

Conference Paper

Representation and Negotiation of Women Syar'i Hijab Shaff Hijrah Community Through Instagram

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Abstract

The emergence of hijrah community does not bring its members to abandon the old habits which are forbidden by religion necessarily. Especially for female members who continue to take selfies and self-existence on Instagram media. The aim of this study to analyze how the self-representation of women in the Hijrah community on Instagram media and the negotiations which carried out on the established discourse. This study uses an observation method on three Instagram account from informants which combined by open ended interviews. The informants who is chosen are three members of the Hijrah or Shaff community in Kediri, East Java who wears different Syar'i hijab, with chadar and without chadar. The discovery in this study are members of the Hijrah community are represented against dominant construction and creating religious identity according to their own version. They reject the logic of appearance as a representation of faith. While the activity on Instagram recognized as unavoidable activity even though it's been decided to hijrah. Negotiations on religious discourse is also shown in how they make resistance identity, which is free to do activities that are commonly carried out by women without the headscarf of Syar'i.

Keywords: Instagram; hijrah community; negotiation; syar'i hijab; representation, women.

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1. Introduction

Social media that appear since 1997 has been regarded as a daily human necessity in the third millennium era. Social media is one of the developmental effects of mass media that is mediated by technology (Junaedi, 2011: 42). Everyone can create, edit and publish their own news, promotions, articles, photos and videos by themselves more flexible and broader in scope; more effective and efficient; as well as fast, interactive, and varied (Nurudin, 2012: 53). The existence of social media tends to provide opportunities for users not only to be consumers, but also as producers. It is not only provides

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convenience in expanding the network of friends and business, but also able to change human behavior in cultural transformation, one of them is religion.

In this research, Instagram is considered to provide space for young people on behalf of the hijrah community for religious activities and Islamic da'wah. Dimas, the founder of Jakarta Terang on the GoMuslim's website (2017) explained that the emerging variety of hijrah communities is a present phenomenon that is widely found in the big cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Jambi. The majority of the members of the Hijrah community are young people who are trying to improve themselves, seek knowledge, support each other, and remind the kindness of each other. The members of this community come from various environments and professions that gather in the spirit of deepening religious knowledge and doing programs based on the Qur'an. Abdul Hair (Researchers of Pop Culture, Media and Communication Studies which full text can be found at www.news.detik.com) saw the hijrah phenomenon among young people as a massive movement that is unorganized and not totally centralized. The hijrah movement was carried out on a local scale in almost all cities in Indonesia, including Kediri city which become the object in this research.

The aim of young hijrah communities is to form their members to become the productive and mannered young people. This is reflected in various activities, such as jumping in social service, learning to read the Koran, engaging in religious discussions, and regularly studying by inviting religious teachers to give lectures that are held at least once a month. Visiting the recitation program was constructed by Kumparan.com online media as part of the lifestyle of young people today.

This community prioritizes a great sense of care for members, especially concerns related to the faith. One example of care can be seen in tagline of each community, like *"moving alone is difficult, moving together is much easier (It is the tagline of the Hijrah FASTabiqul Khairat community that was first established in Indonesia in 2016 and has spread in various regions, such as Bali, Bekasi, Semarang, Bogor and Cibubur).* Hijrah is the spirit of sacrifice, whether of life or property, permeating the whole concept of Hijrah (Ghazi, 1401 A.H.). If interpreted, hijrah can be seen as leaving one's hometown to pursue goals for social change (Abubakar, 1999: 211-212)

Another important fact is the member's behavior in using the social media, especially in female members. They often form inside group in the community, such as the veil (cadar) squad, the niqab squad, or the syar' i hijab squad, which involves the role of the social media to post photos that is dominated by swafoto in the Instagram and followed by the hastag #cadarsquad. The photos are then enhanced supported by tagging popular places, such as cafes, mountains, and beaches, and put on some religious caption.

This is such interesting phenomena since hijrah in Islam means to move, it means inviting young people to accomplish the commands and avoid the prohibitions of Allah properly based on the Koran and Sunnah. However, there are some female members of the hijrah community who violate the Sharia rule regarding prohibition of women to exist in any social media without being accompanied by Sharia interests, such as preaching, lecturing, teaching, providing social service, or other pious charities. The photo posted is feared to cause slander and provide an opportunity for other people or non-mahram to see her who have worn a syar'i veil and some even wear a veil (cadar).

Islam instructs women not to preserve themselves, considered as jewelry, not to easily shown everything to others except for their husbands or mahram. Moreover, this phenomena is typically done by young community member who labeled themselves as Muslim and claim that they have turned into better direction which consistent with Koran and Sunnah. This inadequacy becomes an interesting problem to learn because it involves religiosity and the social media that form the women representation in the hijrah community. Social media is not only used as a means of Islamic da'wah and compete in doing good, but also used to compete in presenting themselves. Figure 1 shows posts about the ban on women appear in the media.



Figure 1: The Discourse of Prohibition for Women to Exist on Social Media.

According to the background of the problem, the main question of this research is how does women who wears syar'i hijab in hijrah community appear on Instagram and how does negotiation about discourse in the women representation of hijrah communities on Instagram. Research on women who wears syar'i veil in Shaff community and their representation in the media mostly uses perspective of media theory and critical sociology as the main idea. For instance, the research conducted

by Beta (2014) focused on answering the question, “What does the Hijabers movement represent and how the internet takes a role in hijabers self-definition?”. Hijabers are part of Muslim communities, especially young women, which are often found in urban areas. They are very easily recognizable by the hijabers character — veiled young women expressing fun and colorful take on Islam who is active users of social network sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram as well as fashion blogs (Beta, 2014: 376-378).

Religiosity that is realized by wisdom clashing with urban lives creates dynamic Islamic creative industry as part of a development, continuously producing modern, transactional society. Hijabers is a strategy of young women Indonesian Muslim who lives in big cities who want to be religious and looks stylish. They are putting obvious religious symbol at the service of a decidedly cosmopolitan outlook, as a consumer, but within the confines of a virtuous appearance as defined by religion (Beta, 2014: 387).

Something that is paradoxical and has a natural indication (taken for granted) is found in this ‘hijabers’, identity which constructed around the idea of luxury, humility beautiful Muslim but also pious. Interpreting the practice of hijab as an expression of Islam and imprinting fun, colorful, modern character of the consumer lifestyle. This can be seen from the visual representation of “hijabers” who are critical to conventional perceptions of religious values and norms, but they become part of religiosity celebrated in their own way. Muslims just have enjoyed Islam more personal so they considered it as rational and pluralistic (Fealy and White, 2008).

Bucar (2016) also used fashion blogger material in her research, exploring visual ethics in Islam, gender, clothing in the Indonesian context by visual material aspects of the veil as a sign and politeness value. The ethical project of fashion hijab is the sanctification of the material world by using secular fashion trends to achieve Islamic goals. Focus on wearing headscarves that follow trends fashion by framing veil as part of a culture visual based on Pierre Bourdieu’s theory. There is a potential of hijab fashion that frees the Indonesian women’s existence and opposes the western-style beauty concept and the male elite’s moral authority in the structure of Indonesian visual culture. The diversity of Muslim fashion allows us to see universal norms dependent on visuals - such as politeness - that have different cross-cultural definitions.

The advantage of Bucar’s study (2016) is used in references about visual culture theory in uncovering the visual ethics of headscarves in a fashion blogger. The analysis results are detailed and varied. The Beta’s research conclusion is not able to answer some problems that proposed because it does not refer to a theory. She simply conveyed the “hijabers” phenomenon which used virtual media in constructing hybrid identity. Both studies have not touched on the women, who wear hijab, negotiation with

other discourses which is displayed in the social media. Thus, the aims of this study is to fill this gap with a focus on the self-representation of women who wear syar'i hijab of the Shaff Hijrah Community and negotiations about discourse displayed on Instagram. The theoretical framework can be seen at image 2nd.

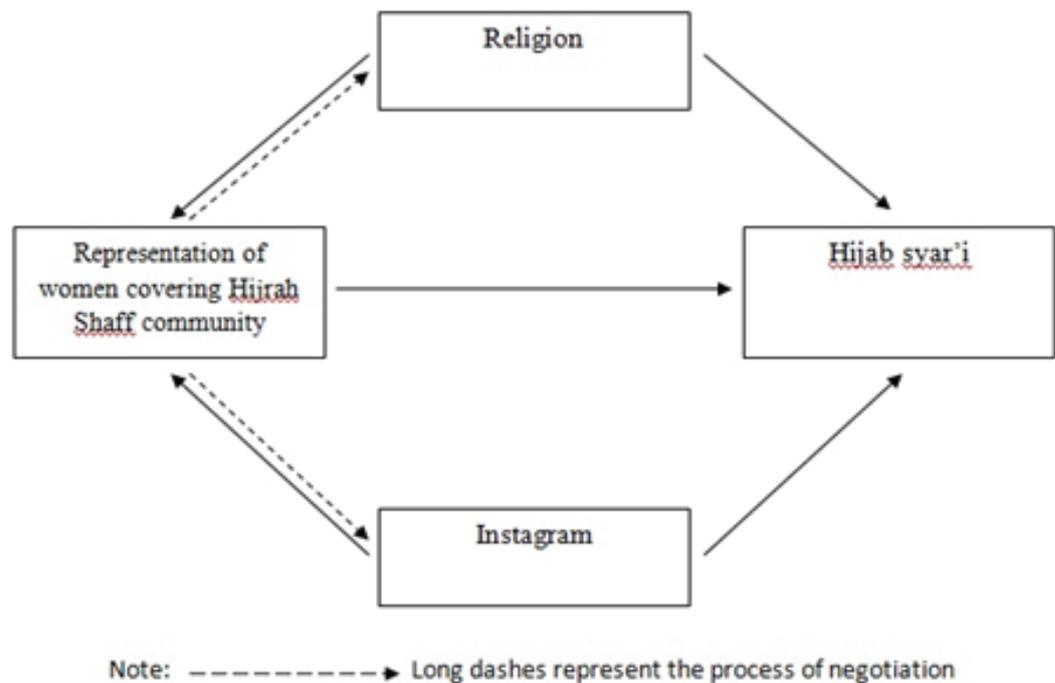


Figure 2: Theoretical Framework.

This study uses a qualitative approach that reveals the emerging social reality of young people of Hijrah communities, both in big cities and small cities, in Indonesia. The data does not use numbers, but emphasizing more on descriptive statements and visual data as well as writing on Instagram. Data collection methods are on-line observations, online and offline interviews, literature studies to complete the data, then involves it in the analysis so that the result is comprehensive.

Data collection was taken from three informants of Shaff Hijrah Community members, with different ages, educations, and jobs in order to obtain a diverse result, related to the representing their identity as women members of the Hijrah community and negotiations carried out using Instagram. Those were chosen deliberately by focusing on the characteristics of the syar'l hijab worn, namely syar'i hijab without veils (cadar), syar'l hijab plus masks, and syar'i hijab with chadar. The data is analyzed using a

constructivist approach from the representation theory described by Stuart Hall and Manuel Castell's thoughts on *The Power of Identity*.

The location of this research is in Kediri, a small city with an area of 62 sq. Km and 17 colleges, which is the ranked third in Education in East Java after Malang and Surabaya. Furthermore, Kediri has several large Islamic boarding schools, such as Lirboyo, Mojo, LDII Wali Barokah, and Wahidiyah. Even though Kediri is a small city, but it has young people of hijrah community that will enrich the findings with informant's social background, which is likely to be different from the women members of Hijrah communities in big cities.

2. Results and Discussion

The result of this study shows that women wearing Syar'i hijab represent her self to against the dominant construction related to religious discourse in women hijrah. They refuse the idea of women with syar'i veil were religious and obedient. Instead, they build their own identity with the statements if clothes and faith are different things and cannot be represented. Negotiations on women members of the Hijrah community indicate that they form a projection identity. Each constructs a newly desired identity without coercion or pressure from any actor or condition so that it can explain their position as a person who moves toward Hijrah

2.1. Representation of women who wears Syar'i Hijab in Shaff Hijrah community on instagram

Stuart Hall contributed a lot of thoughts especially into representation studies looking at media and cultural issues. In his book *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (1997), he saw how women became victims of media imaging. The concept of stereotypes occupies an important position in the revealing the image of women. A stereotype reduces the person to a series of exaggerated and negative character traits. Stereotyping reduces, makes sense, transcribes and binds "difference".

According to Meehan (1983) in Hasan (2016: 257), image stereotypes of women' are categorized as naughty (rebellious, sexual, tomboy); a good wife (domestic, attractive, centralized at home); greedy (aggressive, single); bitch (adulterous, manipulative); victim (passive, suffering from violence); bait (looks weak), flirtatious (sexually lures men for bad purposes); high-class prostitutes (live in salons, cabaret shows, brothel); witch (has more strength, but subordinated by men); matriarch (family authority roles, older, and

dislike sex). The subject's position is a perspective or set of regulative and organized discursive text or discourse is understood.

Women in the context of this research are flirtatiously and seductive reinforced by the data on 3rd image. This post constructs the discourse of women that has committed to always disciplined to guard themselves from the bad things such as slander in order to become obedient Muslim as commanded in the Koran and Hadith.



Figure 3: Discourse Reproduction that Stereotyping The Image of Women.

These images, conveyed by Sandi Suwardi Hasan (2016: 257-258), builds a discourse that women as sex objects, as passive objects for male desires which appropriates to be disciplined in their bodies. In line with Munawir (2010), the religion provisions that regulate women to cover their genitals are meant to glorify women and have positive values for male and female relationships. This is based on the reason that women religiously viewed as 'slander' which means sexual temptation, source of danger, social damage, chaos, and future crime. Women are positioned as immorality sources. Women are positioned to take on the role of fulfilling their obligations only through men (as husbands, fathers, or other men who control public space).

The discourse of Hijrah is understood by female members of the Shaff community by changing their identity, primarily through their appearances. Wearing syar'i hijab became the first thing they done when decided to hijrah. Previously, clothes that covered their body were only worn without understanding Shari'a rules, now replaced with clothes full of mandatory requirements, such as having to cover all of body, long and wide veils dangling down under the abdomen, the cloth is not transparent, must be loose without hugging curves, not imitating men's clothing (pants), not functioning as jewelry,

not resembling the clothes of infidel women, not spraying perfume, and not a clothing that attracts others' attention (shuhrah).

The next consequence is to do all of God's rule as a form of physical and spiritual obedience and leave everything forbidden. One of them is, women who hijrah must obey the provisions that regulate the opportunity for Muslim women to appear in public, both in the real world and in cyberspace. Related with the corpus of this research, Instagram, there is courtesy and da'wah for women who are active on social media. Some attitudes that must be obeyed is not to criticize and curse; avoid advising someone in the comments column; prohibited from commenting and speaking with non mahram without interest; chatting and commenting too much. This is done to protect Muslim women from religious slander on social media, such as defamation of the opposite sex; defamation of images and views; not scientific mandate; the phenomenon of "sudden ustadz" and "google ustadz"; a religious debate that has no benefit; social media addiction and wasting time; an event to find mates and introductions that are not falls into sharia law; often update advice status that sometimes does not attempted to be implemented (Article written by Ustadz dr. Raehanul Bahraen, coach of the Muslimafiyah.com site which is often become reference for young people to move). The 4th image shows the posts that advised Muslim women who moves to be vigilant and careful in using social media.



Figure 4: Ideal Polynomial Discourse in Social Media.

Essentially, the intention to hijrah is different articulated by Shaff community women. It is caused by differences in interpreting and understanding the meaning of hijrah so that it is interpreted in accordance with their respective religious knowledge and social experience. The articulation unity between the Hijrah concept formed by religion and Instagram appears to a new and different identity. The media determines the dynamic

of the female identity in Shaff Hijrah community. The 5th image shows the different identities from the three informants were studied.

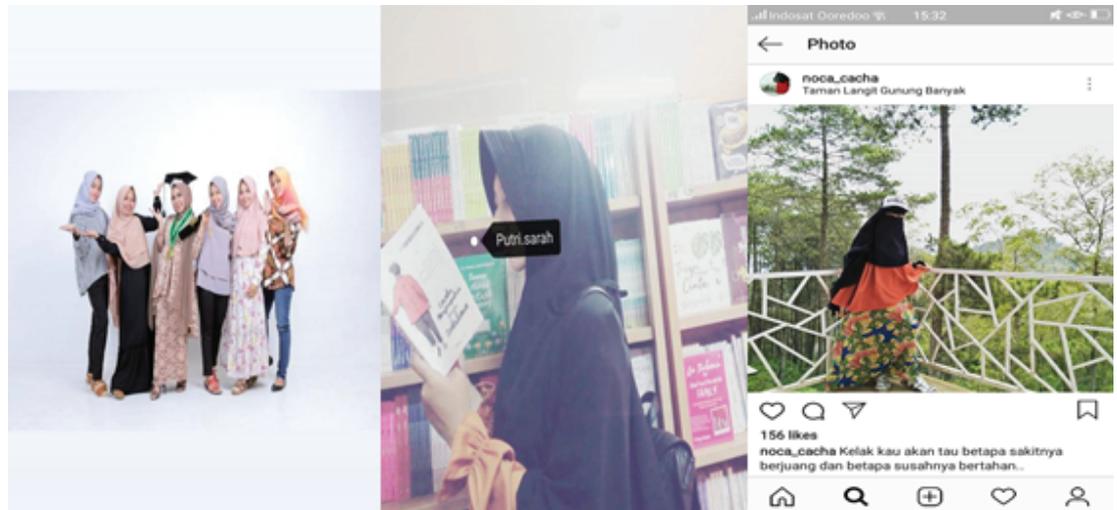


Figure 5: The Three Members of The Shaff Hijrah Community in Their Activities (A informant who wears a black robe and wears brown veil take a photo at the graduation ceremony; Informant B is in the library; C informant relaxes at one of the tourist attractions).

The three informants tried to get out from the dominant perspective about women who hijrah by using the syar'i hijab whose attitudes are required to be syar'i as well. They agreed to build a discourse of women who hijrah by wearing the syar'i hijab could do activity freely without feeling burdened and shadowed by religious dogma. The outer appearance covered by syar'i veil is not a barrier to do any activities and not something to be feared. The experience of hijrah process is proof of loving God's rules, that is try to stay wearing clothes that are stated in any situation as a form of hijrah commitment.

Informant A said that the function of syar'i dress worn is glorifying Muslim women, related to the acceptance of guidance, in order to enjoy the sweetness of faith, and to be a better person. Informant B explained that the decision to hijrah by wearing shari'a dress was carried out since 2014 because it was motivated from the studies she saw on Youtube and the desire to improve herself that was aimed at God. Informant C emphasized that not all who hijrah with syar'i dress and chadar like themselves could be called perfect in their religion and assumed their obedience was good. Even if it's different, it's just the clothes. Her decision to choose syar'i hijab and chadar as an effort to get closer to Allah, therefore the guidance can easily obtained towards better change (Based on interview with informant A who wears a syari hijab in August 2, 2018, informant B who wears a syari plus mask in August 10, 2018, and informant C who wears chadar in August 20, 2018).

In addition, these informants voiced their desire to fight the dominant discourse that constructed women's hijrah by wearing sharia' as a religious and obedient figure. They want to establish their own identity by undermining the dominant perspective about women hijrah who wears syar'i veil by not blaming the syar'i veil that they wear, because someone's clothes and morals are different things. Dressing syar'i is not a measure of whether or not a Muslim woman is faithful. On the other hand, this claim is remind of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus concept that although she has been hijrah with a shar'i appearance, it is not easy to change her habits that have been done before hijrah.

The new identity in the Instagram created by the female Shaff community has strengthened Stuart Hall's opinion that there is no identity can act as an identity that totally control, but identity changes according to how the subject is appointed or represented (Hall, 1990). According to Goffman (in Woodward, 2002: 10) identity is related to self, which is analogous to an actor who plays a role. Identity in the context of this research is the problem of 'being' and the process of 'being'. Therefore, identity is not only imposed or considered to be derived; but identity is also about negotiation, connection, imagination, and resistance (Hall, 1991: 225).

2.2. Negotiation of women Syar'i hijab representation through instagram

The provisions and manners that regulate the presence of women who utilize social media becomes the emergence background of "resistance" by the women who wears Syar'i veil of the Shaff community. The identity articulation displayed on the Instagram creates the form of negotiations on the requirements of social media consumption. In line with Chris Barker's (2000) opinion, norms that refer to social and cultural rules will regulate activity patterns, such as moral and imperative attitude, cultural habits and practices, and law. On the one hand, the norm can be understood as general or 'normal', but on the other hand it represents the form of behavior determined by the use of sanctions. At this point, the women of the Shaff Hijrah Community are required to have a strategy in order to maintain existence exist on social media despite of sanctions, namely to commit sin and receive blasphemy from the community.

The forms of negotiation in their representations on Instagram, are realized by selecting the camera angle. The third photo of the informant did not reveal his face by taking a slanted position that only appeared on the cheek. Neither side angle nor backward is the choice of Shaff's hijrah female community to bid on the rules of

appearing on social media. They assume that position will not cause slander. Shaff's hijrah community women create space for negotiation, choice, interpretation, and for improvisation (Woodward, 2002: 134).

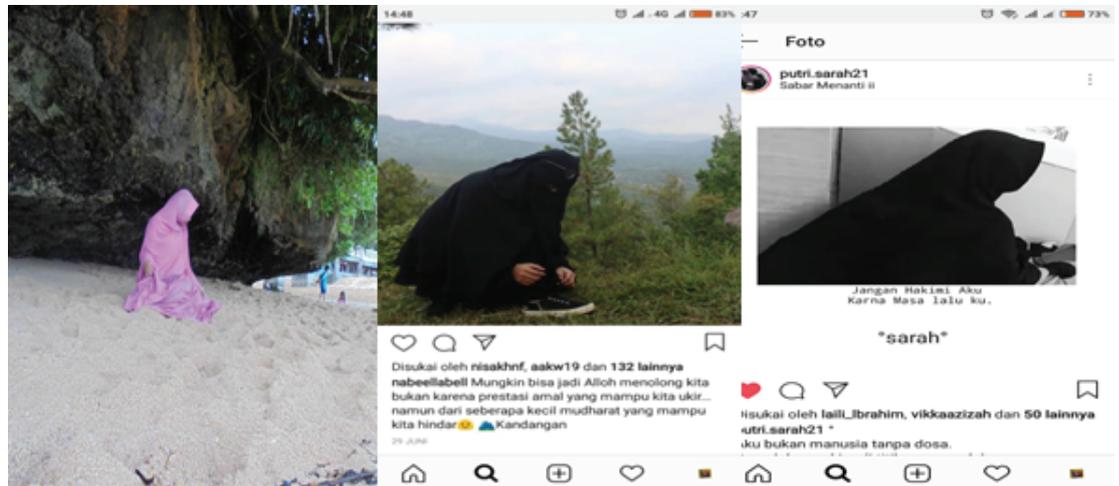


Figure 6: Negotiation of Women in the Hijrah Community Who Wears Syar'i Veil in Instagram.

Furthermore, Woodward (1997) explained that the body has a special place at the personal, social, psychological and social intersections in the negotiation of identity. The body is place of meanings constructed from differences and it is often a sign of visible differences, but it is also experienced, inhabited, offers possibilities and constraints for negotiating identity positions. The identity position, desired by the women in Hijrah Shaff community, is they want to keep doing activity normaly while maintaining her status as a Muslim woman who wears syar'i hijab. The identity generated from the negotiation process can be identified by using the identity theory presented by Manuel Castells.

Manuel Castells (2010) offers his opinion on three forms of identity: (1) legitimizing identity that this identity is introduced by institutions that are dominant in society. Identity will be formed which is the main characteristic when a dominant institution is the mind of thinking which is rationalized in the domination form; (2) resistance identity is a type of identity which is held by actors whose position is obtained due to resistance to the logic thinking of dominant group or can be interpreted as the process of surviving identity as resistance or in this case produced by those who are in a weaker position or condition because of the stigma from the dominating party; (3) project identity is obtained due to identity construction that occurs when social actors through the base of any cultural forming a new identity that defines their position in society, through their way, trying searching for the transformation of all the structures owned

Based on observation, the informants formed the resistance identity. There are political identities from these informants since they want to fight dominant discourse to

maintain their identity, follow their version even though they has decided to be part of the Shaff community. Each informant constructs the desired identity without coercion or pressure from any actor or condition so that they can explain their position as a woman who hijrah in a shar'i hijab with their own way, that women freely without any barrier in their daily activities just like others women who are in dominant discourse. Syar'i hijab is interpreted by informants as encouraging in hijrah.

3. Conclusion

The self-identity of women who wears syar'l hijab in the Shaff Hijrah Community through Instagram is constructed as a Muslim woman who is free to do all her activities, without the burden of religious values. They tried to oppose the dominant discourse which considered women who hijrah and wears syar i hijab as women idealized with religious values and symbol of goodness. The three informants agreed not to associate morality and behavior with syar'i appearances as an initial commitment in hijrah.

Negotiations on identity discourse in the space of representation as women who hijrah are carried out in a tricky manner by only appearing on social media with the picture's angle from the side and back. Avoid taking pictures of the face as a form of bargain in utilizing social media. Their "resistance" to the ideal view of hijah women cannot deceive their habitus in the past. The informants formed a resistance identity that constructs their desired identity pressure from any actor or condition. Therefore, they can state their position as hijrah women within syar'i hijab in their own way, without any of religious values shadow.

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