B., Miller, J. D., & Karney, B. R. (2018). Personality change among newlyweds: Patterns, predictors, and associations with marital satisfaction over time. *Developmental Psychology*, 54(6), 1172–1185. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000491>
- Madya, S. H. (2017). Pacaran or Ta'aruf? Contesting Two Cultural Trends of Mate Selection in Indonesia. *SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary*, 2(2), 121–130. <https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v2i2.976>
- Masngudi, Khoiriyah, I. M., & Mahardhikasih, Q. (2025). Paradoks Keluarga Sakinah: Relasi Kuasa Dan Wacana Patriarki. *Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Budaya*, 5(01), 10–21. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.57210/trq.v5.i01.129>
- Mohammad, S. N., & Rhain, M. A. (2024). *Tabarruj* in the Qur'an (Analytical Study of Surah Al-Ahzab Verse 33 According to Tafsir Al-Munir). *Proceeding ISETH (International Summit on Science, Technology, and Humanity)*, 2723–2727. <https://doi.org/10.23917/iseth.5405>
- Mundzir, M. (2021). Gender Construction in Manhaj Salaf's Account: A Study of Hadith Content on the Existence of Women in Public Sphere. *DINIKA : Academic Journal of Islamic Studies*, 6(1), 2503–4227. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v6i2.4073>
- Neubauer, B. E., Witkop, C. T., & Varpio, L. (2019). How phenomenology can help us learn from the experiences of others. *Perspectives on Medical Education*, 8(2), 90–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S40037-019-0509-2>
- Nisa, E. F. (2011). Marriage and Divorce for the Sake of Religion: The Marital Life of Cadari in Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 39(6), 797–820. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/156853111X619238>
- Nisa, E. F. (2021). Online Halal Dating, Ta'aruf, and the Shariatization of Matchmaking among Malaysian and Indonesian Muslims. *Cyber Orient*, 15, 231–258. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cyo2.13>
- Pemerintah Republik Indonesia. (1974). *Undang-undang Nomor 1 Tahun 1974 tentang Perkawinan*.
- Rahim, A., Misbahuddin, Mujiburrahman, Nurfaika, S., Razak, Abd. R., Ramoddin, & Zainuddin. (2023). Ta'aruf Online Perspectives on Fiqhiyyah Methods. *Al-Risalah Jurnal Ilmu Syariah Dan Hukum*, 86–101. <https://doi.org/10.24252/al-risalah.vi.37266>
- Rahmi, T., Nazmi, K., Siregar, R. H., & Harahap, A. P. (2025). Hadith on *Tabarruj*: Relevance and Limitations of Makeup Use for Muslim Women in the Contemporary Era. *Al Qalam*:

- Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan Dan Kemasyarakatan*, 19(3), 1776. <https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v19i3.4432>
- Ritonga, D., B. Syafuri, Faisal Zulfikar, Tarihoran, N., Jambunanda, A. J., & Karimuddin, K. (2025). Polygamy: A Threat or Opportunity to The Islamic Family? (Sociology and Family Law Perspectives). *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah Dan Masyarakat*, 25(1), 244–261. <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v25i1.27389>
- Rochadiat, A. M., Tong, S. T., & Novak, J. M. (2018). Online dating and courtship among Muslim American women: Negotiating technology, religious identity, and culture. *New Media & Society*, 20(4), 1618–1639. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817702396>
- Rosalina, A., & Mujahidin, A. (2025). Reaffirming Javanese Patriarchy. *Dialogia*, 23(01), 31–48. <https://doi.org/10.21154/dialogia.v23i01.10429>
- Rosyidah, I., & Damastuti, R. I. (2023). Membingkai Identitas Kolektif Berbasis Agama: Pengalaman Gerakan Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran. *Dialog*, 46(2), 203–14. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v46i2.806>
- Saifullah, M. (2018). Beyond Muslims Panic: an Exploration Upon Instagram Matchmaker in Indonesia. *Harmoni*, 17(2), 258–373. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v17i2.301>
- Saleh, M., Harun, N., Yusnita, E., Hendriyanto, H., & Siregar, S. S. (2025). Cultural Distortion in Marriage Taaruf Through Matchmaking Applications from the Perspective of Islamic Law. *Pena Justisia: Media Komunikasi Dan Kajian Hukum*, 24(1), 1126–1139. <https://doi.org/10.31941/pj.v24i1.5913>
- Saparudin, & Emawati. (2023). Ideological Framing, Mosques, and Conflict: Bargaining Position of Salafi Movement in Lombok, East Indonesia. *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, 18(1), 231–244. <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol18no1.19>
- Sari, T. Y. (2023). Between Religious Controversy and Commodification: A Study of Dauroh Poligami Indonesia. *Indonesian Journal of Religion and Society*, 5(1), 47–57. <https://doi.org/10.36256/ijrs.v5i1.316>
- Sugiyono, F., & Al-Hakam, A. F. (2025). Polygamy (Ta'addud Az-Zaujat) in the Perspective of Critique of Interpretation Between Normative Ideals and Social Reality. *Jurnal STIU Darul Hikmah*, 11(1), 53–68. <https://doi.org/10.61086/jstiudh.v11i1.63>
- Surur, N., Sari, I. P., & Nirwana, M. A. (2024). Proses Perjudohan Syariah di Kantor Biro Taaruf Syar'i Kabupaten Sukoharjo Menggunakan Analisa Teori Forum Shopping dan Gender Diversity. *Asy-Syari'ah: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, 10(1), 135–150. <https://doi.org/10.55210/assyariah.v10i1.1550>
- Wahyudi, & Wahyudin. (2021). Wajah Tafsir Sufistik di Indonesia. *Jurnal Iman Dan Spiritualitas*, 1(2), 121–125. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.15575/jis.v1i2.11519>

Biography of Author

Elsa Tania, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, South Tangerang, Banten 15412, Indonesia.

- Email: elsatania@gmail.com
- ORCID: N/A
- Web of Science ResearcherID: N/A
- Scopus Author ID: N/A
- Homepage: N/A