

インドネシアの大衆文化としてのヒジャーブの現象・

イスラム教徒女性の表現の自由の象徴

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要約

インドネシアは、さまざまな民族グループや文化で構成されている。イスラム国家ではないが、現時点ではインドネシアのヒジャーブ（スカーフやベール）の開発、非常に急速である。ヒジャーブは、インドネシアのイスラム教徒の女性のファッショントレンドになる。この現象は、改革前の時代に比べて幻想的である。本論文では、どうやって、ヒジャーブがインドネシアの大衆文化としての現象とイスラム教徒女性の表現の自由の象徴について説明することだ。

次の側面に基づいて、ヒジャーブはインドネシアの大衆文化の一部となったことが分かった。それは、(1)ヒジャーブをかぶっているイスラム教徒の女性の数が急速に増加していること、(2)改革の時代から、インドネシアではよりオープンになり、イスラム教徒の女性が時間と場所の制限がなしにヒジャーブをかぶることができること、(3)ヒジャーブは商業化のトレンドに関連する大量消費のファッショントレンドになること、(4)ヒジャーブのファッション業界は、工業的な大量に発展なれること、(5)ヒジャーブは、テレビ、インターネット、その他のメディアなど、さまざまなメディアに現れるさまざまなイベントに普及すること、(6)ヒジャーブをかぶっているイスラム教徒の女性のコミュニティがあることだ。

ヒジャーブは以下の点に基づいて、インドネシアのイスラム教徒の女性の表現の自由の象徴のようになることが分かった。それは、(2)インドネシアのイスラム教徒の女性には、ヒジャーブを着用するかしないかのことを、決定するのが自由である。(2)イスラム教徒の女性は、モデル、色、素材の選択でヒジャーブを着用して自由である。(3)ヒジャーブをかぶっているイスラム教徒の女性はヒジャーブに制限されることなく活動を行うことは自由だ。

キーワード:ヒジャーブ現象、インドネシア、大衆文化、女性の自由の象徴、表情

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is not an Islamic state, but the development of *hijab* (headscarf or veil) in Indonesia is very rapid at present. Indonesian Muslims have influenced the evolution of the *hijab*, and Indonesian women's awareness of wearing *hijab* has increased, especially among the younger generations. Actually, *hijab* or head scarf or veil is not something new in Indonesia. There are several terms of the head scarf or veil such as *selendang*, *kerudung*, *jilbab*, *hijab*, etc. The following is an explanation of those terms.

1. Selendang is a kind of shawl wrapped around the head and fixed with a needle on the side of the head, the other way was to simply put the selendang over the head without tying it or fixing it anywhere.
2. Kerudung. Kerudung is the term in Indonesia, which means veil or headscarves. Kerudung is a scarf which is covering most or all of the top of a woman's hair and her head. Kerudung in Arabic is called khimar or plural khumur.
3. Jilbab. The term jilbab is derived from the word jalaba (Arabic جلباب), which means to collect or carry. The term jilbab is used in other Muslim countries as a kind of clothes with different naming. In Indonesia, the use of the word jilbab is widely used as clothing that covers most of her head (hair and neck) are strewn with clothes that cover the body, except the palms of the hands and feet.
4. *Hijab*. The term of *hijab* is derived from the word hajaban [Arabic (حجاب)], which means to cover. The first type of *hijab* that is most commonly worn by women in the West is a square scarf that covers the head and neck, but leaves the face clear.
5. Shayla. The shayla is a long, rectangular scarf that is wrapped loosely around the head and tucked or pinned at the shoulders. Like the *hijab* and al-amira, this form of *hijab* covers the head, but often leaves the neck and face clear.
6. Khimar (Arabic خمار). The khimar is a long, cape-like scarf that is wrapped around the head and hangs in the middle of the back. This type of *hijab* covers the head, neck, and shoulders, but leaves the face clear.
7. Chador (Arabic شادر). The chador is a long cloak that covers a woman's entire body. Like the khimar, the chador wraps around the head, but instead of hanging just in the middle of back, the chador drapes to a woman's foot.
8. Niqāb (Arabic نقاب). The niqab is a face-covering that covers the mouth and nose, but leaves the eyes clear. It is worn with an accompanying khimar or other form of the head scarf.
9. Burqa (Arabic برقع). The burqa covers the entire face and body, leaving a small mesh screen through which the woman can see through.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Fadwa El Guindi (1999), anthropologists from Egypt says that at a certain time the veil is part of the resistance of the Muslims and Muslim women against certain hegemony. In Egypt in the early 20th century AD, the veil is part of the political strategy among Egyptian women against Western colonialism. In Iran, veiled with a chador, was associated with an attitude of resistance to Western powers (especially in America). As a result, for so many years, the issues of the veil and veiling practices meet the Western discourse on Islam, in which the veil is associated with gender issues, feminism. *Hijab* is often portrayed as backward Muslims in the modern world, and curb Muslim women by requiring the wearing of headscarves. Until then, emerging studies 'debunking' the myths about the *hijab* and started at looking for alternative answers to the complexity of the phenomenon of the *hijab* in various countries as, among others, performed by Brenner (1996) in Indonesia, El Guindi (1999) and Mahmood (2005) in Egypt and Meneley (2007) in Yemen, and Sadeghi (2008) in Iran. That, while the allegations, saying the veil is an indication of the evidence and oppression (Oppression) and the conquest (Subjugation) against women is not entirely true.

HIJAB AS MODEST CLOTHING IN ISLAM

Islamic teachings about modest clothing are based on the Qur'an, and on the specific sayings/traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, known as the hadith.

One of the most frequently cited Qur'an verses used to defend the wearing of the hijab is the surah 24:30-31: *“The believing men are enjoined to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals and the believing women are enjoined to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals, draw their headdress to cover their cleavage, and not to display their beauty, except that which has to be revealed, except to their husbands, their fathers, their husbands’ fathers, their sons, their husbands’ sons, their brothers or their brothers’ sons, or their sisters’ sons, or their women, or their slaves, or eunuchs or children under age; and they should not strike their feet to draw attention to their hidden beauty. O believers, turn to God, that you may know bliss.”* (Qur'an 24:30-31).

In the following verse, Muslim women are encouraged to draw their jilbab around them in public, as a means of distinguishing them from others and as a way of avoiding harassment: *“Those who harass believing men and believing women undeservedly bear (on themselves) a calumny and a grievous sin. O Prophet! Enjoin your wives, your daughters, and the wives of true believers that they should cast their outer garments over their persons (when abroad): That is most convenient, that they may be distinguished and not be harassed.”* (Qur'an 33:58–59).

In one often-cited tradition, it is reported that a young woman visited Muhammad's wife Aisha while she was wearing see-through clothing. Muhammad averted his eyes and told her, *"After a young woman reaches the age of puberty, nothing should be seen of her except this and this,"* motioning to his face and hands. Therefore, it is expected at this age of Muslim girls to adapt more modest styles of dress that do not expose too much.

Even before the age of puberty, many girls become accustomed to these values of modesty. Muslim parents are generally careful about choosing appropriate clothing, even for their young children. While they may or may not wear the hijab yet, many young girls choose not to wear short skirts or shorts, belly shirts, or sleeveless tops in public.

In some families and cultures, girls begin to wear the hijab at puberty simply out of family, peer, or societal pressure. Some girls decide, on their own, to start wearing the hijab even before the age when it is required of them. It is becoming more common for families to leave the decision about hijab up to the young woman herself. They may try to educate her about her Islamic responsibilities, but ultimately they allow her to make the choice when she fully understands and feels ready to commit to the decision.

HIJAB AS POPULAR CULTURE IN INDONESIA

Actually, practice of wearing hijab has long existed in Indonesia. The veiling movement is, however, as Brenner notes, a rather new phenomenon in Indonesia: *“In contrast to those countries in which the veiling movement is sometimes described as a “re-veiling” movement (Zuhur 1992) or a “return to the veil” (Hoodfar 1991; Mule and Barthel 1992), in many parts of Java veiling were limited until quite recently even though most Javanese are Muslim”* (Brenner 1996: 674). She notes, however, that there are local differences in Indonesia and that the practice of covering the head has a longer history in areas known for their devotion to Islam (1996: 691). The veil as it is commonly seen today only started to be worn in the 1980s, and at that time only a few women veiled (Brenner 1996: 674).

However, in this era of reform occurred after an increase in the phenomenon of users hijab. In fact, today the hijab can be said to have become part of popular culture in Indonesia.. Hijab became a part of popular culture in Indonesia based upon the following aspects;

- (1) After the reformation era the number of Muslim women's who wear hijab is rapidly increasing. The practice of wearing a head covering is pressed during the reign of former president Suharto for three decades. After the ban was eased in the mid-1990s, the development of the veil is triggered by the young.
- (2) Since the reformation era Indonesia became more open and Muslim women can wear hijab without limits of time and place. About 86% of Indonesia's 248 million people are Muslim, but the practice of wearing headscarves was suppressed for most of former president Suharto's three-decade rule. The veil may be used in public schools with the issuance of Decrees SK Dirjen Dikdarmen No. 100/C/Kep/D/1991, which removes the Decree SK 052/C/Kep/D.82 on the national school uniform by the Director General of Primary and Secondary Education. After the ban loosened in the mid 1990s, the hijab trend was led by young people, according to a recent opinion piece in The Jakarta Globe. "It was high-school and university students who started the waves of hijab wearing," wrote Sabrina Loebis in "Hijab: Misunderstood Symbol of Freedom". Many initially encountered resistance from parents still influenced by "old ideas "linking hijab with Islamism".
- (3) Hijab becomes a fashion trend that consumed the mass related to the trend of commercialization Association of Indonesian Fashion Designers, Entrepreneurs (APPMI) is one of a group of fashion designers who aim to promote the fashion industry in Indonesia. Standing in 1993, there are some parts of this organization, for example division 'ready to wear' (ready to wear), exports, conventional fashion and Islamic fashion division. Fashion designers who are members of APPMI located in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Lampung, Surabaya, Semarang and Bali (APPMI 2004: 66). The hundreds of hijab fashionistas attending day six of Jakarta Fashion Week (JFW) proved once again that Muslim women don't sacrifice creativity in their pursuit of modesty – and showed why Indonesia is aiming to become the trendsetter of the Muslim fashion world. Indonesia – with the world's largest Muslim population, a variety of cultures and a wealth of creative resources – could become a fashion mecca well before 2020, the goal set by Indonesia's Ministry of Commerce and Industry in 2010, some observers say. Anty Widya, a 28 year-old entrepreneur, said, "Muslim fashion has a variety of new trends. Before, Muslim fashion tended to be monotonous and less stylish. Then in one year, the progress we see in Muslim fashion here has been very encouraging."
- (4) Hijab fashion industry increased in industrial mass. The rapid rise of Indonesia's hijab fashion sector in recent years has made Jakarta Fashion Week (JFW) one of the main reference points worldwide for Muslim wear, and has potential to boost the nation's economic development as well. That growth will bring benefits to all Indonesians, regardless of their religion or fashion tastes. According to Aries Mufti, an economic expert from the Indonesian Sharia Council, the Muslim fashion sector already contributed \$7.5 billion to the Indonesian economy in 2011.
- (5) Hijab popularized in various events that appear in various media such as television, internet, and other media Television as one of a mass media has a big influence to popularize Hijab. There are a lot of programs on television today, which are broadcast the event associated with the veil, such as the use of the hijab tutorials, and many other programs. Hijabs have

become more popular than before with greater utilization of modern design, and through online communities of Muslim fashionistas. Social media are tools to expedite the process of making this even more popular. Fashion is an attractive bait to make wearing hijabs more appealing to Indonesian women. The rapid growth of the Indonesia's Muslim fashion sector has driven the proliferation of Muslim fashion magazines. These days, glossy magazines for young Muslim women are big sellers in Indonesia. While fashion is their main focus, they also help readers learn about their faith and raise awareness about living a lifestyle based on Islam. Recently, two new Muslimah magazines have entered the fray, *Laiqa* and *Hijabella*, mixing fashion and faith, beauty and brains, and pastel-hued femininity with stories of women who are strong and brave.

- (6) There is a diverse community of Muslim women's who wear the hijab.
- a. *Hijabieka*. *Hijabieka* community was founded in February 2011 as a common vision-mission of members who want hijab. In the beginning, it is only a small community, but now changes into *Hijabers Community Jogja*.
 - b. *Hijabers Community*. *Hijabers* community, a place for the community Muslim woman who formed on November 27, 2010 in Jakarta, by 30 veiled women with different professional backgrounds and life. They come together to share their vision to form a community that will accommodate events related to hijab and a Muslim woman, from fashion, style headscarf and everything for Muslim women activities like fashion workshops, beauty makeup class, charity programs and routine recitation. *Hijabers Community* isn't only growing in Jakarta, it also founded in some major cities in Indonesia, for example *Hijabers Community Bandung*, *Surabaya Hijabers Community*, *Hijabers Solo*, *Hijabers Palembang* and other.
 - c. *Komunitas Peduli Jilbab* (<http://www.dwibcc.com/2014/01/peduli-jilbab.html>). *Komunitas Peduli Jilbab* was founded on 19 May 2012. This community founder is Amalia Dian Ramadhini. This community began its approach to the audience through his twitter account that the account *peduli jilbab*, then ask Retweet 'of accounts known as *felixsiauw*, *asmanadia* and *salimafillah* to publicize the existence of the community. This community began its approach to the audience through his twitter account that the account *laterpedulijilbab*.

Sian Powell (2003) wrote that because of the popularization of Islamic dress and westernization processes occur together in Indonesia, the mode becomes a very important element of dress, and at this point if the veiled person is regarded as the *bermode* which means a person who follow fashion. Therefore, there are many women in Indonesia, the new veil. Furthermore Sian Powell explained that the veil is no longer a symbol of worship, but the symbol of those who *bermode* alone. That is, if veiled, be the one to dress according to the latest fashion. Hijab does not have a relationship with religious devotion anymore, because anyone can slice and most are more worried how she looks if veiled than the value of their religious observance.

HIJAB AS A SYMBOL OF FREEDOM OF MUSLIM WOMEN'S EXPRESSION

Muslim women in Indonesia are free to determine her choice to wear or not wear hijab. Based on the results of a survey of the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) published on Tuesday (13/6) in Jakarta, said the decision to wear the hijab entirely dependent on women. The data show that the higher the education level of the respondents, the more they tend to have the view

that the decision to wear hijab is an authority of the fully women. Respondents with lower income levels also believe that the decision to wear the hijab completely dependent on the woman in question, the respondents agreed with the older and live in urban areas. In Indonesia, "women who wear the hijab from day to day do it because of their own willingness to wear it," Diaz Parzada, a creative director at Jakarta Fashion Week, told Khabar Southeast Asia. "There are no specific regulations requiring Muslim women to wear the hijab. They use the hijab on their own, to live the teachings of their religion," she said.

Fashion specialists say this creativity comes about because Islamic garb is seen as a choice and not a compulsion. Currently only women in the province of Aceh, Sumatra, and the city of Padang, and also students of Islamic schools, which are required to wear the hijab. "In addition, many Indonesian Muslim women wear the hijab only based on their desires.

Muslim women are free to wear hijab with the model, color, and materials their choice, Muslim fashion is developing rapidly in Indonesia. Muslim women want to express themselves, be fashionable and observe religious precepts at the same time. Their creativity creates the variety of Muslim fashion in Indonesia. There are a lot of style and variations of hijab in Indonesia such as Pashmina, cotton hijab, jilbab instant, etc. Indonesian Muslimwear designers are regularly invited to Islamic fashion shows in Middle Eastern countries.

Muslim women who wear hijab are free to do activities without being restricted by the hijab. "Wearing the hijab is a form of freedom of religion, and it is guaranteed in our 1945 Constitution," Muhammadiyah chairman Din Syamsuddin told Khabar Southeast Asia. The following are the example's.

Muslim women can swim while wearing hijab. In Indonesia, halal swimwear helps Muslim women venture into the water while professing their commitment to Islamic traditions. Increasingly, the modest attire has grabbed the attention of non-Muslim women. Muslim swimwear is popular not only among Indonesian Muslims, but also non-Muslims and foreigners. And modesty is not its only virtue. Irmalia Septiana, a student at the State Islamic University of Jakarta, said that halal swimwear provides freedom of movement and sun protection as well.

Indonesian police women can wear hijab while on duty. Muslim organizations are leading the move by the country's National Police, although some have expressed concerns about separation of religion and state. (By Andhika Bhakti for Khabar Southeast Asia in Jakarta).

There are several reasons for women wear hijab. Most Muslim women wear the hijab for religious reasons. They believe that God has instructed women to wear it as a means of fulfilling the God commandment for modesty. For these women, wearing hijab is a personal choice that is made after puberty and is intended to reflect one's personal devotion to God.

There are various interpretations applied to the reading of these verses. There are also several hadiths, or narrations describing the words and deeds of the prophet Muhammad, believed to clarify and supplement the Qu'ranic description of the hijab.

Some Muslim women wear veils occasionally only during worship, for example, they wear hijab during the recitation, and pilgrimage. Some Muslim women wear hijab just for following the fashion model.

There are some benefits of the hijab according respondent. 17,8% of respondents said that the hijab will "protect women from male eye spotlight", while another 7.1% stated that veiled women look attractive. The majority of respondents who believe that the hijab would protect women come from groups with medium and high incomes, are from rural areas, and

older age. While the view that the hijab was an interesting encounter in primary education and the respondents aged between 20 to 25 years. (Lembaga Survei Indonesia, 23)

CONCLUTIONS

Regardless of the term of the hijab problem because there is a lot of term relate to hijab throughout the world, the hijab in Indonesia became an interesting phenomenon. The use of the hijab actually has long existed in Indonesia, but since the reform period, an increase rapidly in the number of women who wear hijab in Indonesia. The phenomenon of the hijab has become part of popular culture in Indonesia. Hijab became a part of popular culture in Indonesia based upon the following aspects; (1) the number of Muslim women who wear hijab is rapidly increasing, (2) since the reformation era Indonesia became more open and Muslim women can wear hijab without limits of time and place, (3) Hijab becomes a fashion trend that consumed the mass related with the trend of commercialization, (4) Hijab fashion industry increased in industrial mass, (5) Hijab popularized in various events that appear in various media such as television, internet, and other media, and (6) There is a diverse community of Muslim women who wear the hijab. Hijab becomes a symbol of freedom of expression of Muslim women in Indonesia based upon the following aspects: (1) Muslim women in Indonesia are free to determine her choice to wear or not wear hijab, (2) Muslim women are free to wear hijab with the model, color, and materials their choice, and (3) Muslim women who wear hijab are free to do activities without being restricted by the hijab.

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