To Become Indonesian Women, You Have to Wear Jilbab
Normalising the Veil in the Contemporary Indonesian Islam

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Abstract. The wearing of the veil in the public domain has become a common sight for Indonesian women, especially among young Moslem women. The acceptance of wearing veil in public domain, including social media, has changed the means of the Islamic outfit as an attribute of identity of being an Indonesian woman. This article employs previous studies to examine how veiled women fulfil the definition of normality and beauty that are acceptable to society and at the certain point veil has become attribute for Indonesian women. We explore the practice of veiling in Indonesia across political, social, and cultural transformations of various contexts of space and time, which allows us to identify veil as an attribute of Indonesian women. In the increasingly 'concervative turn' of Islam in Indonesia, we argue that wearing veil has to be the new normal for Indonesian women driven by Islamisation and formalisation of the veil. We apply Simone de Beauvoire's notions of the immanence of women, in showing that in order to become an Indonesian woman, young Moslem women have been experiencing the process of 'normalising' the use of veil. We adopt the term of 'normalising' developed by Ervin Goffman.

Keywords: Indonesian Women · Veil · Identity · Normalisation · Islam

1 Introduction

The trend of wearing veils among women, especially among the young Moslem women in Indonesia is in line with the changing of political and social toward Islam, so called Islamisation of certain aspect of life, beginning in the 1990s [1–4]. The policy of the New Order during the 1980s that was repressive to religious groups turned veil into a symbol of resistance against Soeharto's regime. At that time, the New Order banned the use of veil both in public offices and schools. The emergence of veil at that time signified political stance [5], which was common among female activists. The situation persisted for a decade, and saw a transition during the 1990s when Soeharto began gathering political supports from Islamic groups. The New Order then issued a new regulation which allowed students in public schools to wear veil. Since then, veil has grown in popularity, especially among young Moslem women of the middle class [1, 2, 3]. Veil would later see more widespread acceptance in public sphere that further transforms the meaning of wearing veil.

During its later development, the decision to wear veil could signify various things, quite different from its role as a symbol of political resistance during the 1980s. The wearing of the veil for women represents a "conversion" of the self as a modern Moslem that both affects and signifies the transformation of society [1]. Veil would later assist young Moslem women of Indonesia to get into the modern world [2]. Young Moslem women of the middle class who wear veil could feel safe when living far from home, travelling to school, workplace, and even when venturing into career that are mainly dominated by men.

Changes in social, political, and cultural constellations affected the transformation of veil into a sort of "cultural capital" for Indonesian Moslem in negotiating their perspectives about Islam according to their interest [3]. In certain areas of Indonesia, formalising the wearing of veil becomes a bureaucratic means to incorporate 'a religious regime' into the political structure. The emergence of sharia-based regional laws or *perda* has formalised the use of veil; the same formalisation was also present in schools that obliged their female students to wear veil, mostly regulated by call-to-action approach. Such regulation to wear veils for female Moslem students has been applied by numerous public middle schools and high schools, among others are SMPN 8 Yogyakarta, SMPN 5 Yogyakarta, and SMAN 2 Rambah Hilir Rokan Hulu Riau [6].

The wearing of veil in Indonesia happens to intertwine with a consumer culture which shapes the ideal identity of Indonesian Moslem women [3, 7, 4]. Women who wear veils, especially those from the middle class who possess buying power, are sold the positive image of being polite, beautiful, pious, and religious as constructed by social media like Instagram through its depiction of the supposed characters of women who wear veils. The image of veil that coincided with such 'commercial interest' also revealed a co-modification of Moslem women. In this regard, although the wearing of veil also garnered criticism from other Moslem women as reported by Hamdani, the practice of wearing veil in Indonesia has only continued to grow in popularity.

The widespread popularity of wearing veil among Indonesian Moslem women has brought up various discourse with different contextual meanings. Brenner found that the wearing of veil among Javanese women signifies a reconstructing self and society [1], while Smith-Hefner identifies veil or jilbab as a symbol of modern Moslem womanhood that allows them to engage in opportunities offered through modern education [2]. On the other hand, Hamdani [3] argued that the practice of wearing veil is a way for Moslem women 'to negotiate their perspectives on Islam in accordance to their interest.' Recent studies see the wearing of veil through contemporary media like Instagram as having reconstructed the ideal image and attributes of beauty of Moslem women [7]. These studies shown useful findings for the contextual transformation of the meaning of veil in Indonesia across contexts of time. Along with the shifts in social, political, and cultural constellation in Indonesia, the wearing of veil also needs to be understood in the context of today's Indonesian Moslem which, borrowing Van Bruinessen's [8] term, is undergoing a "conservative turn." The popularity of veil as found by Hamdani [3] is related with the increasingly intense Islamisation process in Indonesia.

This article examines how the perception and the practice of the veil shape the identity of Indonesian women and to what extent veiling defines Indonesian women. We employ literature review to discuss the issues in this paper related to the normalising

the veil in the contemporary Indonesian Islam. This article has the following five parts as follows: 1) The explanation of the practice of veiling in Indonesia, 2) The veil as an attribute for Indonesian women, 3) Normalising the veil, 4) Becoming Indonesian pious Moslem women, and 5) Concluding remarks that include conclusions and recommendation for further study. Before presenting these five parts, we deliver the main analytical framework we adopt for this paper.

2   Analytical Framework

The analysis in this paper use the Erving Goffman's notion of social construction of normality and existentialist feminism theory developed by Simone de Beauvoir. Goffman [9] explained social construction of normality through categorization and assignment of attributes that grant social identity in certain context of society. The process of building this normality is elaborated as follows by Goffman:

> Society establishes the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for members of each of these categories. Social settings establish the categories of persons likely to be encountered there. The routines of social intercourse in established settings allow us to deal with anticipated others without special attention or thought [9].

The process of constructing normality, according to Goffman, can be disrupted by the presence of stranger that are categorized by social meaning of its attribution. Attributes in possession by those who are different and undesired are called stigma. Goffman defines stigma as 'an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated.'

Those who receive a stigma is categorized as bad or dangerous. Stigma is realized through prosecution upon those who are considered not normal and, in Goffman's own terms, 'not quite human.' Goffman categorized the normal as those who do not negatively deviate from certain social expectations and obligations, an exact opposite to those who receive stigma. To be defined as normal, an individual who receives a stigma needs to undergo normalisation, which Goffman defined as an effort to represent oneself as a normal member of a society.

While, Beauvoir's famous work, *The Second Sex* [10], elaborates how women are shaped by their situation, as a part of a community dominated by male masculinity. This masculine universe regulates, shapes, and dominates women until they feel dependent and inferior. Beauvoir emphasizes on the immanence of women in describing their limitation, definition, and roles in society as being adopted from the masculine universe. She wrote:

To see things clearly is not her business, for she has been taught to accept masculine authority. So she gives up criticizing, investigating, judging for herself, and leaves all this to the superior caste. Therefore the world seems to her a transcendent reality, an absolute [10].

Women in state of immanent conscious of the masculine world bound her to things that do not permanent because women never test the force of their own freedom. Beauvoir stated that the world would seem threatening to women, they are afraid to revolt and would surrender with open arms. Furthermore, women do not become the subject in a

community because they are not even given opportunities. Women view the masculine universe with respect and consider herself in danger for rejecting to comply the rules of the masculine universe. Because of that, women choose to adopt a binary opposition between good and evil. Beauvoir wrote of the way women viewed the masculine universe as:

Women is obliged also, however, to regard the male universe with some respect; she would feel in danger without a roof over her head, if she were in total opposition; so she adopts the Manicheist position—the clear separation of good and evil [10].

3 Result and Discussion

3.1 The Practice of Wearing Veil in Indonesia

Indonesia has seen various terms to identify women wearing veil from distinction of styles that is applied quite ambiguously. Brenner [1] discovered that some people used the word jilbab to refer to the veil that covers the head, but some others use the same word to refer to the entire outfit worn by women. This is quite different from in Malaysia and the Middle-East which refers jilbab to the word hijab as signifying an Islamic fashion. Brenner identified jilbab as the practice of wearing veil which covers the head, often covering the hair and neck but rarely the entire face, and also the entire body except the hands.

Meanwhile what Hamdani [3] identified as jilbab refers to a tight veiling that does not only cover the head, but also the entire top area. In the practice of the use of jilbab in Indonesia, we also know of *kerudung* that refers to a loose veil that only covers the head and hair area. The use of terms related to the concept of veil also has something to do with the wearers' choice of style. Baulch&Pramiyanti [4] used the word jilbab to refer to wearing 'a simple piece of cloth pinned under the chin.' On the other hand, kerudung was defined as 'short veil loosely draped over the head leaving the hair partially visible.' Furthermore, there was also *cadar* that is defined as a long, knee-length veil covering the face; and hijab which refers to the colorful fabrics wrapped closely around the head, often associated with high end fashion trends.

The wearing of veil in Indonesia has seen changing interpretations in accordance with the shifts in social, political, and cultural constellation. Jilbab was still rarely used by Indonesian women during the 1980s until the early 1990s [1]. The ones wearing veils were usually a small group of adults, especially those who had performed the hajj. At that time, the wearing of veil is still limited to the *santri*, a social group that was identified by Clifford Geertz [3] as "the orthodox counterpart" that is more pious compared to the abangan group. According to Hamdani [3], there was a consensus of wearing veil as religious expression among the *santri*, especially women who were affiliated with social-religious organizations like the Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah.

The practice of wearing veil, known as *kerudung* among the *santri* is based on the local standard of politeness, practicality, and aesthetics that is relatively moderate and durable. Wearing veil among the *santri* has been internalized whether consciously or unconsciously, which is exclusively used among the members of the social group and does not significantly impact other groups. The majority of Javanese women did not wear the veil until late 1990s. However, in Hamdani's [3] findings, the campaign for

'new veiling' was promoted by the younger generation of *santri* that were influenced by Islamic movements. Even though there was no obligation to wear veil in religious organization, members who initially did not wear veil would soon adopt the practice to follow the majority of the members.

Islamic movements were also contributing factor to the popularity of veil, especially among social-religious organizations and university academicians. Younger members who were involved in social-religious organizations would usually begin to wear veil after participating in a *dakwah* of an Islamic movement or activism [3]. Although still a minority, veil is more commonly worn in Islamic schools or universities [1]. *Dakwah* at universities that significantly influenced the wearing of veil among Moslem women began to emerge after a change in political policy by the late 1970s that was supported by the Islamic movement around the world. Outfits played a very important symbolic, ritual, and political role for Islamic movements [11]. In Egypt, Islamic outfit by the mid-1970s was worn to replace modern secular clothing and was part of the grassroots activist movements. The same movements inspired Indonesian women after Islamic groups began doing more intense *dakwah* in mosques and secular universities [3].

Soeharto's regime after the 1978 implemented a "campus normalization" policy which forbade political activities in campus environment [2]. Despite accommodating Islamic organizations, the regime suppressed Islam out of concern of their becoming a subversive political force. Such policy by the New Order government which forbade the wearing of veil in public school through SK 052/1982 on school uniform and attributes was a depiction of the government's concern about the threat of a subversive force.

The ban of veil in public schools also impacted the lives of women who wore veil across various social groups. Women who did wear veils were suspected to take part in subversive political movements. Resistance against veil began to grow among students, parents, and schools which represented the state bureaucracy [3]. Bureaucrats began taking repressive and intimidating movements against women who wore veil because of this suspicion. Women who wore veil faced the risk of getting expelled from school or losing their job [2]. However, they remained with their choice which would later contribute to the spread of campaigns in favor for the veils.

Facing government's repression, Islamic group activists protested the ban. The movement to wear veil reflected a resistance against the oppression and as such became a symbol against the New Order regime, although the majority of women who wore veil did not really understand it politically. The early 1900s also signified the rise of Islamic group movements, and many young activists began to deem Soeharto's regime as anti-Islam [2]. At that time, Soeharto also tried to gather political supports from Islamic groups. The issuing of another decree, SK 100/1991 which allowed the wearing of veil in public schools was a proof of reconciliation between Islamic movement and the government in the early 1990s. The decree replaced SK 052/1982 by changing the veil model from previously only covering the head, to covering head, neck, and torso. In the new decree, veil specifically referred to the *kerudung*, when previously it mentioned traditional headwear like the Javanese *blankon* [3]. This change in regulation was the swing of momentum of the more widespread acceptance of veil among the public.

With the political shift of the New Order to gather the support of the Islamic groups, veil became more popular among college students in major cities like Bandung, Medan,

Surabaya, and Yogyakarta [2]. The issuing of decree that allowed wearing veil in schools also removed the bureaucratic barrier to wear Islamic clothes and attributes. Meanwhile, cultural movement was also done through promoting the wearing of veil in other public space [3]. Intensive religious activities were also carried out in schools to persuade female students to wear veil. Without any regulation that banned veil in schools, along with the more intense religious activities, veil became more popular and was worn more willingly by the public.

The wearing of the veil further improves with the support of celebrities and media that promote Islamic fashion. The space for Moslem women to see and to be seen wearing veil is supported by internet technology through online and social media. Various platforms bring new agents in promoting veil; they are called *hijabers*. This term is specific to Indonesia and is used to refer to female Moslem community that present themselves as fashionable, tech-savvy, transnationally mobile career women, and are considered to possess 'buying power' [4]. They are viewed as micro-celebrity, a subset of celebrity whose rise to popularity and celebrity status is motored by social media. Among these popular social media platform is Instagram, that is used by Moslem women to showcase and communicate their identities through self-representation [7].

Hijabers in Instragram share photos with captions as means to communicate with the public and their audience. The Instagram posts of *hijabers* demonstrate the use of veil that is in accordance with the ideals of feminine beauty [4]. By showcasing a modern style of veil, *hijabers* in Instagram becomes an icon of reference. Photos coupled with captions on Instagram is the modern source of fashion inspiration and ideas for Moslem women who are attracted to the modern style of veil [7]. Through *hijabers*' posts on Instagram, Moslem women now have a point of reference.

With the growing popularity of the veil, Islamic fashion has become a popular commodity marketed with religious nuances. Previous studies shown how veil was promoted as a lifestyle and fashion choice before the dawn of social media. Islamic magazines showcased new styles of veil that commercialized Islamic attributes [3]. Promotion through commercialization of veil continued by the dawn of the new media or online media, specifically through various social media platforms.

3.2 Veil as an Attribute for Indonesian Women

The popularity of veil among Moslem women turns it into a primary attribute of Moslem women identity. Obviously there are Moslem women who do not wear veils, but in Indonesia the identity of Moslem women has become so closely tied with the wearing of veil. This describes the argument by Goffman [9] that society develops the means of categorizing persons and the complement of attributes, so that for the members of each of these categories feel ordinary and natural. Category and attributes define social identity, that we anticipated as first appearances when a stranger comes into our presence.

Existing studies show the veil is part of identity construction for Moslem women [1, 12, 13, 14]. Brenner [1] wrote 'the veil serves as a highly visible symbol of Moslem identity around the world'. As a symbol of Moslem identity, the significance of veiling is on account of the local historical and cultural contexts in which the veil is practiced and was affected of the linkage of local and global contexts. Brenner found for some Javanese Moslem, the veil represent both 'self-reconstruction and the reconstruction of society'.

The veiled women reconstruct by building something new, distance herself for local history in order to create a more perfect future for herself and other members of society. The self-reconstruction and collective actions of members or the Islamic Community aim to effect religious and social change.

However, the studies suggest a complexity surrounding the veil related to identity of Moslem women. Smith-Hefner [2] found that the meaning of and motive for veiling are 'complex, varied, and highly contested'. In her ethnographic research in Yogyakarta, the new veiling has become increasingly accepted by middle-class Javanese women for reasons of piety and protection. The new veil help women deal with their own insecurities to express themselves in varied modern life. Nonetheless, the interpretation of veil is contested among Moslem women. The vocal minority of Moslem women question the motive for veiling as well as the meaning and the necessity of wearing veils.

The contestation of the veil has created new religious discourses and social cost of imposing veiling. The increasingly popular practice of wearing veil was the target of much criticism among Indonesian Moslem during the post-New Order period [3]. The critics from moderate intellectual Moslem have challenged the established doctrine of cultural setting of wearing veil, as it is commonly considered mandatory by most Moslem. Some Moslem consider single Islamic interpretation of veiling to maintain the established legitimacy of religious authority, while some other refuse to accept single interpretation of religious text and to raise the cultural contextualisation of religious doctrine.

In other studies, contestation of veiling is deemed by comparable contexts. Wagner et al., [12] found that wearing veil for women in a Moslem majority like Indonesia is not a contested issues, citing uncontroversial reasons related to convenience, fashion, and modesty with little reference to religion as their reasons for wearing veils. Identity issue for the Moslem majority women does not exist. While, Moslem minority women in India show diverse range of responses with regards to the veil, involving reasons varying from religious motives, convenience to the affirmation of cultural identity. For Moslem minority women, veil signifies a means of resistance and opposition against stereotypes and discrimination. Wagner et al. contrasted it with dominant discourse in Western society that have put the veil in the cast of fundamentalist religion or oppression against women by patriarchal culture.

Nevertheless, Baerveldt [14] suggested agency of Moslem women that have proper reasons for wearing veil, that may not oppose other people's demands. He wrote, 'Taking the case of Moslem women in Western societies the language of identity, stereotypes, and prejudice is insufficient for understanding the agency of women donning the veil'. Taking that cases, Fernea [13] concluded that the veil 'means different things to different people within (Moslem) society, and it means different things to Westerners than it does to Middle-Easterners'. Hamdani [3] also agreed the contexts of space and time determined situational factors that influence the transformation of veiling in the Moslem world.

In the same notion, the transformation of veiling in Indonesia occurs throughout the contemporary development of Islam. Van Bruinessen (2013) identified the trend of Islamic practice in Indonesia as experiencing a conservative turn. This refers to the various streams of teachings that now reject the modern, liberal, and progressive interpretation of Islam; and only conform to doctrines and social norms. In the 1970s and

1980s, the dominant religious discourse in Indonesia was modernist support of the government's development program. Van Bruinessen [8] found that at the time, discourse of a "cultural Islam" was developed as an alternative to 'political Islam' that was so repressed by the New Order. This condition impacted the repression of veiled women as has been mentioned earlier. The state representation emphasized on Indonesian Moslem culture as adopting a variation of Middle-East Islam. There were fundamentalists and activists Islam at the undercurrent, and the same time there were liberal and tolerant Islam who occupied their space among the press and influenced universities, main Islamic institutions, and the middle class.

The development of Islam in the post-Soeharto era revealed a different facet. There were interreligious conflicts, jihad movement, and the increasing support towards Islamic state several years before the fall of Soeharto, which to Bruinessen seemed more a response to political turmoil than a shift of paradigm among the majority of Indonesian Moslem. After the arrest and ambush on many terrorist networks and as the state stabilized, the support for violence in the name of Islam diminished. Islamic parties that garnered major support in 1999 and 2004 elections began to lose in the 2009 election [8].

A conservative turn had taken place in mainstream Islam by 2005, which was apparent from the issuing of several controversial fatwas by the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (Majelis Ulama Indonesia). Among these controversial fatwas are the ban of religious secularism, pluralism, and liberalism that are considered not in accordance with Islamic principles, the ban of interreligious marriage, and the ban of the Ahmadiyah movement. These fatwas only led to the de-legitimation of ideas and discourse that are considered liberal and moderate, although these voices are not exactly silenced. Bruinessen [8] cited the names of the former heads of Muhammadiyah and NU, Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif and Abdurrahman Wahid as could still be voicing their opinions, but losing their power in arguments.

As noted by Hamdani [3], the widespread acceptance of veil among Indonesian Moslem indicates a significant improvement in the practice of wearing veil that is built upon the increasingly intense Islamisation process. Veil, previously worn exclusively by the *santri,* is now popular among the middle class Moslem. According to Hamdani, this happened in the context of the decades of conflicts between Islam and the country. This trend only peaked when certain regions issued regulations that formalise Islamic attributes and outfits.

The transformation of veil as an attribute of Indonesian women's identity in a context of an ever conservative stance of Islam will only make it even more popular. Rejection of alternative points of view in the contestation of discourse of veils will grow even bigger. This condition will result in one perspective of interpretation of wearing veil dominating the religious discourse. As a result, Indonesian women that want to be considered Moslem will also need to wear veil as an attribute of identity through a process of normalisation, as will be further discussed in the following chapter.

3.3   Normalising the Veil

Normalisation of veil, in previous studies, happens in accordance to the growing Islamisation of Indonesia [2, 3]. This Islamisation that is carried out through political, social,

and cultural transformation made the wearing of veil something that were not only motivated by religious and moral obligation, but also enforced by public law [3]. The issuing of various Sharia-based regional laws or *perda* in increasing number of regions across Indonesia became a strong motivator for the adoption of veil among Moslem women.

A number of Sharia-based laws, especially ones regulating formal attributes, have urged Moslem groups to wear Moslem attributes. The National Commission of Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan) reported 21 regional regulations in 2010 [15] that regulated formal attributes through the report "Atas Nama Otonomi: Pelembagaan Diskriminasi dalam Tatanan Negara-Bangsa Indonesia" (roughly translates as "In the Name of Autonomy: Institutionalizing Discrimination in the State-Nation Order of Indonesia.") Until the time the Women Commission issued a follow-up report in 2018 which mapped the discriminative regional regulations in Indonesia in 2016, regional laws that regulate outfit and attributes are still in effect. Formalisation of veil impacts the 'enforcement' for wearing veil especially in schools or regional institutions and affected female students and civil servants. It was enforced through both disciplinary and administrative sanctions.

Findings by the Women Commission in 2010 affirmed the implementation of sanctions to those who refuse to wear veil in regions of those Sharia-based regulations. Students were given disciplinary sanctions by teachers and schools; while civil servants who did not comply could not receive promotion. Meanwhile, in other public offices, women who did not wear veil had difficulties accessing public service due to discrimination. Service was more accessible to those who complied with the regulation.

The growing acceptance of veil was also supported by the implementation of regional laws that consolidated with local or cultural customs. Hamdani [3] found that the locals of Minangkabau of West Sumatera claimed veil as an aspect of local identity that was supported by religious argument. The implementation of Moslem attributes law in Sumatera Barat, like in Hamdani's findings, signified a negotiation between Islam and the local customs in expressing collective identities. The formulation of such law regulating Moslem attributes in Minangkabau caught the momentum of the shift to decentralization model that granted autonomous authority to regions in regulating their own areas of administration. This was an opportunity for the local elites to empower local identities and revive local traditions. The local aspiration of *kembali ke nagari*, or returning to the traditional Minangkabau, *kembali ke surau* or returning to local worship place, and *adaek basandi syara', syara' Basandi Kitabullah, syara' magato adaek mamakai*, or roughly translates as "customs by the foundation of religion, religion by the foundation of the Al-Quran, and religion announces customs implement" had a significant impact to the formalisation of veils through laws and regulations. The enforcement of Moslem attributes began to be seen as an important issue concerning more than just fashion statement, but also a matter of religious practice and local identity. With such a complex relationship between Islam and local customs, local communities just went along with the enforcement of law about wearing Moslem attributes.

The formal use of Moslem attributes in West Sumatera is evident in various government decrees. Hamdani [3] discovered several regional laws or *perda*, or call-to-actions, or instructions by bureaucratic authorities which regulate this use of Moslem attributes. For instance, in Kabupaten Solok it is regulated by Perda No. 6/2002, in Sawahlunto

city by Perda No.2/2003, in Pasaman regency by Perda No.22/2003, in Pesisir Selatan regency by Perda No.4/2005, and in Agam regency by Perda No.6/2005. Meanwhile, instances of issued instructions that regulate the use of Moslem attributes among others are found in Padang Panjang regency (No. 800/2993/BKD-PP/2003), Padang city (451.422/Binsos-iii/2005), and Tanah Datar regency (No. 430/Kesra-2004).

Policies regulating Moslem attributes found its wave of expansion to other regions as well. Apart from West Sumatera, government of South Sulawesi also adopted such policies in formulating several *perda*, like in Bulukumba regency (No. 5/2003), Maros (No. 16/2005), Enrekang (No.6/2005), and Takalar (No. 2/2006). The formulation of *perda* that regulates Moslem attributes were carried out in successive years and could be viewed as a sharing of common policies by regions in one regional or administrative area.

These policies in various regions were more concerned with women's attributes, although they also applied to men [15]. Women always became the first subject to such regulations of attributes. Based on an observation during the early phase of implementation of the *perda* in Bulukumba and Dompu by the commission, women who did not wear veil could not access public service properly. Furthermore, women who did not comply with the rules had to face social sanction such as exclusion, which in Goffman's [9] argument was considered a deviation of the social expectation that applies in a community. The formalisation of the use of veil through regional regulation and laws that coincided with the social and cultural structure pressured women into wearing veil in order to become a part of the society.

Such incentive and social pressure to women significantly impacted their decision to adopt wearing veil. Smith-Hefner's [2] found that environment was a strong factor influencing the decision of young women in wearing veil for feeling uncomfortable and confused. In the context of young students in universities, Smith-Hefner wrote of this environmental influence that pressured the female students to wear veil:

"Campus religious organization, friends and family members, religious teachers, and Islamic publications all reinforce a message of the dangers of free interaction between the sexes and press the case for veiling as the solution" [2].

The use of veil by women thus began to be viewed as granting safety, behavior controlling attribute, and even preventive measures against actions that violate the norms of morality and decency [2]. Women who wear veil view such limitation of interaction through wearing veil as a positive thing. They become confident when interacting inside urban areas and feel protected from external threats. This limitation also turned the use of veil into a commitment to a certain moral standard. Women who wear veil are expected to conform to certain standard of behavior that Smith-Hefner illustrated as follows: 'veiled women should not be loud or boisterous; go out in public after evening prayers; … wear tight clothing; or ride on the back of motorcycle holding on to an unrelated male driver."

Even so, the formalisation of veil that created this social pressure did not lead to 'religious awareness' [3]. Veil is used by women only to conform to formal rules, just like how students in school view their uniforms. This was also evident in the habit of rural Minangkabau women who wear veil as formal dress for attending weddings and going to the market.

The use of veil by women in general through this normalisation is no longer done with personal religious consideration. Hamdani [3] stated that the use of veil has been criticized as encouraged by social adaptation, economic interest, fashion, and other such short-term goals. Women who wear veils are deemed trapped in a copying practice—those in lower class copying the veiled women of the higher social strata like celebrities or public figures. Despite so, We argue that the copying of women who wear veils has something to do with social construction of an ideal expectation of women as pertaining to a certain standard. The ideal construction of women that urged them to wear veil would be discussed further with respect to Simone de Beauvoire's ideas of immanence.

3.4 Becoming Indonesian Pious Moslem Women

The presence of the construction of masculine universe turned veil into sort of a token of patriarchal oppression, which according to Wagner et al. [12] dominated the Western view on the matter. However, complexity in the use of veil also raised an argument that the use of veil is a choice for women who reject social coercion and its relevance with local standard of decency [3]. As such, We consider it important to see just how far veil would serve women as a choice with the construction of ideal veil-wearing women.

Women who wear veil in Indonesia may choose to do so by various reasons. A study by Wagner et al. [12] on Indonesian young women found that the choice to wear veil had something to do with comfort and fashion. The use of veil was deemed as useful for women, not only on the matter of social expectation when attending events like wedding parties, young women also used veil to follow latest fashion trend and to conform to the 'dress-code' of the community and fashion industry. There is a relationship between the success of the industry in marketing veil products with cultural-religious requirements to cover the body and the inner desire by women to look beautiful [12]. As such, veil was seen as a functional garment that does not only concern religion, but also cultural ethical and beauty standard that are promoted by the industry. Through Beauvoir's argument, it is apparent that women's consideration for wearing veil works doubly as to fulfil social expectation for covering the body as pious Moslem women, and to fulfil the standard of beauty.

The marketing promotion by the industry to wear veils is further boosted by technology, especially by the rapid development digital media. The dawn of social media, Instagram in particular, brought veil as an intricate tie of economic, social, and cultural interest. Hernawati et al. [7] argues that Moslem women who post image in Instagram contribute further to the concept of modern beauty through veil fashion. The external appearance of Moslem women with veil fashion shapes a myth of an ideal beauty of women—spiritual beauty, physical beauty, and ethical beauty. Spiritual beauty is represented by veiled women who stay pious and faithful to religious rules. Physical beauty is represented by accentuating the trend of modern, stylish fashion that is complemented by make-up. Finally, ethical beauty is a sort of combination of a representation that is not only beautiful spiritually, but also physically. They argue that veil fashion is given the myth of boosting beauty, and this standard of beauty is one under the influence of patriarchy.

The appearance of veiled women on Instagram in forms of image and captions is always formulated to refer to the representation of feminine attitude that is constructed

by men. In Beauvoir's perspective, women define themselves through expectation of male masculinity. Femininity is reflected such as through the choice of pink color in the outfit, the flower motives, graceful gestures, and loose dangling design of the clothing. This appearance is complemented by make-up, vibrant setting, an image of luxury, and glamour. Women who present themselves through the narrative of Instagram would position themselves as both object and subject. The woman who owns the Instagram account is positioned as an entity that is admired and evaluated by men and one who delights in seeing the reflection of herself through media. According to Hernawati et a.l [7], the beauty concept represented through Instagram is standardized and universalized as something objective to the interest of the market and the industry. This is evident in the showcase of veil fashion as an extension of store isles and counters to attract women to buy Moslem or veil fashion. Women who wear veils post photos of them wearing certain outfits and items, accompanied by promotional captions.

The standard of veiled beauty women in Instagram is viewed by Baulch & Pramiyanti [4] as an ideal construction of Moslem women. Instagram to the *hijabers* is the stage to show an affirmation of their middle class status, and also in spreading the teachings of Islamic perspective (*dakwah*). By sharing photos of Moslem women on Instagram, *hijabers* 'shape an Islamic-theme bodily aesthetic for middle class women; and at the same time present this bodily aesthetic as a form of Islamic knowledge.' The bodily construction as represented by the *hijabers* of Instagram is something that Baulch & Pramiyanti [4] referred to as an idea of feminine beauty as being young, fashionable, and fair-skinned. The women put on display what is called a veiled femininity structure.

Apart from the beauty construction represented by photos, the *hijabers* also present 'Islamic communication' through writing captions. The captions in Instagram photos facilitate the *hijabers* to communicate themselves as fashionable (aware of good fashion), faithful in committing religious rituals (daily prayer), and always eager to do good. Baulch & Pramiyanti [4] argued that such Islamic communication rapidly turns into 'a new technology and new practice context of Indonesian society's increasing Islamisation.' The women who wear veils at the same time showcase their purchase power through choices of consumer products that they wear in their pictures.

Women who choose to wear veils do not solely act as an object of social pressure, but also as subject who display an identity through fashionable appearance and narration of their daily life. However, women who choose to wear veil as subject in defining their own identities are still under the prerequisites determined by the masculine society. Beauvoir shown how women under a masculine universe always struggle to fulfil the expectation of femininity of masculine universe. Women wear veils in their daily life, posted as pictures on Instagram, all in conformity to the expectation of masculine standard that shapes the ideal construction of Indonesian Moslem women.

4   Conclusion and Recommendation

The use of veil in Indonesia has undergone a long journey through numerous political, social, and cultural shifts across various contexts of place and time. The momentum swing in the endorsement of Islamic group by the New Order who were formerly oppressive to the use of veils allowed it to become popular among Indonesian women. Veils

that were previously only worn by a minority of Indonesian women turned into a practical piece of garment to Indonesian Moslem in accordance to the increasing number of marketing efforts to promote veil as a Moslem attribute in daily life. Supports from media and celebrities that ride the development of technology only brought new ways in promoting veil, namely through new agents of veiled women in social media like Instagram.

Veil as an attribute for Indonesian women to shape their identity is in a context of history and local culture that gather complexity and opposing views concerning its adoption. The increasingly popular use of veil among women of the middle class occupies various functions from self-reimaging and integration to modern life. The popularity of veil also raises questions on the meaning and social impact of wearing it. However, with the conservative turn in the transformation of Indonesian Islam with more intense Islamisation process that limits alternative and moderate perspective on wearing veil. In such condition, the trend of wearing veil grows through normalisation, which in Goffman's definition is understood as representing normal people trying to fulfil social expectation. The formalisation of veils through various *perda* and regional regulations that are reinforced through consolidation with local cultures only further empower this normalisation through imposition of formal and social sanctions. Apart from these sanctions, women who do not comply with the formal rules to wear veil are also met with pressure from their environment. Women who later adopt the use of veil feel some positive effects like feeling safe, although it means that they are committed to the moral standard set by society. However, the use of veil leans more towards fulfilling an obligation and an effort towards social adaptation than signifying a personal religious consideration.

Nevertheless, the pressure to conform to rules and social adaptation, We argue, does not happen on its own as it is closely tied with a social construction that shapes the image of an ideal women as pertaining to a specific standard. Even women who wear veil by personal conscience still cannot escape the influence of the social expectation upon feminine standard of beauty. The use of veils by Moslem women on Instagram are defined by the general populace of women who live by the views of masculine universe. In the perspective of Beauvoir, the immanence of women who wear veils only affirms this ideal construction of Moslem women in accordance to the expectation of masculine universe: displaying obedience, beauty in the eyes of men, and industrial interest that is accommodated by purchase power. Through a long political, social, and cultural transformation that brought veil to its popularity as an identity of Indonesian Moslem women, it is fair to say that in order to become a proper Moslem woman in Indonesia, one must first wear a veil.

This condition raises questions about the agency of women in choosing to wear or not to wear veil. If Moslem women in Indonesia who choose not to wear veil are given stigma, where the normalisation is stronger, the choice of women to wear outfits by their own desire will be further limited. What if a woman who wears veil suddenly want to take it off? The ideas of women's autonomy thus deserve further exploration and discussion in relevant future studies.

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