

THE MEANING OF *HIJRAH* AMONG *NIQOBERS* IN SOCIAL MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Hijrah conception has experienced a shift of meaning between its concept in the Prophet's era and today. *Hijrah* is often associated with the use of *niqob* and radicalism. By wearing *niqob* as a means of *hijrah*, someone does not merely modify her fashion, but also her behavior. There is also an assumption that those who are not wearing *niqob* have yet to *hijrah*. This research aims to find out the concept of *hijrah* for women with *niqob*, including the background and the influence of the concept of *hijrah* on their religiosity. This study employs a descriptive qualitative research method. The data were collected from chats in a *Niqober* group, in which a discussion on *hijrah* was conducted. The conversations were captured, selected, sorted, classified, and displayed in tables. Then, the data were analyzed descriptively and iteratively. The results of this study indicate that today, *hijrah* has three concepts: a change in circumstance, a change in behavior, and a change in fashion. Wearing a *niqob*, as a form of *hijrah*, is influenced by some factors, such as the factors of partner, family, and environment. The concept of *hijrah* for *Niqobers* influences the meaning in religion. First, *hijrah* is symbolized with the use of *niqob*. Second, a woman who does *hijrah* by wearing *niqob* is considered to be radical. Third, *hijrah* using *niqob* means following the Arabic culture. This study suggests conducting an education related to the concept of *hijrah* that are believed by the *Niqobers*. To use *niqob* does not only mean *hijrah*, but also it is the Prophet's *sunnah*, and it is not obligated. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that women who do not wear *niqob* have yet to commit *hijrah*.

Keywords: *Hijrah* conception, deconstruction, *niqobers*, social media

INTRODUCTION

Hijrah, which has been interpreted as a migration from a place to another, has experienced a meaning expansion due to the fact that one's knowledge and perspective have also been evolving. One of the characteristics of *hijrah* today is the use of *hijab* for women (Amna 2019; Annisa 2018; Putri and Firdaus 2018). In line with that, *hijrah* becomes a different medium for Millennial in creating religious identities and religious symbols (Zahara, Wildan, and Komariah 2020). Today's young generation is easy to find their integrity and identity through their idols and role models by joining groups

on social media (Annisa 2018). In the previous regime, religion and spirituality have been formally regulated and were very easily controlled by religious leaders and state apparatus. With the existence of globalization, which is marked by the occurrence of information technology and internet in various lines of life, there is an open space provided for someone to find the knowledge of religion, including the concept of *hijrah*. In a study on the concept of *hijrah*, all respondents stated that the means of *hijrah* is manifested through wearing *niqob*, the real *hijrah* for them is to change their fashion from the opened-style of clothing to the covered ones

(Ahmad, Hamzah, Basuki, Masruri, and Hayadin 2019).

Until today, studies related to religious studies tend to have two fundamental things. The first is that the studies are related to religious groups that divide society, and the second is the study of religious groups that unite society. Through Islamic Community Organization (ORMAS) Communication Forum in Pamekasan, there has been a commitment produced in actualizing the internal religious harmony. Several activities were also carried out and have contributed to unifying religious communities (Hasan 2015). However, what commonly becomes a popular study in the research articles is about groups classified as radicals and dividers of society (Laisa 2014; Rokhmad 2012; Ruslan 2017; Thoyyib 2018). Talking about radical religious groups, it turns out that many Muslim women who wear *niqob* are still viewed negatively or associated with radicalism in Indonesia (Putri 2019). On the other hand, women who do not wear the *niqob* are seen as kafir or non-believer (Nasir 2008). Such a stigma is considered inappropriate because not all women with *niqob* are radicals, and not all women without *hijab* do not perform prayers. Someone is said to be kafir when he or she associates God to something else and worship anything other than God, as what was done by the people of Mecca during the *Jahiliyyah* era (Afandi 2017). Meanwhile, the meaning of radical is easy to find in the social media, such as the radical da'wah, which appeared along with the viral case of religious blasphemers (Fatmawati, Noorhayati, and Minangsih 2018).

The religious group that unites the people can be seen from the Muhammadiyah organization that has laid the foundation for its movement, *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar*, to society as a field of spreading da'wah (Suryanto 2016). Besides, the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) organization has spread the unity of Muslims through the moderation of Islamic education in Indonesia, which teaches Islamic teachings not only on doctrinal matters but also with the dynamics of times and people's ways of thinking (Abdurrahman 2018). These

dynamics cannot be separated from the Qur'an and hadith, and still hold on to the statements of "maintaining the old traditions and taking new, better ones" (Hakim 2018). Religious studies that unite Muslims in Indonesia are not only described by the existence of religious organizations but also the presence of religious figures or preachers as visualized in the trends in various social media at this era. It is reflected in a research that shows that preachers can hypnotize people through the rhetoric of their delivery, such as Ustad Abdul Somad, Khalid Basalamah, and Hanan Attaki (Rosyada 2018).

The previous studies have yet to carry out many studies on *hijrah* associated with *niqob*, especially the *Niqobers*. The purpose of this paper is to complement the lack of studies in the concept of *hijrah* according to the *Niqobers* on social media, which have tended to ignore the perspective of *Niqobers*. This paper specifically presents the deconstruction of the concept of *hijrah* from the perspective of *Niqobers* who join a community in the social media. In line with that, three questions are formulated: a) how is the *hijrah* conception based on the view of *Niqobers*?; b) How do the background and experience of the *Niqobers* influence the *hijrah* conception?; c) How does the *hijrah* conception of *Niqobers* deconstruct the meaning of religion in the social media? The answers to these three questions are the main cores of the discussions in this paper.

This study assumes that *hijrah* has experienced a shift of meaning in line with the development of human life patterns. The *Niqobers'* view of *hijrah* is reflected in three things: the circumstance, fashion, and attitude of a person. The most piercing thing of *Niqobers'* *hijrah* is shown by the clothing (*niqob*) that they wear. It is motivated by the influential factors, such as the self-encouragement, the influence of family/parents, a force from husband/partner. Some of the *Niqobers'* *hijrah* are taken as a compulsion at first, but they gradually become self-aware.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Deconstruction

Deconstruction is an analysis method that uncovers the structure and codes of language, especially the design of the oppositional pairs to create a game of signs without an end and final meaning. According to Derrida as cited by Ungkang (2013), there are three deconstructions of readings: 1) ascertaining part of a text contradiction considered to be the most important or dominant; 2) showing how this hierarchy can be ignored in the book and how the revealed scale takes an arbitrary or illusory attitude; 3) putting the contradictory elements of the reader into the problem and making the text ambiguous. Under the three deconstructions, the meaning of *hijrah* will not be limited because all of the images are a raise from the doer. They have different conceptions from one individual to another. By deconstructing the meaning of *hijrah*, it will be found the concept, which is commonly believed by *niqob* users (Ungkang 2013).

The concept of deconstruction is widely used in the studies related to literary works, such as a study conducted by Imron (2015), which found out that the presence of Hindu and Balinese culture, which is very closed to its castle, has been deconstructed into a new discourse for the reader of the short story *The First Night of Candidate Pastor (Malam Pertama Calon Pendeta)* (Imron 2015). The same case was conducted by Belasunda, stating that the movie texts have been studied with the deconstructive approach, which expresses the ideas, concepts, idioms, aesthetics, and parodies. The Javanese opera film can reflect the issues on feminism and gender, which are reflected with the domination of masculinity, power, class clashes, and capitalism (Belasunda, Saidi, and Sudjudi 2014). In line with that, Munarti emphasized that the concept of deconstruction can see the aesthetics and the meaning of a shift in the form and structure of tones in Gamat music in the society. It shows that the aesthetic diversity can be reflected through mutual acceptance between different cultures in Gamat music performances,

which implies the meaning of renewal, creativity, expressiveness, innovation, and multiculturalism (Musik & Pertunjukan 2015). The interpretation on the Qur'an verses has been widely carried out with misuse of interpretation until it is trapped in violence and radicalism (Abdillah 2017).

A paradigm of anthropocentric interpretation has varied the deconstruction of the meaning of a text with the main view that the universe that has been created by God is only intended for the welfare of the mankind, which creates the human brutality in exploring natural resources by ignoring the impacts that possibly occur (Abdillah 2014). The same case, as said by A. Nur, that in Tafsir Al-Misbah, there has been a description of the Isra'iliyyat, such as that Prophet Noah's boat is divided into different floors. The lower floor is a place for wild animals, the middle floor is for food storage, and the top floor is for Prophet Noah and his followers (Nur 2014). In his study, J. Abdillah stated that many Muslims have misused the perception of verses that contain violent meanings, such as the words *jihad*, *qatala*, and *ma'rakah* in the name of God, which are often used to justify an offense (Abdillah 2017). A different case from the study conducted by Y. Fauziyah is that throughout the history, female preachers (*ulama*) have not received attention due to the dominance of male preachers in various Islamic histories, thus the deconstruction of roles that will balance patriarchy and matriarchy is needed (Fauziyah 2014).

Hijrah

Specific names or symbols, under psychological perspective, will inspire and even figurative meanings to someone. Therefore, the word "*hijrah*" provides a shifting impression for Muslims. Their lives are always dynamic. Before *hijrah*, while in Mecca, despite facing extraordinary and cruel challenges, the Prophet and his companions had settled into the social order. They are already established economically, influence, and so on. Usually, a person in power does not want to go down the arena, because so

far, he has not had the second chance to fully imagine, let alone prepare for his life in case he does not have the power. Since the beginning of his life, the Prophet was prepared to have nothing. When they received Allah's orders to migrate to Medina with their friends, they did not think about how to live and support their family in a new place. For the Prophet and his companions, it was nothing to lose. They were not worried that one would lose anything. This is because, they had nothing to worry, such as money deposit, animals, land, and precious jewelry. While they do not own himself because it has been given and bought by Allah (Ibrahim 2016).

Royyani said that *hijrah* is a personal right that begins to shift into a movement that is conducted communally (Royyani 2020). The movement of *hijrah* becomes one of the popular dakwah movements that develop into a social trend (Royyani 2020). The massive movement of *hijrah* is a phenomenon of a new social Islamic movement transforming into a dynamic social reality. It occurs in global and national community. The image of the Islamic-based social activity has been long been discussed. The religious movement is a religious transformation implemented in changing religious behavior through group activities. The millennial Muslim generation is an element of society that forms a deep pattern of *hijrah*. The meaning of *hijrah* for the millennial Muslim generation begins from a collective awareness of self-identity, which is a part of Islam, so that awareness arises to contribute to practice their religion (Zahara et al. 2020).

The number of people wearing *niqob* in Indonesia is increasing. It is strongly supported through promotions via several social media, such as Instagram, which is actively moving to popularize the practice of wearing the veil (Husna 2019). The development of Islam through fashion is recognized as having a unique and widespread impact. This practice is undoubtedly a favorable field for the development of Islamic civilization in contemporary times. Even so, the 'oblique' harvest is still heard, for example, in

Muslim groups who decide to wearing a *niqob*, such as the words 'ninja,' 'terrorist,' 'cult' and other nicknames accompanied by their seemingly obscure behavior (Nursalam and Syarifuddin 2017). The urgency to cover women's body is an obligation written in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet, and are automatically meant to protect women from the risk of adultery and other cruel acts (Nursalam and Syarifuddin 2017).

The phenomenon of *hijrah* also reaches a broader segment with many deliberation studies or *tabligh akbar*, attended by Indonesian public figures and popular *ustadz* to invite others to follow them. By engaging Indonesian public figures and popular religious leaders, the movement has become a strong magnet in introducing the phenomenon of *hijrah* through preaching in an interesting and contemporary way (Amna 2019). *Hijrah* becomes a social phenomenon that marks a phase of the crisis in humans, especially among young people. In this phase, a person needs an answer, which it then transforms into a change, such as behavioral introspection and shift. The most popular concept of *hijrah* becomes a spiritual journey to the righteous. The existing studies have shown that *hijrah* is interpreted as a movement from one place to another, from Mecca to Medina (Ibrahim 2016). The migration does not mean leaving the house. They do not migrate for living and wealth, but for serving God's faith and religion. Ummah (2019) reveals that the contextualization of the meaning of *hijrah* is a change in a person's life from bad to better one, from *shirk* to the straight path. *Hijrah* is a pattern and strategy of fighting *fi sabilillah* towards *futuh* and *falah* (Abidin 2017; Giovany, and Chatamallah 2018). The real manifestation of *hijrah* for a Muslim is being profound in fighting for Islamic ideals with honest and sincere faith (Suryana 2019).

According to Prasanti, the meaning of *hijrah* for the community of "*Ayo hijrah*" is a joint commitment to make changes for the better, which it must be enacted in verbal and non-verbal forms (Prasanti and Indriani 2019). In contrast, according to *non-santri* teenagers,

hijrah means following recitations on Youtube channel (Syahrin and Mustika 2020). It is different from Fitkon students who interpret that *hijrah* is a movement to seek religious knowledge through technology (Setiawan 2017). Royyani, in her study, shows that *hijrah* is interpreted as a high intention of following God's commands and humanizing humans (Royyani 2020).

Niqobers

The term *niqob* comes from a Persian language 'chador,' which means 'tent.' In Iranian tradition, the veil is a garment covering the entire body of a woman from head to toe. Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi call it *purdah*, while Bedouin women in Egypt and the Gulf region call it *Burqo*, which covers the face in particular (Umar 2018). From the meaning of the word, *niqob* is a name intended for clothing that functions to cover a woman's face from the nose or under the curve of the eye down. *Niqob* phenomenon becomes a social issue debated among Ulama. Some go to an obligatory; some say it is *sunnah*; and some also believe that it is only required for women who wear it. There are also some opinions saying that it is only intended for prophetic wives by looking at the context of the *Asbab Nuzul*, it was not for all Muslim women, as argued by Al-Mahlab, Ibn Batthal, and Ibn Juzayy al-Kalbi (Sudirman 2019).

According to Fitria (2008), from several perceptions and impacts that have been mentioned, many women wearing a veil still maintain the use of *niqob*. They have several reasons: 1) women wearing *niqob* interpret the veil as an Islamic commandment with the *Sunnah* law, and using it made them feel better in their religion; 2) veiled women consider it as a necessity, and when wearing it, they feel psychological comfort; 3), it functions as a self-control against the deviation of Islamic teachings. Also, the veil for Muslim women who wear it is considered a symbol that can be used as a form of following one of the commands of Islam. The veil is regarded as a symbol that reflects one of the pious women who can maintain her honor

(Karunia and Syafiq 2019). *Niqab* or veil is a variant of the headcover model by Muslim women in Indonesia. The Indonesian people need to know the veil, headscarf, and *hijab* beforehand. The differences between the three are on how many parts of body covered and the cross-sectional area of the fabric. Indonesian historical records suggest that the first woman who wears the headscarf was a nobleman in Makassar in the 17th century. At that time, a headcover functions as a cloth covering around and still showing some woman's hair (Andaya 2006).

Niqob is a part of clothing of women during the *Jahiliyyah* era. This clothing model lasted until the Islamic period. Prophet Muhammad did not question the model, but not to oblige, urge, or mandate the *niqob* to women. Suppose that *niqob* is perceived as clothing that can protect women's spirit and *wasilah* to maintain their survival, as many parties claim, undoubtedly Muhammad will oblige his wives. *Niqab* or veil is only a part of the clothes by some Arab women from both pre-Islamic (as explained above) and after. There are no specific instructions regarding this dress, if it is an obligation (Sudirman 2019).

Social Media

Social media, also known as social networking, is part of a new media. The interactive content in a new media is very high. Social media is defined as an online media where users can easily participate, share, and create content, including blogs, social networks, wikis, forums, and virtual worlds. Blogs, social networks, and wikis are the most common forms of social media used by people worldwide (Zubair 2017). Online social media, called online social networking, is not online mass media because it has social power that significantly influences public opinion that develops among society. Raising support or mass movements can be formulated due to online media's capability because it proves to shape a public or community opinion, attitudes, and behavior. This phenomenon can be seen from

the case of Prieta Mulyasari versus the Omni International Hospital. This is the reason why media is called social media, not mass media (Zubair 2017).

Social media invites anyone who are interested in “something” to participate by giving feedback openly, giving comments, and sharing information in a fast and unlimited time. Social media has a significant influence on a person's life. Someone who starts small thing can make it big with social media, or vice versa. For the community, especially teenagers, social media has become addictive, making users go away without opening social media (Putri, Nurwati, and S. 2016).

Social media is an effective and efficient means of conveying information to other parties. As a medium with very high social dynamics and allowing open communication to various parties with various backgrounds and interests, social media is the right means to generate citizen participation in building cities. As stated by Howard and Parks in Rahadi's article, social media consists of three parts: Information, infrastructure, and tools used to produce and distribute media content. Media content can be personal messages, news, ideas, and cultural products in digital format. Those who produce and consume media content in digital form are individuals, organizations, and industries (Rahadi 2017).

Social media commonly used by consumers to share texts, images, audio, and video information with other people and companies, and vice versa (Kotler and Keller 2009). It allows users to interact with a broad audience, which encourages the value of user-generated content and the perception of interactions with other people. Social media is used productively by all spheres of society, business, politics, media, advertising, police, and emergency services. Social media has become the key to provoke thought, dialogue, and action around social issues (Carr and Hayes 2015).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Hijrah is often associated with a woman's image in a veil. The cover's word equivalents are very diverse, including *hijab*, *niqob*, burqa, or purdah. The point is a thin cloth sheet covering a woman's face when she is outside the house. Women in veil are also identical with black clothes (Qolbi 2013). Most women who commit *hijrah* are associated with veil because, in a study of Winda about the phenomenon of *hijrah* in FISIP, University of Riau, they start wearing the *syarie hijab* and even wearing a veil (Putri and Firdaus 2018).

Niqober is a term for women who wear the *niqob* or veil. They call themselves as *niqobers* or *niqobis* and build communities in social media. *Niqob* is a current trend, where previously wide *hijab* without face covering has become a trend (Dewi 2019). Fajriani states that *hijrah* is often marked by a change in dress style to become more Islamic (Fajriani 2019). Like the *Niqab Squad Jogja (NSJ)* community, a community for veiled women as a place for *da'wah* to spread out complete Islamic teachings (Husna 2019).

Communication has shifted from face-to-face to social messaging-based communication using the internet (Budiyono 2016). Social media is created to facilitate two-way communication. A medium conveyed via online makes it easier for users to play an active role and exchange. The information distribution is characterized by one to many targets and many to many targets (Budi, Arif, and Roem 2019). Information technology has undergone extensive and very fast development, which eases people to interact because it is easily accessible to anyone in any place.

Veiled women has been so far exclusive and rarely interacting with their neighbors who are not veiled (Sari, Lilik, and Agustin 2014). They only interact with their groups, but they have a community on social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp groups to interact. Bandung *Niqab Squad Community* Instagram account followers are 4,883 (Permatasari and

Putra 2018). They are not even afraid to do activities in the house, whereas previously veiled women did many domestic activities or at home. The number of veiled women communities on Facebook is not small. Veiled women are active in social media with different motives. They use it to trade, to share lively literacy related to religious studies, and some consider social media as a source of positive information about spiritual practice (Zulfa and Junaidi 2019).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a qualitative descriptive study. The approach employed is a phenomenological approach that is done by observing the current *hijrah* phenomenon. This study is based on research on social media, Facebook, which is incorporated into three communities: Indonesian *Niqob* Community (*Komunitas Cadar* Indonesia), *Hijrah* Album (*Album Hijrah*), and Indonesian *Hijrah* (*Hijrah Indonesia*). These groups consist of men and women members, but the *Niqobers* dominate, and most of them are married and are under 40 years old, and there are a few of them who are not married. They build this community to stay in touch and discuss religion, social, and economic matters, including their understanding of *hijrah*. Facebook is considered as a forum for discussion that is very effective for them. Aside from being easy to use, it is also familiar to the community, especially young families. For them, Facebook also becomes a place to confide in and develop the family's economy.

The data were collected using two data collection techniques, namely observation, and documentation. Observations were made by observing the status of *Niqobers* on Facebook who were discussing *hijrah*, then collecting the data in the form of screen-captures of the status and conversations of the *Niqobers*. The data from the observations were collected that way to be processed to the next stage. The documentation, in the form of the subjects' dialogues and conversations, was not limited to the date. The limitation in this paper is that every dialogue

must be related to the *hijrah* conception in their perspective. This documentation is critical as a form of data that can be presented in this paper as the original data, which will be given an appropriate interpretation later.

The data collected from the observation and documentation were then analyzed through three stages of qualitative research: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The data reduction was made by mapping the collected data by selecting and sorting the relevant data to the research topic. Meanwhile, irrelevant data were excluded. The next step is grouping the data based on the research sub-topics. The data display was done by presenting the data classified based on the sub-discussions in tables to facilitate readers' understanding and provide descriptions and explanations easily. Three tables could be presented. The first one is the *hijrah* conception, the second is the background of wearing *niqob*, and the last one is how the concept of the *Niqobers'* perspective in the deconstruction of the meaning of *hijrah*. Finally, the conclusion drawing was done by firstly interpreting the data and elaborating them clearly that the research conclusions can be correctly summarized.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The meaning of *hijrah* has been deconstructed according to the development of era, science, and socio-culture. It can be seen the shift in the definition of *hijrah* from various perspectives. However, in this paper, it focuses on the view of *niqobers*. This paper describes the concept of *hijrah* according to veiled women's viewpoint, the factors behind the emergence of this concept, the conception of veiled women's *hijrah* influencing the meaning of religion in social media.

The Concept of *Hijrah* According to the View of *Niqobers*

Hijrah experiences a shift of meaning since the era of the Prophet up to now. At the time of the Prophet, they defined it as a migration

from Mecca to Medina, but now, the meaning of *hijrah* is not just a movement from one place to another but it refers to various perspectives as the perception expressed by the *Niqobers* in table 1.

Tabel 1. The Conception of *Hijrah* under the Perspective of *Niqobers*

| c | Code |
|---|----------------------------------|
|  | Position switch |
|  | Situation and condition shift |
|  | Situation and condition shift |
|  | Migration attitudes and behavior |

7 September 2019

"Ikut pengajian niatnya apa dek?"
"Belajar hijrah mba."
"Lho bukan belajar ilmu islam?"
"Hehe... sekarang yg lagi ngehits pemuda hijrah mba,"
"Oo..."
"Trus makna hijrah apa dek?"
"Berubah jadi lebih baik mbak, misal saya sekrang belajar pake gamis dan hijab syar'i, sambil sedikit2 menuju hijrah yg kaffah mbak."
"Seperti apa hijrah kaffah dek?"
"Ya menutup aurat semuanya mbak, alias pake niqob,"
"Berarti laki2 juga pake niqob,"
"Hehe... ya nggak lah mbak..."
"Pernah diajari cara berelasi dengan sesama manusia dek? Maksudnya bagaimana kita harus bersikap dg orang lain?"
"Ya tentu mbak, kita harus berteman dg orang2 baik dan jauhi orang2 yg tdk baik, yg tdk sesuai syariat,"
"Apa itu alasanmu keluar dari grup WA ya dek?"
"Hehe iya mbak, gk betah pembicaraannya terlalu liberal, tdk islami,"
"Wah berarti saya juga tdk baik dong, kan saya ada digrup itu..."
"Hehe... nggak mba.. kl mbak sih baik, mungkin hanya belum hijrah dg kaffah saja," sambil memegang ujung jilbab saya yang tdk terlalu panjang.
Kira2 begitu dialog mbak yg mondok belasan tahun dan adik yang masih unyu2 tdk pernah mondok tapi ikut pngajian instan uatadz2 hijrah..

Dress style and behavior shift

Hijrah secara bahasa artinya berpindah tempat. Sedangkan secara makna, artinya berpindah dari keburukan menuju kebaikan dan dari kegelapan menuju cahaya.

Contohnya, dari yang demen marah-marah menjadi lebih sabar dan ramah, malas-malasan sholat menjadi lebih rajin ibadahnya, berstatus pacaran menjadi jofisa, yang nggak kerudungan sekarang pake kerudung, dan sebagainya.

Intinya hijrah secara makna berarti berubah menjadi lebih baik.

Selain mengenal apa itu hijrah. Beliau juga menyampaikan kisah seorang tokoh pemuda yang luar biasa. Sahabat Rasulullah Saw. Seorang yang kaya, berpenampilan rupawan, dan biasa dengan kenikmatam dunia. Setelah islam datang ia jual dunianya.

Situation, condition, and behavior shift



Position, behavior, lifestyle, and dressing style shift

Table 1 shows that there are three concepts of *hijrah* that are perceived by *niqobers*. First, a concept that is based on circumstances, *hijrah* is a process of moving from one place to another and from situations and conditions. *Hijrah* is interpreted as a process of *muhasabah* or self-evaluation with a change from one condition to the better one that is loved by God, such as covering the *aurat*, becoming a devout servant, and so on; moving from the bad to the goodness. This journey of *hijrah* underwent many changes from a state of neglect and ignorance to a state of mindfulness, from carelessness to awareness, from instability to stability, and from ignorance to a state of knowledge and enlightenment.

Second, the concept of *hijrah* is based on changing attitudes and behavior. This concept describes a change from bad behavior to a good one. This can be reflected in the submission of one to God by carrying out His commands and staying away from God's prohibitions that can be actualized by covering the *aurat* gradually to get God's pleasure. *Hijrah* is a beautiful process that can be done at various levels, from the lowest to the highest. People who commit *hijrah* will be able to control their emotions and be more motivated to perform *ibadat* or worship. They will also be more patient, less emotional, and become diligent in performing worship.

Third, the concept is based on the change in fashion. There is a learning process towards a complete (*kaffah*) *hijrah* by changing the fashion or appearance in this concept. The complete *hijrah* is the peak of *hijrah* using *niqob*. The simple changes are made by wearing long dresses and long *hijabs*, selecting friendship by staying away from friends who are assumed to act against the *sharia*, limiting themselves from friends who are considered not-Islamic. It is also to start an Islamic life, engage in Islamic conversations only, and associate with behavior according to the Islamic law.

The three concepts of *hijrah* are the *niqobers'* perceptions and views of *hijrah*. The concept of *hijrah* has undergone a shift in meaning as the

era keeps developing as well as one's perspective. One way to do *hijrah* is reflected through the *niqob*, and according to those women, they feel like they are at a level higher than those who wear the typical or standard *hijab*. Those women wear *niqob* with several stages. There are those who do *hijrah* by wearing the *niqob* when they leave the house, while when they are at home or with relatives, they take the *niqob* off. Others wear their *niqob* when they feel ready (to wear) and when they are not ready, they take it off. Such a concept of *hijrah* is believed and widely used by one who is going to *hijrah*.

They believe in the meaning of *hijrah* by shifting their self-status before God, which is to become better servants of God and make them closer to Him. As Taqwa emphasized, *hijrah* is interpreted as a sacrifice and one's determination to change for the better (Taqwa 2011). *Hijrah* is depicted by covering the face from the eyes of the men who are not her *mahram*, because the face that is not covered by *niqob* will make men experience the adultery of the eyes. Prasanti and Indriani (2019) also highlights that covering the face is one way to change one's attitude from the outer appearances aspects, from open to closed (Prasanti and Indriani 2019). *Hijrah* does not stop by wearing *niqob*, but also joining the sermons together with other *niqob* communities.

Besides, *hijrah* is described through environmental interactions. Those who choose to *hijrah* prefer to stay at home more than socializing with society. They tend to spend their time in the domestic area instead of the public one. When they leave their home, they must go together with their *mahram*. Their social interaction is done through social media, such as online marketing, or delivering customer orders. They go out for specific needs, such as taking their kids to school or shopping at the market. These perspectives of *niqobers* are going against Ibrahim's study that interpreted *hijrah* as the construction of pluralist society, civilized society, and the enrichment of a dynamic and creative ethos (Ibrahim 2016).

The online market becomes a place for *Niqobers* to interact with other people. They do online trading by selling commodities convenient with their everyday use, such as long dresses and *niqob*. The commodities imply the *da'wah* elements, which become the focus of their sales. The consumers of the market are also commonly coming from their community. They only have a small number of outsider consumers, although there is no specific limitation. Therefore,

niqobers are very close to their community and having a high commitment to make their *jama'ah* (community) bigger.

How *Niqobers* Deconstruct the Conception of *Hijrah*

The concept of *hijrah*, according to veiled women is based on two factors, internal and external. These factors are described in the Table 2.

Tabel 2. Background of Women *Niqobers*

| Experiences | Code |
|-------------|------------------|
| | Pair Factor |
| | Family Factor |
| | Personal Factors |
| | Personal Factors |

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| | Personal Factors |
| | Environmental factor |
| | Personal Factors |
| | Personal Factors |
| | Personal Factors |
| | Personal Factors |
| | Personal Factors |
| | Personal Factors |

Table 2 shows that women who commit *hijrah* can be reflected from the use of *niqob* influenced by two factors, the internal and external ones. The internal factor means that a woman does *hijrah* because of her self-encouragement. The desire to be better every day is a powerful factor. The *hijrah* of this group is shown through the use of *niqob*. Wearing *niqob* is one way to protect oneself from slander when one is away from her husband, and as long as her husband permits her to wear *niqob*. The feeling of guilt towards the husband can also motivate someone to wear *niqob*. At home,

a woman tends to like using home dresses more and does not wear any makeup, but she wears the best clothes and makeup when she wants to leave the house. This makes a woman encouraged to wear *niqob* as to protect her beauty for her husband only. They perceive that using *niqob* is a good sunnah. Thus every woman who wears *niqob* are intended to complete their religion.

There are three external factors that influence the *hijrah* done by a *niqober*. First, it is influenced by the family factor. Fellow family members can influence someone to wear *niqob*. Parents'

doctrine is a major factor that becomes the reason why a woman decides to wear *niqob*. A beautiful woman who does not wear *niqob* will trigger slander because men who are not her *mahram* can see her face. Then, when they see her face, she will get sins, and that is the doctrine of parents to their daughters to commit *hijrah* and start wearing *niqob*. As emphasized by Cahyaningrum and Desiningrum (2017), the decision-making for Muslim women to wear *niqob* is influenced by parents, if they are still minors to the age of a child or are not yet adults (Cahyaningrum and Desiningrum 2017).

Second, the factor of partners has become a reason for someone to wear *niqob*. When a husband joins a sermon that encourages the wives to wear *niqob*, the submissive wife will automatically do that. A wife wears *niqob* voluntarily due to her faith and love for her husband. In line with that, Nursalam and Syarifuddin (2017) stated that there are many women wearing *niqob* because of their husbands' force, such as a woman in the Tobi'ah village who first wore *niqob* because her husband forced her (Nursalam and Syarifuddin 2017). A wife wants to get the husband's pleasure by obeying him. Although she wears *niqob* as a means of her husband's order, this habit has got into her heart and becomes a practice. In other words, partners have a strong influence on the *hijrah* decision of women.

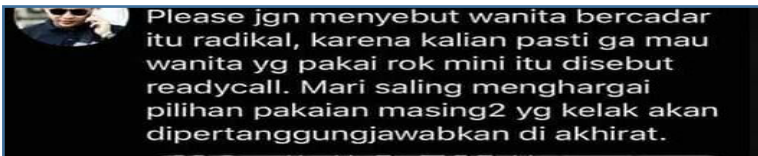
Third, the environmental factors are one of the external factors laid behind the *niqobers*. Living among *niqobers* will make Muslim women

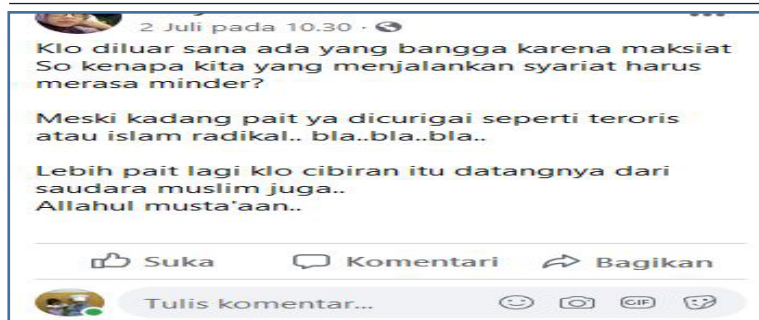
feel comfortable, even though at the first time of trying to wear *niqob*, she was just curious. Then, they feel comfortable because she could avoid slanders. The environment in which a person makes friends will have a strong influence. If one is surrounded by *niqobers* every day, it will be uncomfortable not to use it too. The environment is very effective in influencing women to wear *niqob*. This factor has also greatly encouraged Muslim women to use *niqob* for those who are at the age of 20 to 25 years old, where they are adults and brave enough to decide their way of life (Fitriani and Astuti 2012). Putri and Firdaus (2017) also added that view, stating that Muslim women who could easily be influenced by the environment are mostly those who live in the university environment (Putri and Firdaus 2018). As stated by Nursalam and Syarifuddin (2017), some women start to wear *niqob* because of the influence from the organizations and their peers (Nursalam and Syarifuddin 2017).

Niqobers's Hijrah Deconstruction on the Meaning of Religion in Social Media

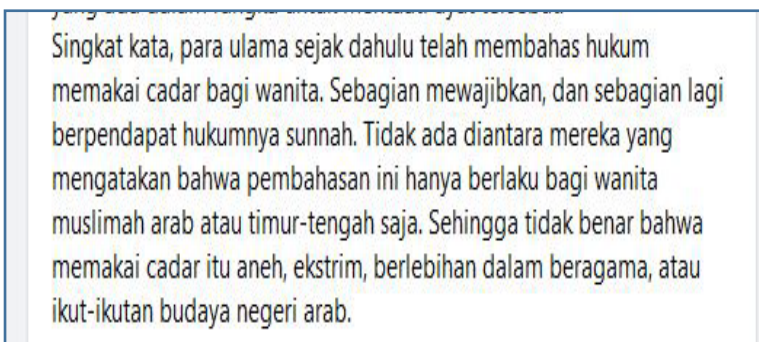
Veiled women have predominantly dedicated their time in the domestic area and minimized interaction in the public space. Almost all activities are completed in the house unless there is a need for them to leave the house. But not, a few of them are very active in interacting with other veiled women through social media, as provided in Table 3.

Table 3. Conception of *Hijrah* Regarding Women Wearing *Niqab* Leading the Meaning of Religion in Social Media

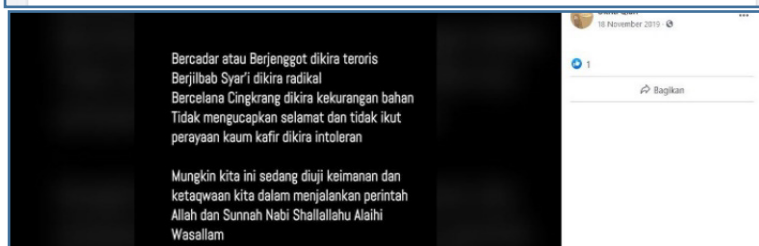
| <i>Niqabs</i> | Code |
|---|-------------|
|  | Radical |



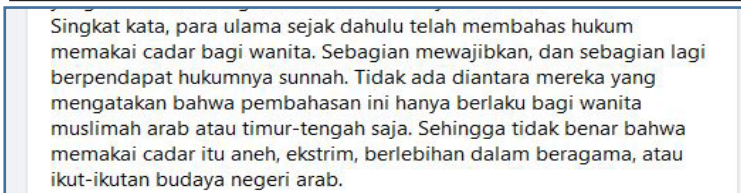
Terrorist radicals



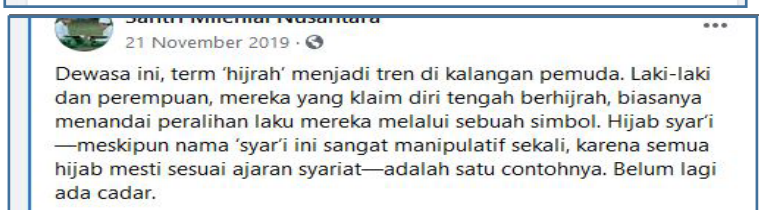
Arabic culture



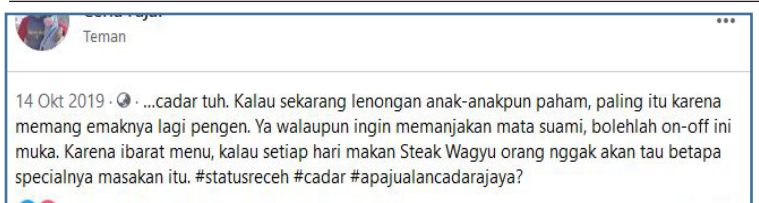
Radical



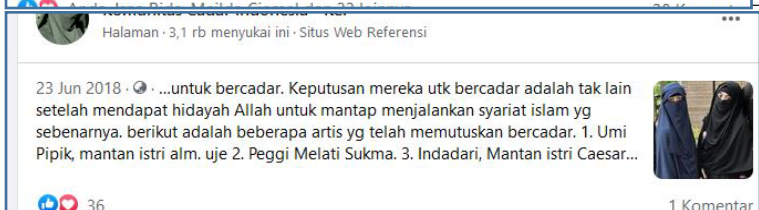
Arabic culture



Hijrah



Hijrah symbol



Hijrah symbol



| | |
|---|-------------------------------|
|  | Dressing culture |
|  | Not a symbol of <i>hijrah</i> |

Table 3 shows that there are many people assuming women doing *hijrah* with *niqob* are radical. It is influenced by the recent issues related to bombs detonated by the bomb brides. The wives of the bombers were *niqobers*. Those women wearing *niqob* are considered radical. The state is getting worse when news broadcasted on television shows the wives of ISIS terrorists, and they also wear *niqob*. Radicalism is attached to those who wear *niqob*, even though not all *niqobers* are attached to radical Islamic teaching. They never discussed the tutorials on assembling bombs or other extreme teachings in the sermons they attended. Accordingly, *niqob* is often associated with the fanatical, fundamental, and hard-line Islamic organizational attributes (Putri 2019; Zulfa and Junaidi 2019). It is due to the fact that the majority of the wives and families of the suicide bombers and terrorists, who have been accused of blasting terror in Indonesia, wear *niqob* (Khoiroh and Chakim 1970). *Niqobers* on social media reject the radical label attached to them. It is just similar to the ready call label attached to Muslim women who wear miniskirts. Therefore, the radical label is rejected by veil users, because they are not actually becoming radicals. Instead, they merely perform the *sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad.

Niqobers are often considered radical due to the news about suicide bombings done by *niqobers* in some areas in Indonesia. Even the wives of the suicide bombers wear *niqob*. Besides, in fact, the wives of ISIS members also wear *niqob*. This is what triggers the assumption that *niqobers* are attained to the radical ideology.

It goes in line with Nursalam and Syarifuddin research (2017), which found the phenomenon of viewing *niqobers* negatively and that they are not accepted in society, because society views the *niqobers* as terrorists (Nursalam and Syarifuddin 2017). A lot of negative stigma about the existence of *niqobers* arises from society, as drawn in a study that proves that within 6 respondents, only 2 of them did not have negative assumptions (Apriani 2018; Puspasari 2013). The majority of respondents in a study also stated that they were not happy to meet *niqobers*, they feel scared and worried (Karunia and Syafiq 2019; Rahman and Syafiq 2017; Zulfa and Junaidi 2019).

Wearing *niqob* is identical with the Arabic culture because the origin of *niqob*, as believed by the *niqobers*, is a *sunnah* done by the Prophet Muhammad's wives. Long before the Prophet's era, *niqob* has been used as a head accessory in the Greek Age. Some people assume that *niqob* in Indonesia is brought from Arab, but some others believe that *niqob* is not an Arabic culture. For its users, *niqob* is seen as the Prophet's *sunnah* that is good to be done, and some of them even think it is obligated. There is, of course, a reason why *niqob* is often associated with the Arabic culture. It is because most of Muslim women who live in Arab mostly wear *niqob*. The polemic and debate whether *niqob* are an Arabic culture or not keeps going on today. When discussing *niqob*, the word *hijrah* accompanies. Seven students at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Riau University, have done the *hijrah* by modifying their appearance, changing their behavior, and wearing *niqob* (Putri and Firdaus 2018).

Niqob, as an Arabic culture, is an opinion that occurs within the religious observers. By wearing *niqob*, people usually start to do Arabic traditions, either in clothing or food. They eat Arabic foods, such as kebabs, paratha, Kabuli rice, dates, and others. If they are sick, they will eat herbal medicines branded with Arabic words. Then, they do exorcism or *ruqya*, cupping, or Arab-style medicine to cure the pain. Their fashion also changed to wearing long dress and *niqob*. As a result, a perception that *hijrah* is an Arabic culture occurs. Zahara, et al. (2020) stated that women who have changed their appearance and attitudes to be more Islamic are actually learning to *hijrah* (Zahara, et al. 2020).

Some people agree with the statement that *niqob* is a symbol of *hijrah*. The trend of *hijrah* using *niqob* is also commonly found within Indonesian artists. They are changing the lifestyle to be Islamic, covering the self with *niqob* and hanging out with friends who also wear *niqob*. The artists wear *niqob* because they receive the guidance, not because they belong to the radical ideology. *Niqob* is not merely one symbol of *hijrah* that is currently a trend among the youth. The *hijrah* conception that is shown by one using *niqob* has varied the views within society. They assume that *niqob* is one level better than the typical or standard *hijab*. By wearing *niqob*, a person is assumed to get the guidance already. Therefore, *niqob* becomes a symbol of *hijrah*. In other words, those who have yet to wear *niqob* means that they have yet to receive the guidance and have yet to *hijrah*.

Some people also assume that wearing *niqob* is not a symbol of *hijrah*, but a religious commodification. Since *hijrah* becomes a trend within the youth, there is also the occurrence of halal makeup products, the term 'dating' is changed into '*ta'aruf*', then selfie is regarded as Muslimah selfie. These things make *niqob*, *hijrah*, and religion become a commodification with many followers. Women who have done *hijrah* share their thoughts a lot on social media, especially Facebook. They create communities for their *hijrah* peers, and they learn to *hijrah* using

niqob, and motivate each other (Utami 2019). This community is growing in social media and has many followers. Outside the community, some people do *hijrah* who share their opinions about *hijrah* in social media, either in the form of posts/status or a question that expects an answer from their social media mutual. Their communication pattern can be analyzed and conclude the concept of *hijrah* that they believe all this time.

CONCLUSION

Many aspects characterize the phenomenon of *hijrah* which is popular today, such as the changes in clothing style and behavior. Many female artists do *hijrah* by wearing a long headscarf while the male ones grow beards and change their clothing style into *Koko* shirts or short pants. Some artists also begin to join in studies about Islam with some people they consider *ustadz*. Apart from the life of artist, many people also claim that they do *hijrah* and then order their wives to wear a veil, to take a part in Islamic studies, and to change their style into more Islamic, such as sending their children to the boarding school. Migration has become a phenomenon associated with the veil and radicals. Due to the fact that the terrorists' wives are caught wearing veils, classification and discussion are needed.

Using the conception approach, this research found a shift in the meaning of *hijrah* in the past. Now, *hijrah* has been analyzed by various concepts. There are three concepts of *hijrah* for veiled women, a change in conditions, in behavior; and in dressing style. *Hijrah* with the veil is influenced people close to us, family, and environment. The concept of *hijrah* for veiled women affects the meaning of religion.

The data collection in this study was done through social media and WhatsApp. It would be better to do in-depth interviews about the concept of *hijrah* that is perceived by the *niqobers*. The discussion on religion is a sensitive matter, and the valid and in-depth data will help create a conclusion in this research. Since *hijrah*, in this case, was just analyzed with the conceptual

approach, it would be better to be researched from various aspects by future researchers. Many things can be expressed when discussing *hijrah* and *niqob*, thus, hopefully, other conclusions from various aspects can be found in this research. That would be useful for studies related to the social and religious fields.

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