

Woman in niqab and contestation of piety show-off in the media

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Abstract

Hijrah is not only limited on human relation with God, but also how hijrah discourse existence is delivered in the media as discourse battle arena. Niqab is a characteristic of a woman going through hijrah. By using multimodality of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, this critical discourse digs deeper on phenomena of woman in niqab and contestation of piety show-off in the media. Based on analysis performed on four accounts of woman with niqab in Instagram, narration found that the most massive show-off action of piety are performed by niqabis, that is in the act of religious activities, such as reading Al-Qur'an, praying, suggestion on sadaqa and five-times prayer. Moreover, piety representation is also performed by using quotes in Arabian language and Arabian woman figure as illustration to legitimate the hijrah journey of a woman in niqab. Piety, not only it displays woman in covering clothes, but also intersection with popular culture. It's existence is put together with the incidentally profane Korean wave love romance. This phenomena shows a paradox where there is incorporation of religious sacredness with the often considered profane Korean wave.

Keywords: niqab, hijrah, piety, representation, media.

INTRODUCTION

Hijrah has a role as a discourse in a form of trend among muslims. There are various claims of hijrah being portrayed in the media. Muslims in their journey of hijrah is characterized to be experiencing changes in their diction and visual appearance, not to forget the use of religious symbols. The meaning of hijrah as an effort to move meaning transformation and claim of hijrah as delivered by muslims circle, and one of them is Indonesian celebrity. Their changes of appearances in wearing hijab claimed as an act of hijrah has been highly exposed in the media. For example, Mulan Jameela and Anisa Rahma.

Hijrah has visibly changed Mulan Jameela that there is a change of outfit style and appearance compared to her past. Mulan who built her career in music industry, had an image of a sexy woman with skin-showing clothing. Mulan today is wearing scarves. Her determination on her transformation is oftenly seen as the form of

hijrah. The construction of hijrah performed by Mulan is not only about head scarf, but also her wearing syar'i clothes. (Idntimes.com, 2018). Mulan claimed that she has gone through hijrah from her past.

Mulan Jameela's Instagram social media account has been filled with her own photos wearing scarves and relatively many are taken with robe clothing. In addition, Mulan Jameela also posted activities with friends and family, and also contents of Islamic preaching. In her posts, Mulan added details or caption about Islam where she got some feedback from her followers. From the comments, netizen believe that she will look even more beautiful and that she is following sayyidah Fatimah binti Rasulullah if she wears niqab or veil. In the intended photo, however, Mulan Jameela just simply made use of her black scarf to protect herself from cigarette smoke. Eventhough Mulan Jameela has claimed that she has gone through hijrah, she still has photos of her without scarf in her social media.



Image 1. A post by @mulanjameela1, covering her face with scarf to mask herself from cigarette smoke and comments by netizen suggesting Mulan to begin wearing hijab to look even more beautiful.



Image 2. Post by @mulanjameela1 without her hijab, posing with her sons

Not only Mulan, other public figure who is going through hijrah is Anisa Rahma or widely known as Anisa “Cherrybelle”. Hijrah that Anisa is going through has brought her into a decision to wear hijab from not wearing any when she was actively performing with her group «Cherrybelle». She also decided to follow ta’aruf process to find spouse. Ta’aruf is a tradition in Islam where finding a spouse is conducted without the means of dating in prior. Instagram social media of Anisa, @anisarahma_12, shared her looks in wide hijab and long gown, showing intimate pose of her and her husband whom she met through ta’aruf. In a poster, Anisa has been predicated as hijrah motivator. The following are some captions of the photos:

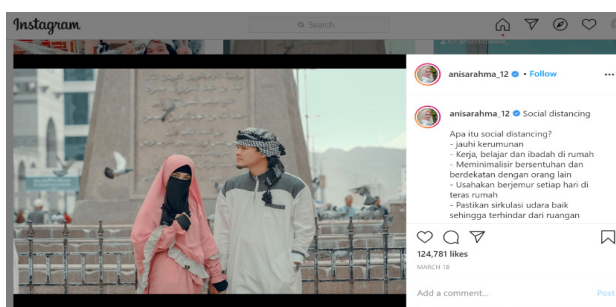




Image 3. Instagram post by @anisarahma_12 wearing niqab, being intimate with husband and the poster where Anisa is predicated as a hijrah motivator.

Now, hijrah is valued as exclusive when conducted massively, especially when performed by people with high influence, including public figure. However, hijrah performed by public figure facilitated by social media is much loaded with religious commodity. Hijrah as a social trend embodied through social media posts and knowing the context of religious commodification with hijrah practiced performed by public figure.

Not only celeb and public figure, hijrah practice as a trend has also been found performed by Muslim woman. Hijrah to where one can be his/her better version is believed to have multiple interpretation. Hijrah comes from Arabian language (هجر) meaning a movement performed by the Prophet Muhammad and his followers from Makkah to Madinah. In context of language, hijrah means to leave, to go, to move from something and be apart with it (physically or spiritually), also to be out of one land to another (Muhammad, 2004:15). On the other hand, the word hijrah from it's syaria meaning means leaving the land of kafir people to the peacefulness (Islam land, darussalam) (Muhammad, 2004:15).

By some ulama (cleric), the meaning of hijrah does not always take in physical form, that is moving from one place to another. This is because sometimes hijrah is performed through self-isolation from the general public life, to stay away from sins, to avoid parties or individuals with bad nature, and to avoid chaos. The effort to stay away from bad things in the definition of hijrah leads to stop habits that could bring human to his lowest, things that attract lust or greediness, and to stop talking about world's luxury (Jazuli, 2006: 23).

As the time goes by, the time and the trend come and go, hijrah today is becoming more about cultural practices under the name of Islam. Hijrah is not only about moving places and leave everything bad, but also includes gaining word and outfit legitimacy. In context of woman, the scarf or hijab is another debatable topic. For example to talk about its pattern colors, model, also about its size. Thus, the meaning of hijrah has been transformed. Just like how many woman in niqab who are now social media's «model» to look up to when it comes to the mix and match of niqab and the outfit.

Wearing niqab strongly gives off the image of a muslimah figure whose hijrah is seen as perfect or istiqomah (continuous) for anyone to follow. However, the meaning of hijrah of woman in niqab is not only limited to the coverage their outfit does, but also its relation to the religion discourse delivered through social media. Other than hijab or veil as identity, symbol of hijrah is conveyed as well robe and quotes of Qur'an verses as the base of thinking. Instagram has categorization, namely #beraniberhijrah, #cadarcantik, #hijrahcadar, #cadarhijrah, and #akhwatbercadar shows various meaning of hijrah. On hashtags #beraniberhijrah in Instagram leads to living passion quotes for Muslims to be continuously doing good deeds, to be patient, and to pray to Allah SWT. Also not to forget loving other Muslim sincerely and delivering goodness speech to reach heaven. Moreover, in #cadarcantik, #hijrahcadar, #cadarhijrah, to #akhwatbercadar show many woman in niqab with construction that hijrah is about woman and cloth coverage.

An account owned by woman in niqab, @dela.sari79, used #cadarcantik hashtag in her posts where she shared encouragement of hijrah. In an Instagram highlight story, @dela.sari79 told that a good Muslimah has no photos of them found in the internet searching column, Google. Claim that clean digital trace as a true Muslimah trait was then actually denied by herself @dela.sari79 and @ukhtydela_ from the posts shared in social media. Ambivalence is clearly visible here from these women in niqab claims about coverage that they consciously expose in social media. Another account of @dela.sari79, her second account, that is @ukhtydela_. As depicted in image 4 below, narration of both account are similarly talking about hijrah:

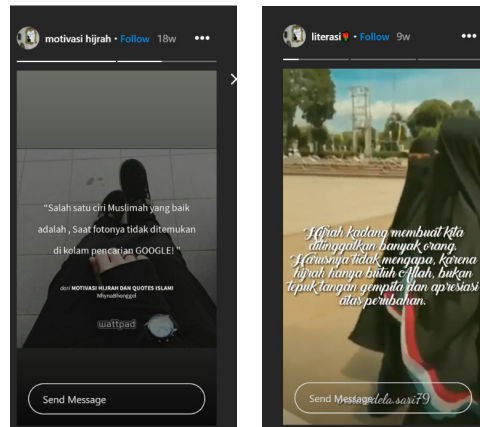


Image 4. Instagram @dela.sari79 and @ukhtydela_, one of the niqabis who goes through hijrah. She expressed that Muslimah figure is good when there is no digital trace of them.

Another meaning of hijrah is also shared by @annisa_n_fatimah Instagram account. She confessed to be a learner to be a better person and use hashtag(#) hijrah in her Instagram biography. From posts shared by @annisa_n_fatimah, some information about Muslimah figure, the relationship between muslimah in niqab with hijrah, and honorable figure of a wife. Depicted in image 2, hijrah claim by @annisa_n_fatimah, showing how she as muslimah in niqab is learning to be a better individual.

While @annisa_n_fatimah sees hijrah in a point of view that one is being an honorable and good character wife because of love, in other side @tintaakhwat defined hijrah as an effort to be the an ideal figure in the eyes of future in-laws.

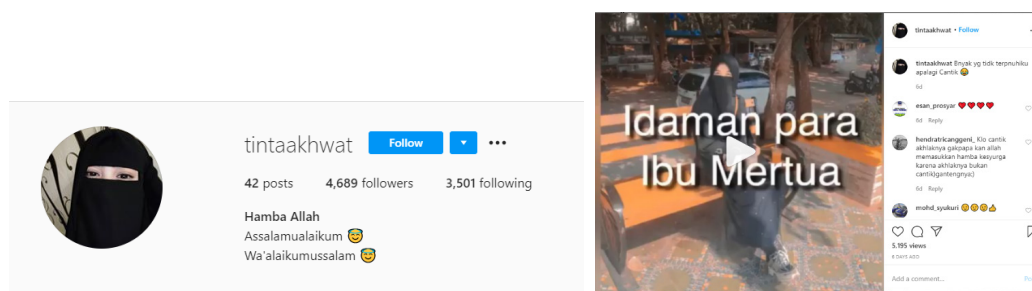


Image 5. Account @tintaakhwat avowed herself as servant of Allah and narrated that the in-laws ideal figure are those women in niqab.

A woman in niqab, even after hijrah could still have the freedom to love and be loved as depicted in the image above, To quote Syekh Rohimuddin An Nawawi Al Bantani, @annisa_n_fatimah avowed that the essence of love is happiness that comes from morals, and togetherness with spouse is a blessing. This caption posted with her photo with colorful niqab, as depicted, for example, in image 6 and image 7 :

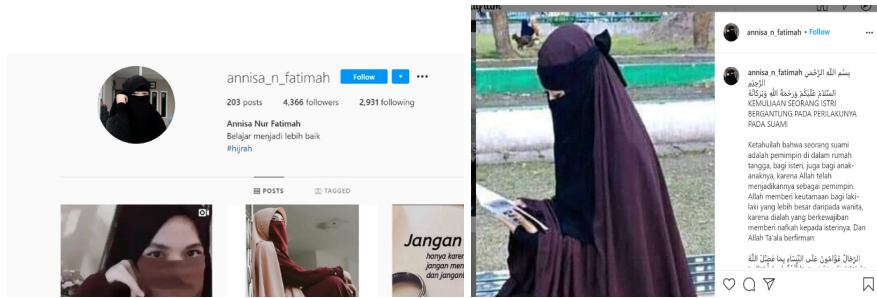


Image 6. Instagram @annisa_n_fatihah who claims to perform hijrah and her narration about wives honor.



Picture 7. Instagram content of @annisa_n_fatihah on Muslimah's relationship.

A good Muslimah has clean digital traces, is heaven-oriented, is loving because of Allah, and even woman in niqab as the in-laws ideal figure are examples of phenomena found in woman in niqab and their hijrah confession in Instagram. Hijrah these days is no more a single meaning of moving, it depends on the point of view of the related woman in niqab in delivering their own meaning of hijrah. This shows hijrah meaning transformation as if their hijrah is *syar'i* and considered perfect in religious practices. On the other side, women in niqab has quite significantly different definition of hijrah they shared in Instagram social media.

Hijrah issue in Instagram social media is a form of social religious movements through narration in forms of photo, filter, caption, live story, highlight. Instagram as quite popular social media being used because of its various interesting features. With hashtag (#) or hashtag figure, for example, could make it easier to find certain categorization. Namely hashtag #niqobsquad, #akhwatberhijrah grouped Instagram accounts referring to categorization on niqab, woman, hijrah issues. With Instagram, some woman in niqab uploaded religious preaching content not only in feeds, but also in highlight.

Concept in association with identity and difference corresponds with representation. The displayed aspect here could be the image being formed and observed by others. Identity and representation are two concept learned side by side, with representation as the cultural process that allows an individual to answer questions such as: "who am I and what could I be?". Identity is indicated with all the things embedded in oneself, including way of thinking, symbol, clothes, lifestyle, and others. In circuit of culture, representation intertwined with identity, production, consumption, even regulation where identity is not a patent matter and is high likely always plausible to changes (Hall, S., & Gay, P. D., 1996: 14).

Hall emphasizes on cultural representation, while Webb sees representation as an experience and how an individual communicate with himself. "Representation is, in short, how we experience and communicate ourselves and the world we inhabit, how we know ourselves and how we deal with others" (Webb,

2019:6). Self representation in virtual space is facilitated by new media, one of them is social media which surely is more complex, with played symbols and has particular interpretation. Bunt (2018) explained how the existence of internet brings many changes in religious discourses and more network spaces are used to show one's religious identity. The self representation build by muslimah could be expressed for example about cloth styling and religious symbol as religious identity.

Piety discourses with the individual process in take prayers and being religious. Thus, to be a muslim woman is more than legitimacy with religious symbols namely clothes or the language being used. Muslimah is identical with syar'i clothes ; robe, long skirt, wide scarf that covers the body. Moreover, even the verse quote is turned into an arm to claim Islam side on muslim. Narrated in "*kodrat wanita*" (woman's nature), woman is regarded as an individual whom God has predestined them as mentioned in the Qur'an (Robinson, 2009:10). Religion, these days, is used as tools oriented to subject woman nor making new figure defining «good» woman.

Construction of «good» woman by woman in niqab is expressed in covering clothes. "The more covered a woman, the more istiqomah she is" as a form of hijrah becomes a paradox when woman in niqab gives an open access to herself through social media that it is widely accessed. On the other side, consciously , woman in niqab stated that good muslimah is not supposed to show up in the media. In fact, they are available and active in digital world and explain aspects of hijrah in social media. Claim of hijrah is seen from how one surrender to God, becoming an ideal daughter-in-law, even transforming in appearance. From this issue, the focus of this research is how niqabis' «freedom" as the subject of this piety discourse. This discourse covers piety as entertainment, niqabis and illusion of freedom in the media, and room of liberation of desires and pleasure for woman in niqab.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Identity and Self Trajectory

Identity is a product of social processes, meaning it does not formed by itself, but constructed socially. Moreover, identity is marked by the difference between an individual with another. Woodward emphasizes that identity is always related to differences: if you are not me, you are different from me. These differences is marked and established with symbols. Quoting Kathryn Woodward (1997:9) that identity is marked out through symbols, meaning there is association between individual identity and what is worn. In relation with gender, for example, construction of gender identity could not be separated from the nature of man and woman. Man are tend to be positioned as subject to be intertwined with woman.

Identity concept and difference correspond with representation. What is shown could be what one has formed about or has seen by other people. Identity and representation are two concepts learned side by side. Representation as cultural process that allows an individual to answer question such as: "who am I and what can I be?". Identity is all related matters of an individual, including way of thinking, symbols, clothes, lifestyle, etc. The relation between identity and representation could be observed in Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay study (1996:14) on the circuit of culture.

Identity is a cultural practice. Its existence as an effort to produce new meanings is unstoppable because identity is a long process. Hall explains in detail that how identity is an effort to produce new meaning. In relation to identity, Anthony Giddens has concept that is specifically different with Woodward nor Hall. In his book, "Modernity & Self – Identity: Self & Society in the Late Modern Age" Anthony Giddens (1991) defines identity by mentioning it as self-identity. In his book, Giddens explains that one's self identity is developed in his psychological aspects. "Self" could be observed from two point of view, that is pre-reflective and reflective awareness.

Self Representation in Digital Media Era

Quoting Stuart Hall (2013), *representation connects meaning and language to culture*, representation connects meaning and language in culture. Representation uses language to narrate important matter and to represent it. Language is an important element in understanding representation. Quoting Christopher Prendergast (in Webb, 2009:8) representation is represent as re-present. Representing self in two realms that is spacial and temporal. Representation is production of meaning on concepts in the mind of an individual through language. Each self has its point of view of an object or subject, thus anything represented or its meaning are different.

For example, selfie practices, . Amy Shields sees this as an effort to create the wanted self, regardless of narcissism interest. For Amy (2015: 31-32), discussing self-representation and digital culture facilitated by the media (the context here is the post feminist) is high in contrast compared to woman figure who is identically weak and submissive . Self representation in today's context is now facilitated by the media is also reviewed by Nancy Thumim (2012). Thumim (2012: 7) explains that self representation practices do not begin on the existence of modern media and communication system.

A concept that may explain the review of representation is metaphysics of presence. Derrida believes that analyzing representation should include questioning the unconscious effort (Dastur, 2006: 51). This comes true because unconsciousness keep an individual representing what they want to reveal to public.

Woman in Religion Discourse

Piety discourse comes together with an individual process of rituals and religion. To be muslim woman is not only expressed through religious symbols legitimacy, such as clothing and language used. Muslimah woman figure is identical with long clothing, that is robe, long skirt, wide scarf, and covering all of her body. Not only with clothing, religious quotes of the holy book is also turned as an arm to claim the Islam of an individual. To relate it to the context of gender, construction of Muslimah figure is seen from those symbols.

Scarf has turned into differentiating symbol and religion legitimacy, as well as a way to protect woman. Sahar Amer (2014: 27) describes that woman's beauty is supposedly be covered and it is a way for expressing politeness. Woman with Islam as her religion could be a gender construction against ideal Muslimah woman figure, where beautiful visual is essential. Woman's beauty is considered inappropriate to be seen. Thus, covered clothing would be needed to avert gaze of the opposite sex and prevent harassment. In this matter, construction of Muslimah woman figure is built from the discourse of scarf.

METHODS

The object of this research is accounts owned by woman in niqab who claimed themselves as mulimah who go through hijrah in Instagram social media. Corpus of this research is to analyze narration of hijrah performed by woman in niqab in social media. The author conducted classification of data by using hashtag #hijrahcadar and #cadarhijrah in a period of time starting from April 2020 to April 2021. However, some posts of the hashtag categorization are out of context, hence the focus is put on accounts @dela.sari79, @willy.sapitri26, and @khusnul_aara. These three accounts were selected for all of them fulfilled the requirement; woman in niqab and their claim of going through hijrah. Furthermore, this research is limited only on the topic of discourse analysis regarding images, texts, caption, also posts from accounts that actively uploading post or highlight, and fulfill the content criteria: mentioning hijrah discourse, wearing niqab.

Primary data of this research is digital data regarding women going through hijrah and their hijrah claim as posted in Instagram. On the other hand, secondary data are obtained from books or journals in relevance to this research. Data gathered were then analyzed by using multimodal discourse analysis by Gunther Kress dan Theo van Leeuwen. The analysis covered matters related to how woman

in niqab narration of hijrah is built in Instagram, the cultural industry discourse and piety discourse in it, also why the women built their narration in Instagram, whether aspect of inter discursive is exist. Theory and concept used to analyze these data is identity and self-trajectory, their self-representation in social media and also woman in religious discourse. The analyzed data will result in different perspective about hijrah claim of woman in niqab in Instagram.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a. Piety as Performance

Hijrah is characterized by the effort to show off piety that is considered as goodness. Goodness mentioned here referred to paradox hijrah, that is religious practices which began as private relation between human and God, transforming into show off practice of religious activities in the media. Space of freedom of social media is considered as limited. This is meant from how niqabis use media to represent hijrah journey, showing off piety. Still, they fence off themselves limited only to the niqabis community due to the handcuff of religious patriarchy against them.

Hijrah is regarded as dominant class of lifestyle, including celebrity people bringing difference that is expressed in the luxurious consumption and intellectual (Dolorosa, 2019). Hijrah is considerably a representing dominant class of lifestyle where luxury, consumptive behavior and hedonism are displayed. This class has the ability to produce self by using Islamic symbol in the media and strengthen its power by turning it a belief that is fundamental and is believed universally.

From this research, hijrah is not consumed only by the dominant class, namely celebrities, but also middle class women from non-public figure category. This phenomena is known as paradox where religiosity as sacred procession turned as shown-off performance in social media. Self-coverage by woman in niqab as their expression of protecting themselves from the opposite sex on the other hand cause a self-exposing for posts of themselves are publicly shared in social media. Moreover, religious paradox expressed by niqabis shown their oppressiveness against their own desire, while wanting for pleasure.



Image 1. Praying representation in account @khusnul_aara

In reels instagram uploaded by @khusnul_ara depicting prayers, “Ya allah... Beri kami kemampuan untuk mengabdikan keinginan orang tua kami untuk beribadah ke tanah suci. Aamiin”. This prayer

expresses request to the God for the power and ability to grant her parents' wish to visit the holy land, Makkah.

The piety expressed by niqabis are represented through various ways, including five-time prayers, sadaqa, quote sharing in Arabian language, dan studies of religion they try to show through their Instagram posts. Identical with the expression of request between oneself with the God, praying, is even posted in social media by the niqabis. Different from the intention of making it private, them posting the prayers has made it public where anyone as the audience can consume it.



Image 2. Statement by @willy_sapitri26 to accepting and grateful of the tests given by God.

Heart symbol in this image shows that @willy_sapitri26 has intersection of preaching and cultural industry contents. Her finger heart sign is a trend from an expression known from Korean wave. This means @willy_sapitri26 is actively following the growth of profane popular culture.

Not only prayers, quotes in Arabian language and words in religious theme with picture of these niqabis are also shared. This shows their desire to keep uploading religious-related theme contents, yet still be able to show their existence in social media. Furthermore, as mentioned, niqabis are also following the profane popular culture. Profane here is a form of activity unrelated with religion, so it is meant as non-sacred activity. This describes a paradox that combines religiosity that is considered sacred with the culture considered profane. Piety is not just a matter for God to judge, but an intersection with social practices.



Image 3. Poem narration in Arabian language with Arab woman figure was posted by @khusnul_aara.

To exist in social media with covering clothes and shows both eyes and fingers is an effort to show their existence as a well-covered Muslimah. Another indicator of piety show-off is the quote of Arabian poem narrating that niqabis want to be known by people as a religious figure. The next quote in Arabian language, hadith and Qur'an verses are posted with the translation. It on motivation, preaching, noble stories, and many more. Besides, there is also utilization of Muslimah figure to describe identical feel with Arabian woman to create similarity. Desire to deliver piety construction through Arabian figure utilization and also Arabian language utilization in line with Thumim (2012) thought on the meaning of self representation as a part of each individual's life experience.

In the reels, @khusnul_aara utilized Arabian woman as dominant image to describe muslimah. @khusnul_aara also confessed her piety by utilizing quote of the holy verse in Arabian language. Utilization of Arabian woman and Arabian language become parts of the piety of hijrah legitimacy.



Image 4. Instagram highlight of @dela.sari79 account with narration on motivation to hijrah

It is judged that a good muslimah is the more covered and the least exposed individual in the media. If this matter is not fulfilled, one cannot be considered as a good muslimah. The pious side shown from zero personal photos or videos posted in Instagram account.

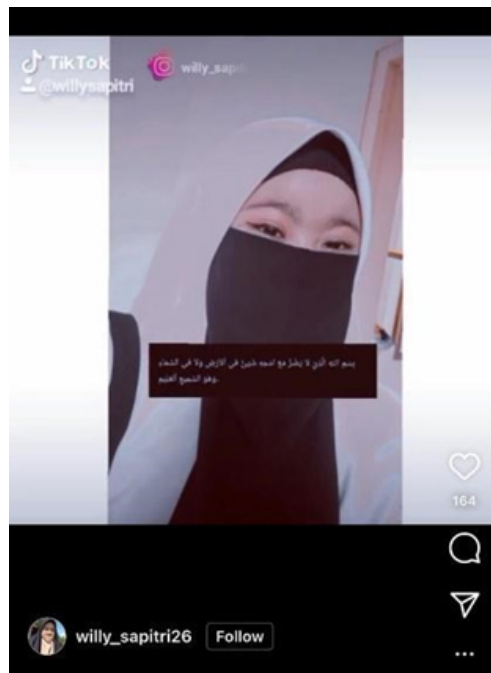


Image 5. Statement of prayers by @willy_sapitri26

Discourse in relation to religious woman figure, that is “muslimah baik adalah saat fotonya tidak ditemukan di kolom pencarian Google” (a good muslimah is her whose photos could not be found in Google search column), appeared to be contradictory to what other niqabis showed. In the video, facial appearance of the account owner is shown under the niqab, with a touch of make up on her face. Moreover, narration on the desire to piety show off is detected in an uploaded video, filming her praying with her beautiful voice.

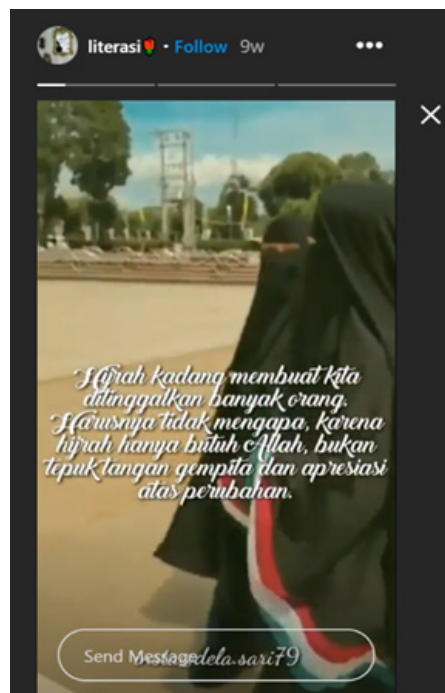


Image 6. The form of hijrah meaning shared by @dela.sari79.

The word hijrah supported with visualization of woman in covered clothing or woman in niqab has strengthened the stereotype that a transformation in appearance is an identity of hijrah. An indicator of piety show-off act declaring that herself is going through hijrah means there should be other acts as indicator; show existence in the media, wearing covering clothes, wearing niqab, even share posts with religious narration.

Hashtag use shows that the account owner wants to get followers and likes from the audience. Hashtag could indicate the account owner's interest in regards to her post. Popularity is found to be an element showing that niqabis want to get acknowledged. This does not match with religious perspective where in fact their identity as a muslim is for covering themselves, not only for gaining popularity (Murtopo, 2017: 248). Other paradox indicated by the niqabis is suggestion against muslimah existence in the internet, while muslimah are everywhere in the social media platform with publicly accessible account. The more covered and less exposed a woman, a good Muslimah she is. The intended piety show off here is the non-existence Muslimah in Instagram, uploaded photo and video.

The journey of hijrah is also shown from various special characteristic of hijrah, that is appearance transformation and performing religious activities sometimes exposed in aware through social media as a form of notification. Hijrah identity is even stronger with covered woman and woman in niqab visualization causing transformation in appearance, clothing style. Indicators of piety show-off by niqabis are the effort to exist in the media, to wear covering clothes and niqab, even posts with religious narration.

Piety phenomena as a show is a synthesis from Guy Debord in relation to "The Society of Spectacle" where spectacle is not limited only on picture representation in building image or self-image, but at the same time influence social relation of the people. Woman in niqab is an agent showing off piety as an image of muslimah going through hijrah. In which religious values represented through holy book reading, religious activities such as five-time prayers, and the use of Arabian phrase to show-off hijrah. They make use of piety as a trend in orientation to show the process of self-improvement and piety concept is imitated by muslim people by showing hijrah effort in social media.

b. Niqabis and Illusion of Freedom in Media Space

Before niqabis becoming a group objectified as group of extremist woman. Along the hijrah journey, the niqabis transformed as free subject and with various expression such as hang out, socializing like youngsters normally do. The niqabis enjoy a sense of freedom or considerably meant as the feeling of freedom, when in fact they could not be free from the participatory promise of freedom. Participatory culture of media user causes a sense of freedom, in line with Henry Jenkins about participatory culture in media.

The niqabis actively producing narration of hijrah and joining social media community in relation with hijrah, expressing themselves through photo, video, caption. The niqabis also work with other niqabis in delivering speech of kindness, as well as constructing niqab wearing as an expression of religious identity. Information flow shared by niqabis does not stop in Instagram social media, but also to other media portals. This phenomena shows four participatory cultural category Jenkins (2006), namely affiliation, expression, collaborative problem solving and circulation.

In Instagram social media modes, friendship visual among niqabis along with making use of hashtag (#) meet up, a diction by millennial meaning to have a meeting. This hashtag is also used for special specification that shows meeting activity and an effort to keep good relationship among niqabis. Group specification in social media is also showed with #muslimahIndonesia which meant niqab as one of muslimah characteristics in Indonesia. While the use of hashtag #hijrahku is talking on hijrah movement similarity, along with friendship among niqabis.

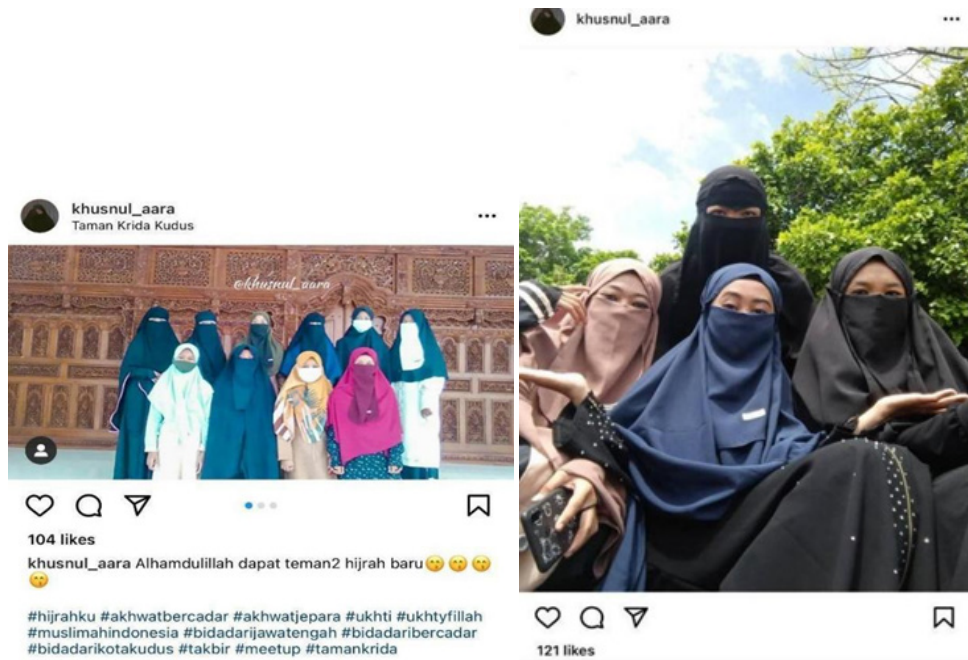


Image 7. Instagram @khusnul_aara are friends with others going on hijrah and are also niqabis.

Woman in niqab is expressing their freedom, when they share their daily activities in social media especially in the context of relation. Niqabis is a form of consumed instrument and represents identity of social classes. In a free subject, niqabis show a production of meaning related to freedom and variety of expression that niqabis also build friendship in social media.

Uploaded post by @khusnul_aara shared that her relationship with hijrah friends began from niqabis gathering. Variety of niqab used are quite diverse that clothing innovation were made where niqab has become a fashion.



Image 8. Instagram @willy_sapitri26 expressed her happiness playing sand with niqabis friend.

This image shows @willy_sapitri26 shared statement about being happy and have fun with covered clothing or wearing niqab. Expression of freedom delivered by group of niqabis when they began to share their daily activity in social media, especially in context of relationship.

“Free” is a form of celebration expressed by niqabis after all the time being drown in closed ideology. According to Katherine Bullock (2002), hijab is an operation for Islam woman. However, in fact, “freedom” is also limited on how niqabis build their relationship. In circuit of culture of Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (1996:14) that identity is liquid in characteristic allowing transformation process. In relation to a case that niqabis as free subject has shown niqabis identity who enjoy freedoms, such as gathering, socializing with other niqabis. From here, limited freedom is found because of relation building activities among niqabis.

c. Space for Liberation of Desire and Pleasure of Woman in Niqab

Woman in niqab are also human, the same human in general. They have and channel their desire through their social media. Referring to concept of self representation by Nancy Thumim (2012:3) that in self representation, there is culture and politic built according to the desired discourse of meaning. The author found a desire discourse built by niqabis through modes in social media in this research. This could be observed in @khusnul_aara who posted herself wearing niqab daydreaming, given caption “My prayer is still the same, my hopes are still the same, my wishes are still the same. One thing is different, I don't really mention a specific name in my sujud anymore. Not because I don't like him. I surrender only to Allah. His choice is undoubtedly true.



Image 9. Instagram @khusnul_aara represented resigned feeling in regards to hope and desire.

Based on the image above, desire on a wish on a “name” represented by @khusnul_aara. Narration of surrender, feeling alone and pray. Romance desire is also shared by @khusnul_aara woman love condition which has only two choices, that is to wait man she loves or accept proposal of a man who loves her. Desire discourse cannot be separated from social construction about woman passive position and tendency of waiting when it comes to romantic relationship. Thus, the desire based on gender where woman wants love while man wants desire of pleasure (Pranoto & Damayanti, 2019). The author sees how woman has desire on her hope about love, on a text shared by @khusnul_aara.

Woman actually has the freedom to on feelings, desires and wishes they imagine on, but it could make woman an object to man’s fantasy (Pranoto & Damayanti, 2019). This patriarchal flow of thought

bond woman into fears of letting their love bloom first before the man. This woman in niqab in this text has pleasure of romance, this is turned into paradox when niqab that is considered self-cover, while actually they also are human with desire, a feeling of getting attention and normal desire towards man. As depicted in the following image:



Image 10. Instagram @khusnul_aara represented an emphasis towards woman, in relation to the hopeless feeling about hopes and wishes.

From the snippet of a post above gives off feeling of a romantic charm to build a relationship with the opposite sex, even for woman in niqab. From the concept of appearance, Derrida (in Edkins and Nick, 2013) expressed that woman in niqab showed and expressed dejection through writing and visual she made. Niqabis implemented their way of speaking and writing, mutually forming system of writing in general thus creating romantic desire towards man.

Related to the topic of being fond of man, love desire of @khusnul_aara shows the urge to get ideal spouse figure providing her certainty, responsibility, good personality, knowledgeable and pious. The text is delivered through quote in Arabian language, and inserted with a visual of her walking alone. This gives off an impression that woman should suppress their desire and choose to wait for the man for a good image.

In line with Situmorang et al. (2000) findings on feminist study in “Gejolak Cinta di Balik Cadar” (The Turmoil of Love Behind the Veil) by Hani Nagshbandi. The study shows woman character being shackled in tradition to become men’s object of pleasure and is mistreated by the husband. Woman in niqab characteristic is categorized as an individual with patience, kind heart, loner, rebel, submissive, wise and brave character.

Subordinate position of woman has been even more suppressing especially for woman in niqab to hold their desire. Woman in niqab constructed as rebellious figure is also delivered in this finding. They go out of their comfort zone by bringing their desire to the media. Negative label will be given to woman who are niqabis with niqab as religious instrument to deliver desire in the media. While in this finding, the author found from @khusnul_aara a hint of stress expressed in her social media. Here is the mentioned snippet.

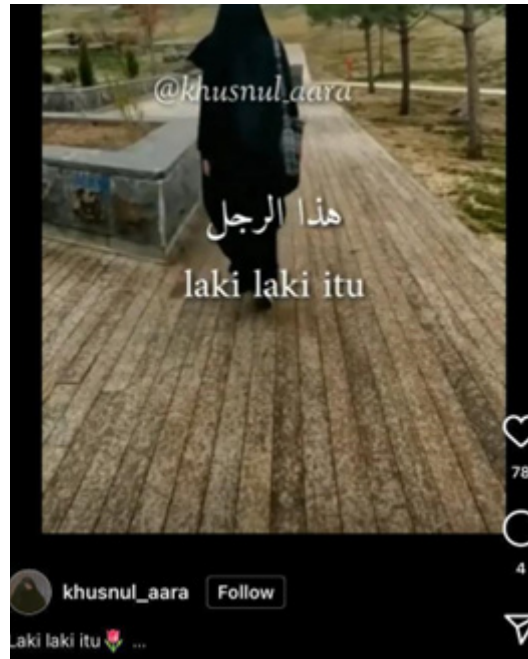


Image 11. Narration by @khusnul_aara about ideal figure of man.

Niqabis' representation as a pleasure is not only about romance and men, but also their representation to share their beauty through photos with selfie vibe. The author found many shared selfies expressed as their expression of freedom. For example as depicted in @willy_sapitri26's account is this image:

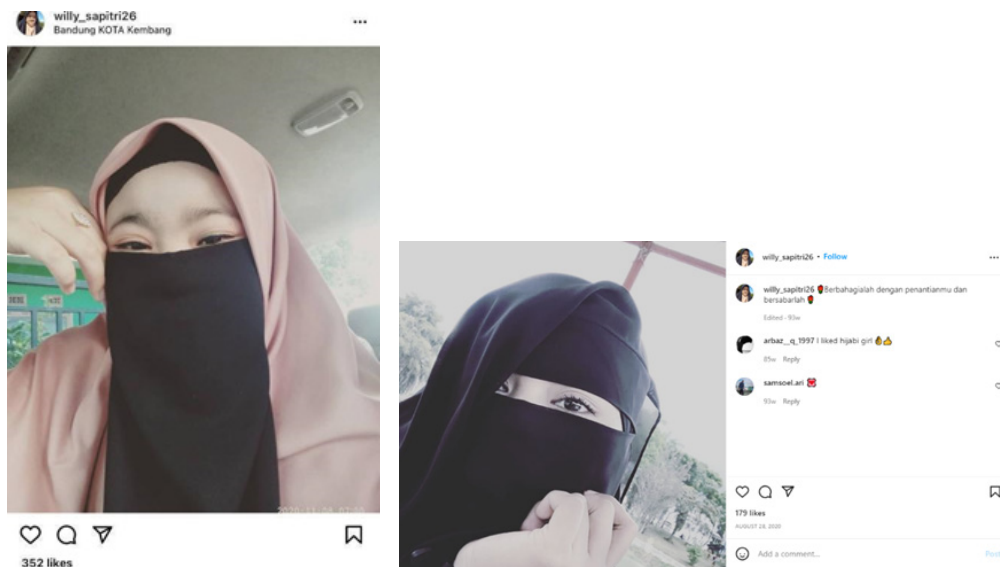


Image 12. Posts by @willy_sapitri26 as niqabis taking selfies

A feeling of showing off as muslim woman is also mentioned by other niqabis through taking selfie photos. This has become paradox if a finding in early sub chapter “Memamerkan Kesalehan Perempuan Cadaris” (Woman in Niqab Piety Show-off), that a hijrah should be formed when a woman has no digital trace of her visual. Meaning, dogma of woman being covered still has been the spirit of hijrah for niqabis. However, this phenomena has become a contrary fact because there are many niqabis found

uploading their selfie in social media.

Other than visual selfie, woman in niqab also show social modes through religious symbol, that is bringing along the holy book, Qur'an. The intended discourse for showing it is that not only the desire to show self-freedom through selfie, woman in niqab also performed the religion sharia recommendation. This is as observed in the following images :



Image 13. Visual of @willy_sapitri26 who is taking selfie while bringing the holy book

In the image above, social practice @willy_sapitri26 tried to built are a form of religiosity with visual of their beauty. Not only religiosity, niqabis also voice their spirit into their campaign agenda related to niqab beauty. Not only on visual, this effort is also pinned in hashtag that shows niqabis public agenda about #cadarcantik in the post's caption. Discourse about woman in niqab's desire also intertwined with their desire to be ideal woman, dogmas to protect herself, be resigned and improve religious knowledge is also delivered in social media modes. As observed in the following images:



Image 14. Clothing Suggestion to be Muslim Women in @khusnul_aara post

As depicted in image 14 on how woman in media construction tries to build identity as a muslimah wishing to be liked by many people. That is by protecting herself and being knowledgeable of religious knowledge. Self protection has become a stigma as if couldn't be separated from construction of a woman being pressured to be able to protect her body. Similar with woman in religious discourse delivered by Sahar Amer (2014) that a woman's beauty should be covered and be seen as an indicator to represent courtesy. Hijrah and religious practices through niqab consumption becomes a paradox when niqabis openly expressed pleasure in various perspective, such as love, sexuality, attention.

The author found trajectory of niqabis in social media are in line with Anthony Giddens (1991) way of thinking in related essay "Trajectory of the Self" in which each individual built their hijrah journey in a form of shared post in social media. In "self observation" or independent observation context in self-trajectory process that niqabis built in the media, findings in this research shows several matters, about: *what is happening right now?, what am I thinking?, what am I doing?, what am I feeling?. how am I breathing?.* For example in account @willy_sapitri26 that reflects herself as a woman who desires attention from the public as well as reconstruct her beauty through selfie make up. The feeling of being acknowledged as pious niqabis, such as reading the holy book and share the photo in her personal social media. This phenomena indicates their desire to be both pretty and pious being channeled through social media.

CONCLUSION

The meaning of hijrah has gone through a transformation into a form of piety show-off in public. It becomes a paradox in which religious practices that was at first meant to be private, has shifted into a public exposure in media space. Begins with celebrity's behavior showing religious practice with hijrah narration, and then assimilated by lower class circle. Lower class woman followed hijrah trend that is proven by sharing religious activity and piety in social media with the offered modes. It is as shown by @dela.sari79, posted a story with narration of motivation to be a good Muslimah, @willy_sapitri26 showing-off her selfie with prayer as its background music. Also, @khusnul_aara shared a video post with poem in Arabian language, as well as Arab woman figure in the motivation-filled poem. Thus the meaning of piety has shifted into legitimacy through niqab wearing visual and Arab language quotes.

Modes used to labeled their hijrah is making use of niqab as religious instrument, the use of Arab phrase. Variety of hijrah is considered as piety show-off, woman in niqab as the «free» subject and representation of niqabis' wishes and desires in social media. Niqabis shows solidarity among them, even so when outside their circle. Free expression formed with relation identity in daily hang out activity together.

Moreover, the author found niqabis' desire and pleasure in a narration shared through account they owned. The desire to get attention, desire related to romance and hope for obtaining love from an ideal man, a wish to be a muslimah who is loved and coveted by many people. Even though social construction and patriarchal pulse still contribute to limiting their movement. Paradox found when niqabis and their identical view of being covered has openly displayed an element of pleasure in various perspective.

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