

The Passion of Jilbab : Socio-Cultural Transformation of Indonesian Muslim Women

Endang Turmudi

Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Abstract- In modern Indonesian society, the number of wearer of *jilbab* as Islamic veil is growing significantly. The veil has now been worn by all segments of Indonesian women, whereas in the 1970s it is only used by teenagers in school hours. Furthermore, the veil has become a daily outfit of women politicians, bank workers and even the artists. With this florescence, various modes of veiling evolve and veil boutiques are popping up in major cities in Indonesia. Various names then appear from slang to *shar'i* veil, i.e. in line with Islamic law, given the diverse groups wear veil with different style. In its development the veil is even featured in the fashion show.

As wearing veil is assumed to relate to religious injunction, the increasing number of its users is associated with an increase in public religious observance. Islamization of life is taking place in society, although not in the fundamentalistic or radicalistic pattern. Post secularism may be appropriate concept to describe this phenomenon. However, it is argued that this growing use of veil has no relation with religiosity, since it is just a part of modern life of Indonesian women. Nevertheless, wearing *jilbab* constitutes important cultural change occurring among Indonesian Muslim women. This paper is to describe the development of wearing veil among modern Muslim woman in Indonesia, questioning whether or not it is related to the religious consciousness of the wearer.

Index Terms- Islam, transformation, culture, religiosity

I. INTRODUCTION

Jilbab or veil is Muslim woman headscarf to cover the entire head including the cheeks, ears and neck; and some people call *hijab* to refer to such headscarves. But different from that in the Arab community, *jilbab* is not the traditional clothing of Indonesian Muslims. The cloth of an Indonesian Muslim woman commonly used to cover her head is a *kerudung*, i.e. a rather long piece of cloth like that headscarf worn by Indian women. Nevertheless, this headscarf is usually worn by older Muslim women although practically not always covering their heads, because the cover is sometimes hung in their necks. In addition, it is only devout Muslims traditionally wearing *kerudung*.

The wearing of *jilbab* is hence a part of the transformation of Islamic society in Indonesia. It could be said that the development of modernization in Indonesia has affected the Indonesian Muslim community to wear *jilbab* as everyday clothing. The increased use of veil is indeed coincided with the raise in public awareness on Islam, since it is a part of religious obedience. It started in the 1980s, the decade where religious awareness of society heightened. Because this awareness is

coincided with the entry of Islamic calendar into the 15th century, it is regarded as a phenomenon of or a marking of Islamic revivalism. So in Indonesia now people are not only attending Islamic teaching, where they come up in discussions of Islam, participating in trainings practice of worship, but also highlighting Islamic symbols. Among these symbols of Islam is wearing *jilbab* which is regarded by the wearer as a religious order.

The *jilbab* was formerly worn by children in junior and senior high school of *madrassa* (Islamic school). Nevertheless not all *madrassa* obliged the pupil to wear veils to cover their head. In some *madrassa* children only wear *kerudung*, which constitutes a habit of Indonesian Muslim women in general. In addition, what is important to note is that in the past the children wear of *jilbab* was just in school hours only. Outside the school they took off the *kerudung* or *jilbab* they use. The same held true with students of higher education like those of IAIN (State Institute for Islamic Studies) during 1970s. In fact they also wear plain skirts, as used by students in public educational institution generally. What distinguishes them from students at public colleges only occur during the hours of lecture, because at the moment they are wearing a long dress and veil. Because the *jilbab* is not a clothing product of Indonesian culture, it is not surprising that many *ulama's* wife (lit. Islamic scholar) also felt enough to wear the *kerudung*.

In the 1980s there was a transformation in the use of this headscarf. The *jilbab* that covers the entire head is started to be popularized by students at college. What is interesting is that the veil which is regarded as a symbol of a devout Islamic society is not introduced by students studying at religious colleges. Instead, it is popularized by those who go to secular college (not specifically studying Islam). In the late 1980s one might be shocked by these veil phenomena that were even alive in the student environment of Bogor Institute of Agriculture, University of Gajahmada or other secular universities. This astonishment is because even students of Islamic university did not wear the veil, but the *kerudung*. So how can students at secular universities be eager to wear the *jilbab*, which is basically deemed as associated with a symbol of obedience to Islam?

After the *jilbab* became popular clothes worn by students at secular college, then it spread to be used by various groups of Muslim women. Not only did the students at Islamic universities then follow to wear the veil but also the Muslim women generally used it as their everyday clothes. Now it can be said that no single Islamic schools allows its students without veiling. It becomes a common sight that one find students at secular college or pupils at public high school wear veils in addition to those who do not wear clothes considered Islamic, though they are also Muslims. Moreover, wearing veil by pupil of Islamic

school is not just a school uniform, but is also driven by the awareness of individual users.

What is interesting is that in the last decade, the use of the veil was not just confined to college students or common Muslim women but also by celebrities such as actresses or singers. Even become commonplace that many of those working in the public sector, such as banks or government employees, also wear this veil as their daily outfits. The same holds true with medical doctors, scientists and even police officers some of whom wear *jilbab*. Thus, the veil has become everyday clothes of Indonesian Muslim women. Because it is associated with religious orders, the increase in number of users is also deemed as an increase in religiosity of Indonesian Muslim community in general.

II. THE INCREASE IN RELIGIOSITY

Jilbab in Indonesia has grown to such an extent that not only the wearers who continue to grow but also its type. In this case the veil has also become a life style, with which the Indonesian Muslim woman wear *jilbab* with different styles. Especially among celebrities, wearing the *jilbab* is done in such a way, so that the wearer becomes attractive to the eye. Their *jilbab* is basically the same with the other's, i.e. long cloth such as a scarf or shawl. What sets it apart is that they wear it by folding certain sections or even with a combination of different colors. In addition, the material of the veil is also expensive, according to the wearer who come from the high class.

This style differences led to the emergence of differences in the designation of the existing veil. With its rapid development, there are certain circles' assumption that some type of veil are no longer proportionate, i.e. not in accordance with the purpose of veiling. The *jilbab* worn by artists who usually flashy and glamorous, for example, is often blamed for being far from the character of Islam that advocated simplicity. Such a glamorous style is called "tabarruj", i.e. the luxurious style that according to some people is forbidden by Islam. But it is recognized that through them, the veil became an attractive fashion clothes, so that their veiled style is also followed by their fans. Although still in limited amounts, the artist's participation in the dissemination of this veil, not only have encouraged people to wear the *jilbab* splendor but also created products that are fashionable.

Despite negative allegations of certain people, the wearing of *jilbab* continues to be developed in accordance with the style that interests public. In general it can be said that the development of this veil is fantastic. Because the veil has become a necessity - including for appearances - students, for example, wear it with a combination of a rather tight tops or shirt and jeans, in order that they seem energetic and smart. Because of this combination of clothes, especially stylist veil, people commonly called it "*jilbab gaul*" or slang veil. This means that although related to obedience to religion, *jilbab*, according to its wearer, must also follow the modern style. Many pop singers who is usually considered to be far from religion, for instance, do not feel embarrassed to wear the *jilbab*, because they still feel following clothe mode though religious, on the other side.

Nevertheless, later emerge allegations that wearing slang or other stylist veil is not within the corridor of Islamic law, so that came the term *jilboob*, a designation which is not only a criticism but also it sounds insulting. Such harassment is mainly addressed

to those who wear the *jilbab* with tight clothes or even with tight jean pants. With such clothes, the meaning of adherence to religion is lost, because with this kind of clothes then the twists and turns of the body becomes visible, so that it might invite the male sex drive. So, eventhough the veil is not wrong, fashionable *jilbabs* has invited criticism from devoted Muslim community. Again like that combined with tight clothing, fashionable *jilbab* is deemed as eliminating the meanings of veiling itself, i.e. as an effort to close the *aurat* (lit. part of the body wich is illegal to be shown to other people). But such criticism did not discourage people to design the nice veil. According to them, wearing the *jilbab* does not have to mean shabby, but rather should be fashionable and attractive, and thus can improve the image of the users of the veil itself, i.e. as atractive religious women.

In response to this development, some circle of woman introduced what they called *jilbab shar'i*, i.e. the veil regarded by them as in accordance with the demands of Islamic law. This *jilbab* is usually made from materials that are not transparent, extending down to the thigh. It is commonly dark in color, combined with a dark color clothing, covering half of the body of the wearer. This sort of *jilbab* is of course far from fashionable worn by certain Islamic groups that seemed to shy away from wanting to look good. They wear it as adherence to religion, i.e. to close the *aurat*. In addition to the common veil, there are also users who cover the entire face, except the eyes. But such a kind of veil is almost not sold in stores, since only few women wear it. With the increase in demand, then there are boutiques that sell nice and expensive veil. The veil in these boutiques is to satisfy the users of higher income which require to have stylist *jilbab*. The designers have also sprung, some of whom offer course about wearing veil, including those on the internet. These *jilbab* are very much different from that used by children of *madrasa*, that is simply intended for closing the head with white cloth. The celebrities who wear the *jilbab*, for example, require the folds so that the wearer becomes attractive and look beautiful. So, how to wear the *jilbab* itself is varied, and it is no longer strange since it become Indonesian Muslim women's dress style.

III. THE REASON TO WEAR JILBAB

Wearing *jilbab* is related to one's religious attitude, for it is part of the religious orders. In the teachings of Islam there is a command for women to hide his *aurat* or nakedness, and in particular paragraph in the Quran it is said that the women should poke their head scarf. Thus, the users of the veil are synonymous with religious people because they follow the religious orders. Nevertheless, differences in the views of the *ulama* has emerged about whether women have to close the nakedness of their entire body. One view says that they must close the *aurat* to the entire body except the face and palms. That's why appears veil, which still allows the closure head with an open face and be seen (Shihab, 2014).

Eventhough quite strong because it is supported by Quranic text, this religious suggestion invites multiple interpretations. Substantively it is clear that Islam recommends that Muslim women cover their entire body except the face, but how it is carried out is human affairs that need it. Nevertheless it must be admitted that there are also opinions that assert that the close of the *aurat* is only done when Muslim women perform prayers.

What is important from their religious demands is that the body must be covered in a way that does not lead to the emergence of the male sex drive. Therefore, the girls in the past usually only wear a skirt to the knee, and only old women who wear clothes to ankle. No wonder that until the 1970s there was not much among Muslim circles who wear *jilbab*, since even the wife of the local clergy was still wearing *kerudung*.

Despite this different interpretation, it should be admitted that the symptoms of the widespread use of veil is a sign of rising public religiosity. At least this shows the increasingly widespread phenomenon of consciousness to practice Islam as a whole. It can be said that the devout circle, which had previously only wear a *kerudung*, now they wear the *jilbab*, thinking of it as a religious order. Thus it can be said that wearing the *jilbab* shows that religious attachment of Indonesian woman became stronger compared to decades ago. Many factors contribute to the increasing religiosity of Muslim society in general. It should be recognized that the openness of the public with the presence of technology has led to communication with other communities, including Muslim communities abroad, easier and faster. The introduction of Islam by preachers through various media, especially television, also contribute to strengthening public religiosity. In addition, the presence of educated young people who are ready to deepen Islam and practice it has also contributed to the spread of Islam more broadly in society.

Modernization of society is among the factors that contributed to the increase in this religiosity. Although this fact was contrary to the theory of modernization, what happens on the pitch showed such tendencies. People wearing the *jilbab*, which is characteristic of religious obedience of a woman, for example, are not limited to those who are less educated. The wife of the vice President of Indonesia, is a female wearer of the veil. Linkage of wearing veil with religious orders is a common assumption, so that it is also general assumption that people who are veiled are more religious. A survey conducted by Tempo magazine (2014) showed that the majority of female respondents interviewed stated that they wear a *jilbab* for religious reasons or because of religious demand.

Nevertheless, it is possible that wearing the veil is because of mode in that certain woman did look pretty when veiled. Another reason was certainly there, but what is clear is that the veil has become a daily clothing and Indonesian women do not feel embarrassed to wear the veil, which in the 1970s could be considered as unusual. Although the users do not know exactly about the Islamic teachings about veiling, instigation to close the *aurat* is the most common reasons stated by them. In addition, many women feel safe with veiled, because then they would be protected from interference of nosy man. *Jilbab* is considered good woman, so that the badmen would not tempt them since they know that veil users will definitely reject them if not against them.

IV. NEW PERSONALITY

The use of the veil and the like are the most obvious assertion of religiosity. For those who have long been in a group of pious community, this use can be regarded as an affirmation of identity of piousness. Why affirmation because from the religiosity aspect they are already strong enough although in the

case of veiling they are not like women in the Middle East, given the fact that the religious reasons that they have are quite different. For those not from among the pious, wearing *jilbab* not only means to enter the new world of previously unknown or not familiar, but in their view it also constitutes a psychological struggle to choose the best.

The wearing of *jilbab* by modern young generation showed two motives, i.e. the desire to hold on to Islam and use its values and their desire to keep so-called modern or live as modern women. By such motive there seems to be perspective to place religion as different from the modern world. In this case as if religion cannot live or hard to contact with the modern world. That is why veiled life in modern society, not to mention with the modist veil, is like an attempt to combine the religious life with a modernity. In other words, wearing the veil is a religious observance effort with which the wearers do not lose their modernity. This means that the wearing of such a stylist *jilbab* is an attempt to live or look modern with no loss of religiosity or of their appearance as a religious woman. Veil with all its variations is a clear example of this trend.

As mentioned, there are many young people who wear the *jilbab* without losing their beauty as women who in many respects even look more beautiful. That is why then appears variation in veil style, from that considered as in line with Islamic guidance to the stylist or even slang *jilbab*. The spread of veil users or the increase in their number is like marking the presence of a new culture for some wearers, who are faced with challenges, including the psychological. That is, it is not easy for women to change habits of not wearing veil. It seems that only women with high spirit and strong intention could make such changes possible. Religious observance is one factor that encourages a Muslim to assert the identity of their social clustering. If the social identity has more to do with large groups such as religious affiliation, identity clustering is meant here as an affiliation that focuses on sub-groups within social groups. The use of this veil can be attributed to either clustering as the Islamic group different from that of non-Muslims or as certain groups in Islamic communities which are different in some respects from other Islamic groups.

Some sociologists suggest that the symptoms of wearing veil (especially in Western secular countries) is characterized by the so-called culture wars. The phenomenon of culture war is actually more pronounced in secular countries, where the value and the applicable law is not only not religious but also that the State in this case looks dominant in determining the rules which must be used by the public. The case of veil ban in France for school children or in other cases is caused by the birth of aspiration which incidentally is not determined by the State but by members of the public whose products was contrary to the provisions of the State. It's depicting as though there was a seizure of territory by some members of the public against State authorities.

Although the case of veiling in Indonesia is very different from what happened in Western countries where Muslims are a minority, the wearers of veil are feeling to undergo this culture war at least psychologically. This is so since they move from wearing regular clothes or traditional headscarf to be wearing the *jilbab*, in which they require not only determination or strong intention but also must be ready to face charges such as to be

called Muslim fundamentalists. This culture war could happen especially to the *jilbab* wearer who come from families that are secular or less devout.

Other things considered obstacles or challenges come from the veil community itself. As can be seen from its development, *jilbab* has been produced in such a way so that women find different styles of the *jilbab* products, and, on the other hand, the production has created diverse groups of user. As mentioned above, the *jilbab* style has evolved from the mundane to the slang and *shar'i jilbab*. What then becomes a problem is the emergence of a certain group claiming that in Islam there is only a certain veil considered legitimate or should be used. In other words, there has appeared in Indonesia some Muslim Women who consider only their *jilbab* style as correct, in accordance with religious requirement, and regard the other women *jilbab* as not complying with the demands of Islamic law.

Thus, the use of the veil itself is challenged by people from among themselves. This obstacle arises because of the difference in views or in their understanding of Islamic law relating to the closure of nakedness. Apart from that all, what is important to note in terms of the veil is the rise of self-identification of the existing social or religious group. It happens with people who specifically wear a veil which they regard as the *shar'i* one, which means that it is in accordance with the law or the demands of Islam. What happens to them is the assertion that "we are true Muslim because we wear the veil over religious demands". Although the basic reason of other groups about veiling is the same, there is slight difference in emphasis with regard to its ties with Islamic symbol. For the latter this wearing veil serves as a cover of nakedness. About how to do the covering or what kind of cloth to be used is a matter of option. That is why they develop a veil according to their wishes or by following a growing mode.

But apart from these differences, one thing is clear that wearing the *jilbab* is a cultural transformation. This does not happen only to those who are formerly secular or among the less devout, but also to the devout circles, given that the latter was not wearing *jilbab* up to the early 1980s, or in other words, the *jilbab* is not yet their culture or customs. Because the veil is a devout Muslim women's clothing, the change "to wear the *jilbab*" relates mainly to the transformation of culture, including among the devout women, given the fact that previously devout Muslim women only wear a *kerudung*. In other words, wearing a *jilbab* is similar to entering into a community of certain values and characters as well, given that a society is different from the others. The entry into a pious community means to conform to the values, norms or limits of propriety formulated by the people concerned. With that sense, wearing the veil is a personal transformation by abandoning the old character and entering a new one. The character in question is to be pious Muslims who adhere to the teachings of Islam, or to become more devout for those already pious. Thus, the use of the veil by certain women is as if they are new or reborn personality with the norms and values that override them.

Such transformations are not difficult although it is also not easy to implement. Changing of not wearing *jilbab* to become users is very easy as only a change of clothes alone. But how one is to be committed to the values of espoused group requires serious effort. New users of veil realize this, and try to execute

other commands of Islam, ranging from performing praying five times a day to have a particular behavior, such as to keep a distanced relationship with men or not to act disrespectful. That's why wearing the *jilbab* or Islamic clothing in general has become a symbol as a good human being. General assessment confirms that those who are close to God are good men. In this case they should stay away from things that are ugly. For example, they should avoid behaving badly, and instead have to do good things such as contributing to the religion or the poor and strengthening brotherhood as humans. In addition, of course, the users of *jilbab* should strengthen the conduct of worship, in accordance with the purpose of wearing the veil, i.e. to obey God's commands. Such behavior is part of that recommended by the religion, and only those obedient, having strong religious commitment could then internalize values derived from the religious teachings, and apply them in daily life.

What is more important with regard to the necessary behavior of *jilbab* wearers to fit with values or norms of good people is the assessment of the community itself, which seemed to ask them to be committed to certain values. However, it seems that it has somewhat made inconvenient some women, given modern life is so full of things that is normatively rather far from Islam. Some *jilbab* users do not meet the normative demands that must be met by them as members of a religious community. It hence appears derision among certain pious Muslims who accused some *jilbab* users as inappropriately behaving in certain ways. For example, many women who wear the veil took part in a music event in the TV show and then joined a *joged* (slang dance). The dance is considered an act or activity that is not suitable for those who wear the *jilbab*, because it is part of the activities considered immoral, while users of the veil should be filled with morality.

Such transformation is quite heavy for most women. Hence a fraction of the users then took off their *jilbab*, and dressed like modern Indonesia women in general who are not religious. Nevertheless a larger part of Indonesian Muslim women are determined to carry out this transformation. For others, wearing a *jilbab* might just do the religious orders without having to think about whether they should behave in accordance with the values possessed by the devout Muslims. So they undergo changes and enjoy it, following fashion trend loved by the community. Perhaps it is the tendency of the latter that marks this current development of *jilbab* wearer, who almost swept all segments of society. In other words, most women still wear the veil with all their shortcomings of commitment to Islamic values which must be complied with by them. In contrast to what occurs in the general population, coaching Islamic morals in campuses is done quite effectively. In addition to the weekly Islamic teachings organized by students, private coaching by certain mentors has made the student's religiosity stronger. Indeed, there are likely some student who took off their *jilbab*, but from a campus religious situation in which the student religiosity is nurtured properly, then the determination to wear *jilbab* is strong enough.

V. SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

What is important from the veil phenomenon is that it is related to the return of religious passion among Muslims. It must be said that the symptoms of veiling is one aspect of the life of

Indonesian Muslims. Passion to be good Muslim among Indonesian can be seen from the development of Islamic life in general in this country. The mosque is now full of people who worship, and Islamic lecture is conducted everywhere as well as shown every day in almost every television station. Also what is equally important is usually related to protrusion of Islamic symbols, like the greeting of Islam "Assalamualaikum" (peace be upon you). This greeting is like a new culture of Indonesian people, spoken even in secular events like public gathering to initiate the program in the events. The government itself, which admit neither under the auspices of the Islamic state nor the secular state, facilitates people's Islamic passion. As a consequence, in Indonesia there are Islamic courts, Islamic banks and other institutions that smelled of Islam.

Many factors have created this situation. Government support can be said to be very important for the creation of this situation. In contrast to the Suharto government that was less friendly to political Islam, the government in the reform period - following the fall of the New Order's Suharto - strongly supports the development of Islam in general. In addition, modernization in general also contributed to the strengthening of public religiosity, because being modern besides encouraging social mobility, it is also faced with more severe challenges. In this case religion provides concepts that can calm, so that the hardship of modern life might push people to be back to religion. In addition, it could also be said that the increase in better life has given people an opportunity to think about religious matters and also execute commands and teachings of the religion.

Wearing veil is one side of religious life that is quite transformative. Those who wear veil must comply with the cultural norms that accompany or surround "pious followers of Islam". They have to behave in accordance with the moral values of religion, committed to do prayer, respect for parents, and affection to others. This special behavior is also particularly changing the patterns of relationships within the community. For example, women no longer carelessly shake hands with man, as normatively inappropriate. Very common that people saw a veiled woman kissing her husband's hand when parted on the road or at home when one of them would go to the office. This normative requirement has raised awareness of self or may determine social location of "veiled women" themselves not only in their dealings with the public at large but also in their behavior. The changes that accompany the use of the veil is indeed very normative even though in practical terms is commonplace. Cultural change always follows the changes in society in general, ranging from the environment to the thoughts. The development of technology that shortened the distance with other communities and even opening the door for negative influences of other cultures, such as free sex, or delinquency, have encouraged parents to send their children to schools run by religious foundations.

The development of these religious phenomena above is rather strange viewed from the perspective of modernization suggesting that the role of religion would decrease in modern society. It is clearly against the theses of modernization. Nevertheless a few sociologists have given a plausible explanation. Robertson and Chirico (1985, for example, look at the existing process of globalization, characterized by the emergence of concern in human beings happening globally.

According to them, the concern is characterized by a change in the direction of what they referred to as "anthropocentric dualistic cosmos" heading in the other direction marked by the strengthening of human awareness of the problems associated with the life and death of them. Because globalization creates a loss of feeling safe to live in the community, then it has raised issues relating to the legitimacy of the prevailing world order in society and to deal with the question of what it means to be human.

Robertson and Chirico (1985) see that this has opened the religious or quasi-religious concern. Real examples that can be adduced in this process, they explain further, is the emergence of "civil religion", as a result of increased awareness of the system's legitimacy on the community and concern for human life prospects. Manifestation of this problem is the emergence of "liberation theology" and the growing attention to the ideology of the world. They, on the other hand, also recognize that these are just some aspects that can explain the process of globalization. In conclusion, they stated that the globalization process is heightening, at least in the short term, religiosity and religion itself in society. Therefore, they confirmed that in addition to the process of secularization, there is also at the same time a process of de-secularization in the modern society. No surprise that in the middle of the roar of the modern secular society, there are also religious people, pious and even fanatical.

Another question related to the increase in number of *jilbab* user is whether this transformation will change the face of Indonesian Islam so far considered a moderate, at least the vast majority of Indonesian Islam is moderate. In other words, whether the increase in their religiosity would lead the Indonesian Muslims to be radical as shown by the emergence of terrorism in the last 20 years. It may be true that the development of Islam and the growing religious awareness among Muslims have been marked or followed in some cases by the birth and growth of radicalism. Some of the events in the Middle East are often regarded as an example of the approximate intended. Nevertheless, it must be understood that Islam in the Middle East is very different from that in Indonesia, as well as the problems facing these Islamic communities are also not the same.

Islam in Indonesia has long been practiced by different groups, so that although recognized as Sunni Muslims they are in many ways practicing Islam differently in matters within the domain of Islamic jurisprudence. This difference has emerged for a long time, and could even be said that the color of Islam in Indonesia itself is actually rather syncretic compared to that in the Middle East. This is so because Islam in Indonesia have adopted the local cultures then practiced or recognized as a part of Islam after the cultures are characterized by the values of Islam. The presence of trans-national Islamic groups that emerged after Indonesia conducted political reform did not succeed much in changing the face of Islam in Indonesia. Especially the politics of Islamism provoked by these organizations can only be accepted by a small number of Muslims, because accommodative Islam which in many respects is heretic is already deeply embedded in people's lives.

Thus, it can be said that the increase in religiosity among Islamic societies, as shown among others by the proliferation of the use of the veil by Muslim women, does not necessarily means to change the face of Indonesian Islam. Radical ideas may have

been introduced by the new Islamic organizations, but only a small fraction of Islamic community may be interested. Instead, the awareness to build Islam as "rahmatan lil alamin" (blessing for the whole universe) has grown and become a guidance for Islamic organisation like the "Nahdlatul Ulama" whose members are more than 40 million people. Islamism which is usually propagandized by some Islamic organisations and political party to make Islam as the basis of politics, not to mention to transform Indonesia into an Islamic state, is clearly not accepted by the public. Instead, Muslim leaders have insisted to make Pancasila (lit. five principles) as the state ideology. Furthermore, they try to continue to strengthen themselves to become a society with a high tolerance, given realized that Indonesia is a plural society. It must be recognized that the birth of the mass organizations of trans-national character have led to conflicts in Islamic societies. But it will not rip the Indonesian society as a whole.

VI. CONCLUSION

Jilbab can be regarded as a new culture of Indonesian society, since traditionally they only know *kerudung*. The *jilbab* is a foreign culture which was later adopted into Indonesian. This adoption is because the *jilbab* is regarded as clothing headgear that fits the needs of Muslims. Wearing *jilbab* itself is based on the command of Islam, which requires women to close his private parts. The development of this type of clothing is outstanding as can be witnessed lately. All layers of the women Islamic society wear a head cover of this type. Housewives, students, employees and even the artist do not feel embarrassed to wear this headscarf, which was formerly known as the Arab clothing. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the presence of a variety of users, especially among young Muslims, has caused the veil is not outdated. These young people, as also among Muslim youth in the UK as described by Sarah Gwilliam has adopted the so-called 'pop-Islam', so that the *jilbab* they wear is stylist, which in their language is called slang *jilbab*. This development has led to not only continuous increase in veil production but also born boutiques of *jilbab* seller, including for the middle class and rich woman.

Because the users of this scarf is from various Islamic groups, these symptoms not only show that the variation of the veil is multiplying but at the same time describe the diversity of their Islamic consciousness. If the veil users are generally the persons who increase in their religious consciousness, then among them there are also groups that become conservative and even exclusive. They developed the veil limited to that regarded suitable with Islam. Even in secular campuses where lots of students adopting what is called a pop-islam, there are also conservatives who behaved very black and white in wearing the *jilbab*. They are very substantialist in regard to wearing a headscarf, saying the stylist veil is not Islamic, and they are very rigid in thinking and practice of Islam in general. These attitudes

could happen among students because campuses in Indonesia have been attended by trans-national Islamic organizations, such as Salafi or Hizbut Tahrir, which offer Islamic thought and practice somewhat different to that of Indonesian society in general. In this case they are very puritanical, wanting to build what they call the pristine Islam, while Islam in Indonesia has been growing in a syncretic pattern.

Nevertheless, since the wearing of veil is related to adherence to religious orders, the increase in the number of users means the strengthening of religiosity of Indonesian Muslims. In other words, there are now more people in Indonesia who are more religious. The facts show that Islam in Indonesia physically continues to grow. For example, the number of mosques is growing and religious schools were also built everywhere. The development of this religious consciousness, as also happens in other Muslim countries, is more of a social transformation which has been shifted by what Asef Bayat (2013) called Islamism. This development is actually a commonplace to happen, because with the increase in their modernity, the society closeness to religion also increased. In many parts of the world, it is commonly found that people who are very modern also close to religion. The present church is visited by the educated followers of Christian, and the same holds true with mosques, attended by educated Muslims. This phenomenon, and in particular of the veil, is quite interesting because with this we have to look at social development of religion from the perspective other than used by the modernization theory. Indeed, the strengthening of religiosity could happen in the modern secular society, because the development of the world community seems to lead to what Habermas called a post-secular society.

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AUTHORS

First Author – Prof. Dr. Endang Turmudi, Indonesian Institute of Sciences, Jakarta, Indonesia, Email :
endangturmudi@yahoo.com