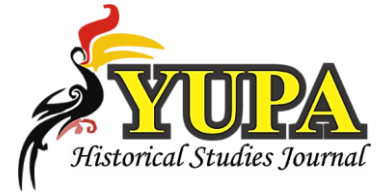


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The Controversy of The Hijab for Students in State Schools During the New Order Era (1978-1991)

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Abstract Hijab is a form of identity for Muslim women. Muslim women are required to cover their nakedness from head to toe except for the face, palms and soles of the feet. The ban on wearing the head scarf in public schools was considered an act of Islamic activism and religious primordialism by the New Order government. Hijab is an Arabic term which means loose clothing that covers the genitals from the shoulders to the feet, so it doesn't form curves. The use of headscarves for female students in public schools stems from the influence of the ITB Salaman Mosque da'wah movement and the PII (Indonesian Islamic Students) organization. The Iranian revolution of 1979 has increased the enthusiasm of santri and Islamic values, including the widespread use of the head scarf among young women. The prohibition and discrimination of wearing the head scarf during the New Order led to a polemic for religious organizations. Therefore, this article will examine the relationship between Muslim organizations and the New Order government and discrimination in the use of the head scarf in educational institutions during the New Order. To answer this problem, the writing of the article will use a descriptive analysis approach and data collection by conducting a literature search.

Keywords: Hijab, New Order, Discrimination, Muslim, Student.

Abstrak Jilbab adalah salah satu bentuk identitas bagi perempuan muslim. Perempuan muslim diwajibkan untuk menutup aurat dari kepala sampai kaki kecuali wajah, telapak tangan, dan telapak kaki. Pelarangan pemakaian jilbab di sekolah negeri dianggap sebagai tindakan aktivisme Islam dan primordialisme agama oleh pemerintah Orde Baru. Jilbab adalah istilah dari bahasa Arab yang memiliki makna pakaian longgar yang menutup aurat dari bahu sampai kaki, sehingga tidak membentuk lekuk tubuh. Pemakaian jilbab bagi pelajar putri di sekolah negeri bermula dari pengaruh gerakan dakwah Masjid Salaman ITB dan organisasi PII (Pelajar Islam Indonesia). Revolusi Iran tahun 1979 telah meningkatkan gairah kesantrian dan nilai-nilai Islam, termasuk merebaknya penggunaan jilbab di kelompok perempuan muda. Adanya pelarangan dan diskriminasi pemakaian jilbab pada masa Orde Baru memunculkan polemik bagi organisasi keagamaan. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini akan meneliti tentang hubungan organisasi muslim dengan pemerintah Orde Baru dan diskriminasi pemakaian jilbab di lembaga pendidikan pada masa Orde Baru. Untuk menjawab kasus tersebut, penulisan artikel akan menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif analisis dan pengumpulan data dengan melakukan penelusuran literatur.

Kata kunci: Jilbab, Orde Baru, Diskriminasi, Muslim, Pelajar.



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INTRODUCTION

The hijab in the 21st century is becoming A trend for women in Indonesia. Even Now This Lots shop online shopping or no, selling various latest hijab fashions. Hijab is closing the head that is usually worn by women muslim and become identity for Woman muslim. The hijab is form plural from jalaabiib which means wide clothing. It means is clothes that are roomy and can be cover private parts woman except face and palms hand until wrist hand only what is shown (Yulikhah, 2016, p. 99) . Written verses in the Koran that become A reference about wearing the hijab, namely QS. al- Ahzab [33]: 59 which states : "O Prophet! Say to your wives, children your women and the wives of the believers, ' Let them they stretch out on self they hijab them.' That's it That so that they easier to be known, so that they No disturbed." The hijab now This Lots used by women Muslim and became trend. Hijab as closing head can tracked its history and the hijab is also not A a truly product original from the Islamic religion. The evidence is written in the Bilalama Code which originates from from 3000 BC which is manuscript the oldest law, the Code of Hammurabi, originated from 2000 BC, and the Assyrian Code originate from 1500 BC. The most complete explanation written in the Assyrian Code which is complement from manuscript previously. At the time That Already There is tradition wearing the hijab in public places general for wife, child women, and widows. No only the, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Assyria has get to know the hijab before Islamic civilization emerged in 610 AD. Obligations in wearing a hijab is not only There is in Islamic teachings, such as in teachings Zoroastrians, Hindus, Jews, and Christians consider the veil as clothes dear for female, inhabitant of ancient Iran consider the hijab as honor for women, and ancient indian nation is nation hijab wearer and aims For oppose pleasure and conquering the ego.

Wearing the hijab and niqab No originate from religious teachings, but A trust about the eye the evil eye that must be prevented with use veil. However, this the only applicable for Woman from among kings and nobles who got it privileges, namely No need do exile when currently menstruation and obligations That replaced with fashion exclusive that hides part body that is assessed open. During menstruation Woman must use veil and hijab to avoid from light the sun and the moon are believed public moment That dangerous and can trigger disaster nature and social. Transformation of menstrual hut or place exile moment menstruation in culture certain become a menstrual hood (veil) menstruation is also practiced in Papua New Guinea, Asia, Britain Colombia, Central Africa, and Central America. Even had time popularized by one of the queen's family in the Charlotte Islands. No only that, substance dye black "cilla" is also used women who are menstruating around eye For reduce sharpness vision eyes, then there are also those who add jewellery like necklace from material metal, beads and skulls man.

In the war between Roman -Byzantine and Persian wars raged, the cities important in some the Arabian Peninsula became place a stopover for traders. When the area become place evacuation from area conflicted happen interaction between traders and refugees with resident original Arabian Peninsula. The occurrence interaction No only in a way physical, but traditions and culture, including the hijab. The hijab begins from Mesopotamian-Persian tradition, while separation men and women tradition hellenistic-byzantine, experienced distribution until part north and east Arabian Peninsula. Damascus and Baghdad are center government Muslims during the Dynasty Umayyads and Abasids also got it influence from culture mentioned. The touch between second culture the make the tradition of the veil and separation between men and women strengthen religious basis. Damascus and Baghdad hold role big in codification of standard works hadith, tafsir, dates in Islam, so culture it also has influence to development in religious and scientific discussion in period the.

The problem in article this, namely 1) How connection Islamic organizations in Indonesia with New Order government? 2) How wearing and prohibiting the hijab for student daughters in public schools during the New Order era 1978-1991? Then objective writing is for known connection Islamic organizations in Indonesia during the New Order, to know wearing and prohibiting the hijab for student daughters in public schools during the New Order era 1978-1991.

METHOD

Method research used is study library or studies library, which contains related theories with question research. Literature review aiming For set draft or the theory that became base from research. Literature review is required activities in research, in particular study academic aims For develop aspect theoretical and interest practical. Through method study library expected can make it easier writer in serve information from object of study in a way orderly, thorough and in-depth so that capable produce product intellectuals who have credibility or validity of the data that can be accountable answer the truth.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Connection Islamic organizations in Indonesia with New Order Government

During the New Order, Islam was respected as personal religious practice No as strength politics by the current government That currently in power. After 1965 awareness religious public start increase, start from adhere to Islam and other religions. Islamic activists after 1965 began to call out to pray and perfect creed them. At the time that person is not everyone embraces the official religion originate from desire heart, but there are also those who are worried if labeled

atheist and communist If No embrace an official religion from government. No only that too, if every individual embrace the official religion from government will more recognized by the government rather than ancestral religion. His presence public new multi- religion not seldom trigger conflict interfaith, such as incident violence that occurred when Muslims attack Christian churches in Aceh that occurred in April 1967, anti-Christian riots also occurred in Makassar and religious violence in Java and Sumatra during month October 1967, case Cape Priok, Borobudur Blasting. Position Indonesian Islamic politics is increasingly pressed in the future the beginning of the New Order, Muhammad Natsir Once disclose his anger with say - like quoted by Ruth Mc Vey - "They have treated us like cats with ring worms" - which is true literal means " they" has treat us like cats ringworm " - this feel painful (Syamsuddin & Fatkhan, 2010, p. 146) . At the beginning of the New Order, people who were close to with Suharto is non-Islam, and general military majority is groups who oppose Islam.

When the New Order established on March 11, 1966 many hope from various circles public For realize civilized life. There are some Muslims who believe self-want to to awaken return Party Masyumi, will but No get support from the New Order. Even during the New Order, Muhammad Hatta had to express establishment of PDII (Party of Indonesian Islamic Democracy) for place ideals Muslims. However, the project very de - ideologization and de-politicization strong make hope from Muhammad Hatta faded, so politics in Indonesia at the time it's below shade government. This is done so as not to happen conflicts ideological like the Old Order era. Ridwan Sa'idi to argue matter This reasonable because behind That appear will political government For restructure system party and inheritance system political old order. (Syamsuddin & Fatkhan, 2010, p. 149) .

As for the response from the Muslims Alone divided become three patterns, including 1) The apology pattern followed with adjustment self and adaptation to modernization, 2) Apology pattern to Islamic teachings that are followed rejection modernization is assessed as secularism and westernization, 3) Response patterns creative in form of dialogue with prioritize approach balanced modern intellectual. Besides that, there is a number of matters that form a poor relationship harmonious between Islam and government order new, like strong Islamic belief in democracy, Islam is the main religion in Indonesia, so it is possible For to obtain control politics and realizing Islam. all aspect life political very broad. Muslim circles who interpret Islam in a broad sense strict trigger conflict primordialism, military trauma against DI/TII which led to suspicion to wing right, and system government authoritarian as effort to form structure political new. Moreover the existence of mono- loyalty applied require all over organizations, youth, and society implementing Pancasila. Pancasila during the New Order used For legitimize leadership

Soeharto and when No based on Pancasila will considered as traitors and organizations will dissolved.

During the New Order era, the closest people Suharto majority originate from non- Muslim people during the colonial era get education military than new Muslims follow education tall after independence. The development of group educated among muslim-santri very much important because during the New Order era give room for public wide For to enjoy education. This is very different very education during the government most of the colonial originate from priyayi, nobles, and those who are Christian / Catholic who receive help bigger from party church. In the 1970s religious renewal becomes clearly.

Islamic boarding schools in the cities big start popping up Because most from alumni to study education until college high both domestically and internationally abroad. The existence of Islamic boarding schools this is it make the observers give positive assessment Because with Islamic boarding school will present movement Updates Islamic ideas in Indonesia. Islamic boarding school education considered unique Because own independence and have high expectations to success in the future. In fact, the legacy traditional in Islamic boarding school there is ability great modernity with various Variety confirmation Islamic values, so that formed knowledgeable and moral individuals. This is can give influence positive for Education and help modernization in Indonesia. Muslims from circles traditionalists and modernists still wish for to preserve thinking formalism education, and the existence of the view that considers between Islamic input and non-Islamic input especially originate from the West. Important very if Islamic thought becomes One in A receptacle organization Islamic students, such as HMI (Association of Islamic Students), PII (Indonesian Islamic Students), PERSAMI (Association of Indonesian Muslim Scholars), and GPI (Islamic Youth Movement).

The government during the New Order era give accommodation for interest Muslims in various form, for example accommodation legislative, accommodation structural, accommodation infrastructure, and accommodation cultural. On December 7, 1990 it was founded A bond named ICMI (Association of Indonesian Muslim scholars) who are considered as return the ideals of Islam in life state that during This as if fall asleep and disappear.

Bakhtiar Efendy say There is four proof that the country's tolerance towards Islam is growing, including apply policies that serve interest social, economic and political Muslims, including:

a. Accommodation Legislative.

Accommodation legislative for example Constitution Marriage 1974, Law Religious Courts in 1989, Compilation of Islamic Law in 1991, amended regulation

about uniform school especially about the hijab in 1991, the decision together at the ministerial level regarding zakat, infak and alms 1991, and its abolition Donation Philanthrope Social Prize (SDSB) 1993.

b. Accommodation Structural.

Accommodation structural done with method recruiting Islamic thinkers and activists to in various governing bodies bureaucrats and state legislatures. For example follow in Suharto's team, join take part in Party Golkar, and Bappenas.

c. Accommodation Infrastructure.

Accommodation infrastructure done for prepare infrastructure needed in accommodate Muslims for operate obligation religious. For example, establishment many mosques and MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council) received help financial from government for send a thousand preachers to area transmigration.

d. Accommodation Cultural.

Accommodation cultural is received Islamic terms and treasury words, like sultan, sayidin, just manners, people, deliberation, wisdom, and representatives. Furthermore, the Istiqlal Festival was held in Jakarta from 1991 to 1995.

Wearing and Prohibition of the Hijab for Female Students in Public Schools During the New Order Era 1978-1991

Wearing the hijab at school No happen in short time. The veil does not only used as teak self for Muslims and non-Muslims, although in a way the history of the hijab actually No product Islamic culture, the hijab is worn as religious beliefs. The use of the hijab in groups student This is results from campaign tabligh organized by various institutions, one of which is is party campus. The expansion wearing hijab at school started from movement religious activities at the Salman ITB mosque, especially LDM (Mujahidin Dakwah Training) which was founded by Islamic figure Muhammad Imaddudin. He to establish movement preaching through various activities at the campus mosque. In movement This wearing a hijab is not There is element coercion, but driven by participants Because existence discussion and debate material about Islamic arguments. At the Salman Mosque ITB, the movement preaching No only LDM, but There is also a movement called SII (Islamic Studies Initiative). The missionary movement That naturally bring influence big for the participants who follow activity that is carried into life daily like when to school wearing a hijab, more diligent read the Koran, and practice it command and stay away religious prohibition. For wearing the hijab depends from awareness individual without existence coercion. At that time, there were lectures and movements preaching No as much and as easy as possible moment This. The SII movement does not only held at the Salman Mosque ITB Bandung, but also in Jakarta. The event held during holiday school. Activities like reading the Quran after Maghrib prayer, getting material religion, discussions, Tahajjud prayers, dhikr and

reading the Koran after Fajr prayers. Not only LDM and SII, PII (Indonesian Islamic Students) also played a role important in wearing the hijab in many school general or country. PII is movement preaching below LDM branch founded by Mohammad Natsir through DDII (Indonesian Islamic Propagation Council). DDII trains mentors from graduate of various universities. Third movement preaching the own relatedness in the rise wearing the hijab for student princess, even though movement the No in a way outright show his role in wearing the hijab. The circulation Islamic books also influence expansion the use of hijab among student. Publication and translation Islamic books come from from the mutual contributions of DDII and IIFSO Work same. Next, the book the shared to various institution education for free. Translation book generally from the characters Islamic movements, such as Hasan Albanah, Said Qutb, and so on. Books the become material readings of PII members.

The hijab has two dimensions, including material in the form of closing part body and soul when Woman No come on stage with makeup that can tempting and attractive against type or as deterrent the occurrence deviation and decline behavior. With the presence of the veil as dimensions functional material for prevent things that are not wanted so that the veil as dimensions spiritual will still awake. Prohibition wearing the hijab in public schools in Indonesia during the New Order happen Because existence restrictions room motion Muslims in field politics. Moreover, New Order government nature centralistic. Tension between Abangan Islamic group and the group Indonesian students are reflection tension between the New Order government and the Muslims which caused aspiration Muslims especially political considered negative by the New Order government. Furthermore, added with policy from the Minister of Education from The Third Development Cabinet was named Daoed Joesoef who served from 1978 to 1983. Daoed Joesoef delete holiday month fasting and prohibition wearing the hijab. The reason was in 1978 the issue tolerance religious get spotlight and hardline groups rise. Moreover, stereotypes that lead to Islamophobia, which considers that Islam as source authoritarian government for public Muslim especially the Middle East to become reason New Order government to bow down strength Islamic politics. Next, Daoed Joesoef No support policy Suharto if friendly with Islamic Sharia and more choose for uphold tall mark secularism France that does not deify a particular religion. Therefore, that's the policy tend rejecting religion- based education, one of them separating Education with politics and religion. According to Daoed Joesoef, mixed religious doctrine to in education like in Islamic boarding school own potential for spread hatred and vilification image of Islam. Furthermore, he confess adhere to mark different Islam from most people.

New Order Government issued Decree No. 052/C/ Kep /D.82, which was enforced start March 17, 1982. In letter decision the containing about forbid uniform school covered head. Of

course, matter the has threatening and pressuring student women and make dilemma student women who have wearing hijab Because existence threat from party school to be expelled or moved to school private. Policy the has violate right freedom for student women. Secularism values truly seen during the New Order era, even though values religious very much important in to form personality participant learn. Participants educate forced to for separating religion from education, while ban on the hijab at the time That is product politics during the New Order For tame strength Islamic politics. The existence of difference policy school below different departments, such as Department Religion and the Department of National Education. The Department of Religion manages schools, such as MI, Mts, MAN, religious institutes, colleges high religion, and Islamic boarding schools, while The Department of National Education manages schools, such as General Elementary Schools, General Middle Schools, General Senior High Schools, General Vocational Schools, and General Universities. This precisely give impression that development sciences science and technology carried out by the Department of National Education because No own connection with religion. Formation personality precisely not enough be noticed in a way serious. The role of religion is very less, and not become runaway in all over aspect life.

During the New Order era appear various reaction from circles students and parties in public schools because impact from policy prohibition wearing the hijab in public schools. In public schools there are pros and cons like existence the pro party with policy prohibition the possibility of wearing the hijab in state schools, because forced for obedient to policy said. Although possibility Even teachers are against it. Public schools in Surabaya have an activity called SKI (Islamic Spirituality Committee) is activity extracurricular religious and carried out outside class hours. Students the princess who follows activity extracurricular that most wearing the hijab and the number keep going increase. Of course. matter the violate rule related schools with uniform school. If school want back to the students' daughter comply rule school, principal school must limit activity said. No. only in state schools in Surabaya do this action firm towards female students, but in state schools in other areas they also provide step firm for female students who wear the hijab, such as sent home to house, prohibited enter page school, for participant students who violate given reprimand with give letter to participant guardian educate, existence pressure from party school so that teachers do not accept students wearing hijabs study in class, and provide sanctions firm with removed and moved to school private. In 1991, the New Order government accommodate demands Muslims against prohibition wearing the hijab for student princess at school general or country. Demands the resulted in Decree No. 100/C/ Kep /D-1991 the hijab was determined as uniform school alternative for Muslim women.

CONCLUSION

Even the hijab is worn by three Abrahamic religions, namely Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. The hijab is not results from Islamic culture completely. During the New Order government Islamic renewal is increasingly clear. Islamic boarding schools start popping up in cities big Because most from alumni who have received education both domestically and abroad. Many observers give evaluation positive Because with Islamic boarding school will appear update Islamic thought in Indonesia. The issuance of Decree No. 052/C/ Kep /D.82 concerning prohibition. The use of the hijab in public schools has drawn pros and cons. Even if violate regulations, students daughter will get strict sanctions from party school. Policy the leading to value secularism that is not in accordance with view society that still hold firm mark religious. However, the policy the get protest from Muslims, so that in 1991 Soeharto do accommodation with Decree No. 100/C/ Kep /D-1991 concerning uniform school alternative for Muslim women.

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