

CONSTRUCTING RELIGION-BASED SEXUAL VIOLENCE: RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND WOMEN'S RESISTANCE IN BIDAAH (2025)



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Abstract

Religion-based sexual violence in *pesantren* represents a critical form of gendered violence, particularly when religious authority is mobilized to legitimize sexual exploitation. The Malaysian religious drama series *Bidaah* (2025) depicts the manipulation of Islamic teachings and religious authority in sexual violence against female students. This study examines how the series represents religion-based sexual violence and reconstructs women's critical consciousness and resistance. Employing a qualitative descriptive design, the study analyzes scene dialogues as primary data, complemented by scholarly articles, books, research reports, and credible news sources as secondary data. Drawing on Stuart Hall's constructionist theory of representation, the study applies qualitative textual analysis to examine how religious meaning, authority, and sexual violence are discursively constructed. The findings show that sexual violence is represented through the strategic reconstruction of religious discourses, particularly obedience, religious devotion, "spiritual wife," and "spiritual marriage," which normalize religious authority and reframe sexual abuse as religious devotion. Simultaneously, the series portrays women's critical consciousness through questioning, resistance, and reinterpretation, reflected in recurring expressions such as "report," "evidence," and "fear." The study demonstrates that *Bidaah* not only exposes how religious discourse can legitimize sexual violence but also constructs women's resistance as a process of reclaiming interpretive agency and challenging the abuse of religious authority.

Abstrak

Kekerasan seksual berbasis agama di *pesantren* merupakan bentuk kekerasan berbasis gender yang serius, terutama ketika otoritas keagamaan dimobilisasi untuk melegitimasi eksploitasi seksual. Serial drama keagamaan Malaysia *Bidaah* (2025) menggambarkan manipulasi ajaran Islam dan otoritas keagamaan dalam praktik kekerasan seksual terhadap santri perempuan. Penelitian ini mengkaji bagaimana serial tersebut merepresentasikan kekerasan seksual berbasis agama serta merekonstruksi kesadaran kritis dan resistensi perempuan. Penelitian menggunakan desain deskriptif kualitatif dengan menganalisis dialog antarscene sebagai data primer, yang dilengkapi artikel ilmiah, buku, laporan penelitian, dan sumber berita kredibel sebagai data sekunder. Berlandaskan teori representasi konstruksionis Stuart Hall, penelitian ini menerapkan analisis tekstual kualitatif untuk mengkaji bagaimana makna keagamaan, otoritas, dan kekerasan seksual dikonstruksi secara diskursif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kekerasan seksual direpresentasikan melalui rekonstruksi strategis wacana keagamaan, terutama konsep ketaatan, pengabdian religius, "istri spiritual," dan "pernikahan spiritual," yang menormalisasi otoritas keagamaan dan membingkai ulang kekerasan seksual sebagai bentuk pengabdian religius. Pada saat yang sama, serial ini menggambarkan kesadaran kritis perempuan melalui proses mempertanyakan, melakukan resistensi, dan menafsirkan kembali ajaran agama, yang tercermin dalam ekspresi berulang seperti "lapor," "bukti," dan "ketakutan." Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa *Bidaah* tidak hanya mengungkap bagaimana wacana keagamaan dapat digunakan untuk melegitimasi kekerasan seksual, tetapi juga merepresentasikan resistensi perempuan sebagai proses merebut kembali agensi interpretatif dan menantang penyalahgunaan otoritas keagamaan.

INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence perpetrated by religious leaders within *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) has become an increasingly prominent public concern in Indonesia, attracting widespread attention across social media platforms. The issue becomes increasingly concerning when sexual violence is perpetrated by religious authorities, such as *ustadz* (Islamic teachers) or *kyai* (Islamic clerics), who exploit their religious status to abuse female students (Aprilia et al., 2022). Such cases are particularly disturbing because *pesantren* are widely perceived as sacred religious institutions governed by strict moral values and institutional regulations (Bafaqih, 2022). Within Indonesian society, religious leaders are commonly expected to embody piety, moral integrity, compassion, and exemplary conduct (Amalia, 2018). Nevertheless, a small number of religious authorities have exploited their religious influence to perpetrate sexual violence. In many of these cases, religious authority is strategically employed to manipulate victims through the misuse of religious doctrines and scriptural interpretations (Pebriaisyah et al., 2022).

As reported by the National Commission on Violence Against Women, religious educational institutions continue to record a relatively high number of sexual violence cases. Most perpetrators are *guru ngaji* (Qur'anic teachers), *ustadz*, or *kyai*, while the majority of victims are female *santri* or students of Islamic boarding schools. Sexual violence occurring within *pesantren* cannot be separated from the issue of religion-based sexual violence (Komnas Perempuan, 2022).

According to the Indonesian National Commission on Violence Against Women, religion-based sexual violence refers to a form of sexual violence in which perpetrators exploit religious authority, symbols, language, or religious legitimacy to perpetrate, justify, or conceal acts of sexual abuse against victims. In this context, religion is not the source of the violence; rather, it is instrumentalized by perpetrators as a means of exercising power to cultivate obedience, fear, and silence among victims. Such violence may occur in spaces that are socially regarded as sacred, safe, and morally authoritative, including *pesantren*, places of worship, religious educational institutions, and faith-based communities (Komnas Perempuan, 2025).

Religion-based sexual violence may take various forms, including direct sexual coercion, sexual harassment, the exploitation of students or members of religious congregations, spiritual manipulation, and the misuse of religious doctrines to induce victims to feel guilt, fear, or to believe that the abuse they experience constitutes part of their religious obligations (Carpenter, 2006; Yusuf et al., 2025). In many reported cases, perpetrators have disguised sexual abuse as acts of spiritual purification, faith healing, or demonstrations of obedience to religious leaders, thereby reinforcing their authority while concealing the abusive actions (Jakobsen, 2023).

Alongside the rapid expansion of digital media, public criticism concerning sexual violence and the abuse of religious authority within *pesantren* has increasingly evolved into a broader social media campaign (Maharani & Purwaramdhona, 2026). These concerns have also been articulated through popular culture. One notable example is the Malaysian religious drama series *Bidaah* (2025), written by Eirma Fatima and directed by Pali Yahya. Rather than merely providing entertainment, the series offers a satirical portrayal of how religious narratives can be manipulated to legitimize sexual exploitation and the abuse of religious

authority. Shortly after its release, *Bidaah* (2025) attracted substantial public attention across Indonesian social media platforms, including Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok.

Although produced in Malaysia, *Bidaah* received an overwhelmingly positive response from Indonesian audiences. Nurhidayah et al. (2025) reported that the series became one of the most widely discussed topics across both social media and digital news platforms—including X, TikTok, YouTube, websites, and other online media—with a potential reach exceeding 829 million users. Between 6 March and 14 May 2025, the series generated 6,918 online mentions. Much of this public attention stemmed from its satirical portrayal of deviant religious practices and the misuse of religious authority. Many viewers perceived striking similarities between the events depicted in the series and real cases of sexual violence committed by *ustadz* and *kyai* in Indonesian Islamic educational institutions. One of the most controversial scenes portrays Walid, the leader of a religious community, manipulating his female followers into submitting to sexual abuse by invoking religious legitimacy, as illustrated by the now-viral phrase, “Walid nak Dewi boleh” or May I have you (Nurhidayah et al., 2025; Widarti et al., 2025).

However, the release of *Bidaah* (2025) also generated considerable public controversy, giving rise to both supportive and opposing responses. Based on an analysis of public sentiment between 6 March and 14 May 2025, the series received 860 positive and 587 negative mentions across both social media and online news platforms (Nurhidayah et al., 2025). Those expressing positive sentiment argued that the series serves not merely as entertainment but also as a medium for public education and critical reflection on religion-based sexual violence, especially when the perpetrators are religious authorities. This perspective was reinforced by a case in Lombok, Indonesia, where a female *santri* reportedly recognized that she had been a victim of sexual violence after watching *Bidaah* (2025). Inspired by the series, she subsequently reported the perpetrator, who was her own religious teacher, to the authorities (CNN Indonesia, 2025).

Conversely, critics of *Bidaah* (2025) argued that its portrayal of deviant religious leaders could reinforce negative stereotypes toward religious institutions and Islamic scholars (Akhyar, 2025). They contended that media representations depicting misconduct within *pesantren* and among religious authorities may be perceived as defamatory toward religion, as they risk fostering the generalization that the abuse of religious authority is a stigmatized characteristic of Islamic scholars or Islamic boarding schools. Consequently, the series has been criticized for its potential to undermine public trust in religious authorities and damage the social legitimacy of Islamic scholars (Sofyan et al., 2025).

The intensity of public responses to *Bidaah* (2025) suggests that many Indonesian audiences perceive a close resemblance between the religious issues portrayed in the series and the socio-religious realities in Indonesia. This may be linked to the socio-religious conditions in Indonesia and Malaysia, which share similarities in several respects. Previous studies have attested that Indonesia and Malaysia share similar socio-religious characteristics, including high levels of religiosity (Azra, 2004), strong legitimacy accorded to religious authorities, and the persistence of religious conservatism and violence shaped not only by religious considerations but also by broader socio-political interests (Wahyono et al., 2024). In both countries, religious values function not only as systems of belief but also as social norms that shape legal institutions, educational systems, and everyday social practices (Purnamasari

& Prasetyo, 2021). Moreover, both formal and informal religious institutions continue to be influenced by patriarchal values, which in turn affect gender relations and the handling of sexual violence against women (Kuswardani, 2019; Nuroniyah et al., 2025). Consequently, cases involving the abuse of religious authority by religious leaders or teachers to perpetrate sexual violence against female students continue to be prolonged issues in both countries (FMT Reporters, 2026).

These circumstances make *Bidaah* (2025) a compelling subject for scholarly inquiry. Beyond its function as entertainment, the series has stimulated critical public engagement, as reflected in the polarized responses. This phenomenon aligns with critical perspectives in film and media studies, which argue that audiovisual narratives function not merely as entertainment but also as forms of social critique and reflections of lived social realities presented through visual storytelling (Aspandiyarkyzy & Chesnova, 2024). Accordingly, films and television series may be understood as cultural texts that reflect broader social realities. Their narratives are inevitably shaped by historical experiences, cultural values, and social contexts, as filmmakers consciously or unconsciously embed their cultural perspectives and lived experiences into their creative works (Gu, 2024).

Previous studies on sexual violence within religious institutions have primarily focused on empirical issues, including power relations, patriarchal culture, mechanisms for resolving sexual violence cases, and legal responses to victims (Kuswardani, 2019; Nuroniyah et al., 2025). Meanwhile, existing research on *Bidaah* (2025) has largely been limited to analyses of the narrative content correlated with religion-based sexual violence (Nurhidayah et al., 2025). This leaves an important research gap regarding how popular media construct meanings of religion-based sexual violence through narrative and visual representation. To address this gap, this study applies Stuart Hall's theory of representation, particularly the constructionist approach, to examine how *Bidaah* (2025) represents religion-based sexual violence, the abuse of religious authority, and the reconstruction of women's consciousness as a form of resistance.

Based on the issues outlined above, this study pursues two primary research objectives. *First*, this study aims to analyze the representation of religion-based sexual violence and gender discrimination against female *santri* portrayed in *Bidaah* (2025). *Second*, this study aims to examine the reconstruction of women's consciousness depicted in the series as a form of resistance to religion-based sexual violence.

This study employed a qualitative descriptive research design to provide an in-depth analysis of the representation of religion-based sexual violence in *pesantren* as portrayed in the series *Bidaah* (2025), as well as the reconstruction of women's consciousness depicted throughout the narrative (Creswell & Poth, 2018). This study uses both primary and secondary data. The primary data consisted of scene dialogues from *Bidaah* (2025), whereas the secondary data comprised scholarly journal articles, books, research reports, and credible news sources addressing sexual violence in *pesantren* and gender issues within religious contexts.

The primary data were collected by the researchers through repeatedly watching all fifteen episodes of *Bidaah* (2025). Then, scenes relevant to the research objectives were purposively selected from each episode. Given the breadth of the dataset and episodes, the analysis did not encompass every scene but instead employed purposive sampling to identify scenes directly related to the research focus from each episode. Data selection emphasized

scenes containing dialogues that explicitly or implicitly represented religion-based sexual violence in *pesantren*, the underlying factors facilitating such violence, and the reconstruction of women's consciousness through acts of resistance. Once the relevant scenes had been identified, the data were organized using thematic coding to facilitate systematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2022; Creswell, 2013; Saldaña, 2021). The coding format consisted of the character's name, episode number, scene duration, and thematic code. For example, Data 1 (Walid, Ep. 1, 04:03–04:20: ORT) represents the theme "obedience to religious teachers."

Table 1. Data Coding Categories

No.	Code	Theme
1	ORT	Obedience to Religious Teachers
2	RM	Religious Manipulation
3	RFS	Rivalry among Female <i>Santri</i>
4	RWC	Reconstruction of Women's Consciousness

The units of analysis are taken from dialogues in scenes representing sexual violence, the factors contributing to its occurrence, and the reconstruction of women's consciousness. These dialogues were analyzed using Stuart Hall's theory of representation. Hall (1997) distinguishes three approaches to representation: the reflective, intentional, and constructionist approaches. The reflective approach assumes that meaning mirrors an objective reality through language and symbols. The intentional approach views meaning as originating from the author's intended message. By contrast, the constructionist approach argues that meaning is neither inherent in reality nor solely determined by the author's intention; rather, it is socially constructed through language, symbols, and cultural contexts. Consequently, meaning is actively produced through the interaction between the producer, the text, and its audience. (Hall, 1997)

This study adopts Hall's constructionist approach as the primary analytical framework for interpreting the representation of religion-based sexual violence and the reconstruction of women's consciousness in *Bidaah* (2025). Through this perspective, the dialogues spoken by the characters are understood not merely as narrative elements but as social constructions that produce meanings. Meanwhile, the secondary data were used to enrich the interpretation of the primary data by relating the representations constructed in *Bidaah* (2025) to documented cases of religion-based sexual violence and broader socio-religious realities in Indonesia. This enabled the findings to be interpreted within the context of real-world social phenomena rather than solely as fictional narratives.

REPRESENTATION OF RELIGION-BASED SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST FEMALE SANTRI IN *BIDAAH* (2025)

Bidaah (2025) is a Malaysian religious drama series comprising fifteen episodes. The series revolves around a religious sect led by Walid, the spiritual leader of a community known as *Jihad Ummah* and the owner of *pesantren*. Throughout the series, Walid exploits his religious authority and social status to manipulate both his followers and female *santri*. By invoking religious texts to establish legitimacy and trust, he constructs narratives that portray respect, obedience, and absolute loyalty to religious leaders as religious virtues that must be upheld. As a consequence, his followers fail to recognize his deviant practices and are bound by

religious fanaticism toward his authority. The series portrays several forms of religious deviation as follows:

Constructing the Narrative of Obedience to Religious Figure or Teacher

In many reported cases of sexual violence within *pesantren*, perpetrators who occupy positions of religious authority frequently exploit religious narratives to manipulate victims. Appeals to obedience toward teachers and religious leaders are often employed to reinforce unequal power relations between religious authorities and *santri*. Within the traditional *pesantren* system, the relationship between teachers and students is commonly characterized by a hierarchical structure in which students are expected to fully respect the authority of the *kyai*. Respecting one's teacher is understood not merely as a matter of good behavior (*adab*), but also as a means of attaining the blessings (*barakah*) of religious knowledge (Winarno et al., 2025).

Data 1 (Walid, Ep. 1, 04:03–04:20: ORT)

"No matter how great one's sacrifice may be, it will never be complete unless it is bound by obedience. Obedience to one's leader is obligatory, as stated by Allah in Surah An-Nisa verse 59."

Data 1 (Walid, Ep. 1, 04:03–04:20: ORT): Original version

"Berapa besar pun pengorbanan yang seorang sanggup lakukan, tetap tidak akan sempurna, sekiranya tidak diikat dengan ketaatan, taat kepada pimpinan adalah wajib sebagaimana firman Allah surah An-Nisa ayat 59"

From a constructionist perspective, this dialogue constructs the meaning that obedience to a religious leader constitutes an extension of obedience to God. The use of the word "obligatory" reinforced by an explicit reference to Qur'an, Surah An-Nisa (4:59), frames Walid's statement not as a personal opinion but as a divinely sanctioned religious command. Consequently, the dialogue positions unquestioning obedience as a religious obligation rather than a personal choice.

This meaning is further reinforced through the way Walid is represented throughout the series. Beyond being portrayed as a religious scholar with extensive Islamic knowledge, he is also depicted as possessing supernatural abilities, including the capacity to perceive the unseen and foretell future events believed to bring divine blessings. These representational elements construct Walid as a charismatic religious authority whose legitimacy extends beyond institutional leadership into the spiritual realm. Through this combination of religious discourse, symbolic authority, and charismatic representation, Bidaah (2025) illustrates how religious authority can be socially constructed to cultivate unquestioning obedience among *santri*. From Hall's constructionist perspective, meaning is produced not only through spoken language but also through the interaction between dialogue, characterization, and cultural beliefs. Accordingly, the series represents obedience to religious leaders not as an inherently sacred virtue, but as a discursive mechanism that can be manipulated to normalize unequal power relations and facilitate sexual exploitation.

Manipulating Victims through the Distortion of Religious Texts to Legitimize Sexual Violence

The unequal power relations between *kyai* or *ustadz* and their students constitute one of the structural conditions that enable sexual violence within *pesantren*. In many documented

cases, perpetrators exploit religious teachings and selectively reinterpret sacred texts to justify their personal desires and manipulate victims (Bin Almunauwar & Fauzi, 2026). Consequently, religious discourse becomes an instrument through which authority is transformed into a mechanism of coercion and psychological control.

This pattern is similarly represented in *Bidaah* (2025), where Walid, the leader of *Jihad Ummah* and the owner of an Islamic boarding school, systematically manipulates female *santri* through religious doctrine before committing sexual violence.

Data 2 (Walid, Ep. 9, 11:26–12:55: RM)

"Allah sent Dewi to Walid because your soul has long been united with mine. Allah has sent Walid to guide you to Paradise. Dewi, you love Walid, don't you?"

Data 2 (Walid, Ep. 9, 11:26–12:55: RM): Original version

"Allah utus Dewi pada Walid, sebab batin Dewi sudah lama bertaut dengan batin Walid, Allah sudah utuskan Walid untuk membimbing Dewi ke syurga, Dewi sayang Walid kan?"

Before sexually assaulting Dewi, the series represents a deliberate process of religious manipulation orchestrated by Walid. His predatory intentions are concealed within a religious ritual known as *Bahtera Melayu*, presented as a night-time *dhikr* gathering. *Dhikr* is an Islamic devotional practice that involves the remembrance of Allah through the repeated recitation of His names, Qur'anic verses, prayers, or other expressions of praise and supplication. To avoid suspicion, Walid invites five female *santri*, instructing four of them to perform *dhikr* separately with their eyes closed in pursuit of spiritual devotion, while isolating Dewi in a private room.

From a constructionist perspective, the dialogue "Allah sent Dewi to Walid" constructs a symbolic association between Walid's personal desires and divine authority. Rather than functioning merely as a religious expression, the repeated invocation of "Allah" reframes Walid's intentions as if his act originated from God's will. Through this linguistic strategy, the series represents how religious language can be appropriated to blur the boundary between divine command and personal desire, thereby positioning submission to Walid as an act of religious obedience rather than coercion.

Hall (1997) argues that language is a system through which meanings are socially constructed rather than simply reflected. Accordingly, the dialogue does not merely depict manipulation but actively constructs the meaning that sexual compliance can be interpreted as spiritual devotion. Within this representational framework, the victim's consent is not portrayed as freely given but as the outcome of psychological manipulation mediated through religious discourse. The series therefore represents how religious authority, when combined with symbolic language, can reshape victims' perceptions until exploitation is understood as an expression of faith rather than violence.

This representation closely resembles the pattern found in documented cases of sexual violence in *pesantren*, in which perpetrators rarely rely solely on physical coercion. Instead, they employ religious narratives by claiming divine authority, spiritual privilege, or a special relationship with God to establish psychological dependence. As a result, victims frequently fail to recognize that they are experiencing sexual violence because their understanding has been systematically reshaped through prolonged religious indoctrination and psychological manipulation, despite such acts fundamentally contradicting Islamic teachings (Shabrina, 2023).

The recurring of sexual violence in these contexts is therefore represented not simply as repeated abuse but as the consequence of a socially constructed system of obedience in which victims are deprived of the capacity to interpret their own experiences as violence. This pattern is further reinforced in Episode 11, where Walid sexually exploits Dewi for a second time.

Data 3 (Walid, Ep. 11, 21:20–21:27: RM)

"May I have you?"

Data 3 (Walid, Ep. 11, 21:20–21:27: RM): Original version

"Walid nak Dewi boleh?"

In this scene, Walid continues to legitimize his abuse through the use of Islamic terminology, particularly the word *berkhidmah* (devotion for religious purposes). Within the narrative, *berkhidmah* is redefined to signify a female *santri* fulfilling Walid's sexual desires outside any legitimate marital relationship. Through this linguistic reconstruction, the original religious meaning of *berkhidmah* is displaced and replaced with a meaning that normalizes sexual exploitation.

From Hall's constructionist perspective, this shift illustrates how language functions as a site of meaning production. The series represents the term *berkhidmah* not as an authentic religious practice but as a discursive instrument through which Walid legitimizes violence and obscures its exploitative nature. Consequently, Dewi does not perceive herself as a victim because the abuse has been symbolically reconstructed as an act of religious devotion.

This representation resonates with documented cases of sexual violence in *pesantren*, where victims are often subjected to prolonged psychological manipulation before recognizing the abuse. Research has shown that perpetrators frequently exploit trust, religious authority, and educational hierarchies to cultivate unquestioning obedience. Consequently, cases often involve multiple victims over extended periods, many of whom remain silent because they perceive the abuse as a religious obligation, believe that other victims have accepted the same treatment, or fail to recognize themselves as victims due to sustained psychological conditioning (Komnas Perempuan, 2022; Shabrina, 2023).

That motive is further represented in *Bidaah* (2025), where Dewi becomes Walid's first victim of sexual abuse, followed by Amirah and subsequently other female *santri*.

Data 4 (Walid, Ep. 13, 12:52–13:40: RM)

"This is Allah's command to lead the *ummah*... Amirah, become Walid's spiritual wife. Are you willing? Tonight, the Prophet is with us."

Data 4 (Walid, Ep. 13, 12:52–13:40: RM): Original version

Ini Perintah Allah untuk memimpin umat

....Amirah jadikan istri batin Walid... Amirah sanggup, malam ini Rasulullah bersama kita?"

This scene represents religious manipulation through the strategic use of language and religious symbolism to secure the obedience of female *santri*. The phrase "This is Allah's command" constructs sexual relations as a divine obligation, thereby transforming Walid's personal desires into what appears to be God's will. Rather than functioning as a simple religious expression, the invocation of Allah legitimizes Walid's authority by positioning his commands as divine instructions.

Similarly, the expression *istri batin* (spiritual wife) functions as a linguistic strategy that appropriates Islamic marital terminology. While the word *wife* conventionally signifies a lawful marital relationship in Islam, the so-called *spiritual marriage* portrayed in the series is performed without fulfilling any of the legal or religious requirements of an Islamic marriage. From a constructionist perspective, the term operates as a euphemism that obscures sexual violence by framing it as a religiously legitimate relationship. Likewise, the phrase "the Prophet is with us" symbolically associates Walid's actions with prophetic authority, reinforcing the perception that his behavior is spiritually sanctioned.

Through these linguistic choices, this scene represents how religious authority can be manipulated to construct unequal power relations in which victims are deprived of the capacity to refuse because obedience to the perpetrator is framed as obedience to God. The repeated use of religious concepts such as marriage, *dhikr*, and religious devotion illustrates how sacred language can be reconstructed into instruments of psychological manipulation, enabling perpetrators to conceal sexual violence behind the appearance of religious piety.

The representation constructed in *Bidaah* (2025) closely resembles documented patterns of sexual violence in Indonesian *pesantren*. For example, perpetrators have used distorted concepts of *mut'ah* marriage to legitimize sexual abuse, as documented in the case of Herry Wirawan, who sexually assaulted more than thirteen female *santri* (Shabrina, 2023). Moreover, the institutional structure of many boarding schools may create opportunities for the perpetrators because they restrict students' communication, including the use of mobile phones. These conditions may enable perpetrators to sustain abuse over extended periods, with cases often discovered only after victims become pregnant or give birth. This pattern is likewise represented in Episode 13 of *Bidaah* (2025).

Data 5 (Nurse, Ep. 13, 19:03–19:04: RM)

"Alhamdulillah, Mia, you're pregnant."

Data 5 (Perawat, Ep. 13, 19:03–19:04: RM): Original version

"Alhamdulillah, awak mengandung Mia"

This scene represents the consequence of sexual violence that had previously been concealed through religious manipulation. The expression "Alhamdulillah" is conventionally used to express gratitude for a joyful blessing. However, in this context, the series deliberately constructs an ironic contrast by juxtaposing this religious expression with the revelation that Mia's pregnancy is the result of repeated sexual violence committed by Walid. Through this contrast, the dialogue exposes how religious language, which ordinarily signifies gratitude and blessing, acquires an entirely different meaning when situated within a context of violence and exploitation.

After learning that she is pregnant, Mia reveals that Walid had repeatedly instructed her to perform *berkhidmah*. Within the series, the meaning of *berkhidmah* shifts from sincere service to a religious teacher into a euphemism for sexual exploitation outside a lawful marriage, disguised through religious discourse. From Hall's constructionist perspective, this shift demonstrates how meanings are not fixed but are continually reconstructed through language and social context. The series therefore represents religious terminology as a discursive mechanism through which sexual violence is normalized, concealed, and legitimized.

This representation also corresponds with documented cases of sexual violence in *pesantren*, where unequal power relations and the closed institutional environment frequently delay disclosure. In many cases, the cases are concealed until victims become pregnant or give birth, illustrating how religious authority and institutional control can systematically silence victims while enabling prolonged sexual exploitation (Farisa, 2023; Ramadhan, 2022).

Constructing Rivalry among Female *Santri*

Another strategy represented in *Bidaah* (2025) is the construction of rivalry among female *santri* as a means of maintaining the perpetrator's dominance over his victims (Kilduff et al., 2010). Throughout the series, Walid is represented as a charismatic, authoritative, and highly respected religious leader. At the same time, he is portrayed as selectively giving attention and special treatment to certain female *santri*, thereby constructing the perception that personal closeness to Walid constitutes a privileged status. This representation illustrates how recognition from a religious figure – who simultaneously occupies the roles of *ustadz*, *kyai*, and spiritual leader – functions as a symbolic reward that shapes the social status of female *santri*. Consequently, the series constructs competition among them to obtain Walid's approval and recognition.

Data 6 (Walid, Ep. 13, 12:11–12:20: RFS)

"Amirah is special. Mia is different. Walid must make Mia Walid's spiritual wife."

Data 6 (Walid, Ep. 13, 12:11–12:20: RFS): Original version

"Amirah istimewa, Mia lain, Walid mesti jadikan istri batin Walid"

This dialogue represents Walid's strategy of constructing differentiation among female *santri* through the use of the adjective "special." Rather than functioning merely as a compliment, the word acquires a broader symbolic meaning by defining who is considered to occupy a privileged position in the eyes of the religious leader. From a constructionist perspective, the dialogue produces a hierarchy of value among the female *santri*, where proximity to Walid becomes a marker of spiritual distinction rather than personal preference.

The scene further represents the emergence of rivalry when Amirah questions Mia's position in Walid's eyes. Through this interaction, the series constructs competition among female *santri* by distributing attention and recognition unequally. Such symbolic differentiation encourages the victims to compete for Walid's approval instead of questioning his authority or recognizing his abusive behavior. Consequently, the unequal distribution of recognition weakens solidarity among the female *santri* while simultaneously reinforcing Walid's dominance.

From Hall's constructionist perspective, the rivalry portrayed in this scene is not presented as an inherent characteristic of the female *santri*, but as a social meaning actively constructed through Walid's discourse and interactions. By selectively assigning symbolic value to certain individuals, Walid creates a hierarchical relationship that normalizes competition and emotional dependency among his followers. In this way, the series represents rivalry not merely as interpersonal conflict but as a discursive strategy through which religious authority is maintained and sexual exploitation is facilitated.

RELIGIOUS DEVIANCE CRITIQUE IN BIDAAH (2025) THROUGH THE RECONSTRUCTION OF FEMALE SANTRI'S CONSCIOUSNESS

Bidaah (2025) represents the gradual emergence of critical consciousness, beginning with doubts regarding the religious practices and rituals promoted by a religious figure. This process is represented through the character of Baiduri, who questions Walid's teachings and religious practices from the outset. Unlike the other members of Jihad Ummah, who unquestioningly accept Walid's authority, the character is portrayed as possessing broader religious knowledge, enabling her to recognize inconsistencies and deviations within Walid's teachings. Although she joined the religious community through her parents and had become part of Walid's congregation, her educational background in Yemen provides her with the capacity to critically evaluate his religious practices.

This representation parallels documented cases of sexual violence within Islamic boarding schools, where victims are often silenced by the hegemonic authority of *pesantren* leaders. Nevertheless, several cases have been uncovered because certain students developed critical awareness and challenged the authority of the perpetrators. Similarly, *Bidaah* (2025) portrays the emergence of female agency through Baiduri, who actively gathers evidence and reports Walid to the police.

Data 7 (Baiduri, Ep. 13, 10:10–10:20: RWC)

"What more evidence do we need? We have gathered enough evidence. If we file a report now, that man (Walid) can be arrested."

Data 7 (Baiduri, Ep. 13, 10:10–10:20: RWC): Original version

"Bukti ape lagi? Sudah cukup banyak bukti yang kite kumpulkan, sekarang ni, kalo kita buat report, orang itu (Walid) sudah bisa ditangkap"

In this scene, Baiduri is portrayed as nearly becoming Walid's fourth wife after Walid divorced one of his wives in preparation for marrying her. However, unlike the other women in Jihad Ummah, Baiduri consistently questions Walid's deviant religious rituals and ultimately rejects his proposal. Rather than remaining silent, she collects evidence and contacts a friend to report Walid before he claims more victims of his manipulation.

The dialogue represents the reconstruction of Baiduri's consciousness through the repeated use of the lexical items "evidence," "report," and "arrested." Within Hall's constructionist perspective, these linguistic choices actively produce new meanings rather than merely describing reality. The repetition of the word "evidence" signifies a shift from unquestioning religious obedience toward critical evaluation based on verifiable facts. Likewise, the term "report" marks the transformation of personal awareness into legal resistance, while the word "arrested" reconstructs Walid's identity – from a revered religious authority into a criminal subject accountable before the law.

The organization of this dialogue signifies a transformation in the meaning of religious authority: rather than being portrayed as absolute and unquestionable, religious authority becomes open to criticism when it contradicts both religious principles and legal norms. Consequently, the reconstruction of consciousness in *Bidaah* (2025) is represented not merely as an internal awareness transformation but also as concrete resistance manifested through legal action to expose religious manipulation and protect future victims of sexual violence. This representation resonates with documented cases in Indonesian *pesantren*, where sexual

violence has frequently been revealed only after victims, witnesses, or other community members gained the courage to report respected religious figures to law enforcement (Nabila et al., 2023).

Beyond legal resistance, the series also portrays the reconstruction of consciousness through the emergence of moral and theological doubt regarding Walid's religious teachings.

Data 8 (Baiduri, Ep. 12, 11:32–11:54: RWC)

"The longer I stay in Jihad Ummah, the more afraid I become, Ummi. I am afraid of Allah."

Data 8 (Baiduri, Ep. 12, 11:32–11:54: RWC): Original version

"Makin lama saya tinggal di Jihad Ummah ini, saya makin takut ummi, Takut dengan Allah"

In this scene, Baiduri expresses her concerns regarding the oddities she observes within Jihad Ummah to Ummu Hafidzah, Walid's first wife, who plays an important role in managing *pesantren*. Despite her influential position, Ummu Hafidzah remains unaware of the religious deviations committed by her husband. The dialogue represents an early stage in the reconstruction of Baiduri's consciousness. The phrase "the longer I stay" signifies that critical awareness develops gradually through continuous observation and lived experience rather than emerging instantaneously. More importantly, the expression "I am afraid of Allah" shifts the source of fear from Walid's authority to divine accountability. From Hall's perspective, this linguistic shift reconstructs the meaning of religious obedience. Faith is no longer represented as unquestioning submission to a religious leader but as adherence to authentic Islamic principles.

Furthermore, the dialogue demonstrates that the reconstruction of consciousness begins with the courage to articulate doubt. Although Ummu Hafidzah has not yet recognized Walid's misconduct, Baiduri's willingness to express her concerns represents the initial disruption of the hegemonic religious discourse that had previously been accepted. The series therefore portrays critical awareness as the first step toward dismantling relations of domination maintained through religious manipulation.

Data 9 (Ummu Hafidzah, Ep. 12, 28:12–28:35: RWC)

"You just said that helping sinful acts is sinful. So now tell me, where is the sin exactly in Jihad Ummah you find?"

Data 9 (Ummu Hafidzah, Ep. 12, 28:12–28:35: RWC): Original version

"Baru tadi awak cakap "Membantu perbuatan maksiat adalah maksiat" jadi sekarang ini, dimane letak maksiatnya Jihad Ummah?"

This datum presents Ummu Hafidzah's response to Baiduri's growing doubts about remaining in Jihad Ummah. While Baiduri has begun recognizing inconsistencies within Walid's teachings, Ummu Hafidzah continues to defend the religious community because she has not yet realized that her husband has manipulated religious teachings for personal gain. Beyond exposing religious deviance, this scene also functions as a critique of distorted religious practices by implicitly contrasting Walid's teachings—including *nikah batin*, the Bahtera Melayu ritual, and excessive devotion to religious leaders—with authentic Islamic values.

The dialogue represents the reconstruction of consciousness through the emergence of a dialogic space in which religious practices are critically examined. The lexical item "sin" or *maksiat* functions as a moral framework through which Jihad Ummah's practices are evaluated. Meanwhile, the interrogative expression "Where is the sin?" signifies an attempt by Ummu Hafidzah to verify Baiduri's accusations using the religious principles she holds.

From Hall's constructionist perspective, meaning is produced through language and discourse. The dialogue therefore illustrates that the reconstruction of consciousness cannot be achieved immediately through the rejection of authority but begins through questioning previously accepted religious deviation. Although Ummu Hafidzah initially remains loyal to Walid, her willingness to engage with Baiduri's concerns marks the opening of a discursive space in which hegemonic religious authority becomes contestable. Through this representation, Bidaah (2025) suggests that critical consciousness emerges not only through direct resistance but also through dialogue, reflection, and the re-evaluation of religious meanings that have long been normalized.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that Bidaah (2025) represents religion-based sexual violence within Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) through the construction of meaning embedded in the dialogues between characters and religious narratives. The series reconstructs and recontextualizes religious language by employing expressions such as obedience, *khidmah*, spiritual wife, and spiritual marriage, alongside other religious rituals, as discursive instruments for strengthening obedience and legitimizing the abuse of religious authority. These linguistic expressions function not merely as religious terminology but as representational devices that conceal sexual violence by framing it as an act of devotion and religious compliance.

Furthermore, Bidaah (2025) also reconstructs women's critical consciousness through dialogues and narrative representations that transform doubt toward religious authority into collective resistance against religion-based sexual violence. This process begins with the emergence of doubt toward the religious teachings promoted by the religious leader, develops through the ability to distinguish authentic Islamic teachings from the manipulation of religious authority, and culminates in concrete acts of resistance, including gathering evidence and reporting the abusive religious leader to law enforcement authorities. Through this representation, the series constructs women's critical consciousness as an active form of resistance against religion-based oppression and sexual violence.

Although this study has been written within the ethical academic process, the researchers consider that this study has several limitations. First, this study focuses exclusively on media text analysis, particularly the dialogues and narrative structures presented in Bidaah (2025). Consequently, it does not provide an in-depth examination of visual representations, cinematic techniques, or audiovisual symbolism that may also contribute to the construction of meaning. Second, this research is confined to textual representation and does not investigate the actual influence of the series on audience attitudes, perceptions, or behavioral changes, particularly among students in Islamic boarding schools.

Based on these limitations, several recommendations can be proposed for future research. Subsequent studies are encouraged to expand the scope of analysis by examining the visual

symbolism, cinematography, and multimodal representations employed in Bidaah (2025) to provide a more comprehensive understanding of how meanings are constructed. Future research is also recommended to adopt audience reception approaches to investigate how viewers interpret and negotiate the representations presented in the series. Such studies could explore the responses and interpretations of audiences—including *santri* after watching Bidaah, thereby offering deeper insights into how media texts are received, negotiated, and contextualized within contemporary socio-religious realities.

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Declarations

Author Contribution Statement

The contributions to the writing of this article are as follows: The First Author contributed to the formulation of the research idea, the development of the theoretical framework, data analysis, and drafting of the main manuscript; the Second Author contributed to data collection and processing including coding; the Third and Fourth Authors contributed to the literature review and compilation of the references; and the Fifth Author contributed to editing and final revisions of the manuscript.

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