Socially Mediated Publicness in Networked Society for Indonesian Muslim Women

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Abstract*: This paper addresses discursive processes that generated 'jilboobs' term. It tries to ground the notion of socially mediated publicness and its affordances by investigating the process of image making of Indonesian Muslim women. Using Foucauldian discourse analysis approach, the result shows three characteristics of Indonesia's socially mediated publicness: (1) religiosity has a central role in the shift and contestation of private versus public sphere, (2) the visual turn of the social media has given specific augmentation for networked public affordances, and (3) feminine pious bodies are often marked by their concurrent presence and absence.*

Keywords: *jilboobs, Muslim women, networked publics, socially mediated publicness, veil*

Abstrak: *Makalah ini membahas proses diskursif yang memunculkan istilah 'jilboobs'. Gagasan socially mediated publicness atau kepublikan termediasi dan berbagai bentuk affordances diaplikasikan dengan meneliti proses pencitraan perempuan muslim berjilbab di Indonesia. Menggunakan analisa diskursus Foucauldian, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa terdapat tiga karakteristik dari kepublikan termediasi di Indonesia, yaitu: (1) religiusitas berperan penting dalam pergeseran dan kontestasi pemisahan ranah publik dengan ranah privat, (2) semakin pentingnya dimensi visual dalam media sosial memberikan penekanan spesifik pada elemen affordances, dan (3) tubuh feminin saleh dalam kepublikan yang termediasi muncul bersamaan melalui keberadaan dan ketiadaan.*

Kata Kunci*: jilbab, jilboobs, perempuan muslim, ranah publik, kepublikan termediasi*

Scholars have argued that in the Information Age, we are witnessing the birth of network society (Castells, 2010), which is powered by digital technologies and restructures traditional notion of social networks. More recently, in today's network society, the lives of people who are constantly connected to the internet are informed by or perhaps entangled in social media. Interactions created by the prevalence of social media have blurred the boundaries of our offline and online lives, creating what Lim (2015) calls a "*cyberurban space*", and at the same time blurred the boundaries of what is considered public and private, generating the notion of "socially mediated publicness" (Baym & Boyd, 2012).

In a cyberurban space, our physical and online lives are conflated. Online and offline social practices inform and interact with one another that there is no possibility to distinguish and discriminate their social, cultural, and political impacts in our daily lives. None is better or more influential than

the other, and the combination saturates the potential for alternative spaces and consequently contestation of power (Lim, 2015).

In addition, our interactions in social media have transcended the classic division of public versus private sphere. Everyone using social media is concurrently a potential speaker and a potential audience, and their relationship with what is public is shifting and becoming more complex, creating what Baym and Boyd (2012) called a '*socially mediated publicness*'. It renders the users' everyday experience visible to an imagined audience (Baym & Boyd, 2012). The social media users in networked publics, in this sense, are engaged in networked technologies that the social media depend on. The flow of communication in the networked publics, although it replicates and resembles traditional public sphere, is configured by the specific architecture that is based on bits, the smallest unit of computer memory size. The bits, therefore, inform the type of affordances in networked publics: persistence, replicability, scalability, searchability, and shareability (Boyd, 2010, p. 46; Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011, p. 76).

Persistence refers to the act of recording and archiving, meaning online discussions available any time as documented information. Replicability refers to ease, to reproduce, and to duplicate. Scalability refers to the constant potential of (massive) audience that networked publics allow the users to have, giving way to any topic to become 'viral', although it does not warrant popularity. Searchability refers to the accessibility of information for all users (Boyd, 2010, p. 46). Shareability is the social feature the networked technology facilitates. Following the nature of bits, it allows the ease of sharing any information, from personal to restricted data (Papacharissi & Gibson, 2011, p. 76). They characterize various online activities and its problems. The potential for free speech, social movements, and creative engagement appears at the same time with the potential for social inequality. The problems that networked publics discuss and trigger mimic the problems in conventional social structure (Boyd, 2010; Lim, 2015).

The affordances that networked structures have and the socially mediated publicness that the structures create are often discussed within the limits of secular, rational public/private sphere debate. Boyd, who theorized the networked public affordances, studied Twitter users' imagined audience in the context of networked publics (Marwick & Boyd, 2011). She found specific management of audience that the Twitter users had to do, in order to appropriate their self-expression in social media. Nevertheless, she did not problematize religious values that often collapse the public/private sphere binary altogether in certain societies, thus making affordances of networked publics, in this context, more complicated.

As Boyd herself (Baym & Boyd, 2012) has argued, analysis on networked publics should not be detached from the people and their social, cultural, and political contexts. In a society where religious values hold social significance, how do we understand the impact of socially mediated publicness? How

can we add to our understanding of networked publics' affordances to explain complications that may arise when socially mediated publicness is present in a religious society?

Following Boyd's concept of socially mediated publicness, it is instructive that we take the concept to a different setting. With the rise of the internet, Muslims have managed to create their own space. Internet savvy Muslims regulate, negotiate, and resist various forms of networks and practices that appeared online (Bunt, 2009). Furthermore, as today's popular social network sites such as Instagram, Snapchat, Facebook, and Twitter are increasingly visual based (Rettberg, 2014), the modes in which Muslim societies express themselves become more complicated.

This paper seeks to add to Boyd's theoretical intervention by analyzing networked publics in Muslim context, particularly in relation to veiled Muslim women. In regard to her visual presence, Muslim women are constantly negotiating her appearance and ethical consideration related to her veil. For the *Muslimahs,* beauty and religious conviction work together for a presentation that is both aesthetic and ethical (Bucar, 2016, p. 84). Nevertheless, this visibility when taken online has to be constantly negotiated as different societies have different experience and reactions (Robinson, 2014). In Indonesia, where fashion veiling is popular, Muslim women's self presentation are often too easily discerned as either perpetuating consumerism or too focused on embellishment that shifts the attention from religious devotion (Jones, 2010).For a veiled Muslim woman who participated on social media, her religious expression can no longer relates to just her inner belief. She is always present with her religious conviction, symbolized by the veil. Thus, when social media becomes more and more visual based, her appearance becomes key when she is present in pictures. Her veil becomes an inadvertent marker for the way she communicates her thoughts online. When she takes a picture of herself, or known today as '*selfie*', it ineluctably brings the veil forward. When she poses in front of her favourite cafe with friends and upload it on Facebook or Instagram, her veil is there with her to announce her religiosity.

Thus, the online presence of the Muslim women in a growingly visual-based socially mediated publicness is tangled with the digital image. Her public presence is growingly dictated with the images she uploads, making the vernacular act of uploading selfies and daily pictures on social media a public presence that can potentially be a public concern, especially in a Muslim majority country.

If socially mediated publicness blurs the boundary between public and private, the lives of Muslims in Muslim countries or Islamic states have very different conception of what is private and public from the very beginning. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, Talal Asad (1993) observes how its culture of public criticism is based on moral concerns, in which Muslims believe that reminding other Muslims is a moral obligation, to help better the ummah. This includes fellow Muslims reminding each other about their deeds in daily lives

and -on a more political level- the ulamā giving approving or dissenting opinion to the state in regards to various forms of change. In a Muslim society, the Muslim public believes that to better the moral of the people around them is an obligation.

Therefore, this paper finds it critical to examine Boyd's claim on networked publics affordances, which deal with the way we view the blurred lines between public and private spheres, in a Muslim context. I believe an analysis of the intersection between networked publics affordances, image-driven socially mediated publicness, veiled Muslim women, and the issue of privacy and publicness is fundamental to further our understanding on the nexus of power relations that forms our cyberurban lives and to ground the notion of socially mediated publicness into a specific sociocultural context and take it beyond rational, secular public/private sphere debate.

This paper takes a specific case study of '*jilboobs*' from Indonesia, a Muslim majority country with 73 million internet users. *Jilboobs* became a trending topic -to use Twitter lingo- in mid 2014. Pictures of Muslim women wearing veils and revealing the shape of their breasts and body shapes were circulated in different social media sites and discussed in major online news websites and popular online forum.

As veiling is an option for Indonesian Muslim women (except for those who live in Aceh province), actions and reactions online revealed complex relationship that the society has with the veil and feminine bodies. This phenomenon is a relevant case study to ground the notion of socially mediated publicness as it can help revealing specific understanding in Indonesia about the location of Muslim feminine bodies and the (im)possibility of separation between public and private sphere separation, a concern that Boyd underlines. Social concerns about Muslim women's bodies displayed and circulated in social media in Indonesia, as this paper will show, could not be understood within simplified boundary of public and private spheres and its growingly blurred lines. Thus, using the case of *jilboobs* in Indonesia, this paper rethinks the notion of socially mediated publicness (Baym & Boyd, 2012; Marwick & Boyd, 2011) in a society that emphasize religiosity by investigating the process of image making that the women marked as *jilboobs* went through.

METHODS

This study offers a qualitative insight using cultural studies approach, as it concerns the power relations involved in the discursive processes that generated the term *jilboobs*. To study the discursive process that generated the term *jilboobs*, Foucauldian discourse analysis became the preferred approach. Discourse, according to Foucault, consists of statements and their regulated practices (Foucault, 1972), and it dictates how we talk about a particular topic or even the way we live (Mills, 2003). A Foucauldian discourse analysis traces how a discourse is formed and later transformed to reveal subject formation and power relation

it entails. It requires determining a corpus of statements that can reveal conditions of possibility and its temporal variability and collecting the texts. It is later followed by problematizing the corpus to be able to take a critical position and to trace the formation of the discursive object. This approach is particularly interested in how the corpus reveals subject positions (moral location within social interaction) and subjectification (ethics of self-formation) (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008, p. 99).

In this paper, I share observation on how *jilboobs* became a trending topic on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram in early 2014 and spiraled into a social issue by the mid-end of the year. I followed the popularity of *Jilboobs Community's* Facebook page and public debates that ensued involving Majelis Ulama Indonesia's (MUI) statement and online as well as print media's exposure.

As a corpus of statements, the study used Twitter advanced search feature to follow previous tweets with the hashtag *(#) jilboobs* to be able to trace back the discussion. It revealed the earliest mention of the word *jilboobs* in 2012 until the end of 2014. I gathered the tweets and did close reading of the texts. Furthermore, I gathered images uploaded on Instagram with the same hashtag using the RSS feature provided by http://websta.me. However, I could not do a through image search on Instagram to backtrack the hashtag due to Instagram new API restrictions, so it relied on images on HTML files I downloaded using the RSS feature in *Devonthink Pro Office* software from January 2015-August 2015. I also took notes on the names of Instagram accounts mentioning the word '*jilboobs*' specifically. Online news on *jilboobs* from 2014 was also gathered to help map the discussion. All the data gathered were then used to understand the temporal developments of the phenomenon as well as its discursive process. One particular article from Julia Suryakusuma (2014) published on English language newspaper in Indonesia, *The Jakarta Post*, was analyzed in detail, as this paper will show later, because it represents one of the most important commentary on the *jilboobs* phenomenon at that time.

FINDING

The term '*jilboobs*' is a mischievous combination of the word *jilbab* (veil) and *boobs*. It was often assumed to be popular because of a (now inactive) Facebook page called '*Jilboobs Community*' (https://www.facebook.com/pages/Jilboobs/637814049609634) which was created on January 25, 2014. The page showed a collage of pictures of veiled women wearing tight clothes revealing the shapes of their breasts. Most of the pictures were selfies. The women were nameless, and we could not know whether or not they had given their consent to have their selfies put up. Its tagline, "indahnya saling berbagi, nb: diolah dari berbagai sumber" (the beauty of sharing, from various sources), could perhaps provide us with a clue that the pictures were uploaded without the women's permission. The page gained

massive popularity and had thousands of likes by August 2014, even though it had only about 26 pictures uploaded on January 29, 2014 (Bio In God Bless, 2014).

Although it was only one Facebook page, which was thought to have popularized the term, *jilboobs* was not a minor online phenomenon. By the end of 2014, discussions on *jilboobs* were saturated into at least two types, as the following paragraphs will show. First, *jilboobs* became a term used to mark Muslim women who could be charged as shameful examples of 'wrong' veiling practice. Second, *jilboobs* marked a distinct type of sexualized bodies.

The *Jilboobs Community* page should not be considered as the culprit that snowballed the term *'jilboobs'* into public consciousness. What set off its popularity was actually social media users on Twitter and, later, Instagram as well as news released by online media outlet and online forum discussion about the phenomenon. The combination of social media users' reactions and popular websites incessant news release on the topic in August 2014 was more relevant in understanding the phenomenon.

Twitter users could be said to be the first ones to learn about the term. The first tweet mentioning *jilboobs* was made on November 12, 2012, about 1.5 year earlier than the creation of the infamous *Jilboobs Community* page. The first tweet from Indonesia mentioning *jilboobs* was from Twitter user @ffalahsyifa, posted on November 12, 2012: "*Ya Allah.. miris liat blog ini jilboobs.blogspot.com semacam kritik CETAR buat yang pake kerudung tapi ga sesuai syariah islam..*". The blog she referred to is now blocked in Indonesia for its pornographic content. Access from outside Indonesia showed that the blog collects pictures of Muslim women they claim as *jilboobs* with two categories, celebrities and common girls. This first tweet revealed the general attitude regarding the term, that it was a critique for Muslim women to continuously learn to better themselves so they can follow the Islamic shari'a properly.

There were 79 tweets on *jilboobs* before January 25, 2014, the day when the *Jilboobs Community* page was made on Facebook, and only 4 out of 79 tweets referred to http://jilboobs.blogspot.com. The rests of the tweets show how the word *jilboobs* had started to 'buzz' even before the Facebook page was formed.

> @Aldoaria (6 December 2012): *nah ini. jangan jadi jilboobs juga mi RT @JammaahClub: Jilbab emang bikin ente ga bebas dan susah bergerak, tp insyallah bisa melapangkan*
>
> @junioru_san (6 Jan 2013): *Jilboobs itu mah buset bukan jibab* :v
>
> @andhikaw (28 Feb 2013): *Tai banget kalo itu* -_- "@Basithisme: @andhikaw *ada lagi, ce.. jilboobs. cewek kerudung yang..... nah*."
>
> @panduren (10 Apr 2013): *Jilboobs bukan jibab wkwkwkwk*
>
> @awhayuhi (27 Jun 2013): *Jilbab itu khimar sederhana nutupin dada, tanpa jeans ketat, tanpa pamer lekuk tubuh. Kalo yang pamer bentuk tubuh mah namanya jilboobs.*
>
> @AzzlAmr (16 Jul 2013): *JILBOOBS mah kalo di aceh namanya bukan jilbab*
>
> @Adjeid (24 Jul 2013): *Alhamdulillah @ jengnini sudah berhijab. Tapi jangan jilboobs gitu dong. Perbaiki yak...*

> @zienumax (17 Nov 2013): *Maap maap saja ya young lady.. Maap itu bukan jilbab.. Maap tp itu jilboobs! Yg bener make jilbab teh!*
>
> @selfiecantik (15 Jan 2014): *ada istilah baru lagi... jilboobs. *geleng-geleng**

From the samples of tweets above, it was obvious how *jilboobs* became a concern among Indonesian users, although it was not always expressed in serious tone. Most actually addressed *jilboobs* mockingly while inserting critique on how the *jilboobers* wrongly interpret the religious obligation. Others show discontent from religious perspective, preaching for better conduct from the '*jilboobers*', the women they mark as part of *jilboobs* phenomenon.

Arrahmah.com was the first website writing an article to alert fellow Indonesian Muslims about the danger of *jilboobs*. In an article titled "*Fatwakan Haram* '*jilboobs*'*!*" published on April 1, 2014, Adiba Hasan, the author, cringed over the fact that Islam's progress in Indonesia was 'demonized' by the presence of *jilboobers*.

> *"Dapat dipastikan, 'jilboobs' tengah menjadi demonologi Islam (penyetanan Islam-red). Ia menjadikan Islam tampil dalam bentuk yang nista. Muslimah disuguhkan sebagai bahan tertawaan sekaligus pelecehan seksual para komentator dan blogwalker yang didominasi pria Indonesia dan Malaysia. Rupanya dakwah perlu digiatkan kembali agar Muslimah menyadari hakikat jilbab adalah menutup aurat, bukan membungkus aurat seketat-ketatnya. Na'udzubillahi mindzalik."* (Hasan, 2014)

Despite the author's realization that the Muslim women became a laughing stock by trolling internet users who might have used the women's pictures without their permission, what was stressed was that it showed that Muslims had to do more da'wa activities to advocate for proper veiling. Moreover, this article urged MUI to release a fatwa on this matter and to label '*jilboobs*' *haram*.

Kaskus, a popular online forum among youth in Indonesia, had a new thread on April 4, 2014, called "*JILBOOBS Menutup aurat atau, ah sudah lah…*". The thread was initiated by user *fahrezi.qtink*, who introduced *jilboobs* as a term for women who wear veil with tight clothes based on definition from *Arrahmah.com*. He claimed that the thread was meant for discussion and a reminder of fellow *Kaskuser*. Kaskus is the 7th most popular website in Indonesia with high percentage of male visitors, according to statistics on alexa.com. It was not a surprise, perhaps, that the thread received sexually charged replies.Article from *Arrahmah* and thread on Kaskus complicated social media users' reactions. There were more tweets sharing the links to the article and the thread. Explanation about what *jilboobs* entailed from the websites made it easier for social media users to further claim that they were living among *jilboobers.*

The article and tweets seemed to have predicted what was going to happen in the coming three months. News about *jilboobs* spiked in August 2014 after more popular news outlet take on the topic as headline, especially when MUI released its fatwa. The same picture set from *Jilboobs Community* Facebook page was used again quite repetitively by major media outlets such as liputan6.com, detik.com, and merdeka.com. Their news pieces focused on the styles of *jilboobs* and statements of concerns from public figures about the phenomenon.

The 'news' from the websites could indeed be considered as 'clickbaits' to invite visitors to their website by discussing the current trending topic. Nevertheless, the articles revealed serious concerns in public realm about how women should veil, and MUI's decision to release a fatwa on *jilboobs* encouraged more news websites to release more articles on the topic. MUI's declaration about *jilboobs* was an extension to their previous fatwa on pornography. The 'ulamā released the fatwa to condemn any pornographic acts, which include revealing female's body' (Triono, 2014).

August 2014 was really a temporal saturation point for the topic. Women marked as *jilboobs* appeared almost everywhere, in news outlet as well as social media. Instagram users took the opportunity to upload pictures of women they believed to be wearing *jilboob*-style veil and captioned the image with words of advice and religious wisdom.

Nevertheless, the public discussion turned into sexualization very quickly. Instagram users called *@jilboobers*, *@jilboobscommunity*, *@jilboobss*, *@jilbabseksi*, and *@pemburujilboobs* used the momentum to gain popularity. Twitter users with similar names also appeared *(@jilboober, @jilboobmontok, @jilboobshunter*). Users made comic strips and illustration about it too. What was more surprising, however, was the reaction of Julia Suryakusuma.

Julia Suryakusuma is a well-known feminist, activist, and academia in Indonesia. She has published books and has her own weekly column in a popular English daily in Indonesia, *The Jakarta Post*. Her articles in the newspaper are often quirky and intentionally worded to generate discussions. In Augut 2014, Suryakusuma jumped in and wrote an article titled "'*Jilboobs*': *A storm in a D-cup!*" to critique MUI's fatwa (Suryakusuma, 2014).

There are two main lines of argument Suryakusuma offers in this article: one is that Muslim women who cover have mistakenly followed a rule that is 'merely' a cultural tradition. This is how she argues against MUI's fatwa. Two, she claims that *jilboobs* represent Muslim women's desire to gain attention.

Her first claim resembles a common argument made by liberal feminists, and she, perhaps knowingly, justifies her view by summarizing a thesis written by Nong Darol Mahmada, a member of Islam Liberal Network (JIL). Her question is a common driving force behind liberal (Western) feminist activism: "Why do women have to cover up their *aurat* (forbidden parts), which for them is head to toe, while for men it's only from the waist to the knee?". A decade ago, after 9/11, such question was usually uttered by western women groups to address the seemingly alien veiled Middle Eastern women. Many feminist scholars from the Middle East countries have argued against such problematic question, as it only justifies a particular form of societal structure. This liberating discourse, Lila Abu-Lughod observes (2002, 2013), argues that the veil is the ultimate sign of Islamic oppression. Abu-Lughod also observed how liberal western perspective often emphasizes that the veil symbolizes the lack of agency.

Interestingly, Suryakusuma follows the same western tenet. She claims that before veiling becomes today's middle-class trend,

the veil was worn by "rural and uneducated women". The female mass, for her, seems to be either illiterate or victims of a fad. Her response towards MUI's fatwa is thus predictable. She states that "[I]t's the usual reaction: A bunch of men trying to show their power by using religion to tell women who to dress and behave". Because veiling is simply a cultural tradition, and not really a religious tradition, for her, MUI's reaction is a sign of male dominance. Here, Suryakusuma's argument is obviously important, but it inevitably fails to explain what the *jilboobs* problem really represents. First, she denies the agency of the Muslim women who choose to veil, and even when she does, she mockingly simplifies the women's desire for attention from men, as I will explain later.

In contrast to Suryakusuma's belief that the veil limits Muslim women's space, in the last decade, scholars have actually argued that the veil allows women to navigate male-dominated spaces (Brenner, 1996; Jones, 2010; Smith-Hefner, 2007). Instead of arguing that MUI's fatwa as simply a tool to tell women how to dress, she could actually acknowledge the visibility of Muslim women's movements that advocate veiling and their complex relations with a male-led organization like MUI (van Doorn-Harder, 2006). This way, veiling cannot be considered simply as a tool by religious men to control its women, rather it is a symbol of piety that involves Muslim women's choice and ethical considerations to prioritize self-cultivation through religious values (Mahmood, 2012).

Now we can move on to her second major argument. "*Jilboobs* are simply the convergence of trends toward religiosity in Indonesia with globalization, which brings with it western standards of beauty -currently obsessed with big boobies", Suryakusuma claims. Despite her advice for the men to lower their gaze and not focusing on the women's breasts, Suryakusuma fails to examine the initial reason why there is such term as '*jilboobs*' in the first place. Instead of understanding the *Jilboobs Community* fan page as a mockery of the currently popular *Hijabers Community*, she claims that there are a lot of *jilboobs* fans out there, as reflected by the fan pages and Twitter hashtags. This is a fundamental error on Suryakusuma's part. As I have explained before, the first fan page made for '*Jilboobs Community*' only uploaded two sets of pictures. The Muslim women in the pictures were nameless, and their selfies were taken out of context and most probably without their consent. Moreover, there were basically no women who claim herself as a '*jilboober*' other than those claimed by others who marked them. Had she done a brief background check, she would have realized how most pictures tagged as *jilboobs* have mostly been marked for derision and ridicule.

DISCUSSION

To return back to Boyd's conception of socially mediated publicness and its affordances, we have seen how the characteristics of the internet's architecture helped to 'create' the *jilboobs* phenomenon. Digital images such as selfie that were stored on social media platforms or websites (following the concept of persistence) could easily be 'copied' and (mis-)used for other

purposes (replicability). The potential for massive audience (scalability) was actually realized as veiling is an important element for Muslim women's ethical cultivation, and concerns were building up as anyone can look the pictures up on search engines or websites (searchability), and then share them on different platforms (shareability).

Although the flow of communication followed specific architecture of online communication, the issues that the *jilboobs* phenomenon revealed were marked specifically by the importance of religious values in Indonesian Muslim society, and this transcended the issue of public versus private sphere. Blogs, Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram accounts that distributed the pictures of the women claimed as *'jilboobers'* were seen as a moral reminder for the Muslim society in Indonesia to have better da'wa strategies, so that Muslim women could learn how to don the veil properly, in accordance with the shari'a. A claim that the women's privacy were invaded because their pictures were misused would not work in this case, as no concern on privacy was addressed. Another important point was how none of the posts or tweets came from the women reputed to be *jilboobers*. Flows of comments and reactions were running commentary and dissent for an imagined group of Muslim women by fellow Muslims who were concerned about the seemingly declining morale of the women as represented by the images.

Arguably, therefore, the *#jilboobs* phenomenon has revealed three main characteristics of Indonesia's socially mediated publicness. One, religiosity plays an important role in the shift and contestation of the already blurred division of private versus public sphere. The pool of images marked as *jilboobs* represented a form of visibility that was utilized for control and dominance over Muslim women's relationship with their bodies and pious dispositions. It represents religious patriarchal values that have reasoning based on virtue and piety found on Islamic text interpretations. Although MUI was the only major institution that would publicly assert this position, I believe Suryakusuma's stance -as shown in the analysis above- reflects a deeper problematic and complex relationship that Indonesian networked publics have with Islam, and in effect with the Muslim women today. From there, we see how analysis on networked society and socially mediated publicness cannot ignore religious concerns and assume universal separation of what is religious and rational in various societies.

Two, the visual turn of the social media has given specific augmentation for networked public affordances. A phenomenon like *#jilboobs* could only happen, I contend, when the visual based social network sites started to gain popularity. Muslim women's identity is marked -as they wear veil- through their visibility. As appearance is an important part in representing Muslimness (or even Muslimwomanness), there is always a "war of presence" (Azoulay, 2008; Khatib, 2012) to justify particular interpretations of veiling through digital images. In the past, Muslim women wearing tight clothing would be called '*jilbab gaul*' or '*jilbab funky*', and they were usually discussed in print media or scholarly discourse. However, contemporary internet

affordances have made traditional media ethics or analytical approaches are unnecessary or irrelevant. Naming or marking particular feminine bodies can now be supplemented with a combination of naming-shaming-visualizing altogether marking the '*abnormal*' Muslim women bodies. Lastly, feminine pious bodies in a socially mediated publicness are often marked by their concurrent presence and absence. The subjects (Muslim women marked as *jilboobs*) are present and absent at the same time. Her images can be taken and copied/reproduced by other users, following the affordances of networked publics such as replicability and shareability, acknowledging her as a user and content producer. However, when her picture was reused, repurposed, and marked as *jilboobs* her 'self' became absent. Her virtual profile and agency went missing, and her specific context for taking and posting the photo became lost. She became a mere image, a part of a hashtag that emphasizes anonymity while naming and shaming the feminine bodies.

CONCLUSION

Because this study is concerned with discursive process that generated the term *jilboobs,* I am aware that I have set aside feminist concerns of freedom, concern, body image, and privacy. Nevertheless, statements and regulations that generated the *jilboobs* phenomenon, I would argue, revealed critical findings on how the Indonesian Muslim society forms its present-day feminine subjects. Evaluation on how a Muslim society should better treat their women is not within the reach of this paper.

In conclusion, the entanglement between religiosity, social media, and feminine pious bodies characterizes Indonesia's socially mediated publicness. To limit issues related with the public/private sphere only in rational and 'secular' settings would mean leaving out important debates and the changing boundaries of what is considered as public/private concerns that the Muslim societies have brought about. The fluid and ever changing conflation of online and offline lives in our contemporary lives has become more interesting with the concerns of the *ummah* (Bunt, 2003, 2009), and this will continue to challenge our assessment of the 'cyber' and its effect to our lives.

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