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# Patriarchal Language Evaluation of Muslim Women's Body, Sexuality, and Domestication Discourse on Indonesian Male Clerics Preaching

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## ABSTRACT

This nested case study (multiyear research critical discourse analysis—in this case, the first year) aims to provide support in the form of linguistic recommendations to the law reform, particularly on the issues of Muslim women's bodies, sexuality, and domestication based on the textual analysis of the patriarchal language used by different Islamic strands: Muhammadiyah's, Nahdlatul Ulama's and Salafi's clerics in their preaching in Indonesia. This is significant because such a study is relatively limited in Indonesian cases. However, it also shed light on how discrepant linguistic manners of these male clerics were deployed to voice their noblesse oblige about Muslim women's body, sexuality, and domestication as regulatory

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discourse. The data—six videos of the respective clerics’ preaching—were taken from YouTube<sup>1</sup> using purposeful stratified sampling. It is found that Muhammadiyah’s cleric delineated this discourse based on the segregation of dubious religiously correct and incorrect propriety, whereas Nahdlatul Ulama’s cleric, the apparent religious normality, and Salafi’s cleric, the plausible religious propriety.

### KEYWORDS

appraisal and transitivity system, women’s body, sexuality, domestication, Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Salafi

## Introduction

Research contributed to the scope of the text-oriented discourse analysis on Islamic clerics’ patriarchal language to the existing laws about Muslim women’s bodies, sexuality, and domestication in Indonesia remains scarce. One was found pertinent to a similar issue, such as Leiliyanti and Larasati (2019), who discussed the patriarchal language of the two Salafi clerics in two one-to-three-minute videos posted on Instagram<sup>2</sup>. They found that these clerics negatively judged propriety on their litmus test of Muslim women’s body, sexuality, and domestication. Relevant issues in these discourses arguably lie in the research on hijab, sharia law on women’s bodies, sexuality, and domestication, Islamic feminism, women’s bodies, sexuality, and domestication (Beta, 2014; Bhowon & Bundhoo, 2016; Yulikhah, 2016; Zempi, 2020), examines how young computer savvy Muslim women community (Hijabers Community, n.d.) in urban Indonesia through the use of fashion hijab and promote them on the blog, and social networking sites (SNS) successfully challenges western media representation of Muslim women, i.e., “domesticated and silenced” in a patriarchal society and the academic divide between “Islam versus Western capitalist”.

Referring back to the laws pertinent to the discourse of Muslim women’s bodies, in this case, from the issue of the hijab in Indonesia, this Muslim majority country implements three intersected laws—the Roman-Dutch law, Islamic law, and Customary law—at the same time. Islamic law, which is only applicable to Indonesian Muslims, in Boellstorff’s (2006) lens, is domesticated as it deals only with marriage, legacy, and kinship. Islamic law itself has its two divides: Sharia (the religious precept based on the Qur’an and Hadith) and Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence based on the understanding and practices of Sharia). However, the implementation of Islamic law in Indonesia should also consider the national law’s perspective to avoid discontentment. Although no specific law regulates how to dress according to Islam, especially the use of the hijab, Article 28E section 2 of the 1945 Constitution<sup>3</sup> stipulates that the state guarantees the freedom of religion and expressions according to one’s faith/religion.

<sup>1</sup> YouTube™ is a trademark of Google Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries.

<sup>2</sup> Instagram™ is a trademark of Instagram, LLC, registered in the U.S. and other countries. In the Russian Federation, it is recognised as an extremist organisation and its activity is prohibited.

<sup>3</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945*. (n.d.). Asian Human Rights Commission. <http://www.humanrights.asia/indonesian-constitution-1945-consolidated/>

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This disciplining act in the form of hijab donning is considered a personal and religious right, as it is based on a women's choice whether or not she is willing to abide by this religious ruling. However, these laws' enforcement fails to avert or minimize discrimination against Muslim women's bodies, sexuality, and domestication. Language is a storehouse of cultural ideas to describe a particular outside group. These ideas and the language in which they are encoded reflect power inequalities and related discrimination, such as sexism, racism, and age. Language can be manipulated to produce linguistic coverings coupled with verb choice to influence causality attributions, offering tools to apply discrimination while masking reality and reducing perceived conflicts of interest. Language normalizes discrimination by turning discriminatory scripts and practices into an accepted part of everyday discourse (Ng, 2007). Within these intersected laws, women still face discrimination, i.e., the prohibition of wearing a hijab in Indonesia. Hijab was seen as an act of resistance under Soeharto's administration, the symbol of transformation and self-security, and ownership (Smith-Hefner, 2007), and of symbolic negotiation that reflects the globalization of Islamic pop culture vis-à-vis piety, global Western influence, Islamic Middle East influence and the local everyday cultural practices (Nef-Saluz, 2007). Hijab was also forbidden in the university and school settings. However, most Indonesian Muslim women's inclination to use the hijab managed to lift the ban. Hijab in Indonesia is not always about expressing devotion to Islam and a lifestyle that is no longer confined to circumstances (Beta, 2014). Suardi (1995) also notes that the hijab plays as a "camouflage" that masks Muslim women's true identity. This masking continues Suardi and underpins how the Muslim women in Indonesia attempt to comply, conform and abide by this religious ruling.

The scrutiny of a similar phenomenon outside Indonesia, for instance, in Malaysia, has been conducted by concentrating on hijab to its relation to media and modernity (Grine & Saeed, 2017; Hassim et al., 2015; Sunesti, 2016). Hassim et al. (2015) discuss the importance of hijab culture in media and how it has become a media commodity and an integral element for Malaysian Muslims. The presence of fashion in Malaysia has modernized hijab and made hijab more visible in public places (Hochel, 2013). However, this modernization does not affect how Muslim women see hijab in Malaysia. For them, hijab still represents religiosity and a religious tool (Grine & Saeed, 2017), albeit some groups contradict these perspectives.

In contrast with Indonesian and Malaysian cases, Selby (2014) examined the conundrum of Muslim women wearing niqab and burqa in France and Québec, Canada, i.e., their act of donning niqab and burqa is perceived as public exigency as it violates the rule and regulation pertinent to religious practice in the public domain. Deploying Foucault's biopolitics and governmentality, Selby further found that this dialectical religious praxis's failure derives from how the donning act complies with Islamic prescriptive sexual politic representation and challenges the public regulation in accessing the Muslim women's body in the public sphere.

Research on the notion of the hijab has widely been conducted (Grine & Saeed, 2017; Hamzeh, 2011; Jackson & Monk-Turner, 2015). Neglecting the "spatial" and "ethical" hijab, Mernissi (1991) examines how the visual hijab becomes *comme il faut*

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to Muslim women, thus posing the subjective implication of patriarchal surveillance underlying the hijab discourse (Hamzeh, 2011). Although the definitions assigned to hijab vary in geographical, socio-cultural, and socio-political contexts, the widely shared interpretation is that the hijab covers, hides, protects and, connotes corporal piety and modesty (Gökariksel, 2009). Hijab thus means reverence, moral authority, honor, morality, femininity, and social status (Jackson & Monk-Turner, 2015). On the contrary, in a culture where visibility is the privileged means of awareness (Zelizer, 2001), the hijab is viewed by feminists and postfeminists as a symbol of patriarchal suppression (Alloula, 1986). Muslim woman with hijab is often problematically contested by the patriarchy. The degree to which “normal” bodies are revealed in Western culture and the emphasis on explicitly veiling the female body in Islam suggest that apart from dictating how the body should appear when visible to the males, the male gaze controls the body’s visibility. However, such visibility is contested in the case of the Hijaber above Community (Beta, 2014).

In this discourse, the male gaze, as a metaphor, plays a pivotal role in harnessing women’s subjectivity and corpora (Glapka, 2018). These discourses delineated the inferiority of women (physical and symbolic) and entailed that the “normalized corporeity” is characterized by the androcentric conceptions of gender, sexuality, and appearance in conjunction with the cultural construction of thinness and health (Ponterotto, 2016). This normality is then ossified in corporeality and sexual desire (Ponterotto, 2016). In this sense, women are not given space to express their sexuality, let alone the freedom to convey their desires, as they were positioned as seducers while men as predators.

The debate about the discourse on women’s bodies, sexuality, and domestication in Islam Indonesia cannot be isolated from its male-dominated religious leaders’ preaching (in this case, the clerics of Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Salafi). In the Islamic mainstream discourse, the female body discourse operates in a congruent manner, i.e., the body at all times “covered” to avert the male gaze, especially in the public sphere. This polysemous framework is closely related to the Foucauldian principles of knowledge and power, i.e., the female body is governed by patriarchal standards regulating women’s morality and roles (in this case, in conjunction with *fitrah* and *aurat*). Such regulation on woman’s corporeality is exercised by inculcating Islamic religious rules, laws, and teachings in their everyday praxis and institutionalizing these as the code of conduct and practice (Foucault, 1977).

As part of multiyear research (in this case, the first year), the study aims to provide input in the forms of linguistic recommendation to the law reform regarding linguistic and religious regulatory discourse in Indonesia, especially on the issues of (Muslim) women’s bodies, sexuality, and domestication based on the text-oriented discourse analysis of the scope of the patriarchal language used by Muhammadiyah’s, Nahdlatul Ulama’s and Salafi’s clerics in their preaching posted on YouTube (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017; Audio Dakwah, 2018; Ceramah Pendek, 2018; Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018; Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019; Santri Remu’an, 2020). This paper aims to compare and evaluate the scope of the patriarchal language of these clerics regarding these women’s discourses deploying the transitivity system

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postulated by Halliday (2004) and the language evaluation theory developed by J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White (2005). This paper is organized by discussing Muslim women's bodies, sexuality, domestication, Islamic feminism, methodology, results, discussion, and conclusion.

### ***Body, Sexuality, and Women Domestication***

The normalized domination of men in society legitimizes imposition in the forms of actions or restrictions on women. This then results in the form of women's domestication. Due to the notion of state power, Foucault (1990) contends that power is closely related to the body. Power over the body is divided into two entities: internal power in the form of desires and desires with power over the body that regulates individual attitudes and behavior through norms and rules. The relationship between power and body relates to Foucault's concept of governmentality, where the government has normalized power over the population for the state's benefit. The debate overpowering the body arises when the norms or rules are forged in training, torture, and coercion, thus narrowing the space for movement and the will over the body. The body acts as an object and subject worth more than a mere material entity, as the body determines the position of one individual in society.

In this sense, the body is the departure point of signification in womanhood that cannot be detached from its social and cultural context (Benedicta, 2011). In the Indonesian religious and cultural context, the patriarchal standards generate a hierarchy of corporeal significance: ideal and non-ideal, beautiful and not beautiful body (Prabasmoro, 2006).

### ***Islamic Feminism***

The genealogy of feminism is closely linked to "European intellectual and religious traditions" and its association with European modernity. Islamic feminism is part of Muslim women's assertion of equality (Chakrabarty, 2000). Moghadam's research on integrating Islam and feminism in Iran shows its benefits to Muslim women (Afsaruddin & Ameri, 1999). In 2008, Amina Wadud demonstrated this utility by using feminist tactics and distancing herself from feminist political hegemony. On the contrary, Marie-Aimée Hélie-Lucas (1999) investigated the intersections between Islam and feminism in a secular way and found echoing Afsaruddin and Ameri's confusion as cited by Wadud (2008) and her argument that Muslim women "need Islamic feminism." This indicates the imperative of the amalgamation of Islam and feminism and its various uses in the studies of Muslim women, which politically demonstrate Muslim women's unique identities.

Islamic feminism is more inclined to promulgate Islamic modernism to secular feminism and asserted equality. It preserved a fair representation of women and men in the public or private sphere. Without acknowledging total gender equality, its social justice praxis highlights the socio-political phenomena in which Muslim women are to be faithful and pious adherents to Islam which mirror their religious morality in their everyday religious praxis (Kahf, 1999). In this sense, women's integrity and reverence for their men and family are linked to women's adherence to Islamic moral principles.

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## Methodology

This text-oriented discourse analysis deployed a transitivity system by M. A. K. Halliday and three interacting domains of appraisal—attitude, engagement, and graduation—by J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White in investigating six transcriptions of preaching recorded on YouTube:

- Adi Hidayat, *Merias Wajah Apakah Termasuk Tabarruj?* [Does face makeup represent the display of (muslim) women's beauty?] (Ceramah Pendek, 2018);
- Adi Hidayat, *Mengukur Keimanan Perempuan Dari Hijabnya* [Measuring a woman's faith from her hijab] (Audio Dakwah, 2018);
- Gus Muwafiq, *Tips Menghadapi Istri yang Cerewet* [Tips for dealing with a fussy wife] (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018);
- Gus Muwafiq, *Membangun Rumah Tangga dengan Cinta* [Building a household with love] (Santri Remu'an, 2020);
- Khalid Basalamah, *Cara Berhias untuk Suami* [How to dress up for husband] (Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019);
- Khalid Basalamah, *Adab Suami dan Istri* [Adab husband and wife] (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017).

They were deployed to construe how the male clerics' discrepant linguistic manner employed their language on Muslim women's bodies, sexuality, and domestication in their preaching.

The data (words, phrases, clauses, and sentences) were taken from the transcripts of these clerics' preaching and coded based on a transitivity-based coding matrix (Halliday, 2004) which would later be classified based on the issues of Muslim women's body, sexuality, and domestication. The preaching was selected based on stratified purposeful sampling. They were then identified to reveal the dominant topics and transcribed into six separate transcriptions. The data were then analyzed using appraisal theory by J. R. Martin and P. R. R. White (2005). This was conducted to evaluate how the clerics evaluate, grade, and examine their alternative stances and voices towards the discourse on women's bodies, sexuality, and domestication in their preaching. The data were then compared to point out, contrast, and synthesize the differences and similarities in the employment of patriarchal language on the regulatory discourse of Muslim women's bodies, sexuality, and domestication.

## Results

This section provides findings and discussion of the patriarchal language on women's bodies, sexuality, and domestication represented by Adi Hidayat (Audio Dakwah, 2018; Ceramah Pendek, 2018), Gus Muwafiq (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018; Santri Remu'an, 2020), and Khalid Basalamah (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017; Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019). Focusing on the transitivity system of Systemic Functional Linguistic and Appraisal theory and the concept of knowledge and power, the findings are divided

into two sections, i.e., ideational analysis and interpersonal analysis. In comparison, the discussion is divided into three sections, i.e., lexico-grammatical features, logical structures, and social functions.

Table 1 demonstrates that the dominant process type of Hidayat's, Muwafiq's, and Basalamah's preachings are relational processes (respectively, 57%, 65%, and 45%). The relational process serves to identify (relational identifying) and characterize (relational attributive) entities (Halliday, 2004). In these six preachings, relational identifying is predominantly used to identify the moral principles of women. In contrast, relational attributive is employed to characterize women's physical appearance and the clerics' stances towards Muslim women's behaviors.

**Table 1**  
*Percentage of Process Types in the Six Preaching Videos*

Process types	Adi Hidayat		Gus Muwafiq		Khalid Basalamah	
	Merias Wajah: Apakah Termasuk Tabarruj?	Mengukur Keimanan Perempuan dari Hijabnya	Tips Menghadapi Istri yang Cerewet	Membangun Rumah Tangga dengan Cinta	Cara Berhisas untuk Suami	Adab Suami dan Istri
Behavioral	–	–	–	5 (1%)	–	–
Existential	4 (4%)	22 (10%)	14 (4%)	26 (4%)	27 (7%)	61 (5%)
Material	24 (22%)	53 (25%)	78 (23%)	102 (14%)	94 (26%)	400 (29%)
Mental	14 (13%)	34 (16%)	42 (12%)	74 (10%)	58 (16%)	213 (16%)
Relational	62 (57%)	94 (44%)	168 (49%)	474 (65%)	166 (45%)	554 (40%)
Verbal	4 (4%)	10 (5%)	40 (12%)	43 (6%)	24 (6%)	141 (10%)
Clause	108 (100%)	213 (100%)	342 (100%)	724 (100%)	369 (100%)	1369 (100%)

The second dominant process type of preaching is the material process (respectively 25%, 23%, and 29%). The use of the material process in this preaching represents the action of either complying or violating the moral principles of Muslim women as well as the clerics' dispositions.

Based on the interpersonal analysis, it is also found that the clerics evaluate women's behaviors and physical appearance by deploying patriarchal language.

Table 2 indicates that the three clerics focus similarly on appraising women. From the attitude domain, Adi Hidayat (Audio Dakwah, 2018; Ceramah Pendek, 2018) and Khalid Basalamah (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017; Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019) dominantly used negative judgments to evaluate women's behaviors and physical appearances, whereas Gus Muwafiq (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018; Santri Remu'an, 2020) used positive ones. As for the engagement, the clerics generally delivered their

preaching in the form of heteroglossia utterances. This demonstrates the reliability of their opinions, i.e., not predominantly focusing on their sole perspectives. These are also reinforced by the intensification of quality in the aspect of graduation. The following tables below are the results of each three interacting domains of Appraisal.

Table 3 demonstrates that the aspect of judgment dominates the attitude branches. The clerics used favorable judgment of social esteem at 37%, whereas the negative judgment of propriety (social sanction) was 40%. According to Islamic regulation, the latter is directed at women’s actions in violating Islamic morality. For instance, *hanya karena malas* [merely due to her laziness—also read: selfish], *merasa tidak penting* [unfair], and *tidak peka* [insensitive] are the few judgments of propriety that are employed to appraise them.

**Table 2**  
*Total of Appraising Items*

Three interacting domains of Appraisal			Clerics		
			Adi Hidayat	Gus Muwafiq	Khalid Basalamah
Attitude	Affect	(+)	1	50	36
		(-)	10	30	61
	Judgement	(+)	53	258	282
		(-)	95	206	340
	Appreciation	(+)	2	59	40
		(-)	4	47	40
Engagement	Monogloss	17	62	82	
	Heterogloss	157	576	697	
Graduation	Focus	5	34	19	
	Force	146	527	704	
Total			490	1849	2301
			4640 Appraising Items		

**Table 3**  
*Classification of Attitude*

Classification of attitude		Frequency	Percentage	
Affect	Positive	87	5%	11%
	Negative	101	6%	
Judgement	Positive	593	37%	77%
	Negative	641	40%	
Appreciation	Positive	101	6%	12%
	Negative	91	6%	
		1614 Appraising Items	100%	

**Table 4**  
*Classification of Engagement*

Classification of engagement		Frequency	Percentage	
Monogloss		161	10%	10%
Heterogloss	Contract	1084	68%	90%
	Expand	346	22%	
1591 Appraising Items			100%	

Referring back to the notion of the cleric's reliable stances, this can be overtly seen in Table 4. Surpassing monoglots with the total percentage of 90%, heteroglossia dominates the engagement branches. The result demonstrates the gap between the two sub-branches, i.e., the heteroglossia points out that the clerics tend to limit the scope of alternative positions and voices regarding to how frequent the heteroglossia contract appears. It can be seen from affirmation *ini memang alamnya wanita* [This is the nature of women indeed] and *kalaupun laki-laki berbeda tentunya* [As for men, it is different of course] (Clauses 2–3, Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019), as well as pronouncement *Jadi persoalan pertama tabarruj yang paling utama ada pada bagian wajah* [So, the first main issue in tabarruj is the face] (Clause 70, Ceramah Pendek, 2018) and *Maka nilainya orang hamil itu kalau pagi dihitung puasa, kalau malam dihitung tahajjud* [So, the value of pregnant women is counted as fasting in the morning and as tahajjud (night prayer) in the night] (Clause 332, Santri Remu'an, 2020).

Table 4 also demonstrates the deployment of monoglots utterances (the preaching was delivered only based on the clerics' "bare declaration", i.e., their perspective with lack of references). However, the lack of references occurred intermittently since the Hadiths and Quran's religious quotations were utilized in their preaching. These results clarify that Adi Hidayat, Gus Muwafiq, and Khalid Basalamah used patriarchal language in delivering their preaching. They are the professionals who arguably attempted to seek balanced evaluation.

Based on Table 5, the force has wholly exceeded the focus with a percentage of 96% in graduation analysis. This result reinforces that the three clerics generate their religious teachings to convey the degree either for positive or negative assessments of, for instance, social sanction—*ini umumnya menampilkan bagian yang tampak terlihat indah* [This is generally to reveal parts that look beautiful] (Clause 48, Ceramah Pendek, 2018); *Yang penting orangnya baik...* [The important thing is the person has good character] (Clause 53, Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019), and social esteem—*[...] yang penting dompetnya tebal* [the important thing is his wallet is full of money] (Clause 54, Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019), as well as valuation—*Apalagi mahabbah itu bakal hilang pelan-pelan* [Moreover, mahabbah (love or affection) will slowly disappear] (Clause 414, Santri Remu'an, 2020). Since most of the graduation presence in the preaching is found in force-intensification, the clerics tend to intensify the quality in forming their opinions of the statements mentioned earlier (Martin & White, 2005).

**Table 5**  
*Classification of Graduation*

Classification of graduation		Frequency	Percentage	
Focus		58	4%	4%
Force	Intensification	1151	80%	96%
	Quantification	226	16%	
1435 Appraising Items			100%	

## Discussion

### *Muslim Woman's Body*

In *Merias Wajah: Apakah termasuk Tabarruj?* Adi Hidayat (Ceramah Pendek, 2018) presented this religious teaching about *tabarruj* (display of [female] beauty), which leads to how this Muhammadiyah's cleric positions the women's bodies under the (Islamic) cultural cleavage of *jahiliyyah* (the era of ignorance prior to the advent of Islam; this notion is also closely attached with the creed of stupidity) and *non-jahiliyyah*. From a total of 108 clauses, 62 relational processes dominated the preaching. It was employed to identify and characterize the actions of women and the cleric's stance. The followings exemplify this:

Hidayat opens his preaching by posing this question: *Salah atau tidak? Oh, belum tentu [Is it (tabarruj) right or wrong? Oh, it depends]* (Clauses 3–4, Ceramah Pendek, 2018).

The pronoun *itu* [it] on the above relational clause is used to represents the *tabarruj* functions as the carrier of attribute *salah atau tidak* [right or wrong]. The attribute operates as a statement that leads to the judgment of propriety, i.e., assessing the (Muslim) women's ethics. Hidayat continued to argue that if the woman enhanced herself to fulfill her husband's sexual desire, she would be considered virtuous. However, if it is intended for the woman's narcissistic end, i.e., becoming the center of the look, she will be considered mischievous. In this sense, Hidayat endeavors to propose this subject by debating the righteousness of women in adorning themselves while disclosing the outcome responses.

This then continues with his following argument: *[j]adi persoalan pertama tabarruj yang paling utama ada pada bagian wajah [So, the first main issue in tabarruj is the face]* (Clause 70, Ceramah Pendek, 2018).

By this, Hidayat aimed to point out the leading concern of *tabarruj*, i.e., the woman's face in a linguistic relational manner. Here, not only did Hidayat intensify the quality of his utterance by using the adjectives of *pertama* [first] and *yang paling utama* [central] to grade the phenomenon' (*tabarruj*), but this statement also implies that he tends to position women's face as the ultimate entity in woman's visuality the man cannot avert from looking.

The following statement seems to be used to justify the teaching: *[...] sehingga banyak kebiasaan orang-orang jahiliyyah ketika tampil membuka bagian atasnya [... so that the Jahiliyyah people used to open the upper part of their bodies in public places]* (Clauses 71–72, Ceramah Pendek, 2018).

These material clauses (represented by the vocal group used to open) indicate the propensity for *jahiliyyah* people. This vocal group exhibits the violation of Islamic moral principles, i.e., uncovering the woman's upper area. Not only is this addressed to the women who do not wear hijab, yet that it additionally manifests the pronouncement that doing such action will be viewed as committing *tabarruj* (Hidayat perceived *tabarruj* as one of the Islamic laws, while Wati and Saputra (2018) contended that it connotes an Islamic concept which regulates woman's body). At this point, it can be argued that the cleric endeavored to attach an indirect pejorative label towards women who chose not to wear hijab. By so doing, women are seen as enticing men, yet simultaneously demonstrating the control over men's speech to standardize women's bodies. If women do not comply with these, they are deemed *jahiliyyah*.

Similarly, in his second preaching, entitled *Mengukur Keimanan Perempuan dari Hijabnya*, Hidayat (Audio Dakwah, 2018) presented how to measure Muslim women's faith through their hijab donning. He built this argument by justifying the necessity of Muslim women to cover their upper body as such an act determines the degree of Muslim woman's spirituality. A woman does not wear hijab can be seen as God's faithless servant. In this sense, unlike Muslim men, women are overtly placed in a disciplined human condition in which they cannot be conformed to their desires, yet they are ostensibly rewarded with the "obedient" religious label. However, when one chooses to align with this reward (also read: this regulation), this arguably "male-based" conditioning and corporeal normalization will not be an issue, and vice versa.

From a total of 213 clauses, 94 relational processes dominated the preaching. This means that the cleric frequently attempts to identify and characterize women's actions as his basis in delineating this corporeal ruling. However, like Janus's face, such regulation has its other side, i.e., glorifying the "hijabed" Muslim women: *Dalam Islam, setiap perempuan beriman dialah ratu yang sesungguhnya* [In Islam, every woman of faith is the real queen] (Clause 57, Audio Dakwah, 2018).

This relational clause indicates that not only does the cleric measure the degree of Muslim women's faith from their daily practices—their daily physical public appearance is included in this praxis,—but that he also gives additional reward by attaching the attribute *ratu yang sesungguhnya* [the absolute queen]. In this sense, he tended to label this type of women as "the real queen" in order to show the religious honor they gained. However, at the same time, this also demonstrates his attempt to normalize such regulation. *Kalau sendirian tutup jangan kelebihan, jangan dibuka semua kalau di hadapan orang yang banyak* [**Do not over cover** your body in private spaces; **do not over reveal** your body in public spaces] (Clauses 149–150, Audio Dakwah, 2018).

The material clauses above indicate that this corporeal teaching applies only in public places. Muslim women have freedom over their bodies in the private spheres, but the attempt to cover is not as strictly off-limit as in public. The cleric then narrates the history of such regulation (derived from the era of Prophet Muhammad) as follows: *Jadi mereka kemudian pakai itu untuk menutup bagian kepala sampai*

*ke bagian lehernya* [So, they then **wear** it to cover their head down to their neck] (Clauses 214, Audio Dakwah, 2018).

This material clause indicates that when Muslim women at that time were initially given transcendent orders to cover up their upper bodies, they competed to find fabrics to cover their upper bodies. By this, Hidayat asserted that the fabrics are a mere symbolic entity, and the Muslim women's attempts to prove their faith become the cardinal signifier. This means he continues that these standards are inviolable and intolerable for Muslim women to gain a "pious" label.

### **Muslim Woman's Sexuality**

In discrepant linguistic tone with Adi Hidayat, Khalid Basalamah's *Cara Merias Wajah ala Suami* preaching (Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019) presents the religious teaching about Muslim women's sexuality that they should comply with their husband's standard on women as well as their woman's adornment. In this preaching, the mechanism of how Muslim women should fulfill their husband's satisfaction is apparent by standardizing and normalizing this regulatory discourse. This can be overtly seen from the total of 369 clauses. One hundred sixty-six relational processes dominated the preaching. They are as follows: *Ini memang alamnya Wanita* [This **is** the nature of women indeed] (Clause 2). *Kalau laki-laki berbeda tentunya* [As for men, it **is** different, of course] (Clause 3).

Basalamah (Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019) opens his argument by justifying the distinction between men and women, i.e., they share different realms. This can be seen from Clause 2. The determiner *ini* [this], which alludes to the activity of women adorning themselves, is identified with the identifier *alamnya wanita* [the nature of women]. Adorning is professed to be women's world, while men possess *berbeda* [different] realm (see Clause 3). The intensifier *tentunya* [of course] in Clause 3 demonstrates this cleric's initial yet ultimate stance on the Muslim woman's sexuality discourse. Not only does this clause affirm Basalamah's perspectives on woman's nature, but it also articulates his endeavor to regulate woman's body. Women cannot preen themselves following their desires and happiness, as it operates based on putting their marital partners as a social institution that should be complied with. Basalamah articulates this as signifying the wife's "good deed".

*Yang penting orangnya baik* (Clause 53), *yang penting dompetnya tebal* (Clause 54). [The important thing **is** the person has good character; the important thing **is** the wallet is full of money] (Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019).

*Fisik itu luar biasa bagi dia* [Physical appearance **is** remarkable for him] (Clause 56, Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019).

The two sentences above indicate that Basalamah tended to distinguish the essential priority between men and women. In the first sentence (Clauses 53, 54, Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019), the elliptic carrier follows suit with the attribute *yang penting* [the important thing]. This is deployed to represent women's temptation/priority in choosing their marital partner, i.e., *orangnya baik* [the person has good character] and his wallet full of money. Meanwhile, in the second sentence, the noun *fisik* [physical appearance] represents men's priority in choosing their spouses. The attribute *luar*

*biasa* [remarkable] and the circumstance *bagi dia* [for him] indicate that women are only interested in their future husband's financial condition and their moral virtues, while men tend to glorify the physical appearances of their future wife. This indirectly leads to the position of men as mere sexual predators of women.

This Salafi's cleric continues: *Pelacur jalanan itu tidak ada yang laku itu bu, kalau istrinya melayani benar suaminya*. [Those street prostitutes will have nothing to sell, Ma'am, if the wives **serve** their husbands properly] (Clauses 133–135, Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019).

The above statement was articulated when he discussed a contextual investigation of his friend's divorce because his wife refused to satisfy his friend's sexual desire. Not only do these two clauses (relational Clause 133 and material Clause 135) represent Basalamah's male-centric defense that the social phenomenon of street prostitutes was due to the women's reluctance to comply with their husband's sexual demands, but that they also signify the act of placing women as the catalyst behind the mushrooming of prostitution. Material process *melayani* [serve] with the intensifier of way *benar* [appropriately] as well as the conjunction *kalau* [if] represent the situation where women are expected to act depending on their shared qualities, i.e., conceiving an offspring and managing a household (Nisa, 2019). Simultaneously, this support implies the cleric's endeavor to control the woman's body (Anwar, 2008). Basalamah's following statement that men's basic instinct is their biology reinforces such regulation and justification. This demonstrates not only the power relation between man and woman or the cleric and his target audiences but also this figurative declaration discredits while reducing women as disobedient beings.

Similarly, in his second preaching, entitled *Adab Suami dan Istri*, Basalamah (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017) presented the religious teaching about the etiquettes of managing a household. He conveyed the topic by drawing a firm demarcation line of husbands' and wives' rights, yet they should comply with and fulfill this line. From the total of 1369 clauses, 554 relational processes dominate the preaching. The example of the relational process (in bold) are as follow: *Maka salah satu karakter wanita yang saya bilang adalah pendendam* [So, one of the women's characters that I argue **is** vengeful] (Clause 385, Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017).

The above clause indicates Basalamah's stance on a marital problem that the husbands should not vilify their wives as it will scar their souls. The phrase *salah satu karakter wanita yang saya bilang* [one of the women's characters that I argue] is identified with the identifier *pendendam* [vengeful]. This identifier also operates as a judgment of propriety. At this stage, Basalamah aimed to condemn women as resentful beings as he argued that they tend to remember their husbands' mistakes, and will easily recall them once the same mistake reappears.

*Ibu-ibu, kalau mau suaminya tenang di rumah, penuhi tiga hal: tatapan matanya, perutnya, dan kemaluannya*. [Ma'am, if you want your husband to be comfortable at home, **fulfill** these three things: his gaze, his stomach and his genital] (Clauses 331–332, Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017).

The above statement was articulated when he continued to discuss the rights of wives in the household. The circumstance of *kalau mau suaminya tenang di rumah* [if you want your husband to be comfortable at home] can be interpreted as a condition where the wives can claim their rights once they have satisfied their husbands. It can be seen from the material process *penuhi* [fulfill] and the goal *tiga hal: tatapan matanya, perutnya, dan kemaluannya* [these three things: his gaze, his stomach, and his genital]. At this stage, the goal is closely related to “his gaze” (read: the husband’s), which leads to the sexual visual demand over his wives’ appearances; “his stomach” indicates that the wives have cooked for them; and “his genital” suggests the wives should please their husbands’ sexual desire. Basalamah then continues proclaiming that wives’ rights will be realized after properly addressing these desires.

*Biologis laki-laki nggak bisa ditunda* [Men’s biology **cannot be** delayed] (Clause 924, Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017).

*Bapak buat kejutan sesuatu apa ya yang membuat akhirnya dia gembira, sehingga biologis bisa terpenuhi* [You (the married Muslim men) should surprise (your wife/wives) or do something that will make them happy. This will lead to the fulfillment of your biological desires] (Clauses 1073–1074, Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017).

These clauses indicate Basalamah’s highlight of the distinction between men’s and women’s sexual tolerance. The phrase *biologis laki-laki* [men’s biology] represents men’s sexual demand functions as the carrier of attribute *ditunda* [delayed]. Simultaneously, the relational process (cannot be) is used to characterize this preserved delay. The phrase “cannot be delayed” also operates as a tenacity judgment. At this stage, Basalamah (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017) labels men as “sexual predators”, yet he argues that it is their basic instinct. On the other hand, women are positioned as passive, patient, and submissive beings when dealing with their sexual desires.

Following this distinction, Basalamah attempted to suggest the actions the husbands can do to win their wives’ hearts. This can overtly be seen from the above statement (Clause 1073–1074, Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017). The material process *buat* [make and do] with the goal *kejutan atau sesuatu yang membuat akhirnya dia gembira* [surprises your wife or do something that will make them happy] represent the action of husbands fulfilling the material needs of their wives. However, this, at the same time, can be perceived as positioning women as materialist beings whose sexuality can be bought.

### **Woman’s Domestication**

*Tips Menghadapi Istri yang Cerewet* by Gus Muwafiq (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018) presented the religious teaching about the attitude to face some household difficulties. Muwafiq conveyed the topic of his preaching by evaluating women’s duties as wives. From the total of 342 clauses, 168 relational processes dominate the preaching. The example of the relational process (in bold) are as follows:

*Itu besok cerewet, sudah pasti* [She **will** undoubtedly **be** naggy] (Clause 7, Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018).

The determiner *itu* (which refers to “she”—the wife—the carrier) is used to represent wives’ behavior, while *cerewet* [chatty/naggy] functions as the attribute. At the same time, the relational process (will be) characterizes the nature of the women as naggy/chatty persons. Referring to the preaching title, the intensifier *sudah pasti* [indeed] is used to affirm such behavior and reflect this N.U. Cleric’s stance over the roles, duties, and functions of wives and husbands reduces married woman’s nature to being chatty/naggy. Notwithstanding this, Muwafiq continues that this is due to:

*Perempuan itu kerjanya berat* [Woman **has** a tough job] (Clause 79, Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018).

The above statement was articulated when Muwafiq discussed his experience of trying to be in his wife’s position for one day. This, he later claimed, was unbearable. The noun *perempuan* [woman] represents the wives’ functions as the carrier of attribute *kerjanya berat* [tough job] in this relational clause. The so-called “tough job” is described as the domestic duty of wives to take care of their children and household. At this point, Muwafiq demonstrates respect toward the “domesticated” women.

This cleric then attempts to praise the woman further by suggesting to men the following:

*Kalian pada posisi genting, laki-laki tidak boleh emosi* [Men **should not be** emotional in the precarious condition] (Clause 205, Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018).

This relational clause deploys the noun “men” to represent husbands’ functions as the carrier of the attribute *emosi* [emotional], while the verbal, relational group *tidak boleh* [should not be] characterize the suggestion. At this stage, Muwafiq suggests that men be calm while arguing with their wives in any “precarious” condition. However, this plausible feminist stance is arguably unstable as it derives from the perspective that men/husband’s position is the “controller” of their family.

Similarly, in his second preaching, *Membangun Rumah Tangga dengan Cinta*, Muwafiq (Santri Remu’an, 2020) presented religious teaching about affection-based marriage values. He conveyed this subject by portraying women’s devotion to complying with their responsibilities as wives by deploying a total of 724 clauses—447 relational processes dominate this preaching. The following exemplifies the values in conjunction with the different physiological and psychological nature between men and women:

*Laki-laki kasar, perempuan lembut* [Men **are** rough, women **are** gentle] (Clauses 67–68, Santri Remu’an, 2020).

Muwafiq began his preaching by stating that marriage is a strange phenomenon that can unify two different individuals—men are labeled as *kasar* [rough], while women *lembut* [gentle]. This characterization becomes the fundamental principle in distinguishing the husbands’ and wives’ responsibilities. At this point, he also attempted to add that it is more suitable for wives to stay at home and take care of their children than for husbands who comply with such situations. In this sense, domesticating women is arguably normalized. The following material clause represents the parallelism between the reward given to the “domesticated” pregnant wife and their actions doing their proper domestic works:

*Maka nilainya orang hamil itu kalau pagi dihitung puasa, kalau malam dihitung tahajjud* [So, the value of pregnant women **is counted** as fasting in the day and *tahajjud* in the night] (Clause 332, Santri Remu'an, 2020).

Muwafiq (Santri Remu'an, 2020) claimed that there would be an exclusive reward from God for pregnant women. At this stage, Muwafiq aimed to pronounce that the value of such devotion is equal to fasting during the daytime and *tahajjud* [night prayer]. However, this pronouncement suggests Muwafiq's attempt to encourage women to remain devoted to their husbands.

### **Logical Structure**

All of the six preaching used analytical exposition as its genre. The orientation, arguments, and reiteration parts of the preaching are dominantly represented by employing relational and material processes and the negative judgment of propriety.

*Merias Wajah: Apakah termasuk Tabarruj?* by Adi Hidayat (Ceramah Pendek, 2018) sums up an Islamic concept called *tabarruj*, which leads to the employment of patriarchal language on a woman's body. In the orientation part, he suggested that it is all right for a woman to adorn herself as long as it is for her husband. However, if this act is intentionally conducted to expose her sexual desires, this will be seen as committing *tabarruj*. He contended that (a) the main feature of a woman's attractiveness lies on the face; (b) a woman wears jewelry to boost her appearance and to draw people's attention. As for the reiteration, Hidayat convinced his audience that women who do not wear hijab yet wear revealing garments and jewelry generate *tabarruj*. Hidayat (Ceramah Pendek, 2018) portrays these dubious incorrect religious women's behaviors firmly, which are closely related to the notion of *jahiliyyah*, while *non-jahiliyyah* represents the opposite.

Similarly, in his second preaching, entitled *Mengukur Keimanan Perempuan dari Hijabnya*, Hidayat (Audio Dakwah, 2018) presented religious teaching pertinent to the dubious religious perception of woman's faith measured, in this case, through her appearance. In the orientation part, he stated that the information was quoting the Quranic verses, which begin with the word *iman* [faith] as an indicator of the degree of Muslim women's faith. He argued that (a) women are only allowed to see and publicize good things/deeds; (b) women have to cover their upper body—from the head down to the chest—to keep them away from bad things; (c) the more women make efforts to cover up their body, the stronger their faith will be. As for the reiteration, Hidayat (Audio Dakwah, 2018) declared that there are no reasons for women nowadays to choose not to wear hijab due to any condition.

Unlike to Hidayat's preaching, Khalid Basalamah summarises his primary propositions of adornment that women must abide by adequately (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017; Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019). In the orientation part, Basalamah argued that men and women share different spheres and that adornment merely belongs to women's sphere (Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019). He contended that (a) women are quickly intrigued by men's stable financial condition as well as their excellent ethics, while men the women's physical appearance; (b) it is the women's essential characteristics to satisfy men's biological needs; (c) it will be woman's responsibility

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if their husband has an affair. Basalamah reiterated the importance of women taking care of their bodies. The women's off-limit territories are the bosom and genital parts. He also argued that a woman's endeavor to care for her own body would obtain God's reward. It is also an absolute necessity for women to conform to the corporeal version of their husband's desires (Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019).

Similarly, in his second preaching, Basalamah (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017) proposed plausible religious teaching about the etiquettes of managing a household. In the orientation part, Basalamah stated that it is crucial to establish a household based on Islamic principles to avert domestic saturation. He argued that (a) husbands and wives are allowed to ask for their rights each other politely; (b) the wives have the right to obtain appropriate treatment from their husbands; (c) in order to get these rights, the wives are required to satisfy their husbands' gaze, physical hunger (for food and sexual demands); (d) the husbands are allowed to act boldly towards their wives, yet hitting and vilifying the wives are forbidden; (e) As the *imam* of the house, the husbands are responsible for their wives' mistakes. As for the reiteration, Basalamah (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017) emphasized that it is essential that husbands and wives fulfill each other's rights to avoid collisions.

On the other hand, Gus Muwafiq (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018; Santri Remu'an, 2020) sums up religious teaching about the typical religious attitude in dealing with household difficulties—focusing on women's domestic duties as wives. In the orientation part, Muwafiq (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018) positions the routine nature of married women as naggy/chatty. He contended that (a) the wives must take care of children a harsh/heavy-handed; (b) and the men should stay calm when dealing with their wives' arguments; and (c) men are the "controllers" of their family. Muwafiq reiterated that marriage is a part of worship, yet the principles in managing it are contingent upon the husband and wife who undergo the process (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018).

Similarly, Muwafiq proposed religious teaching about affection-based marriage values in the second of his preaching (Santri Remu'an, 2020). In the orientation part, Muwafiq contended that marriage is strange due to its capability to unify two different individuals. He argued that (a) marriage is one of the ways for Muslims to worship God; (b) men are rough, while women are gentle; (c) the value of pregnant women is counted as fasting in the daytime and *tahajjud* at night-time; (d) the domestic chores wives did for their husbands are considered as the realization of worshipping God and observance. As for the reiteration, Muwafiq reminded his target audiences of the importance of women caring for their children so that they become well-mannered (Santri Remu'an, 2020).

These three clerics' preaching is meant to regulate women's behaviors and ethics. They are aligned with their male-dominated cultural characteristics, i.e., women are biologically responsible for giving birth to offspring and maintaining a household according to Islamic law, especially in the domestic sphere. Thus, women's freedom to adorn themselves is only allowed to follow the principle of their husbands' pleasures. In this sense, women, their bodies, sexualities, and domestications are controlled and voiced by these male-centric religious regulations.

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## Conclusion

The study of hijab in Islamic discourse is the starting point for discursive studies evaluating this patriarchal language. Feminists and postfeminists view the hijab as the symbol of patriarchal suppression, as the veiled woman contradicts the normative non-Islamic patriarchal standards. In the lens of western feminists, the hijab is not taken by invitation but by coercion, while the Muslims signify the hijab as the representation of fundamental security for women's corporeality and safety. These can overtly be seen from how the three clerics voiced their religious stances on Women's Bodies, Sexuality, and Domestication discourse.

The sampled data demonstrate the scope of the discrepant linguistic manners the three male clerics deployed to regulate the discourse on the Muslim women's adornments, devotion, and obedience. Muhammadiyah cleric Adi Hidayat evaluated women's behaviors through their adornments' initial purpose (Audio Dakwah, 2018; Ceramah Pendek, 2018), whereas Nahdlatul Ulama cleric Gus Muwafiq focused on the devotion to engaging a household (Gus Muwafiq Channel, 2018; Santri Remu'an, 2020), and Salafi cleric Khalid Basalamah discussed the obedience towards their husband (Assalamualaikum Channel, 2017; Ngaji Anak Indonesia, 2019). Hidayat delineated the Muslim women's body discourse based on the segregation of dubious religiously correct and incorrect propriety, whereas Muwafiq, the apparent religiously normality, and Basalamah, the plausible religiously propriety. The patriarchal language on women's bodies, sexuality, and domestication in their preaching as their litmus test dominantly employed relational processes along with the negative judgment of propriety within intensified heteroglossia utterances to condemn women as mischievous, selfish, and unfair as religious cultural-based punishment when violating the teachings.

Paralleling these stances with the so-called general Islamic discourse on the position of women is arguably closely related to Syed's (2004) finding that the exalted position Muslim women had in 610 and 632 A.D. (as the result of Islamic reforms) was then resisted by patriarchal Muslim jurists/conservative framers in the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D., as they attempted to preserve the tradition of Muslim patriarchal society that put women inferior to men. In the lens of Stowasser (1994), this was conducted through *ijma* [community consensus]. These patriarchal religious acts put the Muslim woman's body as the patriarchal male Muslim's machine of desire. They were disciplined and attached to religious attributes loaded with male-dominated female moral obligations.

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<sup>4</sup> Instagram™ is a trademark of Instagram Inc., registered in the U.S. and other countries. In the Russian Federation, it is recognised as an extremist organisation and its activity is prohibited.

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