

Living Life As a Niqab and Sirwal User: From Power Relations to Stigma

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ABSTRACT:

This research departs from the widespread stigmatization experienced by those who wear the niqab and sirwal. Society views this attribute negatively because one of them is the actions of terrorists, suicide bombers and others, who carry out their actions using a niqab or sirwal. So this study aims to explore the experiences of the niqab and sirwal users in the private sphere, such as the family and the public sphere in society. To see these two contexts, this study uses the perspective of power relations theory from Michel Foucault and the Stigma concept from Erving Goffman. Meanwhile, methodologically, this study uses a qualitative approach to explore the experiences of the niqab and sirwal users. The findings in this study are that women who wear the niqab in power relations with their parents experience discrimination and social control regarding their attributes. In contrast to sirwal users, who are more liberated by their families in using attributes. Meanwhile, in the public sphere, niqab women again experienced verbal harassment from the public, unlike sirwal, who never experienced harassment. In this case, a woman wearing a niqab is verbally abused not only because she wears a niqab but because she is a woman who is considered inferior in a patriarchal society. In addition, in this case, niqab women experience double discrimination in private and public spaces.

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ABSTRAK:

Penelitian ini berangkat dari maraknya stigmatisasi yang dialami oleh mereka para pengguna Niqab dan sirwal. Atribut ini dipandang negatif oleh masyarakat dikarenakan salah satunya yakni tindakan para teroris, pelaku bom bunuh diri dan lainnya, yang melancarkan aksinya dengan menggunakan Niqab ataupun sirwal. Sehingga penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali pengalaman-pengalaman dari pengguna Niqab dan sirwal, baik dalam ranah privat seperti keluarga maupun ranah publik dalam masyarakat. Untuk dapat melihat kedua konteks tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan perspektif teori relasi kuasa dari Michel Foucault dan konsep Stigma dari Erving Goffman. Sedangkan secara metodologis, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif untuk dapat menggali pengalaman pengguna Niqab dan sirwal. Adapun temuan dalam penelitian ini bahwa perempuan berNiqab dalam relasi kuasa dengan orang tuanya mengalami diskriminasi dan kontrol sosial mengenai atributnya. Berbeda dengan pengguna sirwal yang lebih dibebaskan keluarganya dalam penggunaan atribut. Sedangkan di ruang publik, perempuan Niqab kembali mengalami pelecehan verbal dari masyarakat, berbeda dengan sirwal yang tidak pernah mengalami pelecehan. Perempuan berNiqab dalam hal ini dilecehkan secara verbal bukan hanya karena ia berNiqab, melainkan karena ia perempuan yang dianggap rendah dalam masyarakat patriarki. Selain itu juga, Perempuan Niqab dalam hal ini mengalami double discrimination dalam ruang privat dan ruang publik.

Kata Kunci: *Niqab; Relasi kuasa; Sirwal; Stigma.*

INTRODUCTION

The niqab and sirwal are attributes used by some Muslims, which are not only in Indonesia but also in several countries in the world, be it European, American, or even the niqab itself has become an essential part of the life experience in some societies in Central, Southeast and Asia. Middle East (Pirol & Aswan, 2021). The niqab and sirwal become separate pious rituals for their users, as a ritual performed by religious people as Homo Religious, borrowing the term from Berger (2003, 14). Niqab and Sirwal can be present in motives such as obedience to religious doctrine, self-protection, cleanliness and so on (Iqbal & Fauzi, 2021). The niqab is a cloth covering the head or face of a Muslim woman. It is often referred to as a "niqab" which in Arabic is also equivalent to a headscarf or headscarf (Zempi, 2019). At the same time, the sirwal itself is an implementation of the "Isbal" prohibition or lengthening the pants so that the pants are raised like "Sirwal" pants (Iqbal & Fauzi, 2021; Yuhadi & Murtini, 2020).

However, the niqab and sirwal have become negative in the construction of society since the September 11, 2001 tragedy in the United States, whereupon the niqab and sirwal are often associated with symptoms of religious fundamentalism (Pirol & Aswan, 2021). Not a few people have negative



constructions of those who wear the niqab and sirwal, as in a thesis research from Nurussobach (2019) that society constructs the meaning of radicalism, namely those who wear the niqab and sirwal. Likewise, research from Alim et al., (2018, 277) explains that radicalism is often characterized as a religious act that prioritizes modesty over obligations in religious doctrine, for example, such as raising trousers above the ankles, in other word sirwal, or also elongating the beard. This is not much different from research by Garcia Yeste et al. (2020, 95), which revealed that after the terrorist attacks carried out by Islamic extremists in various parts of the world, the niqab, or niqab, was seen as a symbol of religious radicalization.

In this case, Muslim women, especially those who wear the niqab in today's society, as Bullock (2021) mentions that they experience institutional discrimination and micro and macro aggression. Many countries think that face coverings are often worn by women who show fundamentalism (Chowdhury et al., 2017). Even in many countries in Europe and America, Muslim women who wear the niqab suffer from high levels of hate crimes, ranging from spitting on them, having their niqab removed while shopping, trying to crash them with cars, and so on (Bullock, 2021). The same thing also happens in Ethiopia, Africa, namely the adherents of Salafism, which is considered a pure doctrine of Saudi Arabia, that those who carry out Sunnah, which is considered obligatory such as growing a beard, raising their pants above the ankles and wearing the niqab are often labeled as too extreme (Østebø, 2008). In addition, Ceemuci activists on the campuses of the Universities of Cocody and Abobo-Adjame, Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, West Africa, also experienced discrimination that they were prohibited from wearing sirwal and niqab in their campus institutions, even these attributes reaped a long controversy (Madore, 2016).

Not much different from Indonesia, although with softer discrimination, as in Shukri, (2019) that some of his research subjects had bitter experiences when wearing the niqab in public spaces such as markets. Women in the niqab in Indonesia are viewed more cynically, highlighted with suspicious eyes by the public in public spaces, which of course, disturbs the comfort of women in the niqab in public spaces.

These discriminatory behaviors stem from the several tragedies that occurred in Indonesia. The recent radicalism tragedies in Indonesia often involve the perpetrators wearing niqab and sirwal attributes. For example, the

tragedy of the suicide bombing at three churches in Surabaya, namely the Pentecostal Church, the Indonesian Christian Church and the Immaculate Santa Maria Church in 2018, where the perpetrators wore niqab attributes (Halim & Adnan, 2018). Likewise, with the suicide bombing at the Makassar Cathedral Church in 2021, where the perpetrators wore niqabs and sirwal. Even the latest news on 25 October 2022, there were women wearing niqabs carrying firearms trying to break into the State Palace in Central Jakarta (Iqbal, 2022).

Juergensmeyer (2020) refers to various news about this act of terrorism as “performance events”, as a spectacle of violence, in which there is a symbolic statement, meaning or attempt to change something. The spectacle of radicalism carried out by unscrupulous users of the niqab and sirwal ultimately forms a public construction and creates negative stigmatization by the general public for those who use the niqab and sirwal in general. So demeaning behavior, labeling, and stigmatization are often found for those who wear the niqab and sirwal, even though the individual has not committed an act of radicalism. This is a form of overgeneralization by society towards those who wear the niqab and sirwal (Iqbal & Fauzi, 2021).

The niqab and sirwal do not always have a negative connotation or have a radical orientation, extremism and so on. As revealed by Oren (2018, 88) that, women from Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia, they use the niqab as a form of social cultural norm, which is not correlated with extremism. Likewise with women in Turkey and Caucasians that the niqab is an endemic obligation originating from the Ottoman era.

In Indonesia, the niqab and sirwal users can be found among students. Even niqab and sirwal users have student backgrounds who are active in Islamic-based campus organizations, such as campus da'wah organizations, the Indonesian Student Action Unit (KAMMI), the Islamic Student Association (HMI) and even Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) (Pirol & Aswan, 2021). Likewise, this study has a social setting in the life of students who wear niqabs and sirwal. In particular, students from two campuses in Surabaya, Airlangga University and Surabaya State University.

This article focuses more on the experiences of the niqab and sirwal users, starting from their initial experiences wearing niqab and sirwal, family responses, to the stigma they get from society. Interestingly, while women who



wear the niqab and men who wear the sirwal have both experienced stigmatization, women who wear the niqab tend to experience double discrimination; apart from being stigmatized in the public sphere, they also receive a rejection of the use of the niqab in the private sphere, namely from their own families. Especially their father, who indirectly shows how patriarchal families try to control their children. In contrast, men wearing sirwal are more liberated by their families to wear sirwal. In order to be able to analyze the reality that happened, this research article uses two concepts or theories, namely the first is the theory of power relations from Michel Foucault. Through this theory, we can dissect the power relations between families and their children who wear the niqab and sirwal. Then the second is the concept of stigma from Erving Goffman. This concept can dissect the stigmatization experienced by niqab and sirwal users. Goffman's concept, it can also show how this stigma can arise in people who use the niqab and sirwal.

METHODS

This research is a phenomenological study that focuses on expressing the experiences and awareness of niqab and sirwal wearers. This is because the phenomenological study itself is an attempt to find visible reality by involving careful and thorough examination of the awareness of human experience (Hamzah, 2020). Along with that, the phenomenological study itself is one of the studies in a qualitative approach. Therefore, this study uses a qualitative approach to capture social reality. The reason is in a qualitative approach focuses more on social reality, social meaning and interactive events (Neuman, 2015). This qualitative approach is also beneficial in gathering data and understanding the reality experienced by niqab and sirwal users regarding power relations with in their families and the stigmatization they receive from society.

As with qualitative research in general, this research uses data collection techniques at least using two methods, namely field interviews and documentation. The field interview itself is an activity of asking questions, listening, and recording what is said by the research subject as an essential part of expressing his subjective meaning (Neuman, 2015). However, for this study, field interviews were conducted in two ways, namely face-to-face or face-to-face meetings with research subjects and online interviews. The online interview itself was conducted to maintain the comfort of the subject because there were

subjects who were reluctant to meet in person and were only willing to conduct interviews online, more precisely using the WhatsApp application media. As for the documentation itself, it is done by taking several references, secondary data, and journal articles that support this research, both taken online and obtained physically.

This research was conducted at two campuses in Surabaya, namely Surabaya State University and Airlangga University. The location was taken at Surabaya State University because UNESA Chancellor Nur Hasan declared UNESA an anti-radicalism campus during the independence ceremony on August 17, 2019. Nur Hasan also hoped that there would be no more radicalism (Baskoro, n.d.). As for the location at Airlangga University itself, this is because the campus is one of the campuses exposed to radicalism, according to two surveys, namely the Setara Institute (Gunadha, n.d.) and BNPT (Siregar, n.d.). In addition, based on field observations, sensitivity to the niqab and sirwal is more visible on public campuses compared to faith-based campuses such as the State Islamic University.

Research subjects were selected based on the technique of determining the subject by means of snowball, in the sense that the subject is taken based on the social networks owned by both the researcher and the key research subjects who have friends who also wear the niqab and sirwal. The reason the main basis of the snowball is that everyone is related to one another, either through direct or indirect relationships, which means that a person is in an interrelated network (Neuman, 2015).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The niqab and sirwal user community in the context of Indonesia, even the world, has always been an interesting reality to study, explore and analyze. Especially regarding their experiences in using the niqab and sirwal, which are not always comfortable. Moreover, women who wear the niqab experience more discrimination, harassment, social control and so on, which are not experienced more by men who wear sirwal. Long before that, we need to dig into their experiences and reasons for wearing the niqab and sirwal.



Wearing Niqab and Sirwal for the First Time

Each individual is a unique entity, as well as their own experiences. The niqab and sirwal users have different experiences in using their niqab and sirwal, along with the factors behind their use. They also did not miss the beginning of their use of the niqab and sirwal.

Using the niqab and sirwal is an activity that cannot be said to be instantaneous, or in just a matter of days or months, you will immediately feel comfortable. Those who use these attributes admit that they have been using the niqab and sirwal for a long time. Some have used it since they were in high school, and some have used it since the early days of college.

Delia, for example, is a student at Surabaya State University who has been wearing the niqab since she was in the second grade of high school. Likewise, Fandi and Maulana have also used sirwal since they were in high school. Even Fandi, who is a student at Surabaya State University, has been using sirwal since he was in first grade in high school. In contrast, Maulana, who is a student at Airlangga University, used sirwal when he was in the second grade of high school.

Slightly different from before, Afika and Rani started wearing the niqab when they were in college, in their first semester, to be precise. Afika, who is a Surabaya State University student, has been wearing the niqab since her first semester at college. Meanwhile, Rani, who is a student at Airlangga University, has been wearing the niqab since her third semester in college. At first, even Rani herself felt a little trouble wearing the niqab, especially when eating together while wearing the niqab. The reason is, when eating, the spoon must pass behind the niqab so that when eating, the niqab does not open, in their word it still covers her face.

It is true that at the beginning of using the niqab or sirwal, there must be some discomfort, difficulty or something that is not comfortable for the user because they had not used it before. However, over time, even for years, niqab and sirwal users gradually feel comfortable with what they wear; even Afika feels strange when she doesn't wear the niqab in public spaces; she is so used to the niqab. As stated by Berger & Luckman (1990, 72) The process of habituation becomes an act that becomes a habit for individuals who still maintain its meaningful nature for the individual himself. Over the years, the niqab and

sirwal have become meaningful attributes for their users, and all of this is obtained from a process of habituation.

The Base of Use of Niqab and Sirwal: from Religious to Non-Religious

The use of the niqab and sirwal by the public is, of course, not without reason, without any factors or things behind it. Every individual must have certain reasons that encourage them to wear the niqab and sirwal. In fact, this background greatly influences a person so that they are consistent in using the niqab and sirwal.

This article conceptualizes a person's background in using the niqab and sirwal into at least two factors, namely religiosity and non-religiosity. The first factor, namely religiosity, is more related to religious doctrines and one's piety in his religion. For example, Delia, Fandi and Maulana stated that the use of the niqab and sirwal is a sunnah, in other word religious advice to their adherents. As the findings of several studies, such as Hanafiah (2019) and (Puteri, 2022) that the use of the niqab is dominated by sunnah backgrounds. Even though the niqab and sirwal themselves are in the realm of Islamic law are still being debated by various Muslim groups, that there are those who mention sunnah, and some even mention mubah (Fitrotunnisa, 2018; Setyawan & David, 2021).

In addition to the sunnah, there are other things in the religiosity factor here, namely what can also be referred to as "individual piety". That there are certainly personal, individual, and even intimate religious experiences that make a person compelled to wear the niqab or sirwal. Delia, for example, feels that by wearing the niqab, she can always remember her God. In addition, she is aware that she is not a "holy human being" who is free from sin; therefore, by using the niqab, she hopes to counter her sinful actions.

I feel when wearing the hijab syar'i or niqab, it's like always remembering God. Second, it is impossible for me to go 24 hours without sinning; of course, I have made mistakes where I did things that might not have been pleased by Allah. So, using the niqab might be able to cover or provide rewards there, said Delia to researchers.



What we can take here is that religion becomes a "symbolic universe" if we borrow the term from Berger & Luckman (1990), in which religion becomes an element that legitimizes a person's actions. The religion of the symbolic universe becomes an element of the highest legitimacy because it has doctrines and provides godly experiences in every consciousness of its adherents.

This is in line with Bakht (2022) research that for most women, the primary motivation for wearing the niqab is religion, although additional reasons are also offered. The niqab is an embodied practice that represents a personal spiritual journey. Women's explanations of why and when they wear the niqab reveal the intricate mix of doctrinal knowledge and practical life experiences that negotiate religion day to day.

As explained earlier, it turns out that the use of the niqab and sirwal is not only motivated by religious factors but there are non-religious factors that encourage individuals to use the niqab and sirwal. Even though the religious factor is more dominant and is the primary factor, we cannot simply set aside non-religious factors, which are more secondary in nature and also encourage individuals to use the niqab and sirwal.

For non-religious factors, this is actually quite complex and is built on a person's individual experiences, starting from a sense of comfort, as also explained by Hanafiah (2019, 254) and Safitri (2021, 69) that individuals who wear the niqab One of the reasons behind it are a convenience. Apart from that, there are also other reasons, such as the habit of feeling strange when not wearing a niqab or sirwal, a trend of raising trousers like most Korean artists, or even a form of keeping the lower trousers clean, so they don't get dirty.

Maulana, for example, saw some of his friends wearing trousers that touched the floor, which actually made the pants dirty at the bottom. So that when it is used in the mosque, especially when it is used for prayer, for Maulana, it looks in appropriate. So sirwal is a solution to keeping pants clean, especially the bottom, and can be used for prayer in the Mosque.

The reason for this is cleanliness. So I saw some of my friends, maybe not all of them, but there were some who actually wore trousers that touched the floor and were dirty. So, when it is used in the mosque it seems that it is not suitable for prayer. Yes, it's dirty underneath, explained Maulana to researchers.

This is what Blummer later called in his symbolic interaction that humans carry out a social action against that "thing" on the basis of a social meaning (Wirawan, 2012). The actions of using the niqab and sirwal are motivated by social meanings that are owned by individuals, whether it's the meaning of trendy clothes, cleanliness, comfort, habits and so on. Each individual user of the niqab and sirwal, of course, has their own meaning. This is because the actions of the niqab and sirwal are something meaningful to them.

Patriarchal Family Power Relations

Being a niqab and sirwal wearer in the context of Indonesian society is not something easy. This is because the attributes of Islam are still something "foreign" or "other", which is different from society in general. Not a few rejections also occurred over the use of the niqab and sirwal. Even this rejection can be present in the smallest family institution in society, namely the family.

If, in the Foucauldian perspective, the family is an example of how power is not always centralized in the context of government, but power can be present in any context, including the family. As Foucault (1990) stated that power is everywhere, not because power encompasses everything, but because power comes from everywhere. This power then becomes a discipline, namely a form of control in society to be able to control it (Ritzer, 2003), which of course, can happen everywhere, including the family. For Foucault (2012), the purpose of this disciplinary power is to form a body that is obedient and can be subdued, utilized, transformed, and improved, and its effectiveness can be increased. Likewise, in the use of niqab and sirwal attributes where families, in this case, parents exercise disciplinary power to exercise control over their children.

However, the interesting thing is, in this study, it was found that those who experienced the power of discipline by their parents for the use of Islamic attributes, such as the niqab or sirwal, were the only women wearing the niqab. Meanwhile, those who use sirwal are free to use any clothing attributed to their parents as long as it is positive.

Fandi and Maulana, for example, were more liberated by their parents for using sirwal. Even though no one in the Fandi family uses the niqab or sirwal, they are still allowed and freed by the family to use them, as long as the actions are good.



None in the family (using sirwal). No extended family either. (the use of sirwal) is not a problem, they are even freed while it is good, explained Fandi to researchers.

Not much different from Fandi, Maulana is also free to wear sirwal, even though none of their family members wears the same attribute. Maulana's mother is a teacher at a private Islamic school so she understands better what her child is doing. Meanwhile, Maulana's own father also freed the use of sirwal by his son.

There is no family (using sirwal), only me. Maybe because of different educational backgrounds and work backgrounds. If you are a teacher in a private Islamic school, maybe you are more educated in terms of religion, so maybe you can understand more. Meanwhile, the father's words tend to be free, said Maulana to researchers.

On the contrary, women who wear the niqab in their family relationships experience rejection of the attributes they use, not least forcing them to have a big debate with their own parents about using the niqab. Not a few niqab users are prohibited from wearing the niqab by their parents (Kistoro et al., 2020). Delia for example, although her mother freed her, Delia was afraid of her father, who did not allow her to wear the niqab. Finally, Delia had to prove to her father that wearing the niqab did not change her character into something bad.

At first, what I was worried about was that my father would not give me (permission) to wear the niqab, while it was more up to me, like my mother or something else. In the end, I proved that even wearing the niqab didn't change, I wasn't a fanatic or anything like that, so it was permissible. So, it's like the clothes didn't change my character before, said Delia to the researcher.

With a less pleasant experience than Delia, Afika actually received a rejection from her parents. However, because Afika kept forcing herself to wear the niqab, in the end, Ms. Afika no longer had a problem with the niqab. In contrast to Afika's father, who even used "exaggerated" discourse to forbid his son from wearing his son's niqab attribute. Afika once again had to fight against her parents, even arguing with her father, even though it was brought up in a joking atmosphere.

If the mother didn't like it at first, that's okay, so at first I hid it from my mother. It's just like being lazy for a long time (secretly again), why should you hide it? Yes, it was worn in front of Mother. Then, yes, we have not discussed (niqab) again. If the father said "don't overdo it when you dress, the long headscarf is enough. Then I joked, "how is the location of the exaggeration, try to explain?" Then the father just laughed and said, "Okay, okay, just wear it if you want, but if you wear it once, don't take it off again," explained Afika to the researcher regarding the dynamics of her family's use of the niqab..

Through some of these experiences, we can see that social control in family relations is very visible in families of women who wear the niqab, where they are more restrained, controlled or controlled by their parents, who show how patriarchal families work. In contrast to that, sirwal-using families free their children to use sirwal attributes. This shows how patriarchal families operate, which positions men as superior individuals, while women are positioned in subordinate structures, which are freely controlled by their parents.

Social control by the power of the patriarchal family is carried out through what is called (Foucault, 1980, 2012) discourse, discourse, ideology and knowledge produced by power. We can see from Afika's experience regarding the discipline her father carried out that she was prohibited from wearing the niqab because it was "excessive" and was ordered to wear an ordinary headscarf. This "excessive" discourse itself indirectly narrates the concept of radicalism (Iqbal & Fauzi, 2021). This discourse is produced by parents to be able to control and discipline their children regarding the attributes of the niqab.

The prohibition of the niqab by parents is done by normalizing that the niqab is something negative. As Foucault (1999, 66) that modern consciousness tends to organize – in contrast to the normal and the pathological – the ability to limit the disordered, the deviant, the unreasonable, the forbidden, as well as the criminal. The niqab is discussed as something deviant, criminal and the like, which is ultimately to control individuals not to wear the niqab. This discourse indirectly creates what Foucault calls a "righteous regime" that those who do not wear the niqab are something good, while those who wear the niqab are bad.



Apart from that, the experience of women wearing the niqab can also be seen from another perspective, from Walby (2014), for example, who sees that patriarchal structures work in private spaces such as the family and also the public. Here the family becomes an arena of oppression for women. We can clearly see from Afika's and Delia's experiences that they experienced social control by their father. At the same time, mothers are more liberated and don't really mind what attributes they use. However, fathers are more controlled. Afika even received advice in the form of a ban on the use of her niqab by labeling her with the niqab.

Harassment of Niqab Women

The family, as explained earlier, is one of the places where women experience a downturn. However, elsewhere, in the public sphere, for example, women also often experience subordination in society. Thus, not only in private spaces such as the family, as previously mentioned, but women also often experience subordination, discrimination and even harassment in public spaces, whether on the streets, campuses and so on. Likewise, was revealed by Walby (2014) that patriarchy works not only in the private sphere but also works in public spaces, such as in the world of work, school, and the world of government politics.

What is explained by Walby (2014) seems to also be experienced by women who wear the niqab. After they experienced subordination in the private sphere, in their respective families, they again had to experience subordination in the public sphere, such as on campuses and on the streets. For example, Afika and Rani both of whom often receive verbal abuse in public spaces. As for Afika, she often experiences verbal harassment on her campus, and even the harassment is carried out by new students who shout at her with the words "ninja hatori" and several other screams that are not very clear to hear from a distance. Likewise, Delia was also talked about as a "ninja" by those around her. While Rani herself was even more uncomfortable than on the streets, she was often verbally abused with the phrase "assalamualaikum ukhti" coupled with a cynical look by the culprit. Actions like this, of course for Rani, are actions that are uncomfortable for her.

Often on the street, I hear something like "Assalamu'alaikum ukhti", but with a cynical or teasing look, and that is very uncomfortable for me, Rani told researchers about the verbal abuse she had experienced.

This kind of verbal abuse is, of course, not experienced by sirwal users. Even though the niqab and sirwal both have a negative stigma, such as being radical in society, only women who wear the niqab experience direct verbal abuse. Fandi, for example, admits that in public construction, there is a negative stigma on the use of sirwal, but he said that during the use of sirwal, he never received direct ridicule, harassment, or the like.

Never directly, personally speaking directly, or 'justification' never, whether at formal events, government events, and others. It's just that from the mass media, there is a saying 'radical characteristics are sirwal' just like that, but that's from the mass media, said Fandi to researchers.

This kind of verbal abuse is, of course, not experienced by sirwal users. Even though the niqab and sirwal both have a negative stigma, such as being radical in society, only women who wear the niqab experience direct verbal abuse. Fandi, for example, admits that in public construction, there is a negative stigma on the use of sirwal, but he said that during the use of sirwal, he never received direct ridicule, harassment, or the like; this shows that the verbal abuse experienced by niqab women is not only a matter of religion, the stigma of religious attributes, but also the issue of gender inequality. Personally, using sirwal, men have never experienced direct harassment. In contrast to niqab women who are not only from the mass media but also directly harassed in front of themselves when in public spaces. This reality indirectly narrates that women wearing the niqab experience double subordination in society. That they are not only subordinated because of the niqab but they are also subordinated because they are women.

This is in line with the results of research from Awan & Zempi (2016) that violence, abuse, detention or other attacks on veiled women are not only a matter of their identity, but gender is the crucial trigger of these attacks. Furthermore, Awan (2014) found that most online anti-Muslim hate crimes victims were "visible" Muslim women, especially those wearing the hijab or niqab.



Stigmatization of Niqab and Sirwal

These experiences of verbal abuse can be seen in the perspective of stigma put forward by Goffman (1963) that stigma is often related to physical, attribute or social issues that will harm an individual's social identity, discriminate against individuals and even disqualify individuals for the acceptance of other individuals. This is what niqab users experience. Or even not only experiences of abuse, various constructions, stigma, and negative labeling that exist regarding the niqab and sirwal can be analyzed through Goffman (1963) stigma perspective.

The stigma regarding the niqab and sirwal, the perspective of Goffman (1963) stigma, this stigma is included in a Tribal Stigma, namely a stigma related to ethnicity, religion, race, or nation. In this case, tribal stigma is more toward a community, organization, or social group with the same characteristics and identity (Goffman, 1963). The reason is that niqab, and sirwal users can be said to be a community or social group in society with the same identity, namely the use of the same attributes, and have backgrounds that are not much different in their use, namely by religious doctrine.

Stigma, of course, does not just appear in society to a group or individual; they are stigmatized. Certainly, there are factors behind it. Likewise, the negative stigma regarding the niqab and sirwal, which of course, have a certain social background, makes people stigmatize them. Goffman (1963) actually has six explanations, as previously mentioned in the literature review, regarding the causes of stigma in groups and individuals by society. However, not all of the six causes can explain the negative stigma attached to the niqab and sirwal. There are at least three causes that are relevant to the negative stigma attached to the niqab and sirwal.

First, regarding fear, that stigma arises on the basis of people's fear of certain groups or individuals who are negatively stigmatized. The negative stigmas on the niqab and sirwal regarding radicalism, extremism, fundamentalism and the like cannot be separated from the social realities that shape public discourse regarding the niqab and sirwal. We can see cases of radicalism in recent years where the perpetrators wore the niqab and sirwal attributes. For example, the suicide bombings in 2018 at three Surabaya churches were carried out by one family, and their parents wore a niqab and

sirwal. Likewise, the suicide bombing case in 2021 at the Makassar Cathedral Church where the perpetrator was also wearing a niqab and sirwal. This social reality ultimately builds public construction and has an impact on the negative stigma of the niqab and sirwal.

Not much different from that, Afika also gave her opinion that the negative stigma on the niqab and sirwal cannot be separated from what people watch. As stated by Juergensmeyer (2000), that violence in the name of religion or terrorism eventually becomes a spectacle that wants to narrate certain symbols to the public. Then society generalizes blindly and hits the average by giving a negative attitude towards niqab and sirwal users.

Negative stigma is built on what they see. Normally we generalize, judging by what we see. Why does the negative stigma about the niqab and sirwal appear? Because there are terrorists wearing those clothes, Afika told the researcher.

Apart from fear, another cause for the presence of stigma, according to Goffman (1963), is unattractiveness, that a person experiences stigma because he is considered different, whether it be physical attributes or social behavior so that he is rejected by society. Niqab and sirwal are attributes that are still not very familiar, even foreign to Indonesian society. As stated by Delia regarding the negative stigma of the niqab, this attribute is still considered strange, foreign, and even different from the culture in Indonesian society. Even the niqab is considered an Arab culture that is completely different from Indonesia, resulting in a stigma that is laborious in the eyes of Indonesian society.

The problem is that the niqab is still considered strange by society, Arab culture and so on. So it's like maybe people still think the niqab is Arabic culture and so on, here it's the archipelago and so on, said Delia to researchers.

Then for the last cause of stigma, namely what is called by Goffman (1963), anxiety. A society that has a negative stigma of certain groups or individuals is based on an uncomfortable feeling with people who are considered different. So, this cause still has something to do with the previous cause that stigma arises because someone is considered different. This difference then produces a sense of discomfort for society. Niqab and sirwal are



different identities, even minorities in a society, so they create inconvenience when present in a certain homogeneous society.

Niqab and sirwal are considered as different groups, while the general public who do not wear these attributes are then referred to by Goffman (1963) as the normals. This term is used by Goffman (1963) to refer to those who do not receive negative stigmas or those who are considered "normal" within the normal limits of society. Delia, as previously mentioned, that Indonesian society, in general, applies Indonesian culture, which is referred to as normal. Or also like the construction of Afika's father that something normal is one who only wears a headscarf, while those who wear it are considered "excessive". So that those who are considered "abnormal" in a realm of normalcy in society or those who are negatively stigmatized tend to experience discrimination, experience a downturn or even worsen their lives.

However, even so, as stated by Schuetz (1944) that strangers, strangers, or individuals who are different in our civilization will always try to be permanently accepted in society, or at least tolerated by the surrounding community. The niqab and sirwal users will always try to make the people around them accept their identity through the attributes they use. This was also done by Delia in order to dissolve the negative stigmas against the niqab by mingling with the community, being active in organizations and so on.

So it's as if maybe I myself am trying to change the stereotypes of that society by showing myself that I am not what they think, that the niqab is not as scary as they think. Muslim women can also organize, can mingle, and so on. So it's more like building an actual image, not as scary as they imagine, Delia explained to researchers.

Not much different from that, Maulana also tries to continue to present a good image in society. For example, by socializing with the community, not taking distance from the community and continuing to do good to the community. All of this is nothing but to be able to create a positive construction on sirwal users.

Maybe from the way they get along. So, my experience so far, such as trying to stay close to the people around, don't stay away, don't look cynical. Still, we treat them as ordinary people. So, in the end, they know, "oh, this person is good". Then, in the end, they had no real reason to

justify my being ugly. Just trying to be better just like that, explained Maulana to researchers.

CONCLUSION

Niqab and sirwal are two Islamic attributes that are still considered foreign by society. In fact, these two attributes are not only foreign, but they also have a negative stigma, starting from radicalism, fundamentalism, extremism and so on. However, behind it all, niqab women experience discrimination, marginalization and even low opinion, which in some cases is not experienced by those who wear the sirwal. In the private sphere, for example, women who wear the niqab tend to be restrained, even prohibited by their parents in family relations. In contrast, those who use sirwal tend to be more liberated by their parents. In fact, not only in the private sphere but women wearing the niqab also experience discrimination in the public sphere. Verbal harassment, for example, is often experienced by women wearing the niqab, while those who wear sirwal have never experienced harassment. Through this research, it can be said that women who wear the niqab experience discrimination, exclusion, and humiliation not only because of the niqab they wear but also because they are women. Our society is still very strong in holding on to the patriarchal system, so women experience a downturn in various aspects. With a religious alibi, women wearing the niqab actually experience a slump. People often think that it is a matter of religiosity, but it should also be a matter of gender. In fact, not only that, women who wear niqabs also experience what can be called "double discrimination", that in addition to women wearing niqabs experiencing discrimination in the private sphere, such as the family, they also experience discrimination in the public sphere in society in the form of harassment verbal.

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