


RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION OF *HIJRAH* CELEBRITIES: ACCOMMODATING PROTEST AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF PUBLIC PIETY

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Abstract

This paper explores the motivations behind Indonesian celebrities who undertake *hijrah* in Indonesia's digital era. *Hijrah* activities and campaigns have recently been led by several celebrities who invite Muslims to become better practitioners of Islam, usually by promoting religious teachings on digital media. This study uses qualitative research methods and analysis of data from media, especially social media. I argue that celebrities who undertake *hijrah* not only want to exhibit their new-found religious identity. They also engage in a form of "accommodating protest." That is to say, they try to rally against the negative stigmas that are attached to celebrities who adopt a more religious lifestyle and. They want to show that they will still be popular and can thrive as celebrities despite wearing more modest clothing such as the headscarf (*hijab*). There is also a political and economic strategy behind an artist's decision to undertake *hijrah*, as it opens doors to contracts from the so-called *balal* industry. This is consonant with the recent trends of massive consumerism on the part of the Muslim middle class, which is believed to be primary actors of Indonesia's economic development in the 21st century so far.

Keywords: *Hijrah celebrity; Digital era; Accomodating; Protest*

Abstrak

Makalah ini ingin mengkaji apa motif di balik fenomena selebritis yang hijrah di Indonesia. Aktivitas dan kampanye hijrah sangat masif dilakukan beberapa artis yang mengajak kaum Muslim untuk menjadi pribadi yang lebih baik dengan menjalankan ajaran agama yang disuarakan di media digital. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dan analisis terhadap data media terutama media sosial, ditemukan bahwa motif selebriti yang melakukan hijrah sebenarnya tidak hanya ingin menunjukkan ekspresi keberagamaan barunya dengan menunjukkan kesalahannya terhadap publik, tetapi juga sebagai sebuah bentuk 'acomodating protest' bahwa sebelum mereka memutuskan untuk hijrah ada sejenis bully-an yaitu munculnya stigma-stigma ketakutan menurunnya citra mereka di hadapan publik ketika seorang artis melakukan hijrah dengan style hijab barunya. Tetapi justru ada semacam perlawanan yang ingin ditunjukkan oleh para selebriti kepada masyarakat bahwa mereka tetap bisa eksis walaupun memakai jilbab dan juga ada strategi politik ekonomi yang dimainkan oleh artis-artis hijrah tersebut dengan membuat inovasi-inovasi industri balal, tren hijab yang sangat populer.

Kata Kunci: Selebriti Hijrah; Era digital; Akomodasi; Protes

Background

In Indonesia, Islamic discourse grown considerably after the Reformation movement of 1999 and the rise of globalization. Globalization in particular has narrowed time and space not only theoretically, but also the practically.¹ From this, various kinds resistances against the global cultural hegemony have emerged in Indonesia. The kind of resistance discussed in this paper is religiously motivated and is known by the term *hijrah*. The *hijrah*

exerts a strong influence over the urban middle class, who are frustrated and thirsty for a grounded and pious religious identity. This middle-class group is currently at the center of social change and economic development in Indonesia. The so-called Muslim middle class in Indonesia emerged in the wake of the 1979 Iranian revolution.² This event led to a growth of Islamic political and identity movements in the Muslim world. Indonesian Muslim women

¹David Harvey, *The Condition of Posmodernity* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1997), p. 260.

²Moeflich Hasbullah, 'Teori Habitus Bordieu dan Kehadiran Kelas Menengah Muslim Indonesia', *Khazanah*, 21. 1 (2007), 5.

began to wear the *hijab* (headscarf), following the culture of Muslim women of Iran and other Middle Eastern countries. Even a number of artists also began embracing *hijab* culture. The emerging Muslim middle class began to develop a common identity formed by social codes related to loyalty, commitment, attributions, and affiliations that exhibit their religious, linguistic, and cultural preferences.³

This new social phenomenon among the Indonesian middle class can be prominently seen in the Mark Plus Conference 2012 in Jakarta. The founder of this event stated that the middle class in 2012 has experienced a very large boom, which has many implications for market behavior. The rise of the middle class is directly proportional to the demand for lifestyle products, beauty products, health services, tourism, and transportation⁴. This phenomenon is also influenced by symbolic interactions, because human behavior is the product of their interpretation of the world around them.⁵ Indonesia's economy is driven by a combination of middle class and urban society. This phenomenon displays how celebrities desire to show their participation in the global community by performing trendy cultural practices in Indonesia.

Looking at Bourdieu's framework of his habitus theory, we can see that the Indonesian community during the 1980s and 1990s displayed an unmistakable middle-class culture, especially among the urban community. The five social phenomena that are indicative of this trend are: the use of the veil as an affirmation of class identity; the emergence of modern Islamic songs of the popular band Bimbo; the establishment of the Indonesian Muslim

Intellectuals Association (ICMI); the publication of Islamic media; and the hosting of elite Islamic conferences in prestigious places and starred hotels. These social phenomena were not only a form of increased religious expression or a symptom of the revival of Islamic revival in the 1980-1990s but is part of what Bourdieu calls as cultural reproduction of social investment that is continually carried out. In the case of Indonesia, this cultural reproduction confirms the formation of a new Muslim middle-class identity⁶. The discourse of *hijrah* among the urban Muslim middle class is part of this social trend.

The *hijrah* campaign is a massive religious movement that invites Muslims to become better practitioners of Islam. Undertaking *hijrah* is often a very public affair, usually exhibited on digital media, including social media platforms. On the popular digital news platform *detiknews* and on Instagram, the hashtag *#hijrah* has more than 1.7 million posts. The *hijrah* account on Facebook has also been followed by more than 300 thousand accounts.⁷ This phenomenon is also popular among Indonesian celebrities, given the fact that this phenomenon is highly popular among the middle to upper classes, who have the means to consume trending issues trending on social media. The trend of *hijrah* also influenced a series of celebrities who decided to undertake *hijrah*, but with a different approach.

The existence of a middle-class Muslims living in urban areas cannot be separated from the growth of religiosity and spirituality among this group of people.⁸ This can be seen from the rise of *hijrah* trends. In this digital age, the various digital platforms have been spaces of

³Rao Aparno, 'The Many Sources of Identity: An Example of Changing Affiliations in Rural Jammu dan Kashmir', 22.1 (1999), 56.

⁴Kris Moerwanto, 'Bangkitnya Kelas Menengah dan Perubahan Perilaku Pasar', *Jawa Pos* (Jakarta, 2011).

⁵Ade Nur Istiani, 'Kontruksi Makna Hijab Fashion Bagi Moeslem Fashion Blogger', *Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi*, 3.1 (2015), 51.

⁶Pierre Bourdieu, *Reproduction in Education* (London and Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977), p. 71-80.

⁷Abdul Hair, 'Fenomena Hijrah di Kalangan Anak Muda', *Detik New 7* (Surabaya, 2018).

⁸Rofhani, 'Budaya Urban Muslim Kelas Menengah', *Teosofi*, 3. 1 (2013), 200.

contestation where celebrities try to increase their fame through exhibiting their *hijrah* lifestyle. This has been viewed as part of a wider trend of increasing exclusivism in religious practice. The celebrities who performed *hijrah* is part of a new community that tries to maintain their new identity in the public sphere.⁹

The present study attempts to understand the motives behind the celebrities who undertake *hijrah*. It argues that they are motivated not only to acquire the status of a pious person in the eyes of the public, but also to carry out what Macleod, in his study on veiled women in Cairo, describes as “accommodating protest.” Furthermore, there are political economic benefits motivating the *hijrah* celebrity.

The Label of Public Piety in the *Hijrah* Celebrities’ Religious Expression

Hijrah is etymologically derived from an Arabic word which means “to leave,” “to keep away from,” and “to move.” *Hijrah* is classified into two types: *hijrah makaniyah* (moving from one place to another) and *hijrah ma’naviyah* (changing yourself better to get closer to Allah and to get pleasure from Allah). *Hijrah ma’naviyah* is further divided into four categories; *hijrah i’tiqadiyah* (*hijrah* of conviction), *hijrah fikriyah* (*hijrah* of thought), *hijrah shu’uriyah* (changing of a person based on his appearance), and *hijrah sulukiyah* (*hijrah* of behavior or personality)¹⁰.

Hijrah during the time of the Prophet had five distinct meanings: *hijrah* as a strategy in the struggle of the Prophet; *hijrah* as an affirmation of Muslim identity, migrating to build a new civilization; *hijrah* as a concept of unity; and *hijrah* as a concept of an egalitarian society.¹¹ In

addition, *hijrah* can also be contextualized as a renewal both in the fields of education, politics,¹² and other meanings relating to religious reformation. In the latter case, the term *hijrah* is used with *da’wah* (Islamic propagation).¹³ Despite the richness of the meaning of this term, many urban Muslims restrict their understanding of *hijrah* to the *hijab* or religious headscarf. As a result, *hijrah* is considered as a public symbol of someone’s piety.

As mentioned above, the *hijrah* campaign is increasingly being echoed in social media platforms. Celebrities are particularly skilled in making use of these public platforms. These celebrities include Indah Dwi Pertwi, Laudya Cintia Bella, Alyssa Soebandono, Melly Goeslow, Dewi Sandra, Cut Meyriska, Zaskia Adya Mecca, and others. In deciding to undertake *hijrah*, these celebrities are able to use their new identities to show their piety while profiting economically from the exposure. More importantly, they are able to launch an “accommodating protest” to the public, as if to declare that that they can still exist in the celebrity world and remain relevant despite wearing the hijab. The *hijrah* celebrity also consume popular Islamic causes associated with the emergence of the post-Islamist politics. Roy argues that that post-Islamism is a part of privatization of Islamization, which is the process of forming a personal but eminently social piety.¹⁴ Asef Bayat also argues that post-Islamism, which was originally a transformation in Islamization processes to the formation of an Islamic State, is now directed towards the

⁹Rahmi Nur Fitri and Indah Rama Jayanti, ‘Fenomena Seleb Hijrah: Tendensi Eksklusivisme dan Kemunculan Kelompok Sosial Baru’, *Mubarrik: Jurnal Dakwah dan Sosial*, 3. 1 (2020), 1.

¹⁰Ahzami S.J, *Hijrah dalam Pandangan Al-Qur’an* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2012), p. 65–68.

¹¹Muhammad Taufik Ismail and Zaenal Abidin, ‘Kontekstualisasi Hijrah Sebagai Titik Tolak Pembaharuan Pendidikan’, *Subuf*, 29, 2.1 (2017), 56-57.

¹² Ismail and Abidin.

¹³Aswadi, ‘Refomulasi Epistemologi Hijrah dalam Dakwah’, *Islamica*, 5. 2 (2011), 339–53.

¹⁴Oliver Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 36.

formation of an attitude of social piety both individually and collectively¹⁵.

The *hijrah* trend reveals the impact of modernity on urban communities who are frustrated and thirsty for piety. They consider the veil as a symbol of piety. Posetti J. N. also argues that the *hijab* is one of the more prominent symbols of *hijrah*-piety.¹⁶ The *hijab* is the celebrities' response to modernity and the rise of global culture that they regard as alienating, inauthentic and not in accordance with Islamic teachings.

Clothing has a communicative function, which is a form of artifactual communication within the scope of nonverbal communication.¹⁷ Clothing conveys meaningful messages in the same way that language conveys a message. In Chaney's language, "clothing is self-representation is the initial footing for interacting with the formation of impressions, statements of identity and even ideology."¹⁸ Therefore, we can see why the Muslim community gave the label of piety to *hijrah* celebrities who express their new-found religiosity by dressing more modestly.

As the Muslim middle-class continue to grow in Indonesia, the public has shown a growing appreciation for celebrities who exhibit their *hijrah* status. These celebrities, in turn, become public figures. The parameters of piety proposed by Pepinsky, Liddle and Mujani in the *Piety and Public Opinion: Understanding Indonesian Islam* are ritual, orientation and behavior.¹⁹ Rituals are related to the performance of the pillars of Islam; orientation is related to an individual Muslim's beliefs about his or her

relationship with the Islamic faith; while behavior includes all practices reflecting religious faith.²⁰ Based on these parameters, the label of piety can be given to celebrities' exhibition of their *hijrah* status because they perform rituals, have a religious orientation, and carry out certain behaviors that demonstrate their Islamic identity.

The rituals of social piety as one of the rituals of Muslim middle-class identity are divided into four forms: how intensely worship must be carried out; how they carry out God's commands; public celebrations of religious rituals; and interaction between socioeconomic values and religious values.²¹ Looking at these four indicators, Wasisto suggests that the ritual of middle-class identity is divided into two things, namely the need for spiritual satisfaction and the need for existential contentment.²² The need for spirituality can be seen in how people carry out worship, obey God's commands, and others. Celebrities who undertake *hijrah* focus on these aspects as symbols of their new-found spirituality. Second, the need for existential contentment is indicated by the consumption of commodities that are considered religious and are considered as representing authentic Islamic identity. Artists do undertake *hijrah* by wearing headscarves and modest clothing in general try to show that they are authentic Muslims, are obedient to God's commands, and avoid His prohibitions.

***Hijrah* Celebrity as a Form of "Accommodating Protest"**

The *hijrah* as a new identity-marker of a celebrity who undergoes *hijrah* is a meaningful

¹⁵Asef Bayat, *Making Islam Democratic: Social Movement and The Post-Islamist Turn* (Stanford: Standford University Press, 2007), p. 9–10.

¹⁶Posetti, J.N, 'Media Representations of the Hijab', *Journalism in Multicultural Australia*, Case Study 1, (2006), 1.

¹⁷Gerungan, *Psikologi Sosial* (Bandung: Eresco, 1996), p. 67.

¹⁸David Chaney, *Lifestyles: Sebuah Pengantar Komprehensif* (Bandung: Jalasutra, 1996), p. 213.

¹⁹Thomas B. Pepinsky, R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani, *Piety and Public Opinion: Understanding Indonesian Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 62.

²⁰Thomas B. Pepinsky, R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani, *Piety and Public Opinion: Understanding Indonesian Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 62.

²¹Riesebordt, *Pious Passion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 195.

²²Wasisto Raharjo Jati, 'Kesalehan Sosial Sebagai Ritual Kelas Menengah', *Jurnal Kebudayaan Islam*, 13. 2 (2015), 346.

phenomenon. According to Geertz, this phenomenon has become a belief in life. The *hijab* is considered to be part of the Islamic tradition. In addition, the veil also functions as a sign that conveys social and cultural messages.²³ Muslim women in Malaysia, for instance, were able to slowly deflect the widely-held perception that women wearing the *hijab* are oppressed.²⁴ Indeed, the veil as a potent symbol in Muslim societies has experienced significant transformations of meaning. The *hijab* is not only a symbol of religious identity, but is also meaningful in cultural, social, political, economic, and fashion domains. When the veil is worn by a celebrity, it changes into a very complex social phenomenon.

The physical appearance of a *hijab*-clad *hijrah* celebrity is fraught with religious values, social habits, political and cultural imaginations, etc. By wearing Muslim clothes, people become part of a group. A Muslim woman who wears the *hijab* is seen as a manifestation of Islamic teachings. Wearing *hijab* is an example of an artifactual message. The celebrity who undertake *hijrah* has many motivations.²⁵ Alfred Schutz divides motivations into “so”-motives and “because”-motivations. The motive is related to face-to-face interaction. The “so” motive is a purpose intended as an intention, plan, hope, interest, and so on. This motive has a future orientation. The “because” motive refers to past experiences of the celebrity and is embedded in his or her knowledge. Therefore, this motive is oriented to the past. During the face-to-face interaction process, there is an exchange of motives among the involved actors. A new individual can change his actions

according to the actions of others. The *hijrah* celebrity would have a number of motives other than to show their new identity. One important motivation is the desire to enact some form of “accommodating protest” as a response to the surrounding environment.

This study departs from Arlene Elowe Macleod’s study of middle-lower-class Cairene women, who started a form of protest against the ruling authority. This protest consists in the escaping from the patriarchal social structure by occupying public positions traditionally held by males; they do this by wearing the veil, which is usually seen as a symbol of confinement in Muslim patriarchal societies.²⁶ El-Guindi’s study stated that clothing is often used as a symbol of resistance and liberation, as well as political movements. When the *mullab* movement began to intensify in Iran in the 1970s and reached its peak in 1979, Khomeini succeeded in overthrowing Reza Pahlavi, which was known as an accomplice of Western imperialism in the Middle East. Khomeini became a symbol of Islamic victory over Western puppets. Symbols of Khomeini’s revolution, such as photographs of Khomeini himself and the Black Veil community became a trend among young generations of Muslims throughout the world. Clothing identity (i.e., the veil) is considered to be a symbol of victory.²⁷ In contrast to the case in Iran, young women in Europe used the full face-cover (*niqab*) as a tool for resistance; whereas in America the *niqab* was rejected.²⁸

Hijrah performed by celebrities is also a kind of public protest. As seen in various interviews, celebrities underwent *hijrah* not only

²³Clifford Geertz, *Kebudayaan dan Agama* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1992), p. 32.

²⁴Nurzihan Hassim, ‘Hijab and the Malay-Muslim Woman in Media’, *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 155. 1 (2014), 428–33.

²⁵ Gerungan.

²⁶Arlene Elow Macleod, *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling and Change in Cairo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 20.

²⁷Fedwa El-Guindi, *Jilbab Antara Kesalehan, Kesopanan, Dan Perlawanan* (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2004), p. 268–70.

²⁸Faegheh Shirazi and Smeeta Mishra, ‘Young Muslim Women on the Face Veil (Niqab): A Tool of Resistance in Europe but Rejected in the United States’, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 13. 1 (2010), 43–62; Pamela Nunez Basante, ‘Beyond the Veil: Media Prejudice Towards the Use of the Hijab’, *International Journal for Intersectional Feminist Studies*, 5.1–2 (2019), 13–21.

to show their new-found religiosity, but also enact a certain protest (i.e., an “accommodating protest”). They expressed that before their *hijrah*, many people tried to detract them from being more religious, because of the gear that their image and popularity will decline if they begin to wear the *hijab*. Instead, they want to show that they can still thrive as celebrities and public figures even when they wear more modest clothing. This is what is meant by “accommodating protest.”

Some celebrities who perform *hijrah*, such as Laudya Cintya Bella, Dewi Sandra, Citra Kirana, Cut Meyrizek, do not necessarily wear long robes or the “unfashionable” wide *hijab*. Rather they wear a modest style that they deem to be *syar’i* (Arabic: *shar’i*, meaning “in accordance with Islamic law”) while being stylish at the same time. They are aware of how the rules of *syar’i* clothing can still accommodate the trends in fashion. This is caused by the fact that many celebrity and artistic environment is not completely supportive of “unfashionable” modest female clothing. As a result, they can be seen as conducting an “accommodating protest” against religious rules and community stigma. They accommodate religious teachings regarding modesty in dressing, but they also do not want to lose their image and popularity in public. Instead, they want to fight the negative stigma attached to their new identity by wearing the *hijab* fashionably. In fact, they are able to become more popular, given that the *hijrah* trend is on the rise among Indonesian urban communities and consumerism has become a fact of urban life. Given the rise of Islamic or *halal* industries in food products, tourism, and others, there is no shortage of brands they can represent and monetize as celebrities .

Hijrah celebrities realize that while the headscarf was initially seen as a barrier for women to flourish in the public sphere, now it has become a trend that is favored by many

people. However, many people argue that the headscarf is a traditional practice that has no relevance in contemporary society. Others hold that it is a clear obligation for Muslim women.

Although nowadays the headscarf is not a barrier for a woman to appear in the public sphere, it still limits women’s participation because of the expectations imposed by the patriarchal society. The mindset of the Indonesia people is influenced by religious understanding, and patriarchal culture is still strong. In this system, women are always at a subordinate position at best complementary to men. However, this patriarchal culture began to erode, because of the increasing awareness of women’s rights. In the aftermath of the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, Muslim self-esteem rose in the eyes of the world, especially with respect to the Western world.²⁹ One of the major cultural shifts that was born out of this event is the phenomenon of veiling among women, which as continued unabated every since. This social trend has made it easier for celebrities to also beign wearing the *hijab*.

Modernization is often considered as something that undermines religious values; however, the opposite effect tends to happen, namely that the trend of *hijrah* seems to gather pace despite of modernity. In the hands of celebrities in particular, the *hijab* became less a symbol of old-fashion clothing and more of a fashion statement during the global era. They managed to inspire young people in engaging with their religious lifestyle. They appear in public in their new-found identity, which was then imitated by young women.

The Political Economy of *Hijrah* Celebrity in the Digital Age

The *hijrah* celebrity has a new arena in this digital age to display their new identity. Their new role is not only to exhibit religious piety. They also benefit economically and at times politically. These celebrities are savvy users of

²⁹ Hasbullah.

social media, which they use to promote their products. In the early 20th century, capitalist culture and the emergence of a consumerist society needed the continued supply of consumers. From this a new role to promote that industry was formed.³⁰ Laura Nistor called the *hijab* is promoted not only as a religious symbol, but also as a fashion phenomenon.³¹ Thus, in this context, *hijrah* celebrities operate as owners of capital who promote their products along with their new religious identity. They also use their new identity to receive endorsements from so-called “Islamic” or *halal* products..

The term political economy is offered by Vincent Mosco referring to (political) power relationships from existing economic sources. This relationship is one of mutual benefit between sources of production, distribution, and consumption. The ruler that is referred to by Mosco as the “*de facto* ruler” is the person who is deemed able to move an individual or group of people even though do not hold *de jure* executive, legislative and judicial powers.³² *Hijrah* celebrities seems to have this kind of *de facto* power, because they are able to influence society by their new-found identities.

The popularity of *hijrah* celebrities and the mushrooming of the latest fashion and *hijab* products, as well as the product endorsements targeted to the Muslim middle class are interesting topics of study. Now celebrities engage not only about religious ideology, but they also play an important role in the economy and politics. This is a new site of contestation. Clifford Geertz has shown how ideology is a cultural system. If this is accepted, then any thought that is expressed cannot be separated

from the condition and situation of the community. Departing from this, Geertz explores ideology through two approaches, one of which is the theory of interest (the interest theory), which can be understood as a weapon to maintain an industry’s presence in society, whether the “*halal*” industry or otherwise.³³

In the theory of interests, ideological statements are made public to gain advantage and power. Because *hijrah* has become a trend, celebrities also use the opportunity to increase their popularity and promote products that are related to religious symbols such as Muslim clothes, the robe, headscarf, *halal* food, *halal* tourism, and others. They use the media to influence women to follow their identities and to promote their product brands. As stated by Latif and Fatin, the media has a role in commercializing the *hijab* in this modern era.³⁴

Many companies also often use celebrities to persuade consumers to buy the products they buy. Accordig to Shimp said, all forms of marketing delivery and promotion are ultimately intended to persuade consumers to do things that benefit marketers.³⁵ The companies of these “Islamic” and “*halal*” products chose new celebrities to endorse their products because they have a new image that can increase the sales of their products. For example, Dewi Sandra endorses the Ampo *hijab* and is an ambassador for Wardah products, which is advertised as *halal* cosmetics. Laudya Cintia Bella promotes her own product, a *hijab* called lbylbc.

The social structure shows the objective relationship of the position held by an actor in a given arena.³⁶ The actor in this case is *hijrah*

³⁰Laughey, D., *Media Studies:Theories and Approaches* (London: Oldcastle Book, 2010), p. 117.

³¹Laura Nistor, ‘Hijab (*Istas*) as Fashion Phenomenon’, *Acta Univ, Sapientiae, Social Analysis*, 7. 1 (2017), 59.

³²William John, *The Political Economy of Communication*, 2nd edn (London: Sage Publication, 2009), p. 127.

³³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Book, 1973), p. 201–2.

³⁴Zulkifli Abd. Latiff and Fatin Nur Sofia Alam, ‘The Roles of Media in Influencing Women Wearing Hijab:An Analysis’, *Journal of Image and Graphics*, 1.1 (2013), 50.

³⁵Torence A Shimp, *Promotion Management and Marketing Communications* (Orlando: The Dryden Press, 1990), p.130.

³⁶ Bourdieu.

celebrities. These celebrities compete for money, prestige, and power. Religious power is demonstrated through the authority they may have in influencing the practices and views of ordinary people through the mechanism of relative absolutism and legitimacy. Bourdieu holds that religion is the key in the production of a structure.³⁷ The designers, traders, including celebrities have positions as religious specialists who translate the views of religious leaders into cultural products such as headscarves, Muslim clothes, *halal* travel, *halal* food, and other *halal* products.

According to Shimp, there are several factors that are considered in the selection of celebrities to become brand ambassadors. These include the celebrity's credibility and compatibility with the audience and the brand and the perceived attractiveness of said celebrity. In other words, in order to determine which celebrity should be selected as the endorser of a product, that celebrity must already have some sort of relationship with the public and the product offered. When companies use endorsers that are attractive and are compatible with the audience and the brand, brand awareness can be achieved effectively.³⁸

Digital media as a medium for global social interaction through social media platforms, such as YouTube and others, are a means for cultural reproduction that are carried out continuously by individuals in various social classes. The media as a tool for celebrity contestation requires certain expertise and capital, which is referred to as capital by Bourdieu.³⁹ Cashmore has analyzed the relationship between celebrities and

commodification as well as consumers and examined the use of new media.⁴⁰ The analysis shows that celebrity culture goes hand in hand with commodification. The commodification in question is when a public figure is converted into a trade commodity that is exchanged in the market.

Within the current development of capitalism, the development of the Muslim market is increasing. Thus, there is a law of supply and demand side markets. The supply of industrial machinery not only offers a potential object of desire for someone to consume, but also actively affects the imagination and tastes of consumers. These tastes are always part of the current trends in lifestyle among the middle-class. On the other hand, the demand position is seen by the increasing number of the Muslim middle class who can create demand in accordance with the current lifestyle trends.⁴¹ Commodification is considered as one way to see changes in goods or services to be used to push sales through the political economy approach of the media.⁴² This can be seen from celebrities who transform themselves from being "un-Islamic" to "Islamic." The celebrity will no doubt get the attention of the media and the public. This has the effect of increasing selling power because the Muslim middle class in Indonesia is increasing.

Conclusion

The *hijrah* phenomenon of moving to has become a trend among urban communities, including celebrities. This doctrine of *hijrah* reflects the frustrations of the urban middle class who are thirsty for an identity grounded in religious piety. This middle-class group is

³⁷ Bourdieu.

³⁸ Torence A Shimp, *Periklanan Promosi, Aspek Tambahan Komunikasi Pemasaran Terpadu* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2003), p. 23.

³⁹ Bourdieu P, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Taylor & Francis, 2013), p. 417.

⁴⁰ Cashmore, *Celebrity/Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 117-124.

⁴¹ Abdur Rozaki, 'Komodifikasi Islam: Kesalehan dan Pergulatan di Ruang Publik', *Jurnal Dakwah*, 2. 4 (2013), 201-2. Kirana Nur Lyansari, 'Hijrah Celebrity: Creating New Religiosities, Branding Economics of Lifestyle in the Age of Muslim Mass Consumption', *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 18. 2 (2018), 211-32.

⁴² Indah Pratiwi Manggaga, 'Komodifikasi Konten Televisi dalam Perspektif Ekonomi Politik Media', *Jurnal Tabligh*, 19. 2 (2018), 259.

currently at the center of social change and is placed at a strategic place in Indonesia's economic and cultural development. The emergence of middle-class Muslims in Indonesia was influenced by the 1979 Iranian revolution. This event changed the relationship between Muslim societies and the world. In Indonesia, this event led to Islamic patterns of consumption that is specifically associated with the emergence of the post-Islamism phenomenon. They began to wear the veil to follow the culture of Muslim women in Iran and other Middle Eastern countries. This discourse is now known as the *hijrah* discourse, which is closely related to the wearing of the *hijab* in such a way as to satisfy both the requirements of religion as well as fashion.

Celebrities practicing *hijrah* are not something free from motives, especially when the discourse of *hijrah* is faced with the growing diversity of Indonesian society. I conclude that celebrities who undertake *hijrah* not only want to exhibit their new-found identity to the public for public acknowledgement of their status as good and pious Muslim women. They also perform a kind of accommodating protest. That is to say, they want to fight off the negative stigmas that arise from their decision to wear the *hijab*, most notably that they will not be able to thrive as celebrities while wearing more modest clothing. In fact, given the growth of the Muslim middle class, their stock among the public seems to have risen. The phenomenon of *hijrah* will only increase as a social and cultural trend in contemporary Indonesia.

Furthermore, *hijrah* celebrities have a new public platform in this digital age to display their new identity. In this regard, their motivations for public display is intertwined with economic and political motivations. As celebrities, they compete for advertisements slots and ambassador roles in companies labeled as Islamic or *halal*. A number of them have become entrepreneurs themselves, selling personal products such as headscarves, robes,

halal travel services, *halal* food and others. Thus, they are brand ambassadors for their own brands.

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