

Muslim Women Identity in Consumer Society: A Critical Discourse Analysis on the Hijabers Community

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ABSTRACT

This study observes the “Hijabers Community” a community that uses hijab as the starting point to be together, set up a community and run social activities and business. Hijabers Community is set up by a group of middle-class urban Muslim women in Indonesia in responding modernity and changes through activities ranging from religious teaching, talk show, hijab clinic, beauty class, bazaar and fashion show at local, national and international level.

This study focuses on the “Muslim Women Identity in the Consumer Society; Critical Discourse Analysis on Hijabers Community” with the data from a blog “Hijabers Community” and its other social medias (Facebook, Twitter, Youtube). It aims at understanding the identity of muslim women constructed by the Hijabers Community, and the Islamic discourse communicated through the sites. To reach this objective, the study applies Van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis in which it is based on three level of analysis: micro level, meso level, and macro level. In micro level the analysis deals with the language phenomena, such as a specific syntax or lexicon, or particular words used and means in the discourse, the meso level deals with the production and consumption of the text. It talks much on the reference of a particular discourse consumed or produced by a particular people. In the macro level, the analysis goes to the social political context of a certain issue.

Introduction

Hijabers Community is a muslim women group founded by Muslim women practicing “hijab” in Jakarta in 2010. Not only practicing hijab, the young women group use many new media as the means to construct their identity and communicate among them

and to the public, such as a blog Hijabers Community, twitter, Facebook Fanpage, as well as You Tube. Etymologically, “Hijab” and “veil” have different meaning. According to Fadwa El Gundi in Encyclopedia of Clothing (2005), “veil” is a term refer to the cloth covering head, face and body of Arabic females. In Arabic, Hijab is a diction of complex meaning. It can mean cover, border, separator, veil. In Indonesia, the term “Hijab” differs from other veiling practice, and bears meaning that differs the group from the others, in which many Indonesian women practice veiling with various terms, such as “kerudung, jilbab, tudung” all of which are referring to the head cover worn by Muslim women. The word hijab is associated with classy head cover and clothes designed by particular fashion designer and worn by middle class muslim women. The term also connotates to fashionable and creative ways in wearing head cover, so that there are now popularly known the terms ‘hijab tutorial’ that means tips on how to wear head cover that is a bit complicated, usually need some minutes to do and apply some needles or pins.

Hijabers Community also constructs the discourse of ideal Muslim women which is closely related to the women’s traditional domestic roles, under the term “cantik luar dan dalam” beauty from inside and outside performance, implying the good manner and appearance based on Islamic moralities. The discourse of ideal beauty for Muslim women constructed in Hijabers however are also affected by the globalization and consumerism. The Hijabers Community as a group having economic power and symbolic power can not avoid the capital power, instead, they take good effort as player with the global capitalism, as fashion designers, producers, not merely as the consumers. Most of the committee members of the Hijabers involve much in the business in which most of them are the producers, fashion designers and owners of clothing lines, boutique stores and online stores.

This paper arises out of three primary concerns. First, I have a long-standing interest in Muslim’s attitudes toward modernities and the relationships between cultural representations and attitudes. Secondly, my work in media studies has stimulated my interests in ideas of the active Muslim women in responding to the modernities and the dynamics of constructing meaning. Finally, my work in cultural studies brought me to

become encouraged with readings of “Muslim Hijab” not only within religious texts so that I hope I can expand the discussion of social practice of Muslim hijab in wider social context.

Theoretical Underpinning

As the starting point, this study takes the argument that identity is a social construct, as Stuart Hall notes that identity is a production which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within representation (Hall, 1997: 234). This concept belongs to the constructionist approach, that sees identity as something that is produced, mediated and performed through interactions between individuals and the society, between agency (who we think we are, how we wish others to see us) and structure (structures and institutions outside our control that affect how others perceive us, such as gender, ethnicity, age, etc). As the opposite of this approach, there is essentialist approach that sees identity as something fixed, coherent and continuous, comprising the inner core of a person or collectivity.

The constructionist approach implies that identity is inherently multiple and constantly in the process of being reimagined and contingent upon the political, social, economic and cultural contexts in which it is constructed. This implies that an individual performs different personal identities in different context. This approach also implies that identity becomes something that must be actively produced, performed and consumed, rather than something that we are born with. It is a "process of becoming rather than being." This process of becoming raises questions such as what we might become, how we have been represented and how we might represent ourselves" (Hall 1997: 4). As Hall notes, identity is performative, in which it is a discursive practice which enacts or produces. An individual becomes a Muslim woman, not merely because she was born as a Muslim, in part through the performative act of identifying herself to others as a Muslim woman. The Muslim women are actively rather than passively consume and produce their identity, through many activities of constructing identities.

The construction of identities is also influenced by the consumption process. The perception of consumption of an active process is an aspect of postmodernism. It has been argued that we construct our identities through consumption: we are what we buy

(Baudrillard 1988). We consume and display cultural goods that symbolise our membership of a particular group or collective identity through the meanings with which they have been inscribed (Mackay 1997). So, the intertwined process of identity construction and consumption is particularly relevant to this study of how and why Hijabers Community construct, perform, and consume the identities as Muslim women.

Media and Identity Construction in Hijaber Community

In this globalized world, Moslem women especially those who live in urban areas like Jakarta and other cities in Indonesia can not avoid the global interaction and new media exposure. Most of the committee (founders) of Hijabers Community are young Muslim women who are living in the dynamic big cities (Jakarta, Bandung), having universities education, and active internet users as bloggers. Their activities, especially related to Muslim fashion, are dealing with the urban areas, middle class Muslim environment, and having borderless internet-connected interaction.

The members of the committee, about 30 persons, such as Fitri Aulia, Ghaida Tsurayya, Dian Ayu, Ria Miranda, Dian Pelangi, to mention few of them, started their passion in Muslim fashion in their college life. They did not specifically learn the fashion, on the contrary they studied many other field of study in universities, but they put the fashion as something that they enjoy to do and get benefit from. The trend of wearing Muslim clothes made them involved more seriously in fashion business. So, starting from the hobby they professionally built their own label in fashion business. Fitri Aulia, for example, started her design in 2010 with the label "Kivitz" as can be seen in her blog, and she develops her own clothing stores, designing her own clothing label and selling in many outlets offline (she owns many stores in many big cities nowadays) and online with the label "Kivits". Ghaida Tsurayya, with her online and offline Muslim clothings store, started her passion in fashion when she was a university student. She studied Chemistry in ITB, nothing to do with fashion. And Ghaida thinks that "Fashion is about beautifulness, creativity, and style is about expressing our self, expressing our creativity, style is just for fun" (<http://gdagallery.blogspot.com/2009/11/fashion-quotes.html>). Dian Pelangi, with her blog

“Brain, Beauty and Belief” is popular with her girly design of Muslim fashion and hijab tutorial. She professionally manages her fashion business as the owner, designer, and model under the Dian Pelangi Company.

For the Hijabers Community committee members media can function importantly through – their consuming the ideas and concepts of fashion and exploring the fashion tradition around the world, and the media significantly spread and promote the designers’ performativities: the design, the product, to reach wider consumers. We can find out that most of the designers and business women in this Hijabers Community make the use of the new media optimally to develop their creativity and business. The media are better understood as resources to expand the production and consumption process. Through media, they can explore the various themes for their design and products. They display all of the activities related to the Muslim fashion in their own blogs, such as fashion shows, talks show, interview with other conventional medias (newspaper, magazine, television). Ideas, reflection, career development, new design and theme can be introduced and spread for the consumers through their personal blog. Ria Miranda, for example, stated that the target of her design are women in 20-30’s, so that the designs are matched with the characteristics of women in those ages.

Media also functions as the source for knowledge in fashion world. For productive ends, the young designers learn a lot from many sources, fashion school and from new media with acknowledged artist or designers. The wider and more competitive fashion world led the designers to be more creative in exploring the design. Consequently they have to study the concept and ideas of fashion in more creative ways, including consuming many ideas from Muslim historical discourse and from different cultures and tradition. Most of them did not only rely on the business as hobby but they develop their talent and creativity as well as expert in fashion through fashion school, like what happened to Fitri Aulia, who took the fashion school LaSalle College to build her expertise in fashion. Ria Miranda, got the inspiration to develop the fashion label “Shabby Chic” from other artist she found in internet. Ghaida got inspired with the Victorian tradition for her fashion. Jenahara, the coordinator of the Hijabers Community got her inspiration in fashion business from her mother, Ida Royani, a singer and designer.

The personal blogs function to show personal performativities: design products (new arrival, theme of design, business), achievement, personal activities, personal reflection, personal history, personal opinion on many things, build personal identities and media for communication and interaction with the customers. The Hijabers Community group blog function to formally inform the group's vision and mission, members of the committee, group activities, and set rules or norms of the group. At the start of this community, not all of them are business person in Muslim fashion, but the community makes them develop their talent and competence in fashion. For example, Fitri Aulia, a young Muslim designer was just started her business in designing and building clothing line after she joined this community. Productive ends that are developed by the young muslim women reached better and wider progress because the products also determine the trends of Muslim fashion in Indonesia and around the world.

Hijab Fashion; Negotiating the Sharia?

Fashion is a style of dress or behavior in a particular time and this implies that it changes over time. When clothing is called fashion this indicates a particular social construction embedded in the clothing. The concept of Muslim women clothing is closely related to women's identity and morality, as stated in the Quran Sura al-Ahzab (33), ayah 59 enjoins the Prophet's wives, daughters, and all Muslim women to don their jilbab for easy recognition and protection from molestation or harassment: "O Prophet tell your wives, daughters and believing women to put on their jilbabs so they are recognized and thus not harmed (33:59). Jilbab refers to a long, loose shirt dress, and does not connote head or face cover. This verse distinguishes the status of the Prophet's wives from the rest of the believers, and the other (33:53) protects their privacy from growing intrusions by male visitors.

Sura 24 refers to "khimar" (head cover) in the general context of public behavior and conduct by both sexes. Ayah 31 (24:31) has been widely cited in scholarly works, often in isolation from the rest of the verse, distorting the meaning, implying that women are singled out for "reserve" and "restraint." Preceding it, ayah 30 addresses men first "Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals; for that is purer for them, God knoweth what they do." Ayah 31 follows, continuing the same theme that addresses

women “And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals, and not reveal their beauty, except what does show, and to draw their khimar over their bosoms, and not to reveal their beauty except to the husband.” This khimar that cover women’s head and over the bosoms is considered as the rules of Islamic clothing.

On the other hand, the word hijab, has different reference. Evidence from the usage of hijab in the Qur’an, from early Islamic discourse, and subjected to anthropological analysis, supports the notion of hijab as referring to a sacred divide or separation between two worlds or two spaces: deity and mortals, good and evil, light and dark, believers and nonbelievers, or aristocracy and commoners. The phrase “min wara’ al-hijab” (from behind the hijab) emphasizes the element of separation and partition`public and private space. The term “Hijab” is stated in Quran (Surah Al-Ahzab, 33:53; “ O believers, enter not the dwellings of the Prophet, unless invited. And when you ask of his wives anything, ask from behind a hijab. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts.) means cover for separating public and private space.

The concept of Muslim clothing states the function of clothing that cover and conceal women’s body, sexual attractiveness, women’s allures, that function to give marker or separate the private and public spaces. It also functions as identity that made the muslim women different from the others. Jilbab that indicates head cover is popular in Indonesia. In other countries there are many different terms referring to the Muslim women clothing, it is called “chador” in Iran, “pardeh” in India and Pakistan, “milayat” in Libya, “abaya” in Irak, “charshaf” in Turk, hijâb in many Arab-Africa countries such as Mesir, Sudan, and Yemen. This term (hijab) shifted its meaning into Islamic clothing that cover and conceal women’s body from top to toe.

In Indonesia, the veiling practice took many forms evolving from time to time. In the beginning of Islamic influence in this country (from 13 Century), some of women wearing veil (especially wives of ustadz or ulama in Java) in the form of scarf locally called “selendang” that worn loosely not completely cover the hair and they wear traditional women dress (kain kebaya) but in some other places the women wore veil that completely covered the hair and wore loose long dress (mainly in Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku).

Di Indonesia in 1980's the Muslim clothing of jilbab was a political issue when there is a prohibition of wearing jilbab among the students of state highschool in Jakarta. In 1987 I was a university student in the first year that experienced this spirit of "jilbab" which was actively campaigned by Muslim activists in campus. These were the years in which the Indonesian Muslim youth were enthusiastic to learn Islamic teaching, especially in universities students circles, and jilbab became one of the discourse of building identities of being Muslim. In many occasion the university students groups also invited highschool students for joining their activities, spreading the spirit of exploring and learning Islamic teaching. This atmosphere can not be separated from the success story of Iran revolution in 1979 under Ayatollah Khomeini leadership overthrowing Shah Pahlevi (who was backed by the United States of America), and the establishment of Islamic Republic of Iran. The prohibition of jilbab among highschool student showed that the jilbab wearer was suspected as radical group by the government. Government suspicion on jilbab strengthened the Muslim youth resistance and the Jilbab was getting more acceptable by Indonesian government when the daughter of President Soeharto, Mbak Tutut, wore veil in her public appearance.

In 1990s, supported by Muslim academician and bureaucracy (the middle class) the jilbab was getting more and more popular. When there are medias (magazines such as Annida, Umami, Paras, Muslimah, Noor) specifically targetting on Muslim women as the audience the jilbab was more than a trend. Muslim women clothing is one of the most marketable issue that leads to its position in popular culture that combine the commodification and piety. The medias strengthen the norms that jilbab indicates the piety of Muslim women and at the same time they sell the designs and fashionable veil and dress that suitable with the Islamic norms.

In the aftermath of the fall of President Suharto in 1998, Indonesia entered new phase of its social and political atmosphere, the reformation era with the greater freedom in many aspects of life which was constrained for 32 years under the new order. In the reformation era, the freedom of veiling practice got into the life of the urban middle class Muslim women. More middle class and public figures wore jilbab or Islamic dress. Various veiling practice came up with various names, such as "Jilbab Inneke" (named after an

actrees who wears head cover), “kerudung” Mbak Tutut (the style of wearing veil, named after Suharto ‘s daughter), Jilbab Robbani (trade mark of veil product marked by its wider size than average, better quality of fabric and better design), Jilbab gaul (veil worn by girls which is usually more practical and colourful), pashmina and others.

In 2010, the word “hijab” was popularly introduced by Indonesian middle class Muslim fashion through the establishment of “Hijabers Community”. Hijabers Community is a group of young Muslim women having passion in stylish veiling practice and Muslim fashion. The Hijabers Community was founded by young Muslim women in Jakarta, in November 2010. Most of them at that time were college or university students interested in Muslim fashion, they wear hijab and most of them are active bloggers. They set up a blog “Hijabers Community” to communicate their existence and to share tips and experiences related to hijab and girls issue. The coordinator of this group is Jenahara, a young Muslim women interested in Muslim fashion. The committee members (founders), about 30 young ladies, also have passion in Muslim fashion. The group published their first book, entitled *Hijab Style* that contains various styles of wearing veil, and conducted many activities related to their interest such as religious gathering that discusses many issues around Muslim women life with young ustadz (teacher) usually the popular ustadz. The issues addressed are the topic of ideal Muslim women, Islamic parenting, career for Muslim women, intersecting between women and Islamic issues. The religious teaching of this gathering is usually held in Mosque or other places such as the office of Ben radio, the office of a Muslim Magazine, Noor Magazine. They also run activities such as fashion show, talk show, bazaar, beauty demo (usually sponsored by cosmetics industry).

The committee members (founders) of Hijabers Community develop their passion in fashion, by having their own clothing businesss with their own labels. Most of them are having business in this Muslim fashion and each of them set up a personal blog that uploads their design products (new design, theme of design, business matters), personal achievement dealing with the business in Muslim fashion, personal activities, personal reflection and opinion on many issues, personal career history, and all of these information builds their personal identities. Almost all of the blogs function to show their new product, new designs, the theme they brought in a particular fashion show; Ria Miranda is inspired by

furniture designer Rachel Ashwell's Shabby Chic, launched her label "Shabby Chic" referring to the simplicity, calmness, classy, mature and yet humble (as written in her blog). Fitri Aulia with her "Glorious Moor" (the theme of her design in Jakarta Fashion Week, October 2013), Jenahara with her Muslim fashion's label "Jenahara", Ghaida Tsurayya with the design theme of Victorian style, Dian Pelangi with many girly designs and various hijab styles and tutorials. Dian Pelangi got inspired from her visiting western designers. The theme or the product design they launch show that the women consumed various culture and histories in the world. Fitri Aulia, who also took the fashion course in LaSalle College in Jakarta, was inspired by historical victory of Muslim in Cordoba for her theme in Jakarta Fashion Week in November 2013, "Glorious Moors" to show the luxury of the design that attached the sense of grandiose Islam in conquering Spain. Fitri Aulia tries to keep the design Islamic, by having tagline "syar'i and stylish" manifested in all of her special design characterized by loose dress and skirt, not pants/trousers. In other theme, Fitri also combines local style and local materials in her design (she is especially keen on Aceh songket).

Ghaida Tsurayya, young designer whose design is inspired by 18 century Victorian England style, shows that she applies Victorian feminine style with its flowers theme and feminine gown and pastels color. The Victorian fashion style is characterised by feminine dress with ornate floral prints, imagining the high Victorian taste which is love of the ornate, ostentatious, and overdone. In Victorian era a fashionable woman, dressed in layers of undergarments and rich heavy fabrics trimmed with fringe, did present an upholstered effect, both expensive and decorative objects to build the sense of affluence. For Ghaida, not all of the Victorian style she absorbed, but the floral prints in pastel colors and layers of garments are her design marker. The inspiration the designers embrace is not limited to the "Islamic" theme or Muslim culture. While Dian Pelangi, who is very popular lately with her Muslim fashion design and hijab tutorial, got inspired from many other designers in the world and she manages her business under professional management for the Dian Pelangi Company. All of these stories are evidence that the young women Muslim fashion designers consumes fashion cultures and tradition from around the world that enable them to negotiate with the sharia or Islamic concept in clothing. They want to identify their

closeness/attachment to the other cultures that valuable to develop the Muslim fashion industry. The Muslim clothing is getting its complexity for fashion business.

The designers' consumption on many other cultures and tradition led them to create various fashion design. Fitri Aulia, Ria Miranda, Ghaida and other designers in Hijabers Community made such significant modification or negotiation on this Muslim clothing. The stipulation that the Muslim fashion have to cover all the body from top to toe with the basic idea of modesty (concealing the allures, physical attractiveness) is negotiated into a kind of Muslim fashion that develops and changes from time to time. In its origin, the interpretation of Muslim clothing was manifested into clothing that is as modest as possible (the dark color, the simple cutting, the very modest style – no ornament of whatsoever, the relatively thick and rough fabric), covering women's body, concealing women's sexual attractiveness. On the contrary, nowadays, in the hand of the fashion designers there are abundant of choice and possibilities. The technology of fabric makes it possible to select any fabric they want, each of which will give different impression (classy, glossy, elegant, feminine, girly, luxurious, exclusive, high class, and sexy). The color choice also brings the clothing into fashionable wear that give particular sense of exclusiveness. The style and cutting of the veil and dress give abundant ideas on creative hijab. The designers also put their product into business and marketing cycle, in which they design their clothing regularly, promoting the product through various medias such as talk show, fashion show, selling it online and offline, as well as make themselves as model for their own design and uploading in their blogs. What they negotiate in their design is the effort to make the clothing design more acceptable, more attractive, more marketable, and more competitive.

The Muslim fashion design brings the paradigm that fashion that belongs to the popular culture is not a simple matter and a modest thing. It is the creativity, variation, inspiration, competition make the muslim designer able to negotiate so that the fashion is getting more and more attractive and less and less modest. The negotiation is unavoidable when the clothing entered fashion world, reminding that popular culture paradigm is reducing, modifying the "old" norms to be able to survive and develop in modern and business context.

Paradox of the “Syar’i and Stylish” Hijab: Covering or Showing?

The next question that emerges following the unavoidable negotiation of the hijab, is that whether or not the hijab fulfill the sharia. The Islamic teaching on the clothing as stated in Quran above implies that women’s clothing and head cover function to cover women’s allure and conceal women’ sexual attractiveness. For this purpose, the clothing should be covering the head (hiding the hair) up to the breast, concealing the women’s body as the source of attractiveness. The concept of modesty explains the basic idea of the Islamic clothing. Women’s morality is managed through the modest clothing style. This modesty is Muslim women’s identity constructed through the clothing that is fit with the Islamic teaching.

However, the designers develop the ideas of simplicity and modesty with the fashion paradigm, that is the design of clothing which should be beautiful, attractive, showing identity that makes them distinctive (different from the other women or the other class, feel exclusive). This appears to be a paradox, for example, the “syar’i and stylish” tagline embeded in Fitri Aulia’s label. The “syar’i” means according to the Islamic law, that is the clothing that cover and hide the women’s allure from top to toe underlining the modesty. In fact the designer creates the fashionable clothing that is attractive, luxurious, drawing attention, from the color, the style, ornament and cosntructing the wearer’s high class, high taste and affluence all of which is contrasting to the clothing concept of simplicity and modesty.

By designing the Muslim fashion under the theme ‘Glorious Moors’, for instance, the designer, Fitri Aulia tries to keep the rules that the Muslim clothing has to cover up the whole body, from top to toe, concealing the body of the wearer completely. However, by having particular cutting of the abaya, beautiful style of the model, rich elegant ornament of the dress and hijab, and the color choice that give the impression of luxurious and expensive (combination of bright blue and brown), and many accessories embedded to the wearer, the design is obviously attractive, drawing attention to anybody who see the clothing, and this is the purpose of the fashion show. It is impossible to display the shabby unattractive, simple clothing in fashion show. The paradigm of the fashion industry leads to the direction which is on the contrary to the concept of modesty. The concept of covering or concealing

attractiveness as the basic concept in Islamic clothing is changed into showing and accentuating (showing the beauty of the fashion/clothing that each of design gives its different accentuating) in fashion industry. Consequently, this means that the Islamic norms is on different side of the fashion. The claim of Islamic fashion with its identity construction embedded in the design implies that the Muslim fashion is not Islamic in the sense of it ignores modesty, but the Muslim fashion is a result of negotiation between the norms and fashion. The negotiation results in different design from time to time, from one designer to the other. However, they share the same characteristic as Muslim fashion, the Muslim features such as veil and dress that cover from top to toe, but different in the ways the veil and dress cover the head and body.

The Muslim Fashion Designer as the Subject

The ability of the Indonesian Muslim Hijabers to show their existence prove that, to some extent, they are able to break the hegemony of the fashion world which is dominated by older designers. The young muslim women designer with the Muslim fashion are able to get the power in the contemporary fashion culture. The dominant power of the older designers is still dominant the fashion business but limited to the conventional fashion (not the Muslim fashion). Many of the young Muslim designers are involved in international forum, such as Dian Pelangi, Fitri Aulia, Jenahara, Ria Miranda who have cooperation with artist or celebrities in other countries, or invited to be the expert in Muslim fashion talk show, all of which strengthen their position as designers of Muslim fashion.

The negotiation practiced by the Muslim fashion designers indicates that they become the subjects that create a particular enclave in fashion business. They explore their talent, creativity and management so that they are not only consumers in this capitalist world, but their existence become more acknowledged as producer and trend setter in this competitive fashion world. The negotiation and the paradox are unavoidable for them to make the Muslim fashion keep up with the modernities. By combining the local and global culture the fashion designer got their place to be expert in this specific new trend in fashion. The capability to develop the talent into the business shows that the power of fashion is

diffused, from the previous hand ("classical" fashion designer) into the young Muslim women designer and business women. This highlighted the young Muslim women as subject in this area and they struggle for power in this Muslim fashion world.

To get the power in the fashion world, the young Muslim fashion designer got advantages from the new media - internet that enable them to build networking and create communication with anybody around the borderless world. The competition is tight but the opportunities also wide, with the borderless audience member in modern societies, in which the media provide an important resource for everyday performance. This is also prepared by most of the designers through uploading their product online in their blogs and write it in English to be easily accessed by people around the globe.

Media (especially new media, internet) provide an important resource for the young muslimah designers for their performance. Most of them starting as young bloggers, doing blogging for hobby and communicating, then turn to be professional in their blogging activity, performing their talent and expertise: designing and making business of Muslim clothing. The site "Hijabers Community" is the first tool for maximizing the group. Founded in 2010, the group then creating the other accounts of social media such as Facebook fan page, twitter, and You Tube. The Hijabers Community developed its branches in many cities in the following years, and this can be traced from the social media sites.

The media functions as maximising the performance of the group, as well as the members of Community's founders. Each of them has their own blog blog.hijaberscommunity.com, facebook, instagram or twitter account. Their each performance in Muslim fashion and achievement can be seen from the blogs, for example, Fitri Aulia's blog kivitz.blogspot.com, Dian Pelangi's blog blog.dianpelangi.com, Dian Ayu's blog dianauty.blospot.com, Jenahara's blog: Jenahara.shop.blogspot, Ria Miranda's blog byriamiranda.blogspot, Ghaida's blog: gdagallery.blogspot, to mention some of the founders of Hijabers Community. Through blogging, they maximize their performance, get wider audiences and at the same time they are also the audiences of the virtual communication through internet. This is because the fact that audiences today use media texts and technologies in more sophisticated ways than older generations who grew up with the intense visual media experience offered by cinema and theatre. Today's media audiences

tend to consume and communicate through multi-media technologies often for productive purposes as exemplified by the Muslim fashion designers.

The identity formed through the hijab fashion can be seen for instance, from the styles developed by each of the designers who have specific characteristic, uniqueness and particular reference. Fitri Aulia, for example, is inspired by Milan Fashion Week, Paris Fashion Week, besides, her admiration of the Muslim historical glorious civilization that she use as the theme of her collection in Jakarta Fashion Week in 2013. Aulia's theme show us that the Muslim historical narrative becomes the way one learns the world beyond one's life, as well as the media to get a particular spirit of proud and glory that project their dream. The other designers of Hijabers Community also construct their identity through the product they launched all of which indicate the identity of modernity that is formed through the attachment with other cultures such as Victorian culture, French artist, Western tradition in fashion like Milan, Paris fashion cultures. The attachment with western tradition that the designers adopt in their works indicates that the fashion world – mostly targetted for urban middle class- is still dominated by western tradition. Those traditions are not totally adopted but they are used as signifier and tools to negotiate with the Islamic sharia in clothing, resulted in the combination of a paradox of shar'i and stylish.

The important motivation that influence the hijaber community members to develop the passion on fashion is that they build particular spirit to be obedient to Allah, build Muslim identity, sustain and develop Muslim culture and the dream of glory and pride that give them authority in this specific, passionate world. This motivation is nurtured and developed through religious teaching and talk shows, so that what they have done is not only dominated by business and the pursuit of profit but they also nurturing the spirit of developing Islamic tradition.

The hijab fashion becomes consumer activity in which Muslim women in daily life wear the Muslim clothes, and wear the special fashion for particular events. The Hijabers designers has built their power in the form of authority, in which they create the design, own the product, manage the clothing stores. The consumer of the Muslim fashion, young urban Muslim women in 20-30's, also build authority to the products they afford to buy and claim its meaning, the fashion as the marker of young urban middle class Muslim. The

relation between producer and consumer in Hijab Community is also interesting to observe. The producers are the designers and owners of clothing line business. The consumer and producers build interaction that enable them to communicate each other about the producers' authority and consumers' expectation and authority. Such interaction is built through many medias such as 'talk show', fashion show, religious meeting facilitated by the Hijabers Community, or email as well als online correspondence. The Hijabers Community run many programs dealing with such themes as women issues, contemporer social issues, with the speaker the Muslim fashion designers (Fitri Aulia is one of the most popular designers often invited as speaker). This means that the Muslim designer is not only designing clothings, making fashion show, and selling her works, but much more than that, she did many 'talk shows' on the theme related to being a Muslim woman to build her power and her authority in Muslim fashion and as the role model of young successful Muslim woman.

The other phenomena related to the power and knowledge of the Muslim fashion that develops in Indonesia is the spread of the terms "hijab tutorial". This is a kind of tips on how to wear head cover creatively and attractively. We can find many internet sites for hijab tutorial from many young Muslim women who are interested to share ideas and creativity in wearing hijab. This tutorials are uploaded in You tube, instagram, and blogs and some others create the hijab tutorial in the form of CD to be sold. The creativity in the wearing hijab, selecting the fabric, style and color for hijab are the main reason of creativity in hijab tutorial. Some critical opinion will say that wearing hijab seems to be more complicated and it needs expert to teach how to wear it. It is true, but many audience (young women) feel happy and get advantages from the hijab tutorial in which they are able to maximize their performance or appearance in different or exclusive ways. The audience, especially young girls are also happy with the 'role model' that they can follow, in the blogs, most of the hijabers' founder have reflection page that share the experience, activities and thought of many issues.

So, authority context (Abercrombie, 1998) emphasizes the relationship between the fashion designer and the consumers which is more intimate. The consumer and producer make more interaction (online and offline), negotiation to determine the form, nature and

quality of the goods and service. This relationship is dynamic, and insecure, so that it is important for the producers, the Muslim fashion designers to develop many channels of communication in which they are able to cope with the dynamic of relationship, and with the business as well.

According to Abercrombie (in Laughey, 2007) authority context is dealing with two components, expertise and meaning. These two components serve to legitimate the voices of authority. In the case of Hijabers Community, the expertise of the producers, Muslim fashion designers of the Hijabers Community, will be accepted by consumers if the producers deploy their expertise of religious knowledge in a way that is recognized by both superordinates and subordinates, the consumers and the other Muslim fashion designers and the religious teacher (ustadz and ustadzah). In the case of meaning, 'the authority of the producer is sustained by the capacity to define the meaning of the transactions involved and is lost as consumers acquire that power' (Abercrombie 1998, in Laughey, 2007). This authority of the designers is sustained by the capacity to define the meaning of "pious Muslim woman", 'syar'i fashion' (fashion that fulfill the the Islamic teaching- covering the "aurat", concealing woman's sexual allures). Such authority contexts needs the collective interaction between producers and consumers, and this is what have been done by the designers through the greeting and meeting between the producer (designers) and consumers through many medias online and direct meeting. Such interaction also contributes to build the meaning of the product of Muslim fashion for the consumers. The meaning of the Muslim clothing has been shifted from the early years of Islam, in which the Islamic clothing functioned to protect women, to preserve her beauty for her husband, who owned her and her seductive capacity. In this time hijab also indicates the class issue, in which the slaves women were not obliged to wear. In this modern era, the meaning of hijab fashion that is developed by the urban middle class community indicates more the distinction of the consumers of hijab, that is the high class, high taste, exclusive design, and their affluence.

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