

# The Discourse of Hijab and Moral Standards of Muslim Women from the Perspective of Instagram Netizens

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## ABSTRACT

This study discusses Hijab and Netizen Perspective Morals (Discourse Analysis of the Nissa Sabyan Case on Instagram Gossip @lambe\_turah). This study aims to: find out the discourse on hijab and morality from the perspective of netizens in the case of Nissa Sabyan on Instagram Gossip @lambe\_turah; and find out about the social practice of hijab and morality on netizen accounts in the case of Nissa Sabyan on Instagram Gossip @lambe\_turah. This type of research is descriptive qualitative research with Norman Fairclough's discourse analysis approach. The research data were obtained through documentation of netizen comments on the gossip Instagram account @lambe\_turah and through

literature studies to support the research. The results of the study show that the hijab is an identity of a Muslim woman, and this identity is often expressed through the religious aspect of appearance. In the view of the community, the hijab is always identified with good behaviour, so that hijab users are required always to look good and cannot be wrong in society. The social practice of netizens in providing comments is influenced by the discourse that develops in society, which holds that a person who wears a hijab must also have good behaviour. Netizens who provide comments use personal accounts that are not associated with any institution.

## INTRODUCTION

The hijab is one of the most prominent religious symbols in the lives of Muslim women and serves as a visual identity that distinguishes Muslim women from other groups. In essence, the hijab is understood as an obligation to cover the aurat (parts of the body that should not be exposed in public) as well as an expression of piety that marks a woman's obedience to Islamic law (Marhumah, 2014; Wijayanti, 2017; Yulikhah, 2017). However, the hijab is not only understood as clothing or a religious attribute. It is also laden with social, cultural, and even political meanings. Its wearers are often positioned as representatives of collective morality, so that the actions of a woman wearing a hijab are often used as a benchmark for assessing the piety, honor, and morals of Muslims more broadly (Oktarina et al., 2025).

In a social context, the hijab functions as a marker of identity and moral control. Women who wear it are expected not only to fulfill the sharia aspects of dress, but also to maintain speech, behavior, and social interactions in accordance with Islamic values (Droogsmas, 2007; Mahmud & Rahmah, 2023). Therefore, there is a public expectation that a Muslim woman who wears a hijab must display behavior that is more respectable, polite, and in accordance with moral values. When there is a discrepancy between the hijab symbol

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and the wearer's behavior, the public often perceives this as a contradiction, even hypocrisy (Razia Abdullah & Showkat Hussain Dar, 2025; Sohail et al., 2023; Zain et al., 2023).

The hijab also reflects cultural dynamics. It is not only a religious practice, but also a social construct whose meaning can change depending on the context. For example, on the one hand, the hijab is seen as a form of obedience (Abd Kadir, 2024; Karaman & Christian, 2022; Rumaney & Sriram, 2023), but on the other hand, it can also be interpreted as a form of resistance to cultural domination, a symbol of political identity (Merlins, 2024; Sheth, 2019; Syakhna Izzatunnisa & Muhammad Kudhori, 2025), and a means of expressing modernity through fashion (Burhanuddin et al., 2025; Lewis, 2015; Tarlo, 2010). This change in meaning shows that the hijab operates within a social field of negotiation in which morality, aesthetics, and politics intersect.

In contemporary social developments, the hijab is no longer understood only as a religious obligation, but also as a fashion trend. Some Muslim women wear it because of school or family rules, while in other social spaces, they choose to take it off. Some wear the hijab in real life but take it off when presenting themselves on social media. This phenomenon shows that some Muslim women wear the hijab more to follow fashion than out of religious awareness (Hanik et al., 2022; Holshoe, 2020; Nistor, 2017). As digital technology advances, social media has become a space that reinforces the hijab's transformation into a lifestyle symbol. Platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, and YouTube present content that emphasizes the hijab's aesthetic dimension, often neglecting its moral values. From this emerged the term hijab style, which prioritizes the beauty of clothing over its spiritual meaning and morals (Baulch & Pramiyanti, 2018; Karakavak & Özbölük, 2023).

The role of celebrities also reinforces this trend. As influential public figures, celebrities who wear hijab often serve as role models for appearance, with their fashion styles imitated by fans (Cenderamata & Darmayanti, 2019). Figures such as Sulis, Nissa Sabyan, Veve Zulfikar, Ai Khodijah, Wafiq Azizah, and popular celebrities such as Syahrini, Citra Kirana, and Ria Ricis have shaped new models in hijab trends. However, this symbolic representation is also vulnerable to controversy that questions the consistency between the hijab as a religious identity and celebrities' moral behavior.

Research on the hijab has developed in academic literature. First, the hijab is often understood as a religious identity and symbol of piety (Gökarıksel & Secor, 2012; Tarlo, 2007). The literature also highlights the hijab as a fashion trend and cultural commodification, reflecting both modernity and the commercialization of religiosity (Lewis, 2015; Moors & Tarlo, 2013; Nurmila, 2009). Moreover, some studies emphasize the relationship between the hijab and morality, positioning the hijab as an indicator of piety, so that the behavior of its wearers continues to be measured through this symbol (El Guindi, 1999; Parker & Nilan, 2013). In addition, the digital religion literature (Campbell & Tsuria, 2021; Jurriens, 2017) shows that social media has become an important space for shaping religious identity, although the main focus is on religious practices in general rather than on the personal cases of celebrities.

However, most of these studies still focus on the hijab in terms of identity, fashion, and morality, as well as on the influence of social media as a space for religious expression. There have not been many studies that specifically analyze public discourse in digital gossip media about the relationship between the hijab and morality, especially when personal cases involving celebrities spark widespread debate. This is where this study takes a position, using the case of Nissa Sabyan as the object of study. The issue of adultery that ensnared her in February 2021 sparked thousands of comments from netizens on the Instagram gossip account @lambe\_turah. Many of these comments highlighted the contradiction between the symbol of the hijab worn by Nissa Sabyan and her behavior, which was considered incompatible with Muslim morality.

Based on this phenomenon, the study, entitled *Hijab and Morality from the Perspective of Netizens (Discourse Analysis of the Nissa Sabyan Case on the Gossip Instagram Account @lambe\_turah)*, aims to reveal how netizens construct the relationship between hijab and morality through digital discourse. Using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model, this study is expected to contribute new insights to the study of hijab, morality, and religious identity in the context of contemporary Indonesian digital media.

## METHOD

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach. This approach aims to explain social phenomena in depth through words, in both textual and visual forms, with an emphasis on the meanings contained therein (Eriyanto, 2001; Hidayat, 2001). Descriptive qualitative research was chosen because it allows researchers to describe the social phenomena and practices that emerge in netizen comments, particularly discourse about the hijab and morals in the case of Nissa Sabyan on the gossip Instagram account @lambe\_turah.

The analysis method used is Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model. (Fairclough, 2013) views language, both spoken and written, as a social practice that cannot be separated from the socio-cultural context that shapes it. Therefore, the analysis was conducted at three levels, namely text, discourse practice, and social practice, so that it could reveal how discourse about the hijab and morals was constructed in the digital space.

The data sources in this study consist of primary and secondary data. The primary data are netizen comments on the Instagram post @lambe\_turah regarding Nissa Sabyan's affair. The post that was the focus of the analysis was uploaded on February 18, 2021, in the form of a screenshot of a Detikcom-DetikHot news article titled "Nissa Sabyan and Ayus Admit to Their Families That They Love Each Other," which received 34,146 comments. From these comments, the researcher selected those that directly addressed the issues of hijab and morality. In addition, the researcher examined the social practices of the accounts that posted comments, focusing on the activities and information they uploaded. A total of 18 accounts were selected for analysis. Meanwhile, secondary data were obtained from literature reviews, including documents, archives, journals, books, and other sources

relevant to this study. Secondary data served to complement and strengthen the analysis of the discourse on hijab and morals.

The data collection technique used was documentation, including the collection, sorting, and analysis of relevant netizen comments, as well as a literature review to provide a conceptual and contextual framework. Next, data analysis was conducted using Norman Fairclough's framework, comprising three stages (Fairclough, 2013). First, identifying and analyzing netizen comments on hijab and morals in the case of Nissa Sabyan. Second, analyzing discourse practices by looking at how these comments were produced, circulated, and understood in the context of social media, including through a review of 18 selected Instagram accounts. Third, analyzing broader social practices, namely how the discourse on hijab and morals is linked to cultural values, social norms, and ideologies that prevail in society. From these stages, conclusions were then drawn regarding the construction of netizen discourse on the relationship between hijab and morals in the Nissa Sabyan case.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Text Analysis

According to Norman Fairclough, texts are analyzed linguistically by examining vocabulary, semantics, and sentence structure. Fairclough also sees a text as an action, not only showing how an object is described but also defining the relationships between objects. In this study, the researcher will analyze texts in the form of netizen comments regarding hijab and morals in the news coverage of the Nissa Sabyan case on the gossip Instagram account @lambe\_turah as follows:

Table 1. Text findings in netizen comments on the gossip Instagram account @lambe\_turah

No.	Coments	Description
1	<i>Akhlak Buruk... kelakuan Roh Halus di belakang Hijab anda ...</i>	Netizens called Nissa's behavior bad. In her account, the netizen is a woman who does not wear a hijab.
2.	<i>Jangan karena mendengar kabar buruk tentang dia, kalian langsung tidak suka dengan shalawat, dan berprasangka buruk pada wanita berhijab</i>	This comment shows that we should not prejudge women who wear hijabs, especially Nissa, who has been widely reported on. In his account, this netizen is a man who, judging from his posts in the form of photos and videos, has female friends who wear hijabs.
3.	<i>Intinya !! Jangan salahkan hijabnya salahkan pribadinya, jangan salahkan profesinya salahkan pribadinya, jangan salahkan agamanyaa tapi salahkan pribadinya!!!</i>	In this comment, the netizen does not associate Nissa's appearance wearing a hijab with the news about Nissa Sabyan.

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| 4. | <i>Lucu yaa udah salah masih aja banyak yang nge belain THE POWER OF GOOD LOOKING giliran yang onoh dihujat abis abisan iya emang gak seharusnya kita nyalahin hijabnya karna hijab sama akhlak itu dua hal yang berbeda. Tapi kalau gini kejadiannya yaah dia tetap aja salah, merebut seseorang yang sudah menjadi suami orang itu tetap aja bukan hal yang baik. Itu bukan CINTA tapi NAFSU. Lagian heran deh yang jomblo masih banyak eh ngelirik yg udah punya istri ya Allah semoga kita semua dilindungi dari hal hal semacam ini.</i> | This netizen is also a woman who wears a hijab in her account.   |
| 5. | <i>Jilbab itu perintah, sedangkan akhlak itu tergantung kadar keimanannya.</i>  | Hijab and morals are two different things, but after the news about the mistress, netizens seem disappointed and continue to blame Nissa.<br><br>This netizen on their account is a student who also wears a hijab. In this comment, the netizen distinguishes between hijab and morality, where hijab is a mandatory commandment to be followed, while morality aligns with one's faith. In the post on this netizen's account, the individual is also a woman who wears a hijab. |
| 6. | <i>Haduhh emang iya yah. Penampilan gk menjamin akhlaak. Haduh, g malu bilang saling mencintai.</i>   | In this comment, netizens believe that women who wear hijabs must also have good morals. The post, which is a photo on this netizen's account, features a woman who is not wearing a hijab.  |
| 7. | <i>Najiss deh ih, kayanya jilbab dia cuman dipake gaya"an doang deh gak tau arti dibalik semua.</i>   | In this comment, it is stated that Nissa's hijab is merely a fashion statement and that she does not understand its true meaning, which is why such cases arise. On this netizen's account, the uploaded photos and videos show women wearing hijabs, but there are also photos of women who are not.  |
| 8. | <i>Merusak citra hijab aja anjir dimana mana pasti kalau ada yang berhijab suka sholawatan pasti di sangka orang baik ternyata malah kek gini.</i>  | With the emergence of this issue surrounding Nissa, netizens believe that Nissa has damaged the image of the hijab and people who wear it, and   |
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		that those who like shalawat must also have good morals. This netizen is a man who has no photos or videos posted on his Instagram account.
9.	<i>Ingat ya jilbab dan akhlak adalah sesuatu yang berbeda.</i>	This comment does not link Nissa's appearance in a hijab to her behavior as reported by the media. The netizen who made this comment is a man whose posts, judging from them, indicate that he has a wife who also wears a hijab.
10	<i>Makanya klo belum siap berhijab jangan maksa... malu sama hijabnya.</i>	In this comment, netizens seem to suggest that women should not be forced to wear the hijab if they are not ready. This account also belongs to a netizen who wears the hijab.
11	<i>Gx usah pake kerudung mbak. Malu2in aja mending rambut.a di warnain aja baru cocok tuh klu pengen ngerebut suami orang.</i>	The prohibition against Nissa wearing the hijab if she wants to steal someone else's husband, as rumored in the media. The netizen who made this comment is a man who, judging from his posts, has a wife who does not wear the hijab.
12	<i>Jangan pernah membandingkan seseorang yg berhijab itu dg perilakunya. Karena berhijab itu hukumnya wajib bagi muslim wanita. dan perilaku itu datang nya dari diri nya sendiri. jadi engga ada kaitan nya hijab dan akhlak.</i>	There is no connection between the hijab and a person's character, because the hijab is mandatory for Muslim women and character is behavior that comes from within a person. This netizen is a woman who wears a hijab.
13	<i>Sumpah ya Nissa lu ngerusak nama baik perempuan yg berhijab tau ga !!!</i>	Netizens say that Nissa has damaged the reputation of women due to media reports about her involvement in an affair. This netizen also wears a hijab in her Instagram posts.
14	<i>Ngak boleh ngejudge hijabnya, karena akhlak bukan dr penampilan. Sekarang ini yg good looking belum tentu good attitude.</i>	This comment does not link the hijab and morals because morals are not part of one's appearance.

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		From the photos and videos uploaded by netizens, this woman is seen wearing a hijab.
15	<i>Akidah Ama akhlak emng berbeda tp mau gimana presesi masyarakat tentang "hijab" yang bisa dikatakan simbol "religius" tp akhlak nya tidak patut di contoh apalagi Dy publik figur musisi lagu religius pula...</i>	There is a perspective among most people that the "hijab" is a symbol of "religiousness," so people who wear the hijab should have behavior that reflects that religiousness. This netizen also wears a hijab in her Instagram posts.
16	<i>Bawain lagu2 sholawat tapi kelakuan ngambil laki org... hinaaa banget kau sbgai perempuan kaya ga ada laki2 lain.. mending yg di rebut laki nya cakep. Ga ada cakep2nya samanya bahlul.</i>	The news about the issue of adultery has caused netizens to think badly of Nissa. In addition, these netizens also seem to support adultery if the person's husband is handsome. This netizen is a woman who wears a hijab on her Instagram account.
17	<i>Hijabnya tidak pernah salah! Semua itu tergantung Attitude dan bagaimana cara dia dalam menghargai diri sendiri.</i>	In the comments, the netizen emphasized that the hijab has no connection to the issue and should not be blamed. The netizen's account also shows photos and videos of her wearing a hijab.
18	<i>Bukan tentang hijab atau apanya, sangat disayangkan krn banyak anak2 muda hijrah ikut stylenya, dll... giliran teejadi gini mereka tentu kaget yaa, nga percaya, anaknya terlihat santun, lagu2nya religi pasti paham banget agama, lagian msh muda banget.</i>	There is disappointment and concern among Nissa Sabyan's teenage fans, as many young people have converted to Islam following Nissa's style, making this news very unfortunate for all of Nissa's fans. This netizen is also a woman who wears a hijab.

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Source: Data Collected from Instagram Posts

Based on reports about the Nissa Sabyan case, netizens' comments linked the wearing of the hijab to moral character, suggesting that someone who wears a hijab should also have good moral character. In contrast, others argued that the hijab and moral character are separate and unrelated. Additionally, the accounts providing comments include women who wear hijabs and those who do not. Other accounts belong to men assumed to have wives, and there are also accounts of men with female friends who also wear hijabs.

## Analysis of Social Practice

The dimension of social practice is based on the assumption that social context shapes how discourse emerges. This social context is not directly related to the production of text but determines how a text is produced and understood. (Fairclough, 2013) divides the analysis of social practices into three levels, namely the situational level related to production and its context, the institutional level related to the influence of institutions internally and externally, and the social level related to macro aspects such as the political system, economic system, or cultural system of society as a whole (Andina, 2023; Zain et al., 2023).

The situational level in this study is the social context of a society that believes that women who wear the hijab are of good character and reflect a religious nature. This discourse has been ingrained in most societies. In addition, the context of “pelakor” is a “bad” condition for society, especially for women (Dhiah Indriani, 2023; Noor & Abdul Hamid, 2021; Sakinah et al., 2025). In the coverage of Nissa Sabyan’s case, many people, in this case, netizens, criticized Nissa Sabyan for associating her hijab with the behavior reported by the media, namely being a pelakor or “husband snatcher.” This is what caused many netizens to comment on Nissa Sabyan’s hijab and morals. In this study, there is no institutional level because the accounts of these netizens are not affiliated with any particular institution. The netizen accounts that posted comments on hijabs and morals in the coverage of the Nissa Sabyan case on the gossip Instagram account @lambe\_turah are personal accounts that post about netizens’ daily activities. Meanwhile, at the social level, netizens who posted comments were influenced by the discourse developing in society.

In Indonesian society, where the majority of people embrace Islam, a view of the “good Muslim woman” has been created. The community’s perspective is that a good Muslim woman wears a hijab and has good morals. This concept has become ingrained and has indirectly become a “label” for women who wear hijabs, not only in society but also on social media (Barizi et al., 2024; Ladyanna, 2024; Zain et al., 2023). On social media, artists and celebrities who wear hijabs seem to be expected to do things considered “good” in the eyes of netizens. When these artists and celebrities do things considered ‘bad’ in the eyes of netizens, they are labeled ‘bad’ not only for their behavior but also for their appearance, such as the hijab worn by the artist. This has given rise to various stereotypes that those who wear the hijab are not necessarily good. Conversely, those who do not wear the hijab are not necessarily bad in their behavior. This is also the case with Nissa Sabyan, who is rumored to be having an affair with the keyboardist of Sabyan Gambus, who is reported to be married. Netizens have been commenting on Nissa, who is suspected of having an affair with someone else’s husband, and she has even been labeled a “home wrecker.” Netizens also believe that Nissa is damaging the image of the hijab and women in general due to the news reports about her “stealing someone else’s husband.”

## CONCLUSION

From the data analysis conducted by researchers using Norman Fairclough's discourse analysis at two levels, the following conclusions were drawn: First, hijab and morals in the case of Nissa Sabyan on the gossip Instagram account @lambe\_turah show that hijab is an identity of a Muslim woman. This identity is often expressed through religious appearance. In the public's view, the hijab is always associated with good behavior, so hijab wearers are expected to always behave well in society. This discourse is ingrained in society, so that when news about artists or celebrities, such as reports of adulterers, appears in various media, netizens criticize these artists for their behavior and appearance. Second, the social practice of netizens posting comments is influenced by the discourse that develops in society. The discourse around the appearance of wearing a hijab certainly implies good behavior, while not wearing one implies bad behavior, thus encouraging netizens to comment on the hijab and morals in the Nissa Sabyan news story. In addition, the accounts used by netizens are personal, so the comments reflect their personal opinions and perspectives ingrained in society.

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