Navigating Compliant Agency in Cyberspace: Muslim Womanhood Through the Lens of Oki Setiana Dewi

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Abstract

In contrast to the stereotype that docile Muslim women are confined to domestic roles, this study examines how Muslim womanhood can balance economic independence with adherence to religious and societal expectations. Focusing on the case of Indonesian ustadzah (Islamic preacher) Oki Setiana Dewi, this research explored her agency as expressed through her Instagram activity. Cultivating the compliant agency, this article asserts that consciously adhering to religious values preserves patriarchal expectations while gaining authority and financial freedom. This study utilized qualitative content analysis, collecting data from Oki's Instagram account using "Instalouder" and analyzing captions with "Voyant Tools" to identify recurring themes. Oki's persona conforms to what society expects of women. She portrays herself as a devout Ustadzah, a prosperous entrepreneur, and a mother who is dedicated to her kids. This illustrates cyberspace as a place where women preserve traditional norms as well as a space for them to express their agency. It fosters a duality of cyberspace that is both empowering and constraining. This raises critical issues that Oki's narrative, while seemingly empowering, reinforces patriarchal norms that confine women to domestic and religious obligations, even to their agency. In other words, her portrayal emphasizes the ability to balance public and private roles but leaves room for questioning the societal structures that enforce these expectations. It raises critical questions about whether such an agency disrupts or perpetuates systemic inequalities in Indonesia's gendered social landscape.

Keywords: Compliant Agency, Cyberspace, Instagram, Muslim Womanhood, Oki Setiana Dewi.

Introduction

When it comes to social movements, particularly feminist action, the media is strategically very important.[1] Providing a public and political arena that facilitates new kinds of citizenship, the internet has been revolutionary in many ways, laying the groundwork for "cyberfeminism" (a feminist movement that explores the intersection of technology, digital spaces, and gender empowerment).[2] People may define, express, and assert their identities in this digital space, particularly with respect to gender roles, sexual orientation, and the wider circumstances facing women.[3] Feminists have been able to communicate more effectively, bring attention to important topics, and fight for their group's rights and justice on an individual and collective basis by utilizing a variety of online venues,[4] thereby leaps, on physical

constraints. This is where the battle against gender inequalities began, promoting international solidarity and democratizing information access. In enabling global feminist discourse participation from remote spaces, those platforms tend to be, although in small, delicate ways, a booster of gender equality.[5]

However, they are well aware that technology cannot change the systemic injustices they stand against.[6] It is acknowledged that "a feminist internet" (a concept of an internet that promotes gender equity and feminist principles) extends and reflects more elaborate movements and resistance, whether public or private, elsewhere while providing argumentative space with tools and venues for the action. In other words, the internet is only a tool for global feminists to facilitate their social movements and collective actions;[7] it cannot single-handedly resolve deeply ingrained societal injustices.

Nevertheless, the truth is that digital feminism has spread around the world, providing feminists with a wide range of tools and venues for activity. The space for agentic performance has indeed expanded for feminists and women in general as a result of this growth.[8] The emergence of online networks has given marginalized groups of women a secure, although occasionally vulnerable, environment.[9] With the help of these virtual safe havens, women may create networks of support where they can exchange stories, encourage one another,[10] and organize group action without worrying about being physically repressed.

Indonesia has also become a country where the feminist movement has advanced significantly.[11] Due to the internet, Indonesian women are now able to question patriarchal traditions, advocate for legislative changes, and take up concerns like reproductive rights, economic injustice, and gender-based violence.[12] The struggle against gender inequality is strengthened by this multimodal strategy, which combines offline and online activism.

However, cyberspace (the virtual environment where online interactions and activities take place) particularly, can be both empowering and disempowering depending on the social, cultural, political, and economic environment. In a variety of contexts, including cyberspace practices, preexisting social and cultural frameworks challenge the agency power of particular groups and communities.[13] The widespread use of cyberspace has gradually assimilated into women's social activities in both the personal and professional domains. The development's concrete advantages include promoting business, creating and preserving social ties, granting information access, acting as a medium for unofficial self-learning, and e improving daily organizational tasks. However, analyzing how women utilize cyberspace may also shed light on other aspects of oppression, helplessness, and lack of agency.[14]

However, women's agency and cyberspace access have a more complex connection than a straightforward gender (dis)empowerment dichotomy would imply.[15] As a semi-covert communication medium, the agency offered by cyberspace might cause disruptions. Comparatively speaking, technology is less directly subject to patriarchal forces than traditional communication routes. Yet, cyberspace by itself does not fundamentally alter how resources are accessed or topple established hierarchies of power. Instead, it gives women the chance to learn new coping mechanisms for managing their everyday personal and professional tasks in patriarchal environments.[16] For instance, it gives women more options by opening up new business opportunities.[17] Additionally, it allows women to better capitalize on existing opportunities, making their use of these resources more efficient and impactful.[18]

Building on this, the underlying social factors that sustain repressive institutions must be actively addressed rather than remaining part of the implicit background (unseen social norms, values, and structures that silently reinforce inequality). Individuals accept society's control as an integral part of who they are (part of their identity), as demonstrated by Foucauldian processes.[19] That is why the fundamental social forces sustaining repression must be confronted, as seen in how patriarchal systems

assert control through intersecting power dynamics like gender, class, and migrant status. Access to social media is characterized by the spread of rumors and scandals against women coming from their partners, indicating that even in cyberspace, social control remains very strong towards women.[20]

The tension between agency and social control is particularly evident when discussing their relationship with religion. The key notion of choice and action that defines agency is justly measured in terms of intention and autonomy, which cannot be associated with religious practice.[21] It is clear that religion contains collective norms and rules that limit individual autonomy. This raises a debate in feminist literature about whether social structures (such as religious norms in this context) fully control women's actions or whether women have the freedom to act independently of these structures.[22] In this regard, feminist scholars like Lois McNay state that agency also includes the capacity to act independently in the face of strong cultural constraints and systemic injustices.[23]

Based on this theoretical framework, this article examined the case of Oki Setiana Dewi, who expressed her agency in cyberspace amidst the patriarchal and conservative culture that surrounds her. Her personal branding generates significant authority among Indonesians. She becomes a role model for a devout Muslim woman, running the business while fulfilling her obligations as a mother. In other words, Oki's case offers a compelling example of how a devoutly religious woman who is also a successful entrepreneur can perform her domestic responsibilities – representing what this study refers to as a compliant agency. This article also interrogated whether the agency demonstrated by Oki is truly empowering or instead aligns with and reinforces existing patriarchal norms.

Research Method

The qualitative content analysis method, which focused on her Instagram (@okisetianadewi), was applied. Utilizing Instalouder to search all the captions on her Instagram and Voyant Tools to analyze the most frequently mentioned words, I explore the narrative she creates to delve deeper into her compliant agency.

Discussion

Women's Agency in Religion and Gender: Compliant Beyond Resistance and Docility

Initially, many feminists believed that women should or wanted to be freed and that their collective action stemmed from their shared oppression. Later feminist studies, however, questioned these notions by demonstrating how women's behaviors may perpetuate gender inequity and by casting doubt on the long-term validity of gender identities and common interests.[24] Even more recent scholars indicate that women may be agentive in ways that defy feminist assumptions. Examples of such actions include supporting repressive social systems, ignoring unfair social arrangements, and actively aiding in the enslavement of others.[25]

However, we must take into account what kind of agency scholars offer towards religion and gender. Ann Swidler develops the 'cultural toolkit' notion in her book Talk of Love: How Culture Matters (2001),[26] which helps give a foundation for agency-related matters. Swidler defines culture as a set of tools, symbols, rules, and resources that people use to negotiate diverse social structures and achieve their goals. This perspective sees women's agency as instrumental, highlighting how religious women use cultural and religious resources to achieve their goals.

Building on this, Rinaldo[27] identified a theoretical split in the study of religion, gender, and agency between the "cultural toolkit"[28] approach and two more recent ideas, "doing religion"[29] and "compliant agency."[30] The toolkit approach, as described above, sees women's agency as instrumental, with

religious women using the tools of religion to achieve their objectives. On the other hand, the "compliant" viewpoint emphasizes how people are formed within social structures, whereas pious women are perceived as agentive precisely because they follow and practice their religion.

Extending this discussion of agency in religion, Avishai[31] introduced the concept of 'doing religion,' which he initially compared to 'doing gender' due to their frequent association. However, Avishai distinguished the two, arguing that while 'doing gender' reflects the coercive application of norms to sustain inequality, 'doing religion' involves the semiconscious, self-authoring creation of religiosity within regulatory discourses and social norms. These settings are frequently ignored by sociologists of religion. He was quite clear in saying that Mahmood's idea that docility is a form of agency is what "doing religion" is based on. Speaking about Mahmood's idea of agency as submissive behavior, he made the case that it is a fabrication of religion rather than an endeavor of self-authorship. Mahmood's research also challenges the scholarly view that docility may be an instrument of power, as it is a philosophical and political argument based on Western conceptions of agency. Along with addressing the sociological, postcolonial, and feminist perspectives on agency, she also examined the structural and institutional settings that influence religious behavior. Of particular note were the sociological interpretations of agency as the deliberate pursuit of nonreligious goals, the postcolonial interpretation as submissive behavior, and the feminist interpretation of observance as an oppressive tool of power.[32] Mahmood critiques these approaches for often overlooking the complexity of religious agency, which cannot always be neatly categorized as either resistance or compliance.

Building on Mahmood's critique of Western frameworks that dichotomize agency as either resistance or compliance, the concept of compliant agency empowers women to embrace their agency within the context of adhering to religious practices, even though there may not be a universally accepted method for them to do so.[33] Finding out how religious women carry out their religious teachings in various contexts is the goal of the compliant agency. According to Mahmood[34], this approach acknowledges the "sensibilities and embodied capacities" that are present in religious practices. That is, deliberate acts of resistance or conformity, both of which should be seen as forms of agency, may result from the ways in which women perceive their surroundings and their abilities.

Mahmood's approach shifts the understanding of agency by highlighting how compliance with religious norms can be a conscious, meaningful act of self-authorship rather than mere submission to external forces. This perspective differs from the postcolonial view of agency, which often interprets compliance as a survival strategy or a form of covert resistance within oppressive structures. While both approaches recognize the influence of social and institutional frameworks on individual behavior, Mahmood focuses on how an agency operates within these structures. In contrast, postcolonial theory emphasizes the negotiation or subversion of those same structures.

However, because there is already a substantial body of literature on other types of agencies, scholars who employ this approach typically concentrate their study on the ways in which women adhere to religious beliefs. The liberal interpretation of holy books on women's suitable roles within religions does not confer greater agency on one woman than on another who reads the same texts in a way that maintains gender traditionalism. This is one lesson to be gleaned from the compliant agency approach. Instead, through interpretation, both women demonstrate agency by drawing from their personal experiences and daily lives.[35] In other words, compliant agency shows that adherence to traditional norms is also a form of agency. This is in line with Orit Avishai's previous approaches.[36] Women demonstrate agency when they choose to "do religion," regardless of the reasons or outcomes of their actions.

Narratives of Muslim Womanhood and Women's Agency in Cyberspace

Importantly, women did not only follow religious rules and regulations; they also rebelled against and undermined official doctrine by adopting new interpretations, partial compliance, and modifications that gave doctrines and rituals new meanings.[37] In *God's Daughters*,[38] Griffith introduces the idea of 'submissive agency,' in which women gladly submit to particular religious norms to gain spiritual satisfaction and empowerment within these limits. This idea is pertinent while exploring the agency of Muslim women, both in general and in specific cases such as Oki Setiana Dewi. Oki represents submissive agency since she strictly adheres to religious precepts emphasizing parenting, preaching, and modesty, yet she goes far beyond mere compliance. She strategically uses these norms to build her public authority and influence, demonstrating how an agency can exist together with the observance of tradition.

In the context of Muslim women in cyberspace, submissive agency is also pertinent. Women in online Islamic communities commonly reinterpret religious traditional values to fit in modern realities, yet they still adhere to them. Their interactions blur the lines between production and consumption. This highlights the inclusivity centered on Islam, which is especially significant for Muslim women.[39] These new opportunities for women to exercise agency over the type of information generated. Such opportunities can be categorized into two forms: active agency, where women create and upload content as site administrators or on their own initiative, and reactive agency, where women respond to content shared by others—or choose not to respond.[40] In other words, the presence of a predominantly female audience can lead to the creation of content that caters to women and may also influence the type of knowledge produced by these women.[41] It can be found in message boards and comment sections, which offer Muslim women unprecedented opportunities to navigate and shape the visible tension between Islamic law as perceived 'from above' and living law as experienced 'from below.' In consequence, cyberspace gives women the freedom to engage in the "public" transmission of religious knowledge without necessarily challenging their expected domestic roles.[42]

In Islamic studies, the discussion of women's agency often focuses on two novel strategies. The first emphasizes textual interpretation, shifting the focus from a philological approach to exploring how socio-political contexts influence daily experiences. The second strategy looks at the Islamic authorities that have emerged from Muslim women. The second strategy examines the emergence of Islamic authorities among Muslim women. It explores the ways in which specific representations of Muslim womanhood are influenced or promoted and how these impact narratives about themselves and their surroundings. This occurs alongside the establishment of new Islamic authority, state policy, education, and media accessibility for soaking up liberal Western values.[43]

In Indonesia, this dynamic is evident as Muslims extend their Islamic knowledge through textbooks and online platforms, bypassing traditional Islamic authorities.[44] This shift requires scholarly attention to the role of Muslim women in shaping narratives, as it reflects the declining influence of conventional religious leaders.[45] Through their narratives, Muslim women are proactively reshaping gender norms, exhibiting their agency and comprehension of the social circumstances of Muslim womanhood.[46] Islamic teachings and customs have changed and evolved to fit the needs of Muslim women in various places and eras. These women define Muslim femininity by upholding strong Islamic principles by virtue of their roles as professionals, advocates for Islamic microfinance, and role models in their local communities. They have adapted Islamic customs to suit their personal circumstances. They have rationalized their positions in a number of ways, including by arguing that the family needs to generate income, by pointing out that their actions are beneficial to the Islamic community, and by requesting support from certain

relevant religious authorities, even though they are aware that some teachings say that women should stay at home and that husbands are the head of the family and have the responsibility to provide an income or fortune (*rejeki*).[47]

Indonesia has also witnessed a surge in Middle Eastern Islamism, a new form of Salafism, as a consequence of industrialization and globalization.[48] This trend has influenced how Islamic womanhood is perceived and practiced in upper-middle-class society. It highlights the domestic roles of women above all. PKS and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia are the ones who facilitated the spread of this stance. According to Rinaldo, Muslim women in the upper middle class have developed a work ethic that allows them to work while adhering to traditional gender norms. Rinaldo stated that "as long as they prioritize domestic work, women can have careers."[49] While opinions on this kind of Islamic womanhood are divided, Sakai and Fauzia contend that the introduction of Islamist concepts from the Middle East has reinforced Islamic theological interpretations that prioritize the domestic role of women.[50] This theological reinforcement, combined with the rise of influential female figures like Oki, demonstrates how contemporary Muslim womanhood is shaped by both traditional values and the demands of modernity.

Oki Setiana Dewi Study Case

In Indonesia, Oki Setiana Dewi is a well-known *Ustadzah* (Islamic preacher). The community fairly values her voice despite the fact that, unlike other Islamic authorities, she never obtained a completed conventional education at a *pesantren* (an Islamic boarding school that serves as a traditional center for Islamic education). In this regard, *pesantren* is a traditional tool used to legitimize Islamic authority. Nevertheless, Oki has successfully built her credibility and influence through other means. As of June 1, 2024, she has amassed 21.2 million followers on her Instagram account, @okisetianadewi. In addition, she preaches on various national TV channels in Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. She frequently leads offline *da'wah* (Islamic proselytization) safaris across Indonesia. The image below showcases the Oki account's Instagram page.
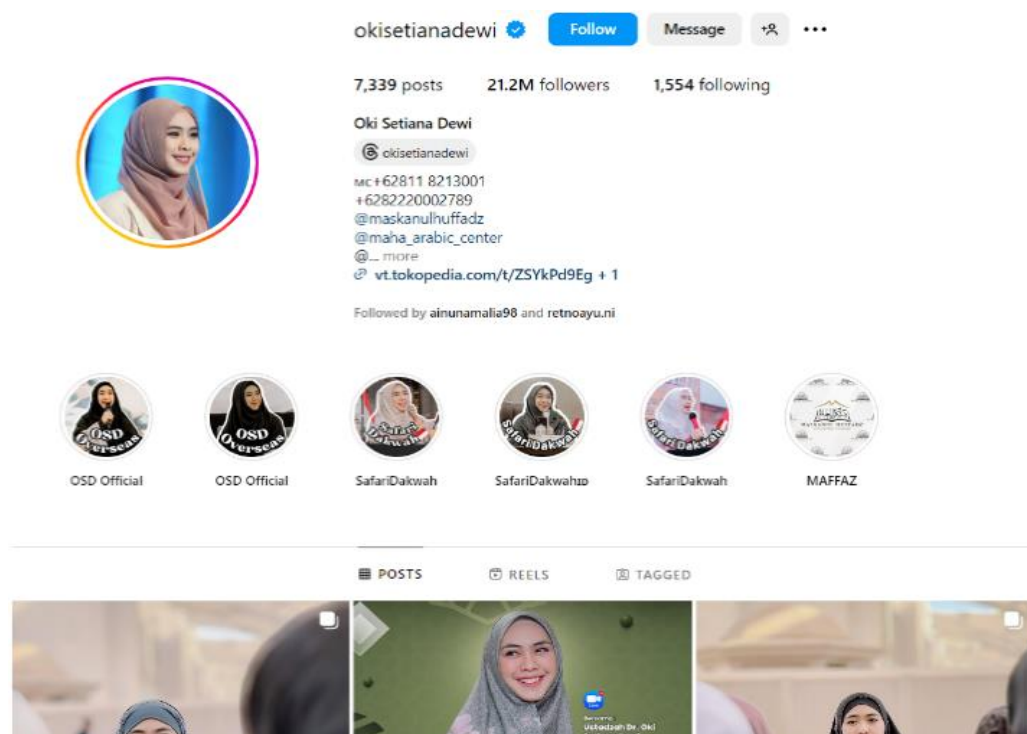

Figure 1. Oki's Instagram Profile

Oki is an active content creator. She frequently appeared in some Islamic podcasts and also uploaded da'wah videos to her own 3.23 million subscribers YouTube channel. Her large subscribers and followers allow her to influence her audience, particularly Muslim women, significantly. To give some insight into Oki's education, she majored in Dutch literature during her undergraduate years at the University of Indonesia (UI). In 2012, she spent only one month at Rumah Quran Darut Tarbiyah Depok, memorizing the Quran. Following this, she pursued a master's degree in Early Childhood Education at Jakarta State University (UNJ), where she graduated in 2016.

Her academic pursuits continued further. Oki continued to advance her studies in Islamic Studies, focusing on *da'wah* (Islamic proselytization) at the State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta. Subsequently, she obtained her PhD degree in Quranic Science and Tafsir with a focus on Quran-Based Education from the PTIQ Institute Jakarta. Additionally, she studied Arabic at the Language Institute of Umm Al-Qura University in Makkah.

To analyze Oki's agency on Instagram, the "Instalouder" website was applied to scrape caption data from her account, and "Voyant Tools" was used for web-based text analysis to identify frequently used words. The findings revealed that the top three words mentioned on Oki's Instagram account are Allah, *sahabah* (companion, referring to the companions of the Prophet as role models for Muslim life), and anak or children (look at Figure 2). These words function as her personal branding narratives in upholding her faith (as *ustadzah)* and her family (as a married woman), especially nurturing children. The analysis in this article started from these two points.
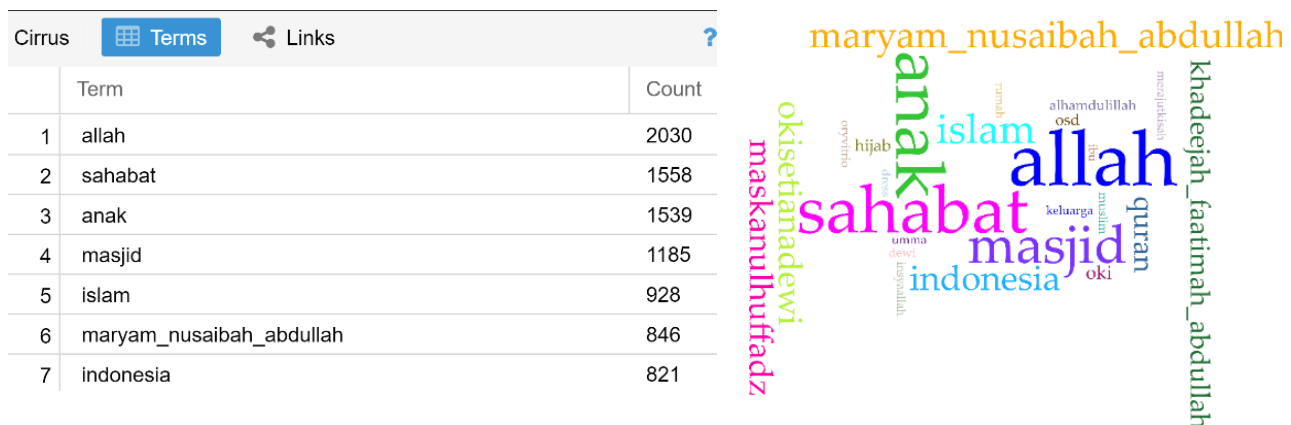
Figure 2. Frequent words on @okisetianadewi account

This article investigates Oki Setiana Dewi's strategies for navigating her online persona as both an *ustadzah* (Islamic preacher) and a married woman. In this context, her social media is used for two main activities: da'wah and business. Da'wah here includes sharing her daily activities like an ordinary person, yet Oki often incorporates religious values into her content. References to Allah and *sahabah* (which here refers more to the companions of the Prophet as role models for Muslim life) are connected to Oki's da'wah. On the other hand, for her business activities, she leverages her credibility as a public figure and her authority as a religious leader to promote her business products online. These two practices are consciously carried out, making it difficult to delineate in which posts she is performing as an *ustadzah* or as a married woman. Initially, I assumed her business activities were linked to her role as a financially independent married woman. However, her business promotions frequently include religious narratives. This indicates that both identities blend seamlessly into her personal branding. To explore what form of agency Oki demonstrates, we can first examine Figure 3 below.

Figure 3. Post of Oki Setiana Dewi with her son while also promoting her sister (Ria Ricis) new business in education @maha.anakusiadini

Figure 3 captures the shared moment between Oki and her son, Sulaiman Ali Abdullah, as they learn and play at her sister's (Ria Ricis) new kindergarten venture, @maha.anakusiadini. We can see how Oki skillfully shared a single piece of content that contained three ideas: bonding with her child, preaching about trusting in destiny, and promoting her sister's business. Marked with a caption containing Islamic values, she urged her followers to trust in destiny. While she expresses gratitude for completing a master's degree in Early Childhood Education, even though it wasn't her dream, she now has the wisdom to transfer her knowledge to her sister's business. By uploading such content, Oki shows her ability to maintain her modesty and religious values while contributing to her professional and entrepreneurial goals. It portrays her flexibility to stay close to her child and her ability to balance quality time alongside her work commitment.

Initially, I considered Oki's agency to be purely compliant. Women who adhere to their religious values are not promptly viewed as being restricted and controlled by their religion; rather, it is a conscious decision that they make as an essential part of their identities. In addition, her decision to run businesses is not intended to rebel against her social expectations. It rather adds value to her as an empowered woman at home, at work, and even in the realm of religion.

Based on this, this compliant agency is closely intertwined with the use of cultural toolkit theory, which emphasizes the selective use of cultural symbols, including religion, to achieve personal goals. By using her role as mother and *ustadzah* she gains huge authority as it aligns with social expectations towards pious Muslim women. In other words, she surely performs agency by practicing the norms of religion while also legitimizing her influence in Indonesia. As a result, her narratives clearly manifest the cultural toolkit concept in which individuals choose particular advantageous tools to assist them in pursuing certain objectives. This strategic balance demonstrates that Oki's agency is not only compliant but also instrumental. However, such viewpoints are not mutually exclusive or adversarial but rather represent mutually constitutive components that characterize how agency functions under cultural and social constraints.

Figure 4. Oki's picture while attending her two daughter's graduation, Maryam and Khadeeja

Figure 4 provides further evidence that Oki can still manage her time to attend to her children's important milestones, such as graduations. This correlates with this article's focus on explicitly reading the signs of her agency to maintain and preserve the family, especially children, within her agency as a Muslim woman. As Rinaldo states, "As long as they prioritize domestic work, women can have careers."[51] As a result, the conception is increasingly accepted that women who are engaged in work still have to prioritize their domestic obligations, in Oki's case, caring for their children. In this way, Oki's authority comes from her ability to embody an ideal character that is compatible with the Islamic narrative generally accepted by society.

Figure 5. Picture of Oki while preaching accompanied by her two daughters in Safari Dakwah event

Figure 5 captures the moment Oki and her two daughters attend (while she conveys the preaching) the *Safari Dakwah* activities. In this regard, Oki's case resonates with the concept of relational womanhood,[52] emphasizing that women's identities are defined not only individually but also through relationships with family and community. For example, by involving her children in *Safari Dakwah* activities, Oki shows that domestic responsibilities need not be separated from professional activities. At the same time, this approach also reflects submissive agency, as explained by Griffith (God's Daughters),[53] where adherence to religious and cultural norms does not necessarily mean oppression; instead, Oki uses these norms as a tool to establish her authority, such as by emphasizing her role as a mother who educates her children while still actively preaching. This approach intersects with Saba Mahmood's[54] concept of compliant agency (docility), where adherence to norms can be a meaningful form of agency.

Furthermore, cyberspace allows Oki to project a hybrid womanhood. She uses her agency, which blurs the boundaries between the private and public spheres,[55] presenting as a woman who preserves traditional expectations while actively engaging in the public sphere. This reflects Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity, where gender identity is constructed through repeated actions in a particular social context.[56] Furthermore, in the context of Indonesian Muslim women, womanhood is also influenced by the intersection of religion, class, and culture. As part of the upper middle class, Oki reflects what Rinaldo calls the "Islamic work ethic," where women can work as long as they prioritize their domestic roles.[57] The influence of Middle Eastern Islamism also reinforces theological interpretations that emphasize women's domestic roles while blending modernity, allowing women like Oki to rearticulate traditional norms in a modern context.

Figure 6. Oki's another safari dakwah with her children

"Hopefully, children learn a lot from what they see and feel." This is the literal meaning of the caption accompanying Oki's post. Moreover, she promoted @persada_indonesia, one of her businesses related to Hajj and Umroh travel, and mentioned wearing @osd clothes, her own clothing business. She made another attempt to include her kids while projecting the image of an independent, financially secure Muslim womanhood while maintaining her role as a nurturing mother.

Her capacity to manage her businesses and carry out her Muslim womanhood obligations towards her family is interesting to discuss. In addition to being a good wife and mother, womanhood in her practice also means earning a living for the family. From my standpoint, Oki Setiana Dewi utilizes personal branding on Instagram to construct an image of a modern, productive Muslim woman while adhering to traditional roles as a wife and mother. Her narrative frames the dual roles of domestic and public life not as a burden but as a religious obligation, aligning with Saba Mahmood's theory of *compliant agency*, where agency arises within the framework of submission rather than rebellion. Women have a huge double burden, but since she adheres to Islamic gender norms, she does not view it as a hardship; rather, she regards it as a necessary set of obligations that she must fulfill in order to become a decent Muslim woman. Rather than endorsing a particular version of womanhood, she promotes what a Muslim is supposed to do, which is to honor her primary responsibility to take care of her family.

In this way, she implicitly supports the notion that a double burden is a necessity in womanhood. In other words, she views the agency as compliance with Sharia. This narrative resonates with upper-middle-class Muslim women who seek a middle ground between the tensions of tradition and modernity while maintaining social norms.

However, while Oki's portrayal appears to offer an "alternative" to the stereotype of domesticated Muslim women, it fundamentally reproduces patriarchal norms, where a woman's value is tied to fulfilling traditional roles augmented by the labels of being "productive" or "modern." Precisely, it is related to the concept of conservatism. Preserving and conserving religion and family, above all, is an essential thing.[58]

What distinguishes Oki from those who crudely adhere to conservative norms is her capability to leverage these traditional roles to establish credibility with the public and accelerate her business. This narrative is appealing and compatible with women who come from certain privileges, such as those from upper-middle-class economic backgrounds and living in urban areas. Meanwhile, it is difficult for those from lower economic classes to actualize this double expectation. Thus, while Oki's narrative seems to empower women, in the end, it only caters to modern reforms without fundamentally deconstructing Indonesia's unjust gender norms.

Conclusion

The narrative of womanhood presented by Oki Setiana Dewi on her Instagram account exists within the framework of conservative norms. The agency she displays tends to belong to the compliant agency somewhat intertwined with cultural toolkit theory, in which she exercises religious and traditional values as a strategy to reinforce her authority as an *ustadzah* and to elevate her business. By leveraging her role as a mother and *ustadzah*, she is capable of conforming to public expectations of ideal Muslim womanhood in the contemporary era. However, these findings also reveal the limitations of Oki's womanhood narrative. Despite appearing empowering, her narrative reinforces patriarchal norms that confine women to their religiously mandated domestic duties.

While a compliant agency emphasizes that the decision to be empowered is not solely to rebel, consciously making choices to implement "burdensome" values is also included in the agency. However, if the womanhood practiced by Oki is adopted and becomes the standard of womanhood for Muslim women in Indonesia, this is potentially dangerous. This limits and burdens women from the lower class who have different backgrounds and expectations than those from the upper middle class. For instance, if women from these groups work and their husband also works, the idea of a pious woman taking care of the household and children fully without the help of her husband, even though they both work. It is very exhausting and doubly burdening for women. This can also lead to other gender injustices.

Therefore, this narrative is more like a form of adaptation in the midst of a strong current of modernization by a society that preserves conservative norms rather than deconstructing unequal gender values in Indonesia. Other important findings are that cyberspace has a dual function as a place where women negotiate their agency while limiting acceptance of them due to traditional values that are as dominant as the real world.

This finding first contributes to broadening Saba Mahmood's concept of compliant agency or docility itself, especially in digital platforms, in which compliance is not merely consciously passive or submissive. It can also be strategic and instrumental, where it becomes a way to elevate influence and gain profits while staying rooted in religious expectations. Secondly, it critiques and expands the cultural toolkit by Ann Swidler, where Oki uses 'tools' such as a caring and religious-savvy mother to establish her public image and influence as an *ustadzah*. This public credibility also benefits her business, which is heavily promoted on her Instagram page. However, the narrative formed by Oki also highlights how women's options are not 'chosen' but have been 'shaped,' 'provided', as well as 'limited' by the norms of society and religion. Furthermore, the agency here not only uses the cultural tools available but also makes thorough utilization of these limitations.

Third, this finding also extends Marie R. Griffith's concept of submissive agency, where religious boundaries can be spiritual empowerment. Oki's case clearly illustrates how this agency can also empower women in the economic and social spheres, especially in online cyberspace. Her ability to integrate spiritual values and professional aspirations highlights how these two aspects can coexist. Lastly, this article connects the discussion on digital feminism, gender, and religion by criticizing the overly optimistic view of cyberspace as a place of liberation. Oki's case depicts how digital platforms can reinforce traditional values while also providing space for women to negotiate their agency.

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