

The Identity of Modern Muslim Women on Instagram

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap makna identitas Muslimah modern yang dikonstruksi oleh para selebgram melalui akun-akun mereka di media sosial seperti Instagram. Selain itu, juga menggali motif yang mendasari seseorang untuk menjadi selebgram di Instagram. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologi, data dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dengan lima informan, selain studi pustaka dan observasi. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa makna identitas muslimah dikonstruksi oleh selebgram dalam tiga kategori, yaitu: (1) Penegasan definisi muslimah adalah perempuan muslim yang mengikuti syariat Islam, menggunakan pakaian sebagai penutup aurat sesuai dengan syariat Islam, konten yang diunggah menampilkan konten yang positif dan tidak mengumbar aurat, dan dalam hal endorsement, menyeleksi produk yang diterima agar tidak melenceng dari ajaran Islam menjadi sebuah keniscayaan. (2) Motif selebgram muslimah terbagi menjadi dua, yaitu motif penggunaan simbol-simbol muslimah dan motif menjadi selebgram muslimah di Instagram. Dalam menggunakan simbol muslimah berupa hijab, motif terbagi menjadi dua, yaitu motif sebab dan motif tujuan. (3) Motif sebab terdiri dari: memenuhi kewajiban sebagai muslimah, dorongan dari keluarga, dan dorongan dari lingkungan. Motif tujuan terdiri dari: memenuhi kewajiban agama, melindungi diri sendiri, mematahkan stigma buruk terhadap muslimah, menginspirasi orang lain, dan memperbaiki diri sendiri.

Kata Kunci: *Makna Hijab, Identitas Muslimah Moderen, Instagram*

Abstract

This research aims to uncover the meaning of modern Muslimah identity, which is constructed by micro-celebrities through their accounts on social media such as Instagram. In addition, it also explores the motives that underlie a person to become a celebrity on Instagram. Using a phenomenological approach, data was collected through in-depth interviews with five informants, in addition to literature review and observation. The results revealed that the meaning of Muslimah identity is constructed by Instagram celebrities in three categories, namely: (1) The assertion of the definition of Muslimah is a Muslim woman who follows Islamic law, uses clothing as a cover for the aurat in accordance with Islamic law, the uploaded content displays positive content and does not expose the aurat, and in terms of endorsement, selecting the products received so as not to deviate from Islamic teachings becomes a necessity. (2) The motives of Muslimah celebgrams are divided into two, namely the motive of using Muslimah symbols and the motive of becoming a Muslimah celebgram on Instagram. In using Muslim symbols in the form of hijab, the motive is divided into two, namely the motive of cause and the motive of purpose. (3) Cause motives consists of fulfilling obligations as a Muslimah, encouragement from the family, and encouragement from the environment. The purpose motive consists of fulfilling religious obligations, protecting oneself, breaking the bad stigma against Muslim women, inspiring others, and improving oneself.

Keywords: *Construction of Meaning Hijab, Modern Muslimah Identity, Instagram*

Introduction

The hijab's popularity in Indonesia merits examination, particularly given that most Indonesian women adhere to Islam. Islamic sharia law requires Muslim women to cover their aurat, or private parts, using a hijab. The phenomenon of the hijab began to experience dynamics that attracted the attention of researchers, especially when political facts during the New Order era made rules prohibiting the use of the hijab in public spaces that were met with rejection from several parties. Even during the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, the hijab has now become a common item of clothing worn by Muslim women in Indonesia, even by some educational institutions, where it is often required as formal clothing.

Following the Reformation, the discriminatory attitudes and beliefs towards specific religions and ethnic groups that were prevalent during the New Order period began to dissipate. In her article, "Trajectory of Jilbab Construction in Indonesia," Laillia posits that in "A Battle of Diverse Interests," the Reformation is also identified as a significant factor in the development of the jilbab phenomenon in Indonesia. The headscarf, which was initially prohibited and regarded as a symbol

of political resistance, began to be worn openly. Everyone possesses the autonomy to determine their own attire, including the option to wear a headscarf in public spaces.

The use of the hijab by Indonesian Muslim women appears to be a growing necessity. In 2018, a shampoo company in Indonesia conducted a study that found that 72 percent of Muslim women in Indonesia have worn the hijab. This figure increased markedly from 2012, when it stood at approximately 47 percent. The number of individuals in Indonesia who utilize the hijab has continued to grow. A 2018 study conducted by a shampoo company in Indonesia revealed that 72% of Muslim women in Indonesia have worn a headscarf.

This figure has increased markedly from 2012, when it stood at approximately 47 percent. In 2022, the World Economic Forum (WEF) released the latest data regarding the total expenditure on jilbab by Indonesians during that year. The World Economic Forum (WEF) observed that the total consumption of headscarves in Indonesia reached 1.02 billion units in that year. The total value of transactions related to the purchase of jilbabs reached 6.09 billion US dollars, which is equivalent to 91.135 trillion rupiah. (Yogya's perspective, 2023).

In her article, "Hijabers," Annisa R. Beta examines the phenomenon of young urban Muslim women in Indonesia who wear the hijab and express a vibrant, fun, and colorful interpretation of Islam. The article "How Young Urban Muslim Women Redefine Themselves in Indonesia" reveals that one of the most prominent types of urban Muslims in Indonesia are "Hijabers," young women who wear the hijab and express a "fun" and "colorful" view of Islam. These women are active users of social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, as well as fashion blogs, utilizing these media as sources of inspiration for their fashion style choices. This may be regarded as a construction of identity among young Muslims in Indonesia (Rocamora, 2011: 411).

In the preceding generation (1990), the use of the hijab was perceived as unfeasible due to its initial association with oppression and the perception of the hijab as a symbol of rural women. The perception that the hijab is a symbol of Islamic oppression of women is held by individuals who adhere to a range of assumptions.

The hijab is frequently perceived as a symbol of oppression in popular culture. This view holds that Muslim women are subjugated by men, and that the hijab is a symbol of this subjugation (Bullock, 2002). This perspective is shaped by liberalist assumptions that fail to consider the nuances of Muslim women's lived experiences. This perspective is embraced by Western politicians and employed to advance agendas in the Muslim world (Bullock, 2002).

Misunderstanding of the hijab has led to the notion that Islam is an oppressive religion where clothing is associated with regression (Hassim, 2014). Muslim women often look for opportunities

to break down the discrimination created by the West. However, the majority of Muslim countries now present the hijab as a symbol of freedom. This is in line with the modernization of the country which then creates a new definition of the position of Muslim women in society (Hassim, 2014).

There are various oppositions to the use of hijab, especially in the world of work, one of which appears the phenomenon of the application of the necessity of Muslim women wearing hijab to remove their hijab to get a job, this phenomenon does not only occur in Indonesia but is a limitation experienced by women in the world. In fact, the perpetrators of this discrimination do not only occur in private institutions such as private companies, but also in government institutions such as schools, TNI, Polri and government offices. In relation to this, the researcher himself had observed a fellow student in the same class at SMAN 3 Bandung in 1984 who was prohibited from participating in class just because she wore a headscarf. This is one of the pieces of evidence that the state has repressed its citizens in relation to the use of jilbab. The form of resistance that the researcher's friend did at that time was by staying in school and not removing her headscarf, but bringing her own chair from home and sitting outside the classroom near the door so that she could still listen to the subject matter given by the teachers.

The advent of Muslim fashion on Instagram has created opportunities for Muslim women to pursue professional endeavors (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018). The term "Muslimah" denotes a woman who adheres to the Islamic faith. This designation also signifies a woman who is a member of a global community of Muslim women who are fashion-conscious, tech-savvy, and have established careers. They are agents of Islamic popular culture, both as consumers and creators of new audiences (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018).

A review of the literature on the representation of Muslim women in the media reveals that visual and textual portrayals of Muslim women are often shaped by prevailing images of Islam (Hassim, 2014). As a religious symbol and ethnic identifier, the hijab has become a vehicle for creative expression of female modesty. As Beta and Hum (2011) note in Hassim (2014), most countries in Southeast Asia depict images of modern Islam that permit Muslim women to express themselves through clothing, various accessories, and striking colors (Hassim, 2014).

The study of hijabers addresses an important question in the field of micro-celebrity analysis. Micro-celebrities are defined as a subset of celebrities who gain their status using social media, branding, and marketing strategies (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018). As Baulch and Pramiyanti (2018) have observed in their study of micro-celebrities, the phenomenon encompasses both elite and non-elite groups. The Hijabers Community (HC) group comprises 26 hijabers (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018).

Baulch and Pramiyanti (2018) examined the utilization of Instagram by hijabers as a platform for showcasing a middle-class style and disseminating messages, which is regarded as a primary obligation for a Muslim. As Beta (2014) also observed, although HC hijabers originate from the upper middle class, they are adept at establishing a style that resonates with young Muslim women, namely a blend of personal style and modesty (Beta, *Hijabers*: (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2014).

Most studies on hijabers concentrate on elite groups who self-identify as such (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018; Beta, 2014). Baulch and Pramiyanti (2018) discuss how young urban Muslim women redefine themselves in Indonesia. Other studies on hijabers concentrate on a single micro-celebrity, examining the hijab styles displayed on social media (Hassim, 2014; Fauzi, Fasta, Nathan, & Jeong, 2020; Indarti & Peng, 2016). Other studies that address the communication experiences of Muslim women are confined to virtual spaces, such as Instagram (Manaf, 2018).

Moreover, the findings of Suhada, D. N., Demartoto, A., & Sunesti, Y. (2022) in their study, "Women in the Shadow of Self-Racism," A Phenomenological Study of Women Using Instagram, published in the journal *Interdisciplinary Social Studies*, posits that female Instagram users are constrained by self-racism and attempt to emulate the personas they admire on the platform. This study employed four informants from diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Arab, Batak, Chinese, and Papuan, as research subjects due to the significant representation of these ethnic groups in Indonesia. countries. In addition, this study can be the basis for further research in comparing legal systems and compulsory testament arrangements in other Muslim countries.

In a separate study, Baulch and Pramiyanti (2018) investigated the phenomenon of hijabers on Instagram. In the journal *social media + Society*, it was found that members of the Hijabers Community (HC) utilize Instagram as a platform to present their middle-class status and as a medium for da'wah, which is considered a Muslim obligation. This study examines the self-presentation of hijabers in the context of ongoing debates surrounding the implications of the micro-celebrity phenomenon for women's empowerment. The methodology employed is visual analysis, which enables an understanding of the meaning conveyed by hijabers through a combination of images and captions. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and a manual coding of HC members' uploads, which were analyzed for core and recurring patterns.

The article by Istiani, A. N. (2015), entitled "Construction of Hijab Fashion Meanings for Muslim Fashion Bloggers," published in the *Journal of Communication Studies*, was prompted by the author's observation that the development of Muslim clothing in Indonesia is inextricably linked to the influence of social media in shaping Muslim clothing styles as fashion trends. This

study aims to examine the understanding, motives, and experiences of Muslim fashion bloggers in disseminating hijab fashion in Indonesia on their blogs. A phenomenological approach was employed to examine the understanding, motives, and communication experiences of the six informants, who served as the primary source of information.

In addition to an analysis of the findings of previous research, researchers also employ several phenomenological theories as reference materials and as a basis for determining the research framework. In this instance, researchers employ Alfred Schutz's phenomenological theory and George Herbert Mead's symbolic interaction theory as a theoretical foundation

The phenomenological theory of Alfred Schutz

Schutz (1962) posits that social research is distinct from other forms of research due to the active interpretation of the research objects by the very researchers attempting to interpret them. In order to achieve this, the researcher must utilise the same interpretative methods as the object of research, employing a similar approach to that which would be used in everyday life. Phenomenology seeks to establish a connection between scientific knowledge and the everyday experiences and activities from which these experiences originate. An emphasis is placed on individual experience, with the use of techniques such as narrative and interview data collection.

Furthermore, Schutz (1972) posits that phenomenology, as a method, is formulated to study and analyze individual lives in the form of experiences regarding phenomena or appearances, which are commonly referred to as the stream of consciousness. This reality is intersubjective, meaning that members of society share fundamental perceptions of the world that they internalize through socialization (Schutz, 1972). This enables them to interact and communicate. Nevertheless, the intersubjective does not exist within the individual; rather, it is constituted through social processes.

In this theory, Schutz mentions that looking into the future is essential to the concept of action. Action is behavior that is aimed at realizing goals in the future (Kuswarno, 2009). To describe the whole of human action, two phases are needed. The first phase is in order to motive (referring to the future) and the second phase is because of motive (referring to the past).

The Symbolic Interaction Theory of George Herbert Mead

Symbolic interaction theory emphasizes human interaction with society that will give birth to meaning and interpretation of the concept of what is happening (West, 2008). According to George Herbert Mead, the core of symbolic interaction theory is about the "self". In his book entitled *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934), Mead argues that the perception of self is a process derived from the social interaction of individuals with others. Individuals are seen as sensitive, active, creative, and innovative beings (Mead, 1934).

Symbolic means symbols that have been agreed upon and become a shared perspective, but there are differences in meaning for each person because there are differences in experience (West, 2008). Experience (West, 2008). Mead explained three main concepts in this theory through the book *Mind, Self, and Society* (1934). The three concepts are interrelated to achieve symbolic interaction. The following is a summary of the three concepts from the book:

1. Mind

Mead defines mind as the ability to use symbols that have the same social meaning. Mind is the initial process of individual meaning. It is through the mind that people make initial interactions with themselves. According to Mead, this mind gives rise to a reciprocal relationship of what people think about, which then gives rise to a social process of interpreting a phenomenon. This process consists of two aspects, namely movement and language. Both are the main context of individuals when interacting with others (West, 2008). The mind becomes the initial focus of human ability in interpreting the symbols found. Every person needs interaction with others to develop his mind.

2. Self

This concept is the human ability to accept oneself as an object formed from different perspectives of others (West, 2008). Furthermore, Mead stated that the concept of 'self' is both an object and a subject. The object in question refers to itself as the basic character of other creatures so that it can achieve self-consciousness and underlie attitude-taking for itself and social situations. According to him, the 'self' first becomes an object before it is in the position of a subject. The 'self' undergoes a process of internalization or subject interpretation of the reality of the broader structure.

The human self-concept consists of 'I' and 'me'. The 'I' is the driver of human action and the 'me' is the part that understands social rules. 'I' is the impulsive, spontaneous and undirected tendency of the individual. 'I' has the potential to create new and creative activities. Meanwhile, 'me' refers to individuals who can cooperate with others. This makes 'me' a regulator so that the actor's behavior is directed and harmonious (goal-directed activity and conformity). These two aspects are inseparable because all meaning that resides in human beings passes through these two concepts. Mead observed that through movement and language, humans can become subjects and objects

3. Society

Interactions that occur between people will always intersect dynamically through a social structure called society (West, 2008). Society and individuals in a social order shape each other

through social dynamics, symptoms, and actions. Individuals influence one another directly or indirectly. This creates new perceptions and perspectives that provide an overall view of society (Forte, 2004).

Symbolic interactionists believe that human behavior is a product of their interpretation of the world around them. Behavior is chosen based on how the individual interprets the situation. This theory contributes to the premise that modern Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram create and give meaning to the Muslimah identity on Instagram. This theory is also used to examine how the actions of modern Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram shape and give meaning to interactions through the hijab symbol, such that meanings are exchanged in the interaction process conveyed through Instagram.

Research Methode

In this study, the researcher used a qualitative method to analyze the meaning of using hijab for modern Muslimah identity among micro-celebrities on Instagram. This method is also used so that the researcher can obtain comprehensive information about the research subject, based on the research context. In addition, this method can reveal the information (Sugiarto, 2017).

The approach used in this research is phenomenology. According to Creswell (Creswell, 2007), this approach seeks to understand how an individual constructs meaning and concepts within the framework of intersubjectivity. Based on this concept, the subject, object, and researcher are the main keys in the research. In this study, the researcher seeks to find the identity of the modern Muslimah and the motives for the use of Muslimah symbols by Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram, as well as the communication experiences of Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram and in the surrounding environment. Therefore, phenomenological research is free from bias, which helps to reveal individual perceptions and experiences by challenging structural assumptions (Moustakas, 1994).

The research subject is the source of the data needed in conducting research. In this study, the research subjects were Muslim micro-celebrities on Instagram who use hijab. The subjects in this study have several criteria. According to Creswell (2007), the criteria for informants in phenomenology are people who have experienced the phenomenon being

studied with an ideal number of 5 to 25 participants. In addition, Kuswarno (2009) states that the main criteria for informants in phenomenological research are as follows.

1. Informants must directly experience situations related to the research topic.
2. Informants can re-describe the phenomena they have experienced, especially in terms of meaning and nature.
3. The informant is willing to participate in research activities.
4. Informants are willing to be interviewed and recorded during the interview or research.
5. The informant agrees to the publication of the research results.

The process of determining the subject is determined by purposive sampling, which has the following criteria 1) is a Muslimah micro-celebrity who uses hijab on Instagram, 2) has been using Instagram for at least 5 years, 3) has more than 10,000 active followers, 4) has a job other than micro-celebrity on Instagram. Based on the described criteria, the researchers found informants who fit the criteria listed below,

Table. 1. Informant's Data

No.	Nama Akun Instagram	Jumlah Pengikut	Pekerjaan
1	@taniaaa. dn	185 ribu	Business owners
2	@tarisyamln	49,4 ribu	Student
3	@widyatarmizi	13,8 ribu	KOL Specialist
4	@nabilaishma	1,2 juta	<i>Public speaker</i>
5	@nadyarosmania	41 ribu	Ibu rumah tangga

The object of this research is the modern Muslimah identity and the motives for using Muslimah symbols by Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram, as well as the communication experience of Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram and in the surrounding environment.

The data collection technique that will be used in this research is in-depth interviews. According to Masri Singarimbun (1987), an interview is a question-and-answer process between two or more individuals directly or through an intermediary (Singarimbun, 1987). In-depth interviews were conducted in a free and controlled manner. The data collected is broad and in-depth but meets the principles of validity and reliability so as to favor the research focus (Machmud, 2016). In-depth interviews are conducted to understand the

perceptions of young people in interpreting and constructing things based on their conscious experiences. During the interview, the researcher will record the activities to minimize data misrepresentation and obtain conformity to the interviewee's answers.

Data is an important element in research. The data that has been collected and analyzed will be used as the basis for drawing conclusions so that it needs to meet the validity requirements (Mekarisce, 2012). needs to meet the validity requirements (Mekarisce, 2020). Data validity aims to build trust as an indicator of the level of truth of research results based on facts in the field (Machmud, 2016).

In this study, the data validity checking technique used is triangulation. Triangulation utilizes data sources by comparing the data obtained. Triangulation can be carried out in three ways, namely (1) comparing the words of the research subject in public with private; (2) comparing interview results with documents regarding the research focus; and (3) discussing with several sources to reach a common understanding (Machmud, 2016).

The triangulation technique is a combination of various methods to examine related events from different perspectives. Triangulation consists of four types, namely triangulation of methods, between researchers, data sources, and theories (Machmud, 2016). In this research, the triangulation technique that will be used is a combination of source and method triangulation. Method triangulation compares information in different ways (Machmud, 2016). This triangulation will be carried out if the data obtained is of doubtful validity.

The next technique is data source triangulation. This technique is a process of extracting data validity from various data collection sources (Machmud, 2016). Researchers will compare data from several sources to compare relevant perspectives to avoid bias when drawing conclusions. With this technique, it is expected that the data obtained is complete and saturated so that it can become the basis for drawing conclusions. The data analysis technique used in this research refers to the Miles, Huberman, and Saldana data analysis model known as the interactive model (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Miles, Huberman, and Saldana state that data analysis activities are interconnected activities before, during, and after data collection to build general insights called analysis (Sugiyono, 2017).

Research Finding

Construction of the Meaning of Modern Muslimah Identity

The construction of the meaning of modern Muslimah identity for micro celebrities on Instagram, which we found in this study, is related to her communication experience in defining herself as a Muslimah. Then, the hijab as clothing is also the meaning of their Muslim identity as micro celebrities on Instagram. These two meanings are also complemented by two other meanings where her identity as a Muslimah determines what content she should upload on Instagram. Another thing, as a Muslimah micro-celebrity, our research subject has an obligation to only endorse things that are not against Islamic law. In simple terms, the analysis of the research findings related to the importance of Muslim identity can be observed in Figure 1 below,

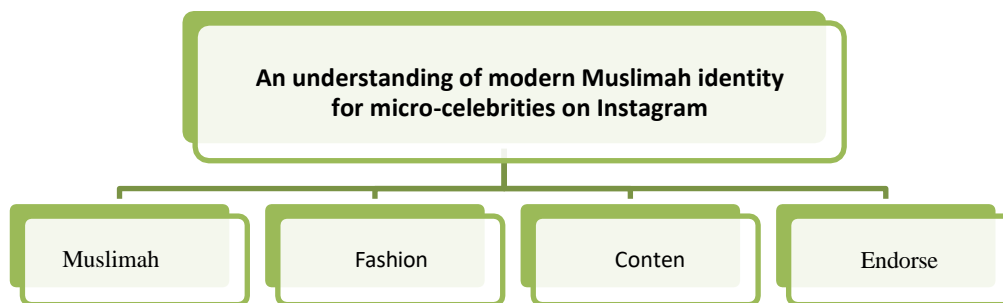


Figure. 1. Model of Modern Muslimah Identity Meaning for Micro-Celebrities on Instagram

The meaning of Muslimah identity is closely related to the experiences of micro-celebrities based on previous experiences and interactions with others (Schutz, *The Phenomenology of the Social World*, 1972). Based on Figure 1, it can be observed that Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram interpret modern Muslimah through the definition of Muslimah, clothing, uploaded content, and endorsements. According to Cooke (2017), Muslim women are first seen through their religious identity. Other things are considered secondary (ethnicity, nationality, occupation, and age) (Cooke, 2007).

First, Muslimah identity is interpreted through definition. The informants defined Muslimah as a Muslim woman who practices Islamic law. This is consistent with the Qur'anic definition of Muslimah, which states that a Muslimah is a woman who adheres to the teachings of Islam and performs all the duties and commands of Allah SWT. This is reinforced by the statement of informant TN, who defines Muslimah as a woman who is Muslim, practices Islamic law, and

covers the Awrad. TN's statement is also supported by the opinion of informant WD, who stated that Muslimahs are women who obey and carry out the commands of Allah SWT, such as wearing hijab, praying on time, and carrying out Islamic sunnahs. Informants TN and WD argue that Muslim women are Muslim women who fulfill religious obligations. This is supported by the statement of informant NB, who believes that a person's faith cannot be measured by her hijab. She stated that Muslim women are women who represent the teachings of Islam with good character, appearance, words, and behavior.

Second, the interpretation of Muslimah identity through dress. As mentioned in Surah Al-Ahzab verse 59: "Let them cover their entire bodies with their headscarves. The Surah emphasizes the teachings of Islam that a Muslimah must wear a headscarf. Cover her aurat with a hijab. As Islam teaches, a woman's body is aurat except for the face and palms. This rule is confirmed in Surah al-Quran An Nur verse 31: "Let them not show their ornaments (aurat) except what is (usually) seen. And let them draw their veils over their breasts and not reveal their ornaments...".

The rules regarding the use of hijab according to Islam are adopted by informants TN and NB. She admitted that she tried to cover her aurat and did not show any body parts that are forbidden by Islamic law. The obligation to wear the hijab is understood by all informants in this study. Nevertheless, ND and TR informants felt that they could not comply with Islamic law regarding the use of a good and correct hijab. Muslim women who wear hijab increase the visibility of women who fight for empowerment and understand technology to build connections among fellow Muslim women (Hassim, 2014). This is supported by the findings from the interview with informant Nabila. She stated that she is proud of the hijab. The hijab is her identity as a Muslimah, which is used to prove to the wider community that a Muslimah can have useful qualities. The informants in this study had an interest in hijab clothing before they started wearing the hijab. This was felt by informant TN who admitted that she maintained her appearance even when she was at home. Interest in hijab was also felt by informant ND, who admitted that she was inspired by fashionable hijab-wearing micro-celebrities. This is in line with Hassim (2014) who argues that the diversity of hijab is more conspicuous in line with Muslim women's struggle to be accepted in modern society (Hassim, 2014).

Third, the interpretation of Muslimah identity through uploaded content. Informant NB inspires her audience by disseminating Islamic teachings that are packaged in a generic way. According to Fealy and White (2008), Muslims now enjoy personalized and pluralistic Islamic teachings (F. & S., 2008). This is supported by NB's statement that he packa

Fourth, the interpretation of Muslimah identity through endorsed products. All Muslimah micro-celebrity informants in this study chose the endorsed products they

received. Some of them choose products that are not in accordance with religious law. The refusal is based on the principles they hold for their self-image as hijab-wearing Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram. Informant NB said that she refused the offer of alcoholic products because of her beliefs as a Muslim. This is corroborated by the experiences of WD informants who refused offers of alcoholic beverages and cigarettes because they were harmed. As stated in Surah Al Quran Al Maidah verse 90: "O you who believe, verily intoxicants, gambling, (sacrifice to) idols, and casting lots with arrows are abominable deeds (and) among the deeds of the devil...".

In addition to alcoholic beverages and cigarettes, informant WD also refused an offer to endorse teeth whitening and weight loss products because they contained elements of lying. The prohibition of lying is written in the Qur'an, Surah An-Nahl, verse 105: "Surely those who invent lies are only those who do not believe in the verses of Allah, and they are liars". Informant WD also refused the offer of sexual products because it gave him mudharat. This is in accordance with what is prohibited in MUI Fatwa No. 24 of 2017.

Motives for Becoming a Micro Celebrity on Instagram

The second research finding is about the motive for becoming a Muslimah micro-celebrity, we found a motive that when referring to protection is consistent with because of motive and to motive, as shown in Figure 2 below,

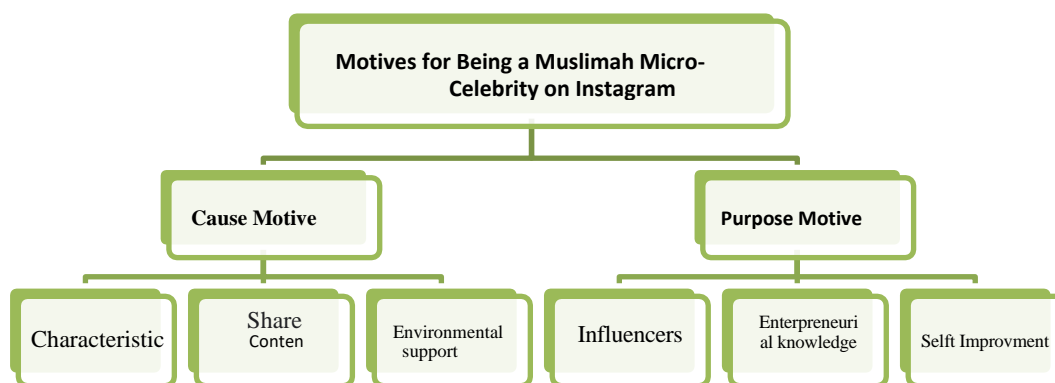


Figure. 2. Types of Motives for Becoming a Muslim Micro-Celebrity on Instagram

Based on Schutz, who stated that the overall representation of human action requires two phases, archieving goals (which refers to the future) and the second phase is the caausal of motive (which refers to the past) (Schutz, 1972).

In Figure 2, there are two motives to become a Muslimah micro-celebrity on Instagram, namely the cause of motive and purpose motive. Therefore, in this section, the researcher will discuss the informants' motives for becoming a Muslimah micro-celebrity on Instagram.

Cause Motive

First, having a characteristic. According to Clarewells, micro-celebrities are individuals who use social media as a mechanism to create audiences and people who are famous in unusual ways. This is supported by the statement of informant WD, who admits that he is famous because he has an unusual characteristic. As a result of his characteristics, WD attracted people's attention so that his account began to have many followers. This strengthens the cause motive in the form of having one's own style in becoming a micro-celebrity.

Second, the regular sharing of content. The informants' consistency in sharing content helps them gain followers, which makes them Muslimah micro-celebrities. This is supported by informant TR's statement that her emergence as a micro-celebrity began with creating entertainment content, which then attracted the attention of the audience. Informant ND's assertion also reinforces these findings. He argued that the background of his emergence as a micro-celebrity was due to sharing photos on Instagram, which then generated responses from many people.

Third, encouragement from the environment. Encouragement from the surrounding environment comes from micro-celebrities on Instagram, work, and peers. This is corroborated by the statement of informant TR, who admitted that she was inspired by other microcelebrities and the income they earned. External encouragement was also experienced by informant WD, who said that his work as an MC and radio announcer in the past was one of the factors he could get a lot of followers from his connections.

The cause motive that comes from environmental encouragement in becoming a micro-celebrity is also reinforced by the statements of informants NB and ND. Informant NB said that she became a micro-celebrity because of the encouragement of her late

boyfriend. ND also said that the encouragement from her close friend led ND to become a micro-celebrity.

Purpose Motive

First, to inspire others. There are different inspirations that informants want to convey by becoming Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram, namely inspiring hijab styles and inspiring people to wear hijab. Informant TN reinforces this motive with her statement of wanting to inspire others to be better and to use the hijab. According to Jones (2010), the use of hijab now conveys not only the idea of promoting new styles, but also about 'ownership' of styles and combinations of styles (Jones, 2010). This is reinforced by Tania's statement, who expressed her desire to inspire others to wear the hijab style that distinguishes her.

Informant NB also emphasized that her motive for wearing the hijab was to inspire others to be more confident in wearing the hijab. In addition, she wants to help Muslim women who have difficulty finding a hijab style for themselves. This is supported by the interpretation of informants WD and ND, who hope that their hijab will inspire other Muslim women to wear hijab.

Second, to explore the field of hijab fashion. This motive is supported by the statement of informant TR who stated that she wanted to explore herself in the field of hijab fashion. This is in line with Baulch & Pramiyanti's (2018) statement that hijab style is not just a floating sign, but an identity that can be adopted for Muslim women (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018).

Third, self-improvement. Informant WD reinforces the motive of self-improvement as the purpose of hijab because she wants to cover more aurat and pay attention to the clothes she wears. This was also stated by informant ND, who hoped that she could cover her aurat more tightly and pay attention to the clothes she wore to comply with Islamic law.

Conclusion

Constructed by Muslimah micro-celebrities on Instagram into three themes: (1) the definition of Muslimah, namely Muslim women who practice Islamic law, (2) through clothing, namely covering the aurat according to Islamic law, (3) through upload content,

namely displaying positive content and not exposing the aurat, and (4) through endorsed products, namely selecting positive content and not exposing the aurat.

(3) by uploading content, namely displaying positive content and not exposing the aurat, and (4) by endorsing products, namely selecting products received so as not to deviate from Islamic teachings.

The research informants also have certain motives underlying their becoming micro-celebrities on Instagram, namely the motive of using Muslimah symbols and the motive of becoming a micro-celebrity on Instagram. In using Muslimah symbols in the form of hijab, the motive is divided into two, causal of motive and motive for archieving goals. The causal motive consists of (1) the fulfillment of Muslimah duties, (2) encouragement from family, and (3) encouragement from the environment. The motive for archieving goals consists of: (1) fulfilling religious obligations, (2) protecting oneself, (3) breaking the bad stigma against Muslim women, (4) inspiring others, and improving oneself. The motives of Muslimah microcelebrities to become Muslimah microcelebrities on Instagram are divided into two, causal motive and the motive for archieving goals. The causal of motive consists of: (1) having distinctive characteristics, (2) regularly sharing content, and (3) encouragement from the environment. Meanwhile, the motive for archieving goals consists of: (1) inspiring others, (2) exploring the field of hijab fashion, and (3) improving oneself.

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