

## RESEARCH ARTICLE



# Being #wanitasalihah: Representations of salihah women on TikTok

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**Abstract:** Being a *salihah* woman represented by TikTok, social media users have formed complex symbols and meanings. This study describes the representation of *salihah* women and reflects the meaning of *salihah* women in TikTok social media. This study uses the netnography method with a qualitative descriptive approach. Data collection in this study begins with a reading process on 1.6 thousand video posts disseminated on TikTok social media using the hashtag #wanitasalihah. Data analysis is carried out through immersive methods by describing, classifying, and interpreting data thematically to reveal the meaning represented in describing the concept of pious women. The findings in this study show that the representation of pious women is represented in ideological and symbolic themes.

**Keywords:** *Salihah* woman, Representation of *salihah*, TikTok social media

**Abstrak:** Menjadi perempuan *salihah* yang direpresentasikan oleh pengguna media sosial TikTok, telah membentuk simbol dan makna yang begitu kompleks. Studi ini selain mendeskripsikan representasi wanita *salihah*, juga merefleksikan makna perempuan *salihah* dalam media sosial TikTok. Studi ini menggunakan metode netnografi dengan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif. Pengumpulan data dalam studi ini diawali dengan proses pembacaan pada 1,6 ribu postingan video yang diseminasikan di dalam media sosial TikTok dengan menggunakan tagar #wanitasalihah. Analisis data dilakukan melalui cara-cara yang bersifat imersif dengan mendeskripsikan, mengklasifikasikan, dan menginterpretasikan data secara tematik, untuk mengungkap makna yang direpresentasikan dalam mendeskripsikan konsep perempuan *salihah*. Temuan dalam studi ini menunjukkan bahwa representasi perempuan *salihah* tidak sedikit direpresentasikan dalam tema-tema yang bersifat ideologis dan simbolis.

**Kata kunci:** Perempuan *salihah*, Representasi *salihah*, Media sosial TikTok.

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## 1. Introduction

The social media TikTok is not only a place to express creativity in the form of videos, but also an arena that is so free for its users to represent their ideas about *salihah* women. The *salihah* women in this study are in line with the concept created by El-Solh & Mabro (2020) which is identified with certain characteristics, such as always covering their *aurat* (body parts required by Islam to be covered), being content of just staying home, shy, and obedient to their husband. Being a *salihah* woman is not only a religious requirement, but also a trend that is not least represented through social media platforms such as TikTok. The representation of *salihah* women on TikTok social media, viewed by Hall (2013), is a process in which meaning is produced and exchanged between individuals and groups within a culture. Therefore, the representation of *salihah* women in the meaning of TikTok social media users as a new media is a very important phenomenon to explain, because in the view of Menke & Schwarzenegger (2019) new media is considered as one of the most important ideological apparatuses to be explored, especially in uncovering the meaning behind being a *#Wanitasalihah* which is represented in social media TikTok as new media.

So far, the studies that discuss about *salihah* women in social media have only focused on the following aspects: the use of Facebook by *salihah* women in Indonesia (Savitri Hartono, 2018), the emotional experience of *salihah* women in social media (Saeidi, 2021), and *salihah* women's political campaigns on social media in Indonesia (Darwin & Haryanto, 2021). In addition to these, some studies that discuss *salihah* women in social media also focus on the solidarity of pious women in social media, negotiation of *salihah* women communities in Instagram, and appearances of *salihah* female preachers on social media (Rahbari, 2021; Mahanani & Chairani Putri, 2019; Kloos, 2021). The studies that have been carried out had positioned and presented the figure of a *salihah* woman in a very complex representation, especially in the context of social, politics, and the image of a *salihah* woman on social media. Given that the representation of *salihah* women on social media is such a complex phenomenon, the discussion of *salihah* women on social media is a very important study to conduct (Zaid et al., 2022), especially those that explain and analyze how TikTok social media users imagine and represent their ideas about *salihah* women.

Given the importance of studies that explain and analyze the ideas of social media users in representing their religious views and experiences (Bocala-wiedemann, 2022), this study, in addition to responding to the shortcomings of studies that have discussed the representation of *salihah* women in social media, will also explain about how to be a *salihah* woman and what factors shaped the representation of *salihah* women on TikTok social media. This study also uses the representational concept approach from Hall (2013), which

defines representation as a process of producing the meaning by using certain language or symbols in cultural and contextual media. Hall (2013) further said that representation is a process of constructing meaning from concepts that exist in an individual's imagination and displaying them again in the form of symbols or language according to what is interpreted by the individual. Therefore, as said by Hall (2013) the concept of representation can be used to explain the meaning determined by individuals in the discourses they raise in the media space.

This study does not only focus on explaining how TikTok social media users imagine and represent *salihah* women, but also analyzes and evaluates the factors that influence the emergence of the idea of *salihah* women in TikTok social media both internally, locally and globally. In line with that, this study based the analysis with a focus on three questions, including; (1) How is the representation of *salihah* women displayed on TikTok social media?; (2) How to be a *salihah* woman in the TikTok social media?; (3) What factors shape the emergence of *salihah* women in the context of TikTok social media? In line with that, this study is also based on the argument that the representation of *salihah* women in TikTok social media is not only a parody of content, but also a form of construction of the meaning that creates a code of conduct for *salihah* women from the mediatization process of a religion.

## **2. Literature review**

### **2.1. *Salihah* Women**

A *salihah* woman is a woman who is obedient and devoted to Allah SWT and understands their religion, covers her *aurat* ("private parts") and keep her *hijab* on, is good at being grateful, always prays, and obeys her husband (Purningsih, 2019). In line with that, Uyuni and Fadllurrohman (2019) (Uyuni & Fadllurrohman, 2019)said that the characteristics of a *salihah* woman are those who embrace religion, have morals, have children and beauty. Therefore, it is not uncommon for a *salihah* woman to be the dream of every man as a worthy and ideal woman to marry, because *salihah* women can create a harmonious relationship between husband and wife (Uyuni & Fadllurrohman, 2019). In the context of Islam as religion, *salihah* women are often positioned as the most respected women, therefore, issues about women cannot be put aside in the Al- Qur'an (Analisa, 2021). However, being a *salihah* woman in the new media era is an indecision in determining and shaping the morals and beliefs of a *salihah* woman, therefore, being a virtuous woman must be described in terms of her dignity, customs and norms that have noble values that must be applied and preserved (Maula & Ida, 2022).

### **2.2. The Representation of *Salihah***

*Salihah* is a term that is often represented in the figure of a Muslim woman who is devoted to Allah, follows the Sunnah of Rasulullah SAW, and is devoted to her parents (Maysaroh & Fuady, 2020). Maysaroh & Fuady (2020) stated that the conception of *salihah* is also often represented through the figure of a smart, beautiful and noble woman. Therefore, *salihah* women in the context of Islam are often represented as the jewels of the world and gifts from God The Creator (Arifin et al., 2018). In line with that, Rahmawati (2018) said that not a few of representation of *salihah* in Muslim women is interpreted as an angel in heaven and a dream woman for every Muslim men. This context occurs because not a few of the representation of *salihah* positioned women as someone who has a special place in Islamic doctrine (Kadir & Pakaya, 2018). Therefore, Fitriani et al. (2021) stated that the representation of *salihah* women is not least identified as a woman with ethereal beauty such as angels, who can guarantee whether or not a man enters the heaven.

### 2.3. TikTok

TikTok is a social media application launched in 2016 in China, with the main function being to share knowledge and experiences in video form (Johnson, 2021). TikTok is also an application with growth that is able to surpass the existence of previous social medias in the context of user intensity (Montag et al., 2021). In line with that, Montag et al., (2021) stated that the significant growth of TikTok users was caused by application services that focused on making short videos, such as daily motivational videos, dance challenges, daily tips and tricks, unique things, and question and answer content, and social-religious videos (Omar & Dequan, 2020; Alley & Hanshew, 2022). TikTok social media also has an algorithm that is able to adjust to what users watch the most (Eriksson Krutrök, 2021). Therefore, it is not uncommon for TikTok social media users to take advantage of the platform to gain popularity, disseminate their views and ideas, which can be measured by the number of likes, comments, followers and the number of videos shared by other users (stitch) (Qin et al., 2022; Zhang et al., 2022; Larasati & Fernando, 2023).

### 3. Method

Being a *salihah* woman who is represented on social media TikTok was chosen as the focus of discussion in this study, because it is based on three considerations, *First*, post about *salihah* women content on TikTok social media is a central issue that has not been comprehensively considered in previous studies; *Second*, *salihah* women are a conception of values and norms that require a more contextual understanding, because *salihah* women have very important values and orientations to explain in the social media TikTok; *Third*, the representation of *salihah* women has created a code of conduct regarding the meaning and orientation of being a *salihah* woman on the TikTok social media. These three reasons

form the basis for this study to choose the issue of representation of *salihah* women in TikTok social media as the subject of discussion, which is expected to provide a more comprehensive explanation and understanding.

This study is a descriptive qualitative study that relies on primary and secondary data. The primary data in this study were obtained through reading 1.6 million video content on the TikTok social media using the hashtag *#wanitasalihah* from 5 to 15 August 2022. The process of reading the data is carried out quickly which focuses on the title or theme of the TikTok video content, regarding the figure of a *salihah* woman, the ideal *salihah* woman, and the contexts that influence the emergence of content about *salihah* women on TikTok social media. From this reading, there are three dominant themes regarding the representation of *salihah* women in the hashtag *#wanitasalihah* on TikTok social media. These three findings are important findings in this study. While the secondary data in this study were obtained through the process of reading journal articles relevant to the research questions.

The process of the data analysis takes place through Fernando et al. (2023) three stages of analysis, consisting of: (1) Reducing data, namely a process carried out for structuring data in a systematic form; (2) Displaying data, namely as a process for presenting research results in tabular form containing images that have been captured from TikTok video content; (3) Verifying data, which is the stage for concluding data based on trends from existing data. The data that has been obtained is then analyzed inductively to then be described as the basis for interpretation of the existing data (Fernando, Abdullah, et al., 2023). The stages of analysis and analysis techniques used make it possible to formulate a conclusion regarding the phenomenon of *salihah* women represented on the social media TikTok.

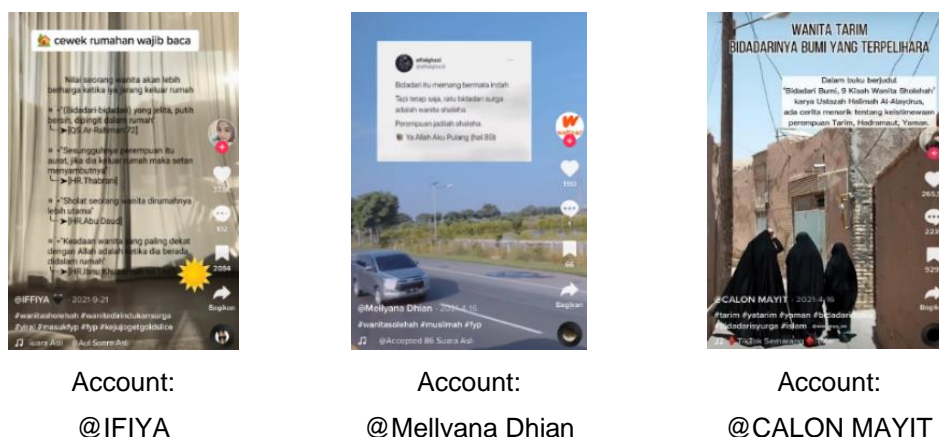
## **4. Result**

### **4.1. Representation of *salihah* women on TikTok**

Quite a few representation of *salihah* women on TikTok social media is shown through the figures of angels, jewels, and as simple women. These three contexts are the most dominant posts on TikTok social media in representing the figure of a *salihah* woman. As can be seen through the three findings below.

#### 4.1.1. *Salihah* women as an angel

Figure 1. *Salihah* woman as an angel

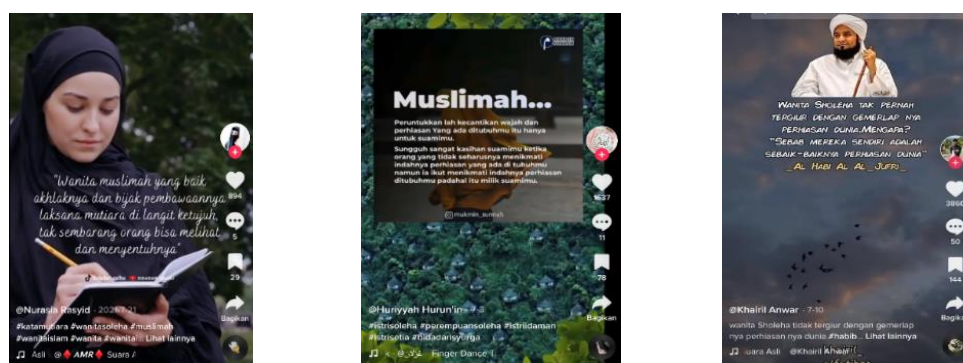


From the display of **Figure 1** it can be seen that many *salihah* women are represented as angels. This context can be seen in the post by the account @IFIYA, which uploads content that reads “*Cewek rumahan wajib baca. Nilai seorang wanita akan lebih berharga ketika ia jarang keluar rumah. Bidadari yang jelita, putih bersih, dipingit dari rumah* (Home girls must read this. A woman will be seen as more valuable when she rarely leaves the house. A beautiful angel, fair white maidens, reserved in pavilions) (QS. Ar-Rahman 72)”. Representation of *salihah* women through the figure of an angel, also posted by account @Mellyana Dhian, which uploaded a content that reads “*Bidadari itu memang bermata indah tapi tetap saja, ratu bidadari surga adalah wanita shaleha. Perempuan jadilah perempuan shaleha. Ya Allah Aku Pulang* (An angel indeed has beautiful eyes but still, the queen of the heaven's angels is a *salihah* woman. Women, lets be a *salihah* woman. O Allah, I'm Home) (page 89)”. In line with that, through the post from account @CALON MAYIT, the figure of a *salihah* woman is represented as an angel shown through the post that shows three women wearing hijab and black *gamis* (robes) are walking with the writing that says; “*Wanita tahir bidadarinya bumi yang terpelihara*” (*Tarim* women are the preserved angels of the world), in a book called *Bidadari Bumi*, nine stories of *sholehah* women.

#### 4.1.2. *Salihah* women as jewels

Figure 2. *Salihah* women as jewels





Account:  
@Nurasia Rasyid

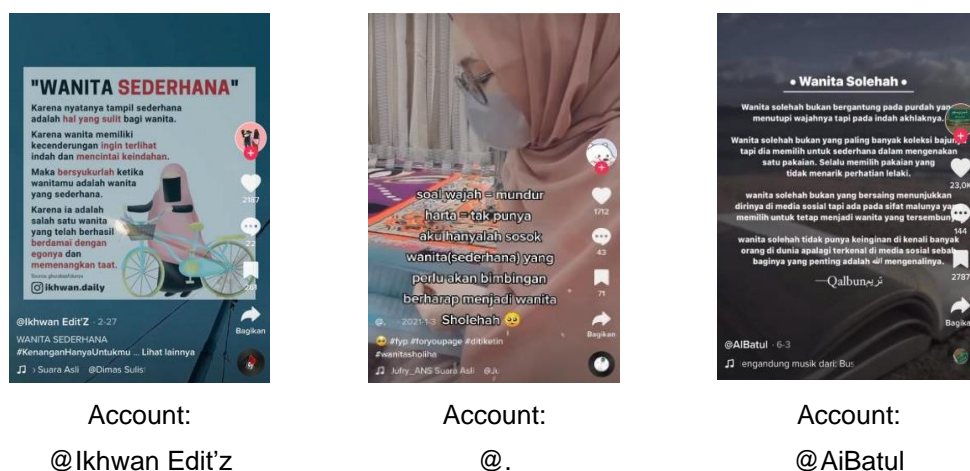
Account:  
@Huriyyah Hurun'in

Account:  
@Khairil Anwar

*Salihah* women in the TikTok social media are also represented a lot as jewels, as can be seen in **Figure 2**. This context can be seen in the post of account @Nurasia Rasyid, which contain a picture of a woman wearing a black *hijab* and *gamis*, while holding a book and pen, with the writing that says; “*Wanita muslimah yang baik akhlaknya dan bijak pembawaannya laksana mutiara di langit ketujuh tak sembarangan orang bisa melihat dan menyentuh nya*” (A Muslim woman who has good morals and is wise in her demeanor is like a pearl in the seventh heaven, not just anyone can see and touch her). The representation of *salihah* women using the figure of an angel, was also posted by the account @Huriyyah Hurun'in, who uploaded a content that read “*Muslimah... peruntukan lah kecantikan wajah dan perhiasan yang ada ditubuhnya itu hanya untuk suaminya. Sungguh sangat kasihan suaminya ketika orang yang tidak seharusnya menikmati indanya pemandangan yang ada ditubuhmu, namun ia ikut memiliki indanya perhiasan ditubuhmu padahal itu milik suaminya*” (Muslimah... Please dedicate the beauty of your face and the jewels on your body only for your husband. Such a pity for your husband when the person who should not enjoy the beauty of the jewels on your body are relishing on the beauty of your jewels on your body even though it belongs exclusively to your husband). In line with that, the content posted by the account @Khairil Anwar, the figure of a *salihah* woman represented as the jewels was displayed through a post that reads “*Wanita saleha tak pernah tergiur dengan gemerlap nya perhiasan dunia. Mengapa? Sebab mereka sendiri adalah sebaik-baiknya perhiasan dunia*” (Salihah women are never tempted by the gleaming of the jewelries of world. Why? For they themselves are the best jewelry in the world).

#### 4.1.3. *Salihah* women are the ones who humbled themselves

**Figure 3.** *Salihah* women are the ones who humbled themselves



Quite a few of the posts about *Salihah* women on the TikTok social media are represented by a figure of humble woman, as shown in **Figure 3**. This context can be seen through the post from the account @Ikhwan Edit'z, which contains the picture of a woman dressed in a robe and wearing a veil, pushing a bicycle, with the writing that says; "*Wanita Sederhana, Karena nyatanya tampil sederhana adalah hal yang sulit bagi wanita. Karena wanita memiliki kecenderungan ingin terlihat indah dan mencintai keindahan*" (A Humble Women, Because in fact, appearing to be humble is a difficult thing for women. Because women have a desire to look beautiful and they love beauty). The representation of *salihah* women through a humble female figure was also posted by the account @., which uploaded a content about the figure of a woman wearing a *hijab* and a mask, with the writing that says; "*Soal wajah = mundur. Harta = tak punya. Aku hanyalah sosok wanita (sederhana) yang perlu akan bimbingan berharap menjadi wanita Saleha*" (About face = I step back. Wealth = I have none. I am just a (simple) woman who needs guidance and hope to become a *Saleha* woman). In line with that, through the post on the account @AiBatul, the figure of a *salihah* woman is represented as a humble woman was shown through a post that reads "*Wanita Saleha bukan bergantung pada purdah yang menutupi wajahnya tapi pada indah akhlakunya. Wanita saleha bukan yang paling banyak koleksi bajunya, tapi dia memilih untuk sederhana dalam mengenakan pakaian*" (*Saleha* women do not depend on the *purdah* (robes) that covers their face but on their beautiful morals. A *salihah* woman is not the one with the most collection of clothes, but she chooses to wear simple clothes.).

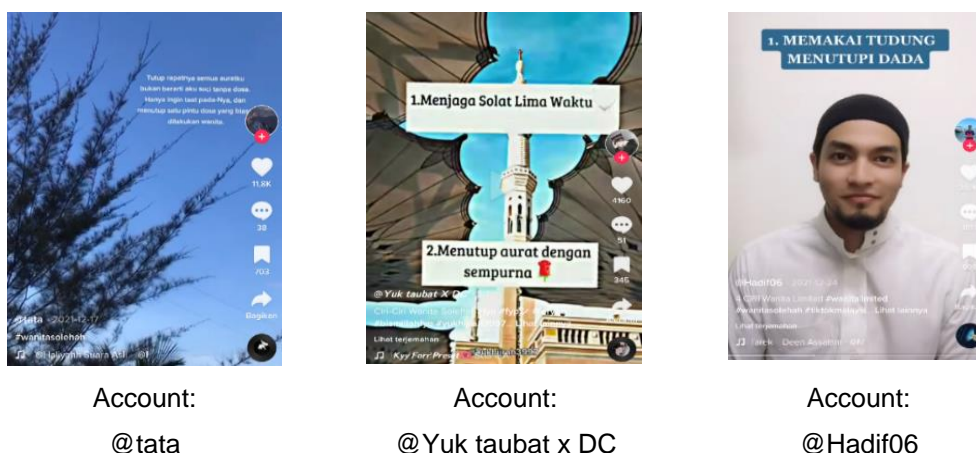
#### 4.2. To become a *salihah* woman on TikTok discussion

Being a *salihah* woman on TikTok social media is not least represented as a woman who is able to cover her *aurat*, is obedient to her husband, and is a woman who is devoted in worshipping God. These three contexts are the most dominant posts on TikTok social media. As can be seen through the three findings below.



#### 4.2.1. Becoming *salihah* by covering their *aurat*

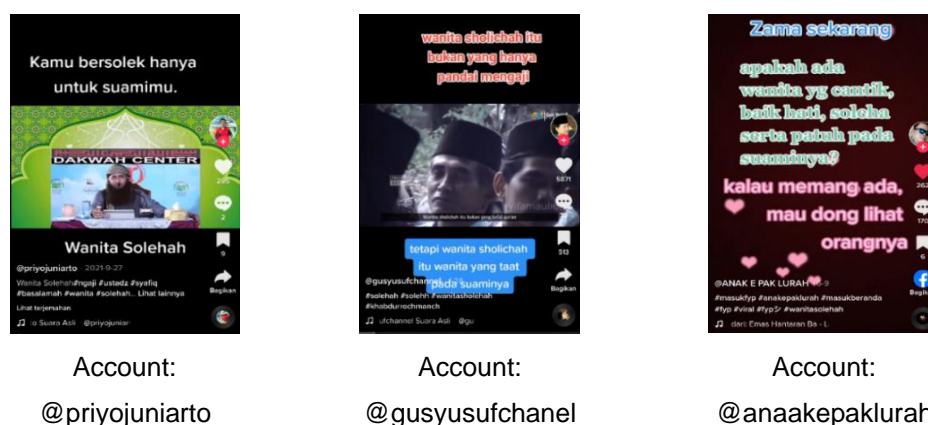
Figure 4. *Salihah* women cover their *aurat*



From **Figure 4** it can be seen that being a *salihah* woman is not least represented by the call to cover their *aurat*. This context can be seen from the post by account @tata, who uploaded a content that read “*Tutup rapatnya semua auratku bukan berarti aku suci tanpa dosa. Hanya ingin taat pada-Nya, dan menutup satu pintu dosa yang biasa dilakukan oleh wanita*” (Closing all my *aurat* entirely does not mean I am holy and without sin. I just want to obey Him, and close one door of sin that might be open for women). Becoming a *salihah* woman by covering their *aurat* was also posted by account @Yuk taubat x DC, who uploaded the content showing a mosque with the writing that says; “*1 Menjaga Solat Lima Waktu. 2. Menutup aurat dengan sempurna*” (1. Doing the Five Daily Prayers. 2. Covering their *aurat* perfectly). In line with that, through the post by the account @Hadif06, becoming a *salihah* woman by covering her *aurat* is also displayed through the post showing a figure of man wearing a white shirt, having beard, and wearing a black cap, with the writing that says; “*Memakai tudung dan menutup dada*” (Wearing a veil (*hijab*) that covers their chest).

#### 4.2.2. *Salihah* women who obey their husbands

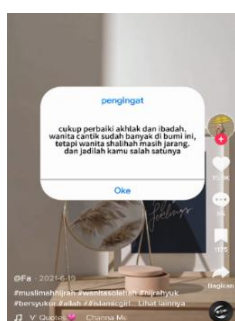
Figure 5. A *salihah* woman must obey her husband



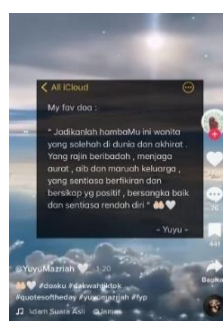
Being a *salihah* woman represented in TikTok social media is also widely mentioned as a woman who is obedient to her husband, as seen in **Figure 5**. This context can be seen in the post from the account @priojuniarto, which contains a figure of a man with beard and wearing a cap, with the writing that says; "*Kamu bersolek hanya untuk suamimu. Wanita Salehah*" (You should make yourself pretty only for your husband, *Saleha* woman). The call to be a *salihah* woman to obey her husband was also posted by the account @gusyusufchanel, which posted the content of people wearing caps, with the writing that says; "*Wanita sholichah itu bukan yang hanya pandai mengaji, tetapi wanita sholichah itu wanita yang taat pada suaminya*" (A *saleha* woman is not only good at reciting Al-Qur'an, but a *saleha* woman is a woman who obeys her husband). In line with that, in a post by the account @anaakepaklurah, stated that the call to be a *salihah* woman to obey her husband is represented by a post that reads; "*Zaman sekarang apakah ada wanita yang cantik, baik hati, saleha serta patuh pada suaminya? Kalau memang ada mau dong lihat orang nya*" (Nowadays, are there any women who are beautiful, kind, *saleha* and obedient to their husbands? If they are out there, I would like to see them).

#### 4.2.3. *Salihah* women are devoted to worshipping god

Figure 6. *Salihah* women are devoted in worshipping God



Account:  
@Fa



Account:  
@YuyuMazriah



Account:  
@DaintyAnna7887

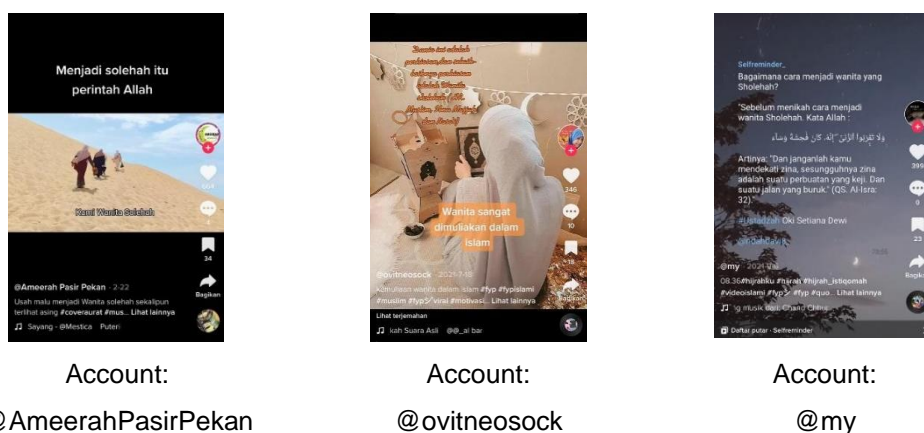
Posts about becoming a *salihah* woman on the TikTok social media also mentioned about the women who are devoted in worshiping God, as can be seen in **Figure 6**. This context can be seen from the post by the account @Fa, which posted a picture that says “*Peringat, cukup perbaiki akhlak dan ibadah wanita cantik sudah banyak di bumi ini, tetapi wanita shalihah masih jarang. Dan jadilah kamu salah satunya*” (Reminder, just improve your morals and worship, there are many beautiful women on this earth, but not many *salehah* women existed. And be you one of them). The call to become a *salihah* woman, to be devoted in worship, was also posted by the account @YuyuMazriah, which posted a content that says “*My fav doa: Jadikanlah hambaMu ini wanita yang salehah di dunia dan akhirat, yang rajin beribadah, menjaga aurat, aib dan maruah keluarga, yang senantiasa berfikiran dan bersikap yang positif, bersangka baik dan senantiasa rendah diri*” (My favorite prayer: God please make me, Your servant, a *saleha* woman in this world and the hereafter, who is devoted in worshiping, covering my *aurat*, concealing the disgrace and preserving the dignity of our family, who is always thinking and having a positive attitude, good in thinking and always being humble). In line with that, in the post from the account @DaintyAnna7887, the call to be a *salihah* woman by being devoted in worship is displayed through the content that shows figure of three women wearing *hijab* and *gamis*, with the writing that says; “*Jadilah wanita saleha yang selalu rajin beribadah*” (Be a *saleha* woman who is always devoted in worshiping Lord God).

### 4.3. Factors that shape the image of a *salihah* woman on TikTok

The factors that shape the image of a *salihah* woman on TikTok social media are not least influenced by internal, local and global factors. These three contexts are the dominant posts on TikTok social media. As can be seen from the three findings below.

#### 4.3.1. An internal factor: Being a *salihah* woman is religious advice

**Figure 7.** Being a *salihah* woman is the religious advice



Account:  
 @AmeerahPasirPekan

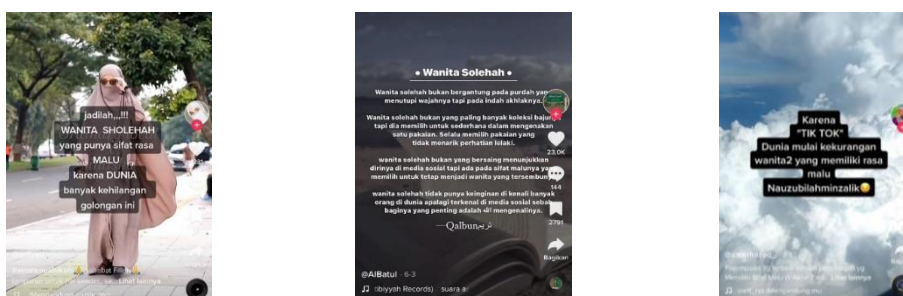
Account:  
 @ovitneosock

Account:  
 @my

From the representation in **Figure 7**, it can be seen that the factors that shape the image of a *salihah* woman are not least influenced by religious advice. This context can be seen in the post from the account @AmeerahPasirPekan, which posted the content that shows two people wearing *hijab* and *gamis* walking in the desert, with the writing that says “*Menjadi salehah itu perintah Allah*” (Being *saleha* women is the order (advice) from Allah). The factor of religious advice that influences the emergence of the image of a *saleha* woman, was also posted by the account @ovitneosock, which posted the content that shows a person wearing a *hijab* and white *gamis* while facing the Holy Book Al-Qur’an, and with the writing that says; “*Dunia ini adalah perhiasan dan sebaik-baiknya perhiasan adalah wanita salehah*” (The whole world is jewelry and the best of world jewelry is a woman who is *saleha*) (Hadith Muslim, Imam Majjab, and Naa’i). Women are highly honored in Islam. In line with that, in the posts by the account @my, the factors of emergence of the image of a *saleha* woman is also shown in the post that reads (Self reminder, How to be a *saleha* woman?, meaning; “*Dan janganlah kamu mendekati zina, sesungguhnya zina adalah suatu perbuatan yang keji. Dan suatu jalah yang buruk*” (And do not go near adultery, it is truly a shameful deed and an evil way) (QS. AL-Isra: 32).

#### 4.3.2. A local factor: Shyness, the culture of *salihah* women

**Figure 8.** Shyness, the culture of a *salihah* woman



Account:  
 @arifiyati

Account:  
 @AIBatul

Account:  
 @amerhazeq\_

The factors that shape the emergence of the image of a *salihah* woman on TikTok social media are also not least influenced by shyness as its culture, as represented in Figure 8. This context can be seen in the post from the account @arifyati, which contains the figure of a person who wears *hijab*, *gamis* and glasses, with the writing that says; “*Jadilah,,!!! Wanita Sholeha yang punya sifat rasa malu karena dunia banyak kehilangan golongan orang ini*” (Please be...!!! A *Saleha* woman who has a sense of modesty because the world has lost a lot of this kind of people). The statement that a *salihah* woman must possess the culture of shyness (modesty), was also represented by the account @AIBatul, which posted a content with the words “*Wanita Salehah, wanita salehah bukan bergantung pada purdah yang menutupi wajahnya tapi pada indah akhlaknya... wanita salehah bukan yang bersaing menunjukkan dirinya di media sosial tapi ada pada sifat malunya yang memilih untuk tetap menjadi wanita yang tersembunyi*” (*Saleha* woman, *saleha* woman does not depend on their robes that covers her face but on her beautiful attitude... *saleha* women are not those who compete to show themselves on social media but it's in her shyness that she chose to remain a concealed woman). In line with that, in the post by the account @amerhazeq\_, *saleha* women must possess the culture of shyness was represented by a post that reads “*Karena Tik Tok Dunia mulai kekurangan wanita2 yang memiliki rasa malu Nauzubillahminzalik*” (Because of TIK TOK, the world is starting to lack women who have a shame. *Nauzubillahminzalik*).

#### 4.3.3. A global factor: The trend of *salihah* women

Figure 9. The trend of *salihah* women



Account:  
@moontimess1



Account:  
@hawa



Account:  
@Queen

Post about becoming a *salihah* woman on the TikTok social media also appear in large part due to the global trend, as represented in Figure 9. This context can be seen in the post by the account @moontimess1, which shows a figure of someone wearing a brown veil and *hijab*, with the writing that says; “*Did you know in Islam a woman is allowed to...*”. The global trend that shapes the image of a *saleha* woman was also posted by the account



@hawa, which shows someone wearing a veil, with the writing that says; “Fact about women in Islam. The daughter is the reason why her parents can enter heaven. Women should be treated like queens and should have rights. The hijab is worn to protect their beauty from the evil. The Quran has full chapter about women”. In line with that, in the post by the account @Queen, global trends that shape the image of *salihah* women are represented by the content that shows someone wearing a veil and *hijab* while holding a mobile phone, with the writing that says; “But this is called a real Moslem”.

## 5. Discussion

This study shows that being a *salihah* woman in the representation of TikTok social media users is not least oriented towards the attitude and character that a Muslim woman must possess. Muslim women in the concept of Abdurraqib (2006) apart from being the most noble and well mannered, if they can take care of themselves for the sake of religious way, they became the determining phenomenon and even a trend on social media platforms (DeBord et al., 2019). The representation of *salihah* women in TikTok social media is also a phenomenon that is not only shaped by ideological factors, but also influenced by cultural and global factors. To become a *salihah* woman, as advised by religion, also do not in the least emphasizing on the culture and the attitude of shyness (modesty) that must be possessed. Being a *salihah* woman is also a trend, which allows TikTok social media users to represent their views through symbols and language on social media (Hashmi et al., 2021).

Being a *salihah* woman represented by TikTok social media users is also a reflection that in every individual action, one cannot escape their spiritual knowledge and experience. In line with that, Pankalla & Košnik (2018) in his concept has also explained that religion is often a source of knowledge for them who embrace it, therefore, not a few of religious doctrines and practices became a content in the communication process that has penetrated social media spaces. Therefore, it can be said that the representation of *salihah* women on TikTok social media is a reflection of a series of knowledge from its users in imagining *salihah* women as women who are willing to cover their *aurat*, obey their husbands, and devote their worship. This context has been shown by the post of TikTok social media users through the hashtag *#menjadiwanitasalihah* as an important finding in this study.

In general, the representation of *salihah* women in TikTok social media posts has also highlighted the importance of comprehensive knowledge of the concept of *salihah* women represented by TikTok social media users, both in doctrine and in practice. Because the conception of *salihah* women is a very important element in a communication process, in order to prevent misunderstandings among TikTok social media users about



*salihah* women. This context is also supported by the views of Lövheim & Campbell (2017) who stated that the digitization of religion often creates intersections or misconceptions about religious doctrines and practices, therefore, religious content or posts produced in the social media platform TikTok will certainly position religious teachings as a multiple interpretations of value. Meanwhile, at the same time, religion is not a bit of content in the social media space.

So far, the latest studies discussing the representation of religion in the social media space, not least discuss the use of applications as a medium for learning and preaching religion, as was done by Magfirah et al., (2021). In line with that, Kgatle (2018) also stated about the importance of studies that pay special attention to the representation of religion in the social media content, in looking at the development and meaning of religious values, both socially and spiritually. Considering the studies that discuss religious representation in the social media space have not been carried out comprehensively, especially those that analyze about becoming a *salihah* woman in the social media TikTok, therefore, the findings in this study can fill in the gaps in previous studies, because according to Fernández et al., (2020) over the past two years, the representation of religious values in the social media space has generated a lot of controversy, but no specific and comprehensive discussion had been carried out.

Given the importance of discussion about becoming a *salihah* woman as represented through the TikTok social media, knowledge and conceptions about *salihah* women are urgently needed to minimize the emergence of controversial interpretations, especially in interpreting or being a *salihah* woman as advised by Islam. Apart from the importance of knowledge possessed by the TikTok social media users, the role of religious authorities is also very important in providing an understanding of the definition and identity of *salihah* women. Therefore, the response and attitude of religious authorities in interpreting *salihah* women is a very important context to explain, this context is the recommendation of this study for further studies.

## **6. Conclusion**

Being a *salihah* woman as represented by TikTok social media users, turns out to be not only a parody of expressive content, but also a preference regarding the position, character and values of a *salihah* woman. Therefore, the findings in this study show that being a *salihah* woman as represented by users of the social media TikTok, not a few of them came from the ideological and symbolic themes. In this context, being a *salihah* woman represented in the social media TikTok is also interpreted as an image of values, doctrine, and shari'a, which had been widely became a preference for Muslim women in presenting and positioning their image as a *salihah* woman. These preferences often arise

and are influenced by internal, local and global factors, which position the “becoming a *salihah* woman” as a trend.

This study has a limitation with regard to its data presentation in that this presentation is not deep and not varied enough in data collection, namely, only through searching on the TikTok social media. This context is due to the fact that the studies that address the issues of representation of *salihah* women as research objects have not been carried out widely and relatively new. Therefore, this study only focuses on describing and explaining how to be a *salihah* woman represented and imagined by TikTok social media users. However, the lack and weakness in this study is expected to serve as inspiration and reference for the development of further studies, especially those wishing to discuss audience preferences and meaning in explaining the more comprehensive phenomenon of *salihah* women on TikTok social media.

### Author Contribution Statement

Contributions of the authors in this article: Henky Fernando contributed as concepts, drafters and critically revising the article; Yuniar Galuh Larasati contributed as data analyzers and interpreters; Novita Cahyani contributed in collecting data. All authors agree to take responsibility for all aspects of this work.

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