

Increasing Hijab Acehnes Women: A Political Perspective

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ABSTRACT: This research aims to explain the facts that it seeks to see the case of violations of Sharia Law (Islamic Law) related to the women's hijab(veil) and dress to implement Sharia Law in Aceh Indonesia. The Acehnes women wear the hijab due to the increasingly stringent Sharia Police (Islamic Police) raids in the city area. Since 2006, the hijab has grown in popularity among women, wearing a hijab following local regulations and environmental fashion. The article describes the Sharia Law offered to uphold Islamic change through the hijab for women. This research method was conducted qualitatively with interviews Sharia Police as law enforcement and teenage, adult, and older women in women's organisation and minority groups who are also affected by the implementation of Islamic Criminal Law. Women are not aware of implementing the Sharia Law, and the implementation of Qanun Jinayat related to hijab and women's clothing are still blurred. The modern hijab's fashion influences the dress habits of women, especially young girls and adults. Therefore implementing the Sharia Law seems to control the hijab and clothing in other ways as political interests in certain groups.

KEYWORDS: Sharia Law, Politic, Hijab, Woman, Fashion

I INTRODUCTION

Aceh was granted special autonomy in 2005 as part of a deal with Jakarta to end decades of separatist violence and implement sharia. Aceh is the only province in a predominantly Muslim country of Indonesia that adheres to Islamic law that other provinces where a large part of the population practices moderate Islam. Sharia Law¹ requires Muslims to wear clothes that cover their genitals and are polite, both men and women. The women as hijab and Muslim clothing cover the genitals, and men wear trousers and modest clothes. The hijab is a head covering worn by Muslim women throughout the country (Najjaj, 2017). The hijab development was called by other terms such as veil, hijab, or headscarves, which have been used in Indonesia since the pre-colonial era. In the past 30 years, wearing the hijab or headscarf was rare for Indonesian women (Utomo et al., 2018).

The increasing number of hijab users in Indonesia grew the hijab fashion and raised popular among Muslim clerics. The use of the hijab is a very complex social reality covering various social aspects. In Aceh, individuals wear the hijab because of their commitment to Islamic teachings and their commitment to the group manifested through the hijab symbol that they use following the construction of the owner of the religious authority.

Acehnese women and hijab are integrated into their lives; therefore, Sharia Law's rules have become part of custom or have been enforced in society. Aceh is known as Serambi Mekkah² because Aceh was the area

¹Islamic standard Law was dependent on the lessons of the Quran. Existing in the Sharia Law No. 11/2006 in Aceh enforcement stipulated in the Decree of the Governor of Aceh since 2004, based on the Law's rule on the Governing of Aceh (LoGA) governed the Islamic Criminal Law. The Organization of Sharia in Aceh is the Islamic Sharia, Wilayatul Hisbah or Shariah Police, the Indonesian police, the prosecutor's office, and the Shariah court. Autonomy No. 18/2001 in Aceh province has allowed the implementation of a separate legal sub-system, and the implementation of Sharia Law in Aceh is something special in modern times.

²The title Serambi Mekkah for Aceh because of its religious history. These things have various reasons, including Aceh being the first area to convert to Islam in the archipelago. Aceh was once the base for the Haj

where Sharia Law was implemented before Aceh became part of Indonesia. The awakening of the awareness about Muslim women's identity that they acquire during the process of cultural adjustment shows how they develop sufficient self-awareness that allows them to expose their identity in public, asking for equality (Kulennovi, 2006).

A Particular autonomy, Aceh's provincial legislature enacted a series of Qanuns (laws) governing the implementation of Sharia with Law No. 11 of 2006 concerning the Special Province of the Special Region of Aceh in applying Sharia Law. It regulates the educational institution's obligation to cultivate Islam (Muhammad Ansor, 2016: 67). The regulation starts with educational institutions, which all public schools and religious schools in Aceh must have a headscarf for women, both teachers and Muslim students (Muhammad Ansor, 2016: 67).

The Sharia Police³ to encourage women to wear the hijab and cover their genitals that most women wear the hijab following the fashion of the transformation of the political period. Therefore, research was conducted among women who wear the hijab who have different views on the wishes and rules of Sharia Law. The significant development of the after 2005 in Aceh shows that Acehnese women have experienced quite a tremendous leap in entering the change in Aceh.

The people of Aceh are known to be religious, and the harmonization between custom and Islam developed in various aspects of community life. This research can fill one research point on the hijab in Indonesia by explaining the social realities in the contemporary era. I examine the variations in the hijab in Aceh in political policy; the hijab is often seen as a symbol of Islam for Muslim women and a limitation. In particular, in engaging with these questions, refer to the boundaries of hijab for women; first, how are women following the development of hijab under Sharia Law? Second, what style their hijab? In this research, the hijab can be seen as a symbol of a specific Islamic identity variant. Islam's perspective has several plural variants and personal identities related to socio-cultural identities that are dynamically formed and history, individuals, and politics.

II. CONTROVERSIAL OF HIJAB IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In Indonesia, Muslim women who are active in various social movements about Islam in the 1980s became critical in fighting for the veil from the state's rules. The development of the struggle in democracy against the *Orde Baru* (New Order)⁴ regime before it ended in 1998. The transformation of Indonesian women to grow religious subjects has undergone significant changes in the 2000s. Also, this country a predominantly Muslim country that the hijab served as part of the people's lifestyle, which is related to religious aspects and social and economic status in society (Zinira, 2017). Women were wearing a hijab instantly signal who they are and with their group, clarifying their religious and community relationships (Williams & Vashi, 2007).

From the late 1970s to the late 1980s, wearing the headscarf in Indonesia for female students required self-confidence to face discrimination from both teachers and friends in their community. In 1982, the Ministry of Education and Culture (Ministry of P and K) of the Republic of Indonesia issued a Decree (SK) 052/C/Kep/D/82, which regulates the use of school uniforms in public schools (Suhendra, 2013). In school, the girls who wear hijabs being admonished and threatened by the school. At that time, students who still wanted to wear the hijab must leave school and move to private schools. Hijab cannot be separated from the political element because in the 80s, the Indonesian government officially banned its informal activities (schools, civil

port for the entire archipelago. There are similarities between Aceh and Makkah, namely both Islam and the Syafi'i school of thought.

³ Sharia police are also known as sharia police in Aceh have been established historically in the implementation of Sharia Law. Sharia Police officers have duties such as providing counseling, preventing and prosecuting Sharia Law violations, and enforcing court decisions.

⁴ Soeharto was in power from 12 March 1967-21 May 1998, and his reign was called the New Order. Suharto built a stable country and achieved economic and infrastructure progress for 31 years.

servants) (Rahayu, 2016). In the early 1990s, demonstrations against the ban on headscarves in schools and colleges raged at some leading universities. In 1990, the newspaper tempo (9/1990) updated an issue about the prohibition of wearing the hijab in schools, stipulated for junior and senior high school students. Especially Aceh, some schools more compliant with the North Aceh Ulama Council, which allowed the hijab. On 16 February 1991, decree No.100/C/Kep/D/ 1991 (Bahasa. Id, 2020) was issued, which allowed students to wear clothes based on their own beliefs.

However, under the *Orde Baru*, the government prohibited women from wearing the headscarf at school. The hijab development in Indonesia continued to increase during the *Orde Baru* fall in 1998 (Zinira, 2017). Utomo noted a positive and significant relationship between the headscarf and education level (Utomo et al., 2018). Furthermore, some women who initially did not wear the hijab as students and after joint religious organizations decided to wear the hijab. We present the decision to wear the hijab as one of the identity development and reorientation of college-age women from their families (Williams & Vashi, 2007). The same thing in Aceh many students use the hijab after the Sharia Law was legalized in Aceh. Moreover, this awakened when they were little in the family for children born after the Sharia Law in Aceh.

Since the Sharia Law implementation in 2005, the hijab a critical rule implemented by schools, universities, and the Acehnese community. Based on this regulation, every school and university made its own rules about covering the genitals, such as wearing a skirt and a hijab covering the chest. In 2006 almost all schools and universities implemented the Law on the Governing of Aceh (LoGA) regulations on Sharia Law in Aceh. The Qanun supported them regarding the clothes that must be worn, there is Qanun No.11/2002 concerning the implementation of *aqidah* (creed), worship, and *syiar* (greatness) of Islam (Akbar, 2015). In 2006 the hijab developed in popularity among young and older women. Institutions, schools, and universities have enforced the mandatory hijab and Muslim dress of the costume rules. Some students continued to wear the hijab into adulthood after the Sharia Law. This condition found children under 17 years old when the Sharia Law was enacted in 2006. However, in Muslim clothes and wearing the hijab in public, women and men are subject to close supervision. In society's growth in Aceh, a woman's way to wear the hijab was growing discussion around the people in giving an assessment. The demand to implement Sharia Law, which is very symbolic, can paralyze women's actualization and role in society (Ningrum, 2005; Ruby, 2006).

The controversy highlights the political nature of the headscarf debate, which serves a contemporary political agenda without fully considering the history behind its spread. As a result, disputes over dress have often turned into debates about Muslims, but this can become a matter of debate among Indonesians. The hijab, as a sign of identity, continues to use the hijab to affirm and giving status and dignity to the wearer (Ruby, 2006).

III. THE A NEW MODERN HIJAB ACEHNESE WOMEN

In 2006, the hijab debate became a stark contrast in Aceh because the standard of clothing for Muslim women agreed upon and socialized to the community was only supported by *Qanun* No.11/2002, which was general.

Following the way of wearing a hijab with fashion at various age levels for women, especially in Aceh, are different; some teenagers still wear jeans and shirts to their waist. For adult women, they appear more feminine with skirts and shirts to the knees. In contrast, older women choose *abayas* (a full-length outer garment worn by some Muslim women) with a larger hijab covers the chest. Female students and young mothers choose to dress with fashionable Muslim women following the trendy lifestyle. Some women wear long headscarves with long skirts covering their body shape, while others wear fashionable headscarves paired with matching trendy jeans (Utomo et al., 2018). The discovery of styles adapted to Islamic values generally shows the transformation of the hijab as a symbol of modernity, which was implications for the emergence of a new identity for urban Muslim women (Fakhruroji & Rojiati, 2017).

The popularity of the term hijab in Indonesia was popularized by the emergence of urban Muslim women, namely Muslim fashion designers who later called themselves the Hijabers Community (Fakhruroji & Rojiati, 2017). With more than one million online enthusiasts, this fashionable hijab is significantly impacting

the market (Kavakci & Kraeplin, 2017). The hijab is also a lucrative trade commodity by making the hijab a fashion or lifestyle for women in Aceh.

Women in Aceh use the hijab in categories; the modern hijab follows fashion developments such as rectangles, pashmina, squares, and niqabs, which develops in Aceh since 2016, the colors according to the choice of the woman itself. In this table, we can see the reasons why Acehnese women use hijab and Muslim clothing.

Table 1 Type of Style Hijab

Type Age	Average Age	Fashion Style	Understanding Wear of Hijab
Adolescents / adults	15 - 25	Hijab fashion, Jeans, shirts, t-shirts, and skirts	Environmental influences, Sharia Law, rule of school/university
Adults	25 - 50	Niqab, hijab fashion, abayas, cloth trousers, and skirts	Sharia Law, environmental influences, and social activities
Aged	50 - 60	Hijab and Abayas	Sharia Law and recitation and awareness activities

It showed it refers to simple Islamic dress for women, but those who are easy to prefer to dress more simply and fashionable, while the older ones hide their hair, neck, and chest. Strictly speaking, it can be concluded that most women wearing hijab are influenced by culture, environment, and Sharia rules. Thus those who wear the hijab have fashion dynamics that cannot be fully accounted for by religious motivations or social, ethnic, or class backgrounds (Williams & Vashi, 2007; Zinira, 2017). For example, in Banda Aceh (July 7, 2020), ten women cycling wearing tight clothes, and this led to community protests that were not following the Sharia Law, and this could be a violation as stipulated in the rules of Qanun Aceh No. 6/2014 concerning Islamic Criminal Law. The Sharia Police summoned the ten women to guide Islamic Criminal Law violations without wearing hijab and Muslim clothes. Sharia Police is an institution that deals with Sharia Law issues related to Islamic Criminal Law, which only exist in Indonesia's jurisdiction, especially in Aceh (Nasution & Majid, 2017). According to Winter, the hijab is essential as it symbolizes: that she and a woman are treated the right way and are expected to behave in a good way (Winter, 2006).

For women who follow the fashion or hijab style, they are always adjusted to modern developments. Islamic clothing is used by Muslims, oriented to cover their *aurat* (genitals) (Akbar, 2015). The *aurat* of women is part of all body except the face, palms, and soles of his feet (Baso, 2015). Besides that, it is supported by the Sharia Law that a positive effect, not based on a religious basis regarding an acceptable dress code to cover one's genitals as Muslims. Hijab can give a refreshing contemporary feeling of elegance and vitality, thus creating a new style for Muslim women and blending fashion with their Islamic beliefs (Hassan & Harun, 2016). The rise of hijab fashion in this situation has provided an opportunity to redefine the Muslim symbol (Hassan & Harun, 2016).

As Sharia Law's authority, Sharia Police have the responsibility to arrest women not wearing Muslim clothes tight wear clothes. According to the Sharia Police, most teenagers and adult women were caught for not wearing Islamic clothing if they perform the raid. This table shows that the violation average was the level of adolescents and adult women.

Table 2 Offense of Raids

Type Age	Average Age	Sharia offense (Fashion raid)
Adolescents / adults	15 - 25	Leotards and jeans

Adults	25 -50	Leotards, jeans, and fabric trousers
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However, discussions related to *aurat* (genitals) in Aceh for women still have different views, causing differences of opinion both in the Sharia Police Institution and the community. Especially the limits and models that are allowed for women. In the Quran, it is emphasized to cover the genitals contents of the Quran (QS. An-Nur: 24) explains: "And let them cover the hijab on their chest, and do not reveal their jewels, and let them not strike their feet so that their hiding treasures." There are many opinions that the entire body of a woman is *aurat*, and it must be closed (Yulikhah, 2017). Possibility Muslim women may lack knowledge of how to cover their genitals according to the rules of sharia. However, from various perspectives, still unclear the meaning of the reasons for wearing the hijab thoroughly.

IV DOES THE HIJAB AS ADHERENCE TO SHARIA?

In history, Aceh only used a long cloth to cover the head used by female warriors in the past. The use of hijab Frendy Kurniawan (July 10, 2019) concluded in his article (tirto, id-Humaniora) entitled "There are Photos of Indonesian Women in 1700 Hijab, How the Facts" that in Aceh since the 1600s, the female population has worn clothes with a hood on their head. Article (Sharianews, 2020) notes on the heyday of Cut Nyak Dien, Tengku Fakinah, Opu Daeng Siradju, H. R. Rasuna said, Nyai Ahmad Dahlan in the struggle has used a veil that is placed over the head.

The significant development of the hijab after 2005 in Aceh shows that Acehnese women have experienced quite a tremendous leap in entering the change in Aceh. As an area of Sharia Law's rules, the hijab must be worn by Muslim women in Aceh. Nowadays, covering the head in the verse's meaning deconstructed from being obedient to the Sharia and or even allegedly covering the body as *aurat* changed the body's importance in understanding Muslim women today (Sucipto, 2015).

However, Sharia Law's implementation still experiences many challenges, one of which is online prostitution with sex workers involving students, female students, and women whose economies are weak and the need for a lifestyle object. In their activities, they wear the same hijab as other women then that many prostitution activities are carried out online. Women and men in the community are involved in prostitution activities due to material or poverty factors (Janosik, 2005). In society, women as sex workers are seen as bad morals. A very negative stigma is attached to prostitutes, almost universally (Einstein, 2001). According to Shibab, his book entitled *Jilbab, Muslim Women's Clothing: Views of Past Scholars and Scholars*, concluded that women who wore the headscarf, some of the women the behavior not that in part with the religious and cultural guidance of the Islamic community.

Prostitution in Islam is called *Zina*⁵ as the essential substance of prostitution. The crime of *Zina* is imposed on perpetrators who are married or married Jarimah (prohibition) for adultery is a form of action that deviates from the truth, justice, and religion (Fadhullah, 2017).

In contrast, in certain circles, women who wear the hijab, in particular, are still half-hearted, and the hijab is as a head covering or just avoiding the secrets of the Sharia Police in every region in Aceh. Over eight people sex workers who were interviewed knew about the Sharia Law, and also they gave positive values in wearing the hijab. They said they continued to follow the Sharia Law regulations in Aceh and did not want to have problems with the Sharia Police or become the community's attention, especially their environment.

Furthermore, Aceh's social life has grown up with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) groups since ancient times called the Sodomites (Keumala, 2017). The issue of LGBT has become a trending topic of discussion in Aceh, especially during the Sharia Law implementation. Many of the secrets that the Police and Sharia Police have committed to transgender groups in North Aceh and Banda Aceh. Besides that, various efforts were made by the government to prevent the spread of LGBT areas; however, there has been no right solution to reduce the level of LGBT development to date (Suherry & Mandala, 2016). In

⁵The act of intercourse between a man and a woman who is not bound by a marriage relationship.

Indonesia, one minority group that often experiences discrimination based on gender and sexuality is transgender people. They struggle to be accepted in social life (Widiastuti, 2017). Therefore, realizing their social life with the general public will require considerable effort (Putri & Syafiq, 2016).

The freedom to practice religious teachings for transgender individuals has the right to carry out religious education that they believe in and have the flexibility to practice worship according to the religion they believe in, for example, using the hijab to respect Sharia Law. According to some of the transgender interviewed, they used the hijab to avoid the Sharia Police's secrets exposed to secrecy and advised them to wear hijab and Muslim clothing. There are many people in the LGBT community in Aceh, but now they are scared, and they have to hide their sexuality.

In Indonesia, the transgender situation is relatively more recognized, and this is because they generally do not keep their condition as transgender a secret. Transgender people are still classified as a mental disorder in the DSM V (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition), which is recognized as a guideline for diagnosing mental disorders internationally (Putri & Syafiq, 2016).

Women activists and NGOs in Aceh often criticize the implementation of the Islamic Criminal Law in Aceh, which is not under the rights of women the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), human rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which violates human rights. However, none of the women activists expressed open objections to Sharia Law's application (Noerdin, 2005). Women activists provide plenty of room to build institutions that are more gender-sensitive in implementing Sharia Law in Aceh, including the wearing of the hijab. Some Acehnese activists also do not wear the hijab when they are outside Aceh. According to some of them, they have their rights, which cannot be forced. Islamist feminists are against distinguishing between women's oppression and socio-political opinion as a whole (Kamla, 2019).

V CONCLUSION

Aceh is the only province in Indonesia that applies Sharia law. The Sharia Law, especially in Aceh, has encouraged women to cover their genitals with a hijab and Muslim clothing. Regarding Islamic identity, veiling gives a visual message to a Muslim woman. The hijab wearer in Indonesia has become a favorite for women, especially in Aceh. The implementing Sharia Law in Aceh that related to aurat for women and men. The significant development of the hijab after 2005 in Aceh shows that Acehnese women have experienced quite a tremendous leap in entering the change in Aceh.

The development of the hijab fashion trend also become a style for women in Aceh; some women choose to use the hijab as a habit of their environmental existence. In the hijab, they follow the fashionable hijab trend to maintain their appearance. Some women wear hijab because Aceh part of the Shari Law. Accord to Sharia Law regulations, many women have become aware of themselves wearing hijab and Muslim clothes. However, in certain circles, women who wear the hijab over half-hearted, and the hijab is a head covering or just avoiding the Sharia Police raids in every region in Aceh.

In society's growth, the way to wear the hijab was grow debate itself. Some follow the culture, the environment, and mostly because of the rules of Sharia law. The wearing hijab is associated with being part of the new Muslim women's integration process in Aceh. Therefore, some women in Aceh still choose to follow the modern hijab style even though there is still pressure to enforce the Sharia Law.

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