

## HIJRAH AND POP CULTURE: HIJAB AND OTHER MUSLIM FASHIONS AMONG STUDENTS IN LOMBOK, WEST NUSATENGARA

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### Abstract:

*The development of Islamic society in the millennial era in Indonesia today is quite dynamic. Educational progress is one of the road graders for their vertical mobility. At the next level, this progress significantly led to a community that came to be known as the Muslim middle class, which offers features and dynamics of Islamic life that integrated with modernity. Further development, a millennial generation emerged that was triggered by the advancement of information-communication technology, along with the growth of new traditions known as Islamic popular culture, including the Hijrah trend. This study wants to look at the trends of Hijrah and the background of the reconstruction of the identity of millennial Muslim generations while at the same time able to blend in with modernity at state universities in Lombok. The paradigm used is a qualitative paradigm based on field research. The results of this study indicate that the Hijrah attribute that is trending among Lombok millennials is the wear of fashionable syar'i clothing such as veils with various models and colours, syar'i veils, fashionable headscarves, increased observance of worship, Islamic quotes on social media accounts, and lengthening the beard.*

**Keywords:** *Pop culture, identity reconstruction, millennial Muslim, syar'i hijab, Hijrah.*

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### A. Introduction

The decade of the 1980s and 1990s, by many observers, was said to be a crucial period in the development of Indonesian Islam. The progress of development by the government, especially in the field of education, has paved the way for the process of vertical mobilization of some Muslims, especially the *santri*, who had previously marginalized both socially and politically.<sup>1</sup> The presence of the Muslim

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Robison, "The Middle Class and the Bourgeoisie in Indonesia," in *The New Rich in Asia: Mobile Phones, McDonald's and Middle Class Revolution* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993), 60; Helen Hughes dan Berhanu Woldekidan, "The Emergence of the Middle Class in ASEAN Countries," *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 11, no. 2 (1994): 139-49; Ariel Heryanto, "Kelas Menengah Indonesia: Tinjauan Kepustakaan," *Prisma* 4 (1990): 68-71.

middle class marks a critical stage in the development of contemporary Indonesian Islam. They not only present a form of religious life integrated with modernity but also offer an Islamic style acceptable to New Order politics. Vatikiotis testifies to this phenomenon that: "In Indonesia, the revival of the religious zeal of the 1980s and 1990s was a typical phenomenon of the middle class in urban areas—the segment of society most touched by economic development and social change. This phenomenon has a wide influence on the increasing religious observance of Muslims who are enjoying prosperity as a middle class."<sup>2</sup>

At that time, Suharto, as the ruler of the New Order, embraced various Islamic groups, lifted the ban on veiling, doubled the number of mosques suddenly, revoked restrictions on new newspaper permits, and allowed the emergence of the national Islamic organization ICMI (Indonesian Muslim Scholars Association).<sup>3</sup> That was the beginning of the "revival" of Islam in Indonesia. This condition gave rise to "new" Muslim groups which could then be explained by the rise in everything associated with that identity, for example, advertisements and service industries that offer religious tourism, *umroh* with famous Kiai, the establishment of expensive Islamic schools, unique Muslim cafes, mushrooming counters labelled Exclusive Moslem Fashion, a lively publication of Islamic magazines and literature. In this case, Ibrahim concluded that there is an ideology being implanted, which is religious but still trendy or fashionable. In this context, it is often said as the beginning of an era of growth and development of Islamic pop culture in Indonesia.<sup>4</sup>

In the context of Islamic pop culture, the Hijrah trend is one of the most concern and a much-talked-about discourse. On Instagram, for example, the *pemudahijrah* account has been joined by 1.5 million people.<sup>5</sup> We will find the hashtag *hijrah* in the search field, and more than 1.7 million posts on this topic. On Facebook, the Hijrah account has been followed by more than 300 thousand people.<sup>6</sup> This illustration shows that the Hijrah trend can be said as part of Islamic pop culture because it is done massively through various media and has influenced many people, especially young people who are known as the millennial generation.

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<sup>2</sup> Michael R. J. Vatikiotis, *Political Change in Southeast Asia, Trimming the Banyan Tree* (London & New York: Routledge, 1996), 152–53.

<sup>3</sup> Ariel Heryanto, "Pop Culture and Competing Identities," in *Popular Culture In Indonesia: Fluid Identities in Post-Authoritarian Politics*, ed. oleh Ariel Heryanto (New York: Routledge, 2008), 19.

<sup>4</sup> Claudia Nelf-Saluz, *Islamic Pop Culture in Indonesia: An Anthropological Field Study on Veiling Practices among Students of Gadjah Mada University of Yogyakarta* (Bern: Institut für Sozialanthropologie Universität Bern, 2007), 1; Hariyadi, "Islamic Popular Culture and The New Identities of Urban Muslim Young People in Indonesia: The Case of Islamic Films and Islamic Self-Help Books" (The University of Western Australia, 2013), 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> <http://pemudahijrah.com>.

<sup>6</sup> <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-3840983/fenomena-hijrah-di-kalangan-anak-muda>.

The Hijrah trend referred to, has penetrated the world of university students in Lombok, which can easily be seen from the appearance and model of clothing. For example, from data released by the State Islamic University (UIN) Mataram in early 2018, 73 students used the veil.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, in other campuses such as the Universitas Mataram (Unram), of which every year the number of students who use the veil continues to increase. In contrast to the meaning of Hijrah which is commonly relied on the emigration of the Messenger of Allah from Makkah to Medina, the phenomenon of Hijrah in today's context is closely related to changes in attitudes and ways of dressing that are more "Islamic", such as the use of headscarves, veils and other Muslim clothing.

This paper explores the phenomenon of wearing hijab and other Muslims dresses as an identity of Hijrah which has become a trend among students of UIN Mataram and Mataram University; How Hijrah is interpreted and practiced by students; what are the factors that make them do such hijrah; and how the Hijrah trend is then reconstructing millennial Muslim identity in Lombok as well as being able to blend with modernity.

## **B. Method**

This data paper relies on field research, where the research subjects are students at state universities in Lombok, namely State Islamic University (UIN) Mataram and Universitas Mataram (Unram). In-depth interviews were conducted with students, lecturers, and education managers at the two campuses. Meanwhile, documentation was carried out by accessing the profile of the institution, data on the condition of students, lecturers, pre-facility facilities, and real portraits of various activities. Data deepening is done through a focused group discussion by involving the relevant parties.

Data analysis is performed to select, sort, and classify data to answer two main issues, namely what themes are found in the data; and how far the data can support the clarity of the theme while the data analysis process begins by examining all available data from various sources. Diverse data is read, listened to, studied, analyzed and reduced by making a summary (abstraction). After doing the data abstraction arranged following the themes, then continued interpretation as a temporary finding. The interim findings were reviewed repeatedly so that they could become a substantive theory related to the implications of pop culture for the

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<sup>7</sup> Vice Rector III behalf of Rector UIN Mataram released "Daftar Nama Student yang bercadar UIN Mataram 2018", 9<sup>th</sup> April 2018. In the list there are 73 female students wearing *niqab*, The students are from various faculties in UIN Mataram.

shifting values of Islamic civilization<sup>8</sup>. This research analysis technique emphasizes the findings in the field by building a framework of thought, linking with theory and constructing in the building of complete and comprehensive research results.

### C. Trends in the Hijrah of Muslim Students in Lombok

The word Hijrah means moving or avoiding temporarily from one place to another for specific reasons, such as for safety or goodness.<sup>9</sup> This term is in Arabic from the original word هجر - هجر - يهجر, which means to break the relationship, and become the opposite of the word الوصل. In various forms, the word Hijrah is contained in 31 verses spread up in 17 Surahs in the Qur'an. So, calculatingly, it can be interpreted that the concept of Hijrah has an essential meaning in Islam.<sup>10</sup> By *jumhur* ulama, Hijrah is often interpreted into two regions, namely the Hijrah *makaniyah* and Hijrah *maknawiyah*. In the first area, Hijrah means physical movement that is closely related to territorial space. Whereas in the second one, it has a substantial meaning regarding aspects of mind, mentality, and beliefs. As for the Hijrah which is currently interpreted by the millennial generation of Muslims it is more on changing lifestyles and dress code. Millennials who emigrate are identical with significant changes to the way they dress, who used to wear jeans and tight clothing, now changing to the sharer, with long and wide hoods covering the chest and loose, even veiled clothes. Men tend to lengthen their beards and shorten their pants above their ankles. The following are the various attributes of students doing physical hijrah at UIN Mataram:

#### 1. Fashionable *Syar'i* Clothing

Nani Rofhani explained that the urban Muslim community try to show exclusive behavior oriented toward the city of Mecca. They interpreted Mecca not merely as the center of prayer but also guides daily behavior. That is the reason; they change the clothes worn with a robe (*jalabiyah*), they replace jeans with pants above the ankles, and turban (Imamat) as a substitute for hats. They also lengthen the beard, as one of the characteristics of the Salafi followers while women are marked with black or grey full shirts, combined with a long veil and blindfold (*niqab*).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Mathew B. Miles dan A. Michael Huberman, *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Buku Sumber tentang Metode-metode Baru* (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1992), 15–20.

<sup>9</sup> Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, “Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia” (Balai Pustaka, 2007), 401.

<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Fu'ad 'Abd al- Baqi, *Mu'jam Mufahras li Alfaz Alquran* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1992), 900; AlRagib al-Asfahani, *Mu'jam Mufradat al-Faz al-Qur'an* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), 534–37.

<sup>11</sup> Nani Rofhani, “Budaya Urban Kelas Menengah,” *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 1 (2013): 181-2

However, at this time, the Shari'a Clothing used has a variety of colors, not just black or grey. The range of *syar'i* clothing is their attempt to feel comfortable with the head covering (hijab) they wear wherever they are. Salafi groups, radicalism and especially terrorism, has tried to reconstruct *syar'i* clothes - including niqab which has been synonymous with conservatism- into something closer to modernity and popular culture.

Hijrah in the form of the use of *syar'i* clothing has also become popular among millennial students in Lombok in the last few years, including at UIN Mataram and Unram. According to Deputy Dean 3 (WD3) of the Tarbiyah and Teacher Training Faculty, Ahmad Asy'ari:

*"Since the last few years, there has been an exclusive movement, although not all are affected by it. It has led many students to change their fashion style by wearing trousers, leg lengths, lengthening beards, robes, large headscarves, even using a veil in Tarbiyah."*<sup>12</sup>

In 2018, it was documented that around 73 people doing such hijrah by wearing the veil,<sup>13</sup> the data does not include female students who migrated using *syar'i* clothing (robe and full hijab, for women, as well as *koko* shirts and trousers/leggings, for men.

## 2. Niqab

The term veil in Arabic means the face-covering that reveals the circumference of both eyes. According to Ibn Sirin, the niqab (veil) which reveals the circumference of both eyes is a *muhdats*, *something* that appears later. Face masks that were known to Muslims also previously covered the eyes. Only one eye is opened while the other one remains closed. This is known as *burqa* and *washah-washah*, and women can wear both. Then they start wearing the niqab which revealed both eyes.<sup>14</sup> In the Arabic-Indonesian Dictionary written by Mahmud Yunus, it is mentioned that the veil (niqab) is the covering of a woman's face.<sup>15</sup>

So, this niqab or veil is a variant of the headgear model used by Muslim women in Indonesia, which has recently become a trend, including among campus

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<sup>12</sup> Vice Dean 3 *interviewed* on 25<sup>th</sup> July 2019

<sup>13</sup> Vice Rector III on behalf of rector released "Daftar Nama Student yang bercadar UIN Mataram 2018", tertanggal 9<sup>th</sup> April 2018.

<sup>14</sup> F. Baswedan, *Samudera Hikmah Dibalik Jilbab Muslimah* (Jakarta: Pustaka Al-Inabah, 2013), 40.

<sup>15</sup> M Yunus, *Kamus Arab-Indonesia* (Jakarta: Haida Karya Agung, 2007), 40.

millennials. The niqab/veil users are called *Niqabis*.<sup>16</sup> In the Islamic veil, it has always been a controversial issue because of the problem of the stigma attached to veiled women, namely the rise of fundamental Islam which is also frequently related to terrorism and radicalism. Some time ago, the Indonesian Muslim community was shocked by the news from the mass media both print and electronic, about the issuance of circular No. B-1301/Un.02/R/AK.08.3/02/2018 by the Rector of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Prof. Yudian Wahyudi, dated February 20, 2018, concerning "Guiding Awareness Students" for female students at Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta. The rector's decision received a lot of responses and pressure from various parties. So that in order to maintain a conducive academic climate, after a while later on 10 March 2018, a letter No.B1679/Un.02/R/AK.003/03/2018 was published regarding "Revocation of a Letter on Guidance for Muslim Students".<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, it is different from UIN Sunan Kalijaga Jogjakarta, Higher Education in Lombok is not too concerned about the Niqab problem. According to Deputy Dean 3 (WD3) of FTK UIN Mataram, Ahmad Asy'ari, it is stated that:

*We never forbid students to express their religious understanding, as long as it does not lead to radicalism and endangers the institution. Two students were veiled we had sent to participate in the pioneer competition. In 2018, we recorded students wearing veil by collecting data from all departments. As a result, the number of students wearing veil in Tarbiyah is higher than other faculties at UIN Mataram.*<sup>18</sup>

A similar sentiment was also conveyed by the Vice-Chancellor 3 for Student Affairs at UIN Mataram, that:

*We are guarding these veiled siblings so as not to conduct studies that lead to radicalism. For quantitative data, once in 2018, we asked vice dean 3 from each faculty to record the number of our veiled female students. The result is that there are around 45 students in the Faculty of Tarbiyah, in the Faculty of Sharia 15 students, in the faculty of Ushuluddin 7 students, in the faculty of economy 4 students and in the faculty of dakwah 2 students.*<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Putri Aisyiah Rachma Dewi dan Awang Dharmawan, "Niqab Sebagai Fashion: Dialektik Konservatisme dan Budaya Populer," *Jurnal Scriptura* 9, no. 1 (2019): 10, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326805010>.

<sup>17</sup> Lisa Aisyiah Rasyid, "Problematika Hukum Cadar Dalam Islam: Sebuah Tinjauan Normatif-Historis," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 16, no. 1 (2018): 75, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326805010>.

<sup>18</sup> Vice Dean 3, *Interview*, 25<sup>th</sup> July 2019

<sup>19</sup> Vice Rector 3 UIN Mataram, *Interview*, 29<sup>th</sup> July 2019

He further said that there was no prohibition in wearing the niqab, but the institution continues to monitor all study activities that they (the niqabists) held on campus, so as not to lead to radicalism. The vice rector 3 of Student Affairs at the University of Mataram, said that there were some students at Unram who wear the veil, but not many. However, the institution did not yet have quantitative data.<sup>20</sup>

Some female students who practiced their knowledge of Hijrah by wearing the niqab/veil said that their Hijrah practice did not directly use niqab/veil. Starting from just wearing a standard hijab then using shari'a/hijab wearers clothes until finally feeling more comfortable to use the niqab. Like Sri Lestari Handayani, Study Program Student of Teacher Education for Islamic Elementary School (PGMI) in the faculty of Tarbiyah UIN Mataram:

*"I initially only used syar'i clothes, such as long loose clothes and ample hijab, but because of the influence of my mother, finally I now wear this niqab. Since elementary school, I have learned to put on the niqab until now. Because for me, this niqab guarded me against the sights of men who were not my mahram/relative."*<sup>21</sup>

Baiq Okta Vina Sartia Wijaya, 6th Semester of the Indonesian Language and Literature Study Program, FKIP Mataram University, said that:

*In terms of clothing, before, when I was in Islamic Junior High School (MTs) had started wearing headscarves, but still wearing a small headscarf. After that when I was in Islamic Senior High School I started wearing headscarves and in the 4th semester at this college I already started wearing the niqab.*

The niqab or veil even becomes fashion and has its community. Diana Nurliana, a Muslim fashion designer who wears a veil and one of the founders of the Niqab Squad Community, said that the niqab was not a thing to be afraid of. The niqab is a symbol of religion which can also adopt modern values and make its presence more humanistic. As a fashion, it has a variety of models, ranging from the Yemeni veil, bangs veil, bandana veil, eagle eyes, to the half niqab.<sup>22</sup>

Both at Unram and UIN Mataram, they also use various kinds of niqab models, with various colours. So not all female students who wear veils use black robe and niqab, some use fashionable robe and niqab that are fashionable, according to their likes.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Vice Rector 3 of Universitas Mataram, *Interview* 24<sup>th</sup> July 2019

<sup>21</sup> Sri Lestari Handayani, a Student of PGMI FTK UIN Mataram, *Interview*, 15<sup>th</sup> June 2019

<sup>22</sup> <https://wolipop.detik.com/hijab-update/d-3620452/cadar-poni-hingga-mata-clang-mengenal-tipe-tipeniqab-di-indonesia>.

<sup>23</sup> Observation in UIN Mataram & Unram, 28<sup>th</sup> September 2019 and 15 October 2019

They also actively participate in and upload their styles on social media such as Instagram & Facebook. One of the UIN Mataram students, Nur Halimah, said that:

*"I actively share my photos on Facebook as well, because I sell offline (stores) also online. The clothes I sell are syar'i robe complete with veil, the colours are various. So I have to be the model."*<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the content of trade commodities, they also contain content (quotes) that invite the ethical under Islamic teachings. So the use of the niqab, both at UIN Mataram and at Unram, is not merely based on ideological reasons, but also business reasons. However, so far, researchers have yet found a particular *niqabist* community in such campus environment, both UIN Mataram and Unram.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. *Gamis Syar'i Hijaber* (Hijab Wearer)

Before the trend of wearing niqab, there was also a trend for the use of Hijab *syar'i* without a face covering, and they called this type of hijab. The use of hijab also became a trend in early 2010 with the motorbike being the hijab wearers community or the Hijabers Community (HC). HC also grows throughout Indonesia, including Lombok. They intend to become a friendly forum to make the hijab more fashionable and modern, as well. The HC retainers are Muslimah dress designers such as Ria Miranda, Dian Pelangi and women from various other professions.

After the HC was successful in capturing many young hijab wearers to join and hold various activities, Hijabers Mom Community (HMC) emerge which recruits adult or middle-aged women who needed a place to establish *ukhuwah* and share to improve quality. HMC now has thousands of members spread across 21 regions including Lombok itself, under the name Hijabers-Mom Community Lombok.<sup>26</sup>

The term *syar'i* hijab is a thick veil that covers the width of the bottom back, accompanied by the use of a robe or a loose top and full skirt that covers all parts of the body, except for the palms and face, as revealed in the Qur'an an-Nur: 31. According to M. Nashiruddin Albany,

*"The correct hijab criterion is to cover the entire body, except for the face and two palms, the veil is not a jewelry, is not thin, not transparent, not tight so that it shows the shape of the body, not sprayed with perfume, does not*

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<sup>24</sup> Nur Halimah, a Student of UIN Mataram, Interview 15 Agustus 2019. Her facebook account is Nur Halimah & instagram nyonya\_ana.

<sup>25</sup> UIN Mataram, Observation, 30<sup>th</sup> July 2019

<sup>26</sup> <https://m.detik.com>. accessed on 20.00 18<sup>th</sup> September 2019. For further information on HMC Lombok, look at instagram hijabersmom\_lombok



*resemble men's clothing or women's clothing - infidel women and are not clothes to seek self-popularity”<sup>27</sup>*

The practice of hijab *syar'i*/hijab wearers also occurs among millennials at UIN Mataram and Mataram University. There are more people wearing hijab than those who use the niqab. Some used to wear tight clothes (tight pants/jeans and short tops) and do hijrah by wearing the robe and hijab wide/large. As Dwi Ayu Izmi Putri, student of Unram Semester 3 Notary Magister Study Program, stated that:

*"For outward appearance, my Hijrah begins with the hijab starting to be lengthened, and a bit thicker also started to use the inner veil, because if only the veil without the veil is still not looking perfect. After the hijab, proceed to pants, who used to wear jeans, began to change into wearing softer fabric pants, after that started using wider culottes pants after that started to wear the robe with a wide hijab. So the change of shape is slow, and the pleasure of Hijrah is really felt."<sup>28</sup>*

Besides, Minawati, a Law Faculty student from the University of Mataram, said:

*"The Hijrah I practice is to improve myself and change my appearance according to Islamic sharia. If I used to wear tight clothes & jeans, since I migrated, I used clothes that were loose and long only to have wide legs and headscarves."<sup>29</sup>*

Among the benefits of using the hijab, as stated by Waryono Abdul Ghofur in his book *Social Interpretation* is as one way to avoid humiliation, harassment and temptation.<sup>30</sup> It is also the reason for some millennials to use the *syar'i* hijab. During the FGD, the majority claimed to use the hijab *syari'* for comfort and security and felt valued and felt closer to God. As stated by Fadilah, a Student of the Faculty. The new technique emigrated in 2017: "because by migrating we can better understand the purpose of our lives and realize that the purpose of life is to serve God. I feel comfortable because I feel close to God not because of material ".Putri Lestari, Student of PGMI UIN Mataram, at the time of the FGD, said that: "after I emigrated

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<sup>27</sup> Syaikh Albany, *Kitab jilbab al-Mar'ah al- Muslimah Fil Kitabi wa as-Sunnah*, n.d.

<sup>28</sup> Dwi Ayu Izmi Putri, a graduate student of Kenotariatan Semester 3 Universitas Mataram, Interview,

<sup>29</sup> Minawati, Student Jurusan Ilmu Hukum Fakultas Hukum Universitas Mataram, *Interview*.

<sup>30</sup> Wahyono Abdul Ghafur, *Tafsir Sosial* (Yogyakarta: eLSAQ Press, 2005), 132.

from being dressed open to closed, Alhamdulillah I feel more comfortable and safe from the interference of men who are not Muslims"<sup>31</sup>

One of the students from Unram said that after, she is more "comfortable after doing hijrah by using the hijab *syar'i*, because she met with many friends who felt her association was based on *ukhuwah*".<sup>32</sup> Also, SH, Student of PGMI UIN Mataram, said that after using the *syar'i* hijab, she felt more respected, was no longer disturbed and harrassed by men who were not Muslims.<sup>33</sup>

#### 4. Fashionable Hijab

In addition to the veil/niqab and hijab *syar'i*/hijab, there are also millennials who practice Hijrah by using a fashionable rectangular hijab that is of average size (115cm x 115cm or 120cm x 120cm) or not wide.<sup>34</sup> The amount is more significant than those who use niqab/veil and hijab *syar'i*.<sup>35</sup>

The meaning of hijab in Indonesian is different from that of the classical Muslim scholars. The meanings of the veil include loose clothes or a veil of female head coverings, clothes that cover the clothes and veils that are worn, all clothes that cover the female genitals. In terms of the hijab, linguists vary in defining the hijab but with the same meaning and purpose. According to al-Biq'a'i quoted by Quraish Shihab in Tafsir al-Misbah that the hijab is clothing that covers clothes and veils or all clothes that cover women.<sup>36</sup>

At UIN Mataram, the use of the headscarf is a culture that is required, considering UIN Mataram is an Islamic Higher Education institution. While at Unram, the use of headscarves is an option for students, because there are no mandatory rules. Not all Muslim women who study at Unram from the beginning use the hijab, and some just wear hijab after they proclaim hijrah, such as Astri Lissani, a student of the Faculty of Law of Unram, who said that:

*"I do hijrah by changing the appearance that previously did not use the hijab, now I have used the hijab, only in August 2018 yesterday, well even though the rectangle is not wide. At first, it was just a trial and error, but because I*

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<sup>31</sup> Putri Lestari, a Student of PGMI UIN Mataram, FGD, on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2019

<sup>32</sup> Hamdatus Sholehah, Student Pertanian/Agribisnis semester VI Unram, FGD, on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2019

<sup>33</sup> SH, Student PGMI UIN Mataram, FGD, on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2019

<sup>34</sup> UIN Mataram & Universitas Mataram, Observation, July 2019

<sup>35</sup> Desfi Nalurita, Academic Staffat Law Faculty Universitas Mataram, *Interview*, 29<sup>th</sup> July 2019

<sup>36</sup> Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir al-Misbah*, Volume 2 (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2002), 214.

*felt more comfortable and protected, I was also a Muslimah, and many of my friends were veiled, so I continued until now.*<sup>37</sup>

From Astri Lissani's statement, it appears that she understands the veil as a silent symbol that indicates that the user is a Muslim, and is useful in protecting himself from the wrong views of men who are not Muslims. Both at UIN Mataram and Unram, the fashionable hijab users are far more than the hijab *syar'i* and niqab wearers.

### **5. Extending the Beard & Putting on the Hat (*Peci/Kopiah*)**

Lengthening a beard and using a headgear like a cap, for men, are also attributes of hijrah practiced by Muslim millennials at UIN Mataram & Unram. According to a lecturer in the PGMI Study Program at UIN Mataram, several students in his class appeared using cap and lengthening beards, and they are students who are active in their classes.<sup>38</sup>

A beard is a hair that grows on the chin, cheeks and neck of a man, which is usually associated with masculinity, although some people identify the beard with terrorism, considering the 2002 Bali bombers also bearded. In Islamic Shari'ah, lengthening and maintaining a beard are part of the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad, as narrated by Bukhari from Ibn Umar, the Messenger of Allah said: "shave off the moustache and leave (extend) the beard." (Narrated by Bukhari no. 5893).

This prophet's sunnah is also practiced by some students, both at UIN Mataram and at Unram. Muhammad Turmudji Tahid said:

*"The form of Hijrah that I practice is often following Islamic teachings, from there I increasingly try to change attitudes from the less good to the better and try to be beneficial to others according to the sunnah of the Apostles and maintain beards. Besides being a beard is a sunnah, but also I feel more mature and cool, besides that beard makes me not want to do things that are forbidden by God, shame at the beard."*<sup>39</sup>

Mahendra Saputra also said something similar related to his Hijrah attributes:

*"I believe in migrating as an awareness that is embedded in the soul of every person who is guided by Allah SWT (hidayah) to be a better human being than the previous condition. The Hijrah that I practice is always to worship*

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<sup>37</sup> Astri Lissani, a student of Law Faculty Unram, FGD, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2019

<sup>38</sup> Dosen di Prodi PGMI FTK UIN Mataram, *Interview*, 10<sup>th</sup> October 2019

<sup>39</sup> Muhammad Turmudji Tahid, a Student of FTK UIN Mataram, *Interview*, 10<sup>th</sup> October 2019

*Allah SWT and change the way to dress using a cap when travelling and lengthening the beard as the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad Saw. Because for me, our appearance can be at the same time as a brake in behaviour. The sharper my appearance is, God willing, the more I will maintain my behaviour according to my appearance.*"<sup>40</sup>

The interview shows that beards can make their owners feel so masculine and also as a reminder to continue to act under Islamic sharia. It was also felt by Ismail, a student of the Faculty of Agriculture, Unram:

*"In my opinion, Hijrah is changing morals and readiness always to carry out the commands of Allah and His Messenger and try to stay away from the prohibitions of Allah and His Messenger. Like fixing my manners in hanging out while reminding each other of goodness and also lengthening my beard and I like to use kupluk, a type of Indonesian muslim traditional cap because I follow Ustad Hannan Attaki and am a fan of him. By looking like this, I feel more awake in attitude."*<sup>41</sup>

## 6. Islamic Motivation Quotes on Social Media

Social media and Millennial Muslims are like a whole body and soul. Some say it is better to miss the wallet than to miss the gadget (cellphone or laptop) because if you miss the gadget, they cannot update the status and the latest information on social media. According to Ariel Heryanto, new media has played a very significant role by reshaping human social life at various levels.<sup>42</sup> So the need for internet quota becomes a fundamental requirement for millennials. This new media is used in all aspects of millennial life, including listening to and spreading religious issues. They also actively participate in and upload their latest activities on social media such as WhatsApp, Instagram, Facebook, and are accompanied by content (quotes) that encourage goodness following Islamic teachings.

Like Amelia Diastri, an Unram student, who uploaded a photo with her friends who were at the Islamic Center accompanied by quotes about Hijrah and brotherhood, as shown in Figure 1 below:

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<sup>40</sup> Mahendra Saputra, a Student FTK UIN Mataram, *Interview*, 10<sup>th</sup> October 2019

<sup>41</sup> Ismail, student Agriculture Faculty Unram, *Interview* 10<sup>th</sup> October 2019

<sup>42</sup> Ariel Heryanto, *Identitas dan Kenikmatan : Politik Budaya Layar Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2015).



Picture 1: Unram Student with her friend

In Figure 2 below, you can see Sri Haryati, a student of PGMI FTK UIN Mataram, uploading religious content quotes on WhatsApp status, taken from migratory accounts from other social media, with reasons for wanting to spread goodness.



Picture 2: WhatsApp status from one of UIN Mataram students



Picture 3: Unram Student in Her Instagram Feed

Laela Kadriyanti, Unram Faculty student. Law Science, also often uploads a photo of herself on her Instagram Tadi account that appears to be on the page of the Islamic Center accompanied by motivational quotes to continue worshipping to draw closer to God.



Picture 4: WhatsApp Status from one of

In addition to spreading knowledge or quotes, which they sometimes quote from the Qur'an, Hadiths or lectures of famous preachers, social media is also used to spread information related to religious agendas or activities, such as that was carried out by Misnawati, a UIN student in Mataram, on her WhatsApp status.

This indicates that the Hijrah they do was not limited to clothing, but also to the desire to motivate others to do such thing together. All are done with the reason to be useful for others by sharing information or religious knowledge that they have under the orders of Allah and His Messenger.

#### **D. Pop Culture in the discourse of Hijrah, Hijab and Other Muslim Fashions**

To analyze hijab – in relation to hijrah – through the lens of pop culture it is important to address Heryanto's view<sup>43</sup> that there are three reasons that could be made for the scarcity of in-depth analysis of pop culture in Indonesia. First, pop culture is a symptom that is still new in the eyes of the public. Second, it is a strong paradigm especially in a social study. Third, there is a strong masculine bias in our scientific world in general. The explanation of these three things concludes with any conclusions that can then be made as the object of research in popular culture. Heryanto agreed with Strinati's opinion<sup>44</sup> that the term refers to a variety of communicative acts which is widely circulated that is presented to the majority of "ordinary" people or by the people, or a combination of both. Hijab in the definition above is a combination of both. Hijab is now commodified and produced massively. It is to some extent a relatively independent communicative act. This matter marked from the use of hijab that is very diverse in accordance with the wishes the wearer. Hijab is also an alternative to lifestyle.

Storey convinced researchers of cultural studies that discourse is used as an object of wide-spread research (many and varied), which responds to changing political and historical conditions and is always characterized by debate, disagreement, and intervention.<sup>45</sup> Thus, deep culture cultural studies are defined politically rather than aesthetically, i.e. realm of struggle. The wearing of the hijab in Indonesia is one of culture dress Indonesian Muslim women (now). The development is very dynamic, both from changes in the model or the number of users. Already explained in for that veiling began to bloom in the late 90s and now it can be said the

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<sup>43</sup> Ariel Heryanto (ed). *Budaya Populer di Indonesia: Mencairnya Identitas Pasca-Orde Baru*, (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2012), 8

<sup>44</sup> Dominic Strinati, *Populer Culture: Pengantar Menuju Teori Budaya Populer*, (Yogyakarta: Jejak, 2007), 51

<sup>45</sup> John Storey, *Cultural Studies dan Kajian Budaya Pop: Pengantar Komprehensif Teori dan Metode*, (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra 2007), 4

peak. If the 80s headscarf users were a minority, now they are the majority. Research on the hijab cannot be separated from the elements political because in Indonesia in the 80s the government officially banned its use in formal activities (schools, civil servants). This condition raises pros and cons. Good from the community that maintains to keep on wearing and those who insist on obeying the rules. Issues of pros and cons at this time are still ongoing. No debate this visit was over because of differences in perspective in the usage.

Furthermore, what is just as important is the matter of media intervention which influences public opinion. Opini was formed through a variety of religious shows. Veiled soap opera stars, veiled singers, winners of the veiled talent search event, and others. Opinion formed, especially by television, as stated by Ibrahim (2011)<sup>46</sup> "religious but still trendy or religious, but still fashionable". In the frenetic variety of clothing models and styles of dress, so does Muslim clothing. This condition raises various concerns from some people who consider the wearing of the hijab not in accordance with sharia (religious law). Solichul (2006)<sup>47</sup> wrote the book *Funky Hijab but Shar'i* in a youthful language style. It was explained how the veil should be in accordance with Islamic law. However, the focus of the discussion was not just according to the rules or not, the author wanted to convey that the veil can remain stylish without violating the rules. He wrote the term "funky hijab". The meaning of the word funky that is most suitable when applied in a dress is stylish and modern in an unconventional way (<http://artikata.com/arti-73530-funky.html>) or in the sense of "style and modern in an unusual way". When applied to the funky veiling method (in this book), there are eight that must be met. The eight conditions are; (1) must cover the body, except those excluded, (2) not just decoration, (3) thick, (4) not to be "stretched", (5) not to be given excessive fragrance / perfume, (6) do not resemble men's clothing (7) Men should not be the same as infidel women, and (8) not to seek popularity.

However, the author does not indicate that the hijab is in accordance with the Shari'a, but what is funky. What if the eight conditions are met then immediately the veil wearer becomes funky. Requirement number eight, that is not looking for popularity, is not how to veil, but the intention to use the veil. It would be very difficult to measure one's intention to wear a headscarf, as well as having nothing to do with funky headscarves. This view expressed ambivalence. The author has the initial assumption that wearing the hijab is not funky, but the veil can be funky by still following the eight conditions mentioned above. In the end it's hard to know the

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<sup>46</sup> Idi Subandy Ibrahim, *Budaya Populer sebagai Komunikasi: Dinamika Popscape dan Mediascape di Indonesia Kontemporer*, (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011). Idi Subandy Ibrahim, "Pakaian Anda Menunjukkan Siapa Anda? Semiotika Fashion sebagai Komunikasi Artifaktual" dalam *Fashion sebagai Komunikasi*, (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011)

<sup>47</sup> Solichul Hadi, *Jilbab Funky tapi Syar'i*, (Yogyakarta: Diwan, 2006).



hijab that is not funky and the hijab that is funky, but still shar'i is what it looks like and how it is implemented. Popular culture which is equated with mass culture is synonymous with abundance of production. The emergence of these "new" Islamic groups and the development of the wearing of the headscarf encouraged increased production. What is meant is the abundance of the Muslim fashion industry and this is a lucrative target market, plus some celebrities produce Muslim clothing with their name tags. The can be seen in many malls, in large markets, in Muslim fashion shops, peddled to dominate the market. For example, in the Tanah Abang Market in Jakarta or in Pasar Baru Bandung, Muslim clothing and various accessories fulfill almost the majority of the market's contents. To attract consumers there is also a hijab tutorial demonstration held in malls or large markets. This hijab tutorial explains and practices the steps for wearing headscarves that are currently trending. Then the trendy model was quickly followed by hijabers.

Jilbab is also temporarily used in religious events, for example during the month of Ramadan. The salespeople at the mall for months Ramadan works by wearing a hijab. Presenter on television do not miss the veil. The artists who sing religious songs it's not complete if you don't use the hijab. Muslim fashion show held in many places, for example in hotels and malls. So, the use of Muslim headscarves and clothing marks something of religious significance. In addition, the veil is also used to mark events certain things in daily life, for example: used when mourning someone who died, attending the celebration of someone who will go on pilgrimage, or attend recitation when someone celebrate something. Thus, the hijab is temporarily worn for mark events that are related to religious elements.

The hijab is also an "Islamic" icon in various forms such as Islamic literary works. What is meant by Islam here is Muslim leaders, using a choice of words or diction from the language. Arabic commonly spoken by Muslims. In the front cover of a literary work labeled "Islamic" female characters as "required" to veil. Likewise in "Islamic" magazines. Front cover models that are generally female, dressed using hijab. In this case the veil made a commodity for labeling.

The explanation above has placed the veil as a culture popular in Indonesia. Jilbab is not just a Muslim identity in Indonesia, but appear in various faces and interests. As Storey put it in other words, cultural texts, for example, do not merely reflect history. Cultural texts make history and are results from various processes and practices, and, therefore, should be studied because of the work (ideological) done.<sup>48</sup> When placed in Storey's explanation, the cultural text is a veil that has a history of winding struggles in Indonesia. But now, the veil has an ideological role various kinds as already described above.

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<sup>48</sup> John Storey, *Cultural Studies dan Kajian Budaya Pop: Pengantar Komprehensif Teori dan Metode*, (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2007), 4

#### **D. Conclusion**

The semi linear Muslim generation in Lombok, who do hijrah are identical with significant changes to the way they dressed, who used to wear jeans and tight clothing, then turned into *syar'i* clothing, using the robe, fashionable hijab, full veil covering the chest, and loose clothes, even veiled. Nevertheless, such things are not monotonous in black, but using colours that match the models adapted to the development of fashion trends. Whereas men tend to lengthen beards and hats. Quotes that they share on social media, such as the status of WhatsApp, Instagram, and Facebook also tend to be around fragments of verses, hadiths, information on Islamic study activities, as well as short lectures of religious teachers who are currently famous on social media such as Ustadz Adi Hidayat, Ustadz Khalid Basalamah, Ustadz Hanan Attaqi and Ustadz Abdul Somad. Other quotes in the form of words of motivation to improve themselves (Hijrah), and motivation to distance themselves from acts that are prohibited by Allah Swt.

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