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**MUSLIM WOMEN IN MIDDLE CLASS INDONESIA:  
POSTFEMINIST ANALYSIS OF WOMEN WEARING VEIL  
IN DEPOK (2010 – 2016)**

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### **Abstract**

The presence of middle class is an urban phenomenon. Based on Asian Bank Development report, middle class has been risen in Asia since 1999 and Indonesia was among these countries. Indonesia is the most populated Muslim country in the world which is now facing the growth of middle class. In the other hand women and their bodies still be representatives of the nation economics' face. Nowadays in the reformation era, many Indonesian women cover their body with Muslim clothes and veil. The number of middle class women wearing veil is increasing from time to time particularly in the middle of city such as Depok, where this research is conducted. This research aims to analyze the reason of these middle-class women who decided to cover their body with veil voluntarily, using postfeminist frame analysis through qualitative methods and interviews. Researchers were observing eight women of age between 20 to 63, who are living in Depok and decided to wearing veil throughout the year 2010 - 2016. From the result of our study, there was not any Islamic theological arguments given by women wearing veil during the interview. By using postfeminist analysis, media and free markets provided a role model of modern middle-class Indonesian Muslim women wearing veil as good girl and independent woman. On the other hand, those women believed conservative values such as marrying at early age and a rigid gender role. This practice of wearing veil for Muslim women is not Islamization and post-Islamization movement but a pop culture expression to establish them as a part of the middle-class group.

**Keywords:** *Indonesia, Muslim, Urban, Post-feminism, Women*

### **Background**

"Indonesian middle-class to increased seven million in a year" was the headline of an online news.<sup>1</sup> The growth of the middle class which has been rapidly

increased after post-crisis 1998 brings Indonesia into a developing country which can be measured by income and consumption of its citizens. Nowadays, the growth of the middle class does not exist in Indonesia only but also in other developing countries. A study released by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 2004 showed the revival of the middle class in Asian countries. This classification of middle class referred to the periods which the definition of middle class was set. The changing indicators on counting and classifying classes are raising the number. The study of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has shifted the limitation of household expenditure per capita amounted to \$ 2 per day. This brings the number of middle class jump into fantastic fact; in addition to the economic recovery that occurred in Indonesia post-1998 crisis. In this case, the middle class was understood based on the level of consumption which grew from 25% to 43% within a decade from 1999 to 2009.

ADB states three criteria of middle class based on the level of consumption as follows: The lower-middle class – with the consumption level of \$ 2- \$ 4 per person per day, the lower middle class is slightly similar to the category of the poor if economic shock happens – the "middle-middle" class - with the consumption level of \$ 4 - \$ 10 live in the subsistence line and are able to save money as well as buy secondary and even tertiary goods, the upper-middle class who consume around \$ 10- \$ 20 per day. The middle class in this paper is referred to economic and social-politic status according to Gerry van Klinken and Ward Berenschot's research in their works "In Search of Middle Indonesian" the middle class social conditions in the middle-town within the framework of socio-geographical criteria of towns supporting urban cities (Klinken & Berenschot, 2016). However, the definition and classification of the middle class in middle town as well taken from the consumption behavior on lifestyle. Depok has been chosen as a satellite city that supports Jakarta and their income is classified as middle-middle class based on ADB research.

To be short, the previous studies of the middle class in middle city has a gap which is lack of feminism and gender analysis that can be developed in this research . The woman's body which is always used as a representation of a nation-state becomes the main entrance to see a middle class in nation-state phenomenon. Feminism provides a feedback of how female body becomes a representation of the identity of a nation (Loomba, 2000) and (Suryakusuma, 2004). The phenomenon of middle class rising has being seen from woman's body who uses veil, particularly in middle cities where the Islamic symbols appear stronger by the time.

The growth of the Islamic middle class in Indonesia after Suharto's downfall<sup>iii</sup> can be traced by the cultural Islamization since oilboom in 1974. Oilboom forced along the middle class and urbanization. And in this era, new insight of Islamic thought pioneering by Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid also help to redefine the relationship between Islam and nation-state (Effendi, 1998). The rejection of Political Islamic stream under New Order shown by the enactment of headscarf ban through the Presidential Decree on the uniform and how to dress Decree No. 10/C/Kep/D/1991.

The New Order banning of veil inspired women activists in that era to wear veil, as the representation of protesting the political Islam repression, veil wearing in this era was motivated by Iranian revolution showing a rejection of the West and capitalism; the same spirit of the women activist whom againts the regime. The term of veil changes from kerudung/tudung to tighten which covers hair and neck. And when veil becomes a symbol of resistance againts the regime, women with veil (jilbab) recieved of bad stigma in that era. A soft approached that Indonesian women's wear is supposed to be Kebaya not jilbab traced when there are official event comings, women prefered wearing kebaya and konde, copying ibu Tien Soeharto and all the Dharma Wanita women wearing traditional clothes (mostly Java) to represent the nationality. This study aims to look at the practice of wearing veil after 17 years of the collapse of the New Order government and see how the political movement contribute to the personal choices of women dressed indirectly. The economic recovery after the 1998 economic crisis changed many characteristics and structure of the Indonesian people, including women as citizens.

Depok as a medium-sized city located in West Java was originally a satellite town to the capital, Jakarta. Depok city developed after some faculties of Universitas Indonesia were moved to the region gradually in 1988 until 2011. Before becoming the municipality, which has its own administrative, Depok total population in 1999 was only \$ 1.2 million. Based on consumption indicators, Depok city's economy has grown rapidly. In a government report of Depok City in 2009, there are some indicators that can be used as a reference on economic growth in Depok. First, people's purchasing power index Depok has been increasing from year to year. Side purchasing power increases purchasing power index of 576.76 in 2006 to 586.49 in 2009. Second, the realization of Economic Growth (LPE) Depok City in 2009 was 6.22%. The most dominant contribution to the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) and LPE were from trade and services sub-sectors. Third, there is increasing role of the tertiary sector from year to year, i.e. from 50.42% in 2006 to 52.77% in 2009.<sup>iii</sup> This indicates that the people of Depok were able to meet the needs of primary and secondary sector. Economic growth in Depok is the reason why Depok has been chosen to represent middle and upper (middle-middle class and upper-middle class) and the characteristics of high consumption society and under Mayor Nur Mahmudi Ismail, who has a tendency of conservative Islam by applying some rules such as the prohibition of the curfew and the advice to eat with the right hand.

Research related to women in Indonesia and the practice of veiling was previously done by Suzzane Brenner entitled "Reconstructing Self and Society: Javanese Muslim and the Veil" a feminist analysist of veiling trend among javanese women. And second research related was about the use of the veil as a trend since the colonial period to the present written by Kurniawati Hastuti Dewi in " Javanese Women and Islam: Identity Formation since Twentieth Century", published in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* in 2012.

Related Research on coercive politics and how women use the veil in Indonesia was written by Dewi Candraningrum entitled "Negotiating Women's

Veiling: Politics and Sexuality in Contemporary Indonesia.” While research related to the popularity of the practice of wearing the veil among the students in Java written by Nancy J Smith-Hefner titled "Women and the Veil Javanese in Post-Soeharto Indonesia". This study wants to analyse more widespread use of the veil by associating them with the urban middle-class lifestyle and post-feminism. Analysis of post-feminism is used as a resource to consider the veil as free choice, and explain that feminism does not affect anything to them and without feminism they are still working and using the desired clothing namely the Islamic headscarf. This study is expected to look at the idea of 'women's liberation' through consumption practices which is represented by popular culture of using this scarf. Thus, middle class refers to the concept of class status, the characteristics of the middle class that imitate upper class. Consumption as the strengthening of social status makes the veil as a final social norm. It becomes a question of our research to see how the process of middle-class women Indonesia saw herself having freedom to wear veil within the framework of post-feminism.

### **Method**

This is a qualitative research method by using observation, literature study and interviews of eight women aged 18 to 50 years who decide to wear the Islamic headscarf and the veil in the range of 2010 -2016. The age range is divided from adolescence (18-25 years), middle-age women (26-50 years) and the elderly women (50 <). As for the selected span of years, to see the impact of economic improvement and motivation of the Muslim women's attire. The entire respondents received higher education up to Bachelor (S1). All of them live in Depok and belong to the level of middle-class consumption of middle-middle and upper-middle that became characteristic of Depok City. All women live in Depok and are on the level of middle-class consumption (middle-middle and upper-middle) that became the characteristics income of Depok city.

<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Reason of Wearing Veil</b>
1	Fitri Dewi	The time has come to wear veil
2	Umayahsari	A guilty for not covering body because getting older
3	Nur Aisyah	Mother's force
4	Imelda	Wants to look fashionable
5	Diana	There is no rule forbidding veil on work office
6	Anik	A must (there is no more argument followed)

7	Lasmi	The priest/ <i>udztad</i> told so
8	Yati	Because her peers wearing veil

From the statement of reasons, it shown there are no theological arguments put forward as motivation on wearing veil. In addition, none of them stated that she had affiliation with a particular group of Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah, NU, Persis, the Muslim Brotherhood, or others. They do not have a timetable; chanting and worship are no different before or after deciding to use the hijab. While all women state they feel more comfortable wearing headscarves than before wearing. The hijab is worn in the entire resource from chiffon or *paris* fabric of which texture is transparent and not too long. Adolescence like Imelda and Nur Fitri wear veils paired with jeans, and they feel the veil makes them more stylists and modern. While Anik, Diana and Dian are using colorful headscarf with a loose-blouse and slacks which are also used for the office. Yati is using long dress home. They say nothing has changed with everyday life. There is no specific budget while buying brand of Muslim clothing, or for a price. The statement disclosed by respondents, could be analyzed using socio-political conditions of daily life of the speakers. As a second wave feminist slogan “personal is political”. Political framework are needed towards cultural phenomenas which seems private and obeyed. The veiling trend that occurs in big cities in Indonesia should be seen within the framework of politics and economic.

### **Women and Middle Class Lifestyle**

The shifting indicator of the middle class should be considered. During the New Order era, middle class refered to education or social status, not only the consumption. In this era, middle class was refered to technocrat or high educated women in birocration. Nowadays, the middle class label has shifted from social status to consumption behavior; buying the lastest smartphone or having a vehicle. The new middle class raised by consumption and trying to imitate the social status symbols used by the previous middle class. Veil, was a symbol of resistance who used by the women with higher education later become a women in middle class determining.

The label which are based on the consumption occurs particularly to women as a subject of comsuming. Whenever veil become a status symbol to determine a women’s norm in middle class, urge of veil-wearing would be soft-approach and for women, veil-wearing would be exuse to be called beautiful,

“Yes, people will be prettier with veil, the celebrities use veil and they are very pretty”, Umayahsari (48 years old)

Feminist discourses related to beauty duty in independent women was issued by Naomi Wolf in her book, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women* which explains that when the second world war ended and

women were allowed to work and have money of her own, she transferred her consciousness and shackled by the demands being beautiful. The media encourage women to use their money to achieve standards of beauty which sometimes yet torturing beauty and unreasonable. Beauty is a major norm to be followed by women to be accepted in society. To be pretty easily done through the consumption buy buying clothing, makeup, or shoes.

The New Order banning of veil inspired women activists in that era to wear veil, as the representation of protesting the political Islam repression, veil wearing in this era was motivated by Iranian revolution showing a rejection of the West and capitalism; the same spirit of the women activist whom againts the regime. The term of veil changes from kerudung/tudung to tighten which covers hair and neck.

The women activists which got educated well, wear veils as a resistance of traditional values and state's social force of Javanese Culture. Veiling was chosen to deny *kebaya* and *konde*<sup>1</sup> in every formal occasion in the New Order period (Brenner, November 1996). Because wearing veil became a symbol of resistance againts the regime, a banning of veil-wearing spread along with sentiment of veilling (*jilbab*). Veiling was accused related with radical Islam, traditional and old-fashioned woman. But after 2000 when the regime has fallen, women were increasingly eager to use the hijab. This spirit was taken over by the massive wearing veil as a symbol of resistance.

The Women who wore hijab at that time had reason to fight the government considered tyrants and the hijab was a symbol of resistance. For the general population in Indonesia, using hijab was not a preference fot most women in Indonesia at least until the early 2000s. When there was an official event, Indonesian women mostly would prefer to wear *kebaya*. For daily clothes, they wore t-shirts and jeans or a long dress without carrying symbols of religion into public life

In contrast with the women whom decided to wear veil in New Order era which represent their struggles againts the regime, the argument of veil-wearing of women whom decided to wear veil after 2010 in this research (they preferred words *hijab* rather veil/*jilbab*) as an effort to be more beautiful. Another exuse was wearing the hijab make them deliberate for not showing their hair whenever they had 'bad hair day' it in public. The liberated refers to the middle class social norms that good women are wearing hijab. If you do not follow the norm, you will feel solitude and are not included in the identification of good women.

This makes eight women we had interviewed expressed the veil voluntarily of veil-wearing based on personal argument like "work", "told by the mother," or "because it was time to wear". When nearly everyone in their family and even friends in the group using the veil, took the veil to make them feel more comfortable and feel "become better" feeling.

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<sup>1</sup> Kebaya and konde are part of traditional Javanese Clothing after Islam came and introduce concept of *aurat* (part of women's bodies which forbidden to see). Kebaya is a traditional blouse "and konde is hairstyling mode for Javanese women.



“my parents suggest me to wear veil long time ago and it can be seen on the television, but I myself never forced anyone to wear veil, ”(Diana, 30 years old)

Diana's own work and say that the hijab did not interfere with his work. He did not complete higher education through undergraduate degree but chose to wear veils because in the works right now is not forbidden to wear the veil. Imelda and Umayya separated by year of born almost 30 years, both agree that after using the veil, she felt more beautiful.



Images 2<sup>iv</sup>

Reform era open the gate of media exposure and establish the gender ideology close to religion. There is no distinction between public space and private space according to the speakers when wearing the hijab. They still be friends with other gender and interact with them, even dating. Women work and have their own income is also not unusual. Mom and Dad worked together and rented a household assistant that is quite cheap. However, emancipation slammed by the basic norms of women as mothers in charge of household affairs of the rest of the New Order propaganda is still attached and continues to be reproduced on television. Even so, the meaning of the hijab for the speakers is more on social bonds, a "duty" as well as because other family and friends have worn it in advance as a sign that he is a devout Muslim.

"Our friends in the gang, it is just Nita who do not wear hijab, we pray for her (someday will wear veil)" - Nur Aisyah

Dewi Candraningrum's research shows the veil and practice of the social body. The hijab becomes a tool for defining a female Muslim. The veil is a kind of social body in Islam which ranks superior to other definitions and make Muslim women who do not wear Hijab are particularity and otherness<sup>v</sup> (Candraningrum, 2013). The hijab is a social norm because when a girl refuse to wear veil/hijab, she is excluded and not belong to the 'good girl'. There is a kind of subtle coercion to adjust to the environment and particularly the popular culture that is slowly constructing that a good woman is a woman who follows the teachings of the use of Hijab. Compared to the generations of people wearing in late 1990s and early 2000 that wore the veil as against the spirit of the regime, a symbol of the spirit is taken to show they are part of the educated middle-class women.

### **Middle-class Women and Islamism as Popular Culture**

Veiling exaggerate as an Islamic spirit against authoritarian New Order regime. But later, the increase of veiling now has become fashion trend, and symbol to distinguish the social class women with the ability of buying the more expensive brand and style of veiling. Wearing Veil at the beginning of the New Order's collapse was used as a symbol of resistance and the characteristics of modern women that is detached from Javanese State Ibuism<sup>vi</sup> with *konde* and *kebaya*.<sup>vii</sup> Nowadays television and the mass media took the role of angel/bitch classification for women by the term of Islam. It can be seen on television shows for example in Indonesian electronic cinema (sinetron) or television soap opera that an antagonist figure is a woman who does not cover her hair with veil and has problem with the protagonist female figure that wear veil and Islamic greetings such as, "Assalamualaikum" as well as becomes a victim of violence either by her husband or the female antagonist.<sup>viii</sup>

Almost every day the middle class is exposed to advertisement in mass media. Mass media and social media are trying to construct gender ideology with the shades of Islamic culture as mainstream. This research suspect that the number of women wearing veil following the year 2010 has increased because of the influence of television displaying Muslim clothes intensively. In Nancy J Smith-Hefner research, there were indication that women in Yogyakarta who want to use the veil as one option of dressing based on Islamic theological argumentation. Which in early introduced by graduates *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) and started to enter the universities, the use of the veil of Yogyakarta's women make them feel like "hijrah from the traditional life to modern". The use of Muslim clothing consistently becomes a symbol of Modernism on that era (Smith-Hefner, 2007)

In addition, when the press become deliberate and a lot of news offices and magazines showed up. Mass media later become part to popularize veil particularly in urban area. Islamic magazine is counted to join the deliberated press and printing, from Conservative one such as *Sabili* until Muslimah fashion magazine *NooR*. This research focuses in a Muslim magazine which shape Muslimah fashion trend and



the successes of *NooR* Magazine to become a pioneer of Muslim magazine followed by a similar type such as *Musmagazine*, *Alisha* and *Hijabella* targeting Muslim teenagers. All these magazines show that “good” women are wearing veil as an obligation to religion and *Allah*, although there was no compulsion for Muslim women that are not yet ready to use it. This can be seen as an advertisement becomes more subtle. However, Islam as a commodity simultaneously forms a norm that makes lifestyle Islam as something “good” and encouraging.

Islamization which occurs in the digital age after the collapse of the New Order era does not emphasize spirituality and politics. An Islamic Party never got votes more than 7% at elections in 2014 and never won any election through the history of Indonesia. Islamization was the emphasis on pleasure and the use of Islamic Symbol to express its symbol of class and as popular culture (Heryanto, 2015). There is no contradiction between obedience and modern, which has become modern in observance of religion. It is the way selected by a group of the Indonesian Muslim who are disappointed with the new order administration which was secular and refused to modernise its version of The West.

Religiosity and popularism in Indonesia are articulated based on moral commitment to correct modernization occurring under New Order, but also a rejection of the Islamic Utopia based on those (Heryanto, 45: 2015) Modernization and the globalization world do not collide. The modern world and global culture create new demand on political spaces, culture and religion. Islamization no longer distinguished religious and non religious but between less religious and more religious. The globalized world also shows a group of youth feeling happy that find themselves parallel to the middle class in other parts around the world; it opens another middle class pleasure to be part of the world wide and wants to demonstrate religiosity is distinction in the way (Heryanto, 2015)

On the other hand, Islamic symbol is significant to class mobility which identity formation of latest middle class is based on consumption habitus. Veiling which has been adopted by previous middle class women who entered higher education and link with global culture (Iran)<sup>ix</sup> then is replicated by the latest urban women as a norm to replicate the previous middle class. Through consumption, these women have affiliated themselves into feminist Muslim activist which is represented by the women middle class.

In Depok, at least two book store were closed during 2010 – 2016 and changed into Muslim women clothing store. There are lot of Muslim salons and a special corner in every department store which sells Muslimah clothing. A consciousness for being women has been taken of the consumerism along with Islamic symbol modification.

### **Post-feminism Analysis with this Phenomena**

The speakers acknowledged that they are unfamiliar with feminism terminology and do not get the influenced of anything from feminism related with their decision to use the veil and work. Emancipation terminology is noticeable by

all speakers than feminism. Nothing unusual in a big city in 2016 when women choose to use a veil and work. The veil was used voluntary, and seldom it was requested from the parent, as experienced by Nur Aisha (18 years). She was obeyed her parents request once but the last six months she was obedient.

These women feel no obstacles in using veil and enter the public space. There is no difference in daily activity or worship habits and interaction with men.<sup>x</sup> They could meet men in public space and they should not be threatened or be uncomfortable. The veil is not used as treats to separated sphere with the men. The previous research analysis from Nancy Smith-Hefner showed that feminism does not start at the lower class but in the middle class and even had cooperation with Islamism. It is considered as a strange thought by the Westren Feminist whom believed women's movement in Feminism always began in lower groups, with labour, and deny religion because it was the patriarchy's product that cannot be criticized. In Indonesia, women against repressed government have received spirit from religion, Islam particularly. Along, Islamic symbols popularized and the campaign is captured by capitalism. With veil, Islamic badges was being comodificate trough women's attribute.

Susan Faludi, in *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* mentioned Capitalism successfully commodifies feminism and targeting women on gender ideology propaganda. The backlash in Indonesian context was conducted during the New Order era that resist the action of feminism by taking its icon, Kartini as figurative emancipation which disguised women of household domestication. Veil and women are taken as an icon to advertise. A few more beauty products are now taking "halal" badges and "Muslimah". It is portrayed that women are free to go traveling around countries she wants and using veil. These women are successful on running her career as fashion designers or entrepreneurs.

While the mass media forming popular culture, veil transforms along with Islamization symptoms and appears as a class marker. Analysing post-feminism included in this condition when the popularity and awareness of veiling are affected by the family or friends who are also almost entirely using veil as exemplified on television and magazines

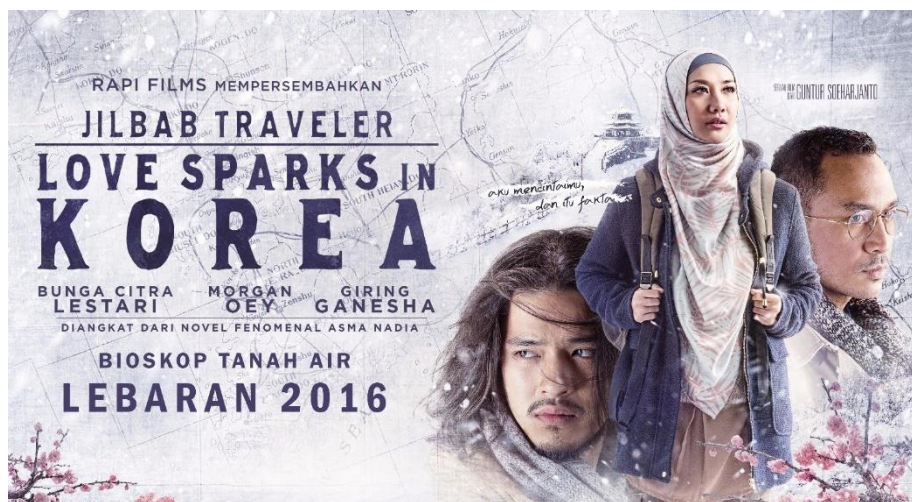


Image 2<sup>xi</sup>

Angela Mc Robbie stated that media make feminism as a slogan that triggers individual to become freedom woman. Post-feminism is criticism over a culturally feminism popularized by mass media like television and advertising, carrying women in double entanglement. This entanglement of capitalism and mass media entraps women in new dilemma, between conservative values and the success of feminism that makes women independent and free to choose. These conservative values like marriage, having children, and looking good could not be banished along with awareness of being female and her ability to choose freedom. Media understand that through popular culture, there is a new problem as the impact of feminism, the fear of solitude and selfish concerned. This condition becomes an opportunity for capitalism to direct women to conduct new culture, consumption.

Post-feminism is also regarded as criticism of the second wave of feminism with the slogan, “thanks to feminism”. Feminism is considered already done with the achievement of the rights of women in politics, ownership, and the law. Feminism is translated into words identical with the motion of feminism as feminist, femininity, feminine, emancipation, women and gender gummed in everything and made as if feminism really gets into all fields and becomes evidence of success (or actually failure) of feminism. Yet again, a blow turns from the movement of feminism; the presence of those who refuse even anti with feminism which is recognized as “wild” and identical with femmen group.

Terms and discourse of feminism were trying to be avoided by the government in the New Order era because it was affiliated with Gerwani, and it is now played by the media. The media do not use the word feminism to celebrate the days of women equality that is owned by Indonesia like Kartini’s day and Mother’s Day, but to get a discount and cheap expenditure for women. Displaying that women has “great” way to express that the movement of women has been able to

reach what she wants. In fact, media keep women away from feminism discourse on children marriage, education for women, and even justice in women rape cases.



*Image 3: Tempo Weekly Magazine, Mother's Day Edition 2006<sup>xii</sup>*



*Image 4: Tempo Weekly Magazine, Mother's Day 2016*

Feminism issues in Indonesia delive by many civil Civil Society such as Komnas Perempuan, Jurnal Perempuan, Institute Kapal Perempuan or Solidaritas Perempuan never been on the mass media's eye. The feminis issues addressed massive children marriage in Indonesia., sexual objectivation of women, catcalling, and double victimization circle around the activist and never blown up by the mass media. In contrast with media's saying that now women's access to education were easier, but denying the fact that those only a few women who could continue their study until doctoral degree. Another issues was raising the limit age of women's marriage from 16 years to 18 which issues was rejected by the Constitutional Court. The age has never been raised.since 1974 but no mass media wanted to discusses it. And also violence against women issues which increased every years and the bill to protect women was forced by some Civil Society never been discussed. Not to mention how the regional autonomy produce at least 400 local laws (Peraturan Daerah) discriminate women such as night hours policy and polygamy.

Each year, during gender equality celebration, the discourse of women that have success through the emancipation are raised, but the discourse is very far from feminist exceptionation. The Indonesian media experienced two obstacles: (1) avoiding the use of the word feminism and (2) away from feminism discourse. Image of feminism in urban women society who refuse marriage and feeling lonely are promoted by the custom. And the emancipation word using not far better by national Kartini's Day celebration, emansipation without feminism simillar with the irony of Kartini's life. Although talking about gender equality, in the end she married with polygamous husband and died in childbirth.

Refusal discourse of feminist agenda by the media probably related with ideas of feminism which difficult to be received and not "sexy". Media prefer to preaching a rape case with a jokes when it is to be made the news regarding women. Sexualisation is a big problem if women come as news in mass media. Not only function as rape but also when talking about achievement or profession, women are always attached with "beauty" even in the news crime when she has become the victim of murder. Narratives expressed are, "young woman mutilated " or "sales promotion girl was found dead in ..." as headline news .

Problems with women are complex but not being lifted while backlash happened. Women are considered to have been beyond private space and by using veil they have managed to become leader or succeeding in his career while problems of women are never being touched and spoken. Feminism is still full homework, but the women accused to have successfully entered the public space and leader position. A veil inherited symbol of class ditinguished and become a commodities by the capitalism. In other hand, women trapped into a social norm which never deliberated them and solve their problem.



## **Conclusion**

The middle class was represented by social status and education. Women activist was inspired by Islamic spirit wearing veil as a symbol of resistance against the New Order Era. As the state (represented by Soeharto) accepting Islamic middle class as a new mass group, sentiment of women wearing veil eroded. Until Soeharto's fall in 1998, number of women who wearing veil increasing not only used by Islamic boarding school graduate but also women whom do not attend Islamic school at all

The increasing of women-veiling traced by analyzing social classes with these women. The shifting of categorizing middle class from social status label to daily consumption. The latest middle class after 2010 referring their class status by imitating only a symbol of the previous middle class in New Order era, which is the Islamic Spirit through the veil-wearing. Capitalism put their eyes on this phenomena and constructing a new pop culture with Islamic symbols.

Magazine, popular movies and women's leader exemplified a good deliberated women are following the religion's duty by covering the aurat by wearing Islamic Fashion such as veil. By the interviewer, theological argumentation couldn't be found on their reason of veil-wearing. All the interviewees whom comes from middle-middle class and live in Depok were saying that she just want to put a veil because it is a duty to social live as a Muslim Women. The veil accepted as a social norm to distinguish the classes rather than an Islamization process. All of the informants has no Islamic education based or Islamic group discussion/Islamic organization related. Wearing veil makes them feel pretty and accepted as a good women in society because they followed the religion's obligation. The middle-class analysis on urban opened space to see and scrutinize social conditions of city formed through its political history. Due to improvements and declining of middle-class economic indicators, Indonesia becomes a country with a majority of the middle class and Muslim. The middle class refer to class status by lifestyle symbols of which characteristic of the middle class is to imitate the upper classes with consumption. The phenomenon of veiling later becomes a symbol of social status as the final social norm while women as subjects of consumption should be seen in this research through the increasing of Muslim fashion.

The postfeminist framing trace the necessity of veil-wearing and why in this Reform era when women liberate of picking clothes they wearing with no longer intervention by state choose Islamic Muslim instead. These women feel liberated under the emancipation campaign while women has been liberated but they still obligated with 'kodrat', resemble of the emancipation's symbol Kartini. Women in this research thought that they feeling liberated by using veil, working and go to higher degree of education but obligated with traditional value such as following the religious duty or social norm to marry at the young age or select a job with lower risk. Movie captured this phenomena by presenting a young women who has a chance to travel around the world but still wearing veil and trapped in romance.

National media avoided using feminism terminology and issues, and this bring the women issues do not poped out to the popular magazine or campaign in larger scale. Many Civil Society has promote and disscusing women's issues, but since the construction of 'good women' build by media, and the media avoid the feminism itself then the feminist issues do not go to the surface. Child marriage, Violence againts women, Rape Culture cannot be solved and discussed in only small scale. The women whom researchers been interviewed has no idea what feminism is and they are thinking that emansipation is enough.

### **Attachment**

<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Year of Wearing Jilbab</b>
1	Nur Aisyah	18	2015
2	Imelda	19	2015
3	Fitri Dewi	23	2011
4	Diana	30	2016
5	Anik	35	2016
6	Lasmi	30	2016
7	Umayahsari	48	2010
8	Yati	60	2015

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<sup>i</sup> <http://bisnis.news.viva.co.id/news/read/227078-kelas-menengah-naik-7-juta-per-tahun> accessed Sept, 14, 2016 19:18 WIB

<sup>ii</sup> Suharto resigned on may 21 1998 after a massive student demonstration and the violence happened all date 13-14 may 1998 . The decline in suharto accented the end the New Order administration and the people of demanding his reign an authoritarian full of corruption, collusion and nepotism. Under the government of authoritarian this capitalism implanted and with a monopoly companies also huge projects under the management of his family

<sup>iii</sup> <http://www.depok.go.id/08/10/2010/10-ekonomi-kota-depok/perkembangan-ekonomi-kota-depok> accessed Sept, 15, 2016 18:42 WIB

<sup>iv</sup> Private Documentation by Author

<sup>v</sup> The meaning of particularity is social exlution or being labeled as deviant in society because the person do not follow the main stream or social norm. Otherness refers to Simone de Beavoir concept of Women as the Other or the second sex

<sup>vi</sup> State Ibuism concept was taken from Julia Suryakusuma see Suryakusuma, Julia, 2011, *State Ibuism*, Depok: Komunitas Bambu

<sup>vii</sup> Konde and Kebaya is symbolization of Orde Baru's gender ideology Ibuism. Angel was an image of mother whom taken from Kartini as a icon of "emantiation". The doctrin was women and men were equal with diffrent role and specialization. Bitch was a feminist activist reffering to Gerwani who have been said torturing the general naked and singing genjer-genjer. see Zaskia Wierenga, 2010, *Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan*, Yogyakarta: Galang Press

<sup>viii</sup> Taken from Remotivi's report on Indonesian Soap Opera, "Merebus Hello Kitty" (Boiling HelloKitty) <https://twitter.com/remotivi> accessed 12 November 2016

<sup>ix</sup> Wave of veiling trend was influanced in 1974 after the Iran revolution see Atalas, Alwi and Fifrida Destiyanti, 2001, *REVOLUSI JILBAB: Kasus Pelarangan Jilbab di SMA Negeri Se-Jabotabek, 1981-1982*, Karawang: Al Ithisom

<sup>x</sup> In Islam, the veil has meaning to seperated gender in public sphare. Only women allowed to wear veil while men have no duty with religious badges

<sup>xi</sup> <https://movie.co.id/jilbab-traveler-love-sparks-in-korea/> acceced Okt 8 21:48

<sup>xii</sup> Images 3 and image 4 taken from <https://store.tempo.co/majalah/detail/MC201302180065/bukan-perempuan-biasa#.WAiZQfl97IU>