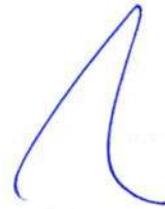


Urban Mobility

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Edited by

**Nur Wulan (Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia)
Arum Budiastuti (Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia)
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Rebecca Fanany (Deakin University, Australia)
Azizan Baharuddin (Universiti Malaya, Malaysia)**

From the Point of Departure to the Point of Return and Beyond: Transnational Mobility in Contemporary Indonesian Literature

Diah Ariani Arimbi

(Faculty of Humanities - Universitas Airlangga, Indonesia)

Diogenes of Sinope, a Greek philosopher once said that he was the citizen of the world (cosmopolite). Nowadays with fast development of transportation, Diogenes's idea of cosmopolitanism rings true. This borderless world today allows citizens from different parts of the world to move easily between places and time zones. Regardless the fact that probably more men travel than women, women do travel. Their geographical mobility indeed challenges the old patriarchal construction that women's place is only at home. Interestingly enough some Indonesian women's writers have managed to portray such mobility in their works. Abidah Khabieqy and Ratna Indraswari Ibrahim are amongst the women writers whose writings have put forward the necessity of Indonesian women to become transnational women. This paper aims to explore women's mobility in contemporary Indonesian literature written by women authors and its territorial meaning for women and their identity. Using the concept of cosmopolitanism, first introduced by Diogenes and later by Kwame Anthony Appiah, this paper argues that space, movement and transnational mobility are pivotal for women's construction of identity. These women must travel around the world to make their identity meaningful. The construction of identity must then, for these women, include spatial mobility. Contemporary Indonesian women writers have proposed the notion of cosmopolitan imagination for women so that they are no longer trapped within the shackles of patriarchy.

Keywords: transnational mobility, cosmopolitanism, women writers, Indonesia

Introduction

The global world today has forced us to move beyond the speed that we had never imagined perhaps fifty years ago. The internet and online speed have again forced us to live beyond boundaries, in particular spatial boundaries. Geography that once became a serious threat to mobility has slowly disappeared. Moving between time zones and places can be done in rather easy way. We are now living in the age of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), and such makes the world looking like one global village. Real time interaction provided by the web, instant messaging or skype even makes the world look smaller. We have come to live in a world where its members are known as, to borrow Diogenes of Sinope's term, *citizens of the world*. Mobility is the only thing known to be constantly occurring in our world today. Being and becoming citizens of the world are no longer restricted by the limits of geographical locations and time zones.

Cosmopolitanism, a term, explained by Kwame Anthony Appiah's seminal work *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in A World of Strangers* (2006) can be understood as Appiah's way of to pinpoint the international understanding binding all fellow citizens of the world. Appiah argues that cosmopolitanism has existed long before nationalism and migration came into being. He writes

Cosmopolitanism dates at least to the Cynics of the fourth century BC, who first coined the expression cosmopolitan, "citizen of the cosmos." The formulation was meant to be paradoxical, and reflected the general Cynic skepticism toward custom and tradition. A citizen – *a polités* – belonged to a particular *polis*, a city which he or she owed loyalty. The cosmos referred to the world, not in the sense of the earth, but in the sense of the universe.

Talk of cosmopolitanism originally signaled, then, a rejection of the conventional view that every citizen person belonged to a community among communities.¹

Appiah certainly makes clear that everywhere in the world, there will be people who are loyal to the universe and claim themselves to be citizens of the universe.

Appiah is not the only scholar who raises the issues of cosmopolitanism. Started with the ancient Greeks, this “ism” has since evolved to Kant, Hegel, Marx, Durkheim, Aron and the most recent Beck and Appiah.² So, what is cosmopolitanism? To quote Appiah following Christop Martin Wieland’s idea, cosmopolitanism regards all the people of the earth as a single family living in the state called the universe.³ Appiah clearly outlines that “cosmopolitanism is universality plus difference.”⁴ The fellowship of the human family that celebrates and is united by differences lies in the heart of cosmopolitanism. Quoting from the work of George Eliot that stresses on the importance of sympathy amongst fellow human beings, Appiah again reminds us that cosmopolitanism need not to be in conflict with local values as universal values and local values are complementing each other.

Although it seems that cosmopolitanism serves as a universal ideal, it does not necessarily mean that it is utopian and exists only in the level of imagination. Recent incidents have shown that balkanization of the human family via civil wars, religious intolerances, genocides, terrorist attacks in the name of local interests and religions have indeed moved away the expression of cosmopolitanism from existence to extinction. Nevertheless, Appiah is very optimistic with his treatise of uniting all members of the human family into a single state of citizenship. He further notes:

Cosmopolitanism is an adventure and an ideal: but you can't have any respect for human diversity and expect everyone to become cosmopolitan. The obligations of those who wish to exercise their legitimate freedom to associate with their own kind — to keep the rest of the world away as the Amish do in the United States — are only the same as the basic obligations we all have: to do for others what morality requires. Still, a world in which communities are neatly hived off from one another seems no longer a serious option, if it ever was. And the way of segregation and seclusion has always been anomalous in our perpetually voyaging species. Cosmopolitanism isn't hard work; repudiating it is.⁵

As an adventure, cosmopolitanism requires travel: movement or mobility either in terms of space or time. Drawn from his multicultural background of being a child from a Ghanaian father and an English mother, moving and relocation across different continents, Appiah seems to understand very well how cosmopolitanism can serve as an ethics for many generations to come especially when living in this globalization time.

Appiah himself admits that imagination plays an important part in achieving the goal of cosmopolitanism, as he states: “[we] learn about other people’s situations and then use our imagination to walk in their Moccasins” (p. 68). Imagining cosmopolitanism projects our driving motives and desires to live in a world without strangers. Arguably, the best way to see the manifestation of this imagination is through literary works. It is no wonder that Appiah’s magnum opus *Cosmopolitanism* is rich with quotes from literary works

¹ Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism Ethics in A World of Strangers*, W.W. Norton & Company, London and New York, 2006, p. xiv.

² Robert Fine, *Cosmopolitanism*, Routledge, London and New York, 2007, p. ix.

³ Appiah, *ibid*, p. xv.

⁴ Appiah, ‘Education for Global Citizenship’ in *Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, 2008, 107 (1), p. 92.

⁵ Appiah, *ibid*, p. xx.

as exemplified by earlier quote from Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* (1876). As Appiah's cosmopolitanism is heavily drawn from literary works, he opens up a horizon where literary works could channel the materialization of this politics of belonging. Cosmopolitan imagination is a term used by Delanty that articulates and connects the need to see "self, other and the world in the moment of openness."⁶ Literary works provide such moment of openness as the works in literary imagination convey "the social world articulated through cultural models where in which the codifications of Self and Other undergo transformation."⁷ Cosmopolitan imagination is very dynamic, Delanty argues: it is then in parallel with the dynamics of the world created within a given literary world. A literary work never stays the same in meaning, as its readers experience movement of space and time. Both notions of cosmopolitanism and literature work well within the constant idea of mobility and openness.

"Cosmopolitan Contamination" in Indonesian Literature

Many Western literary works have captured the notion of cosmopolitanism and migration. The kind of writings that portray much about cosmopolitanism is what Appiah calls as "cosmopolitan contamination."⁸ No single culture is pure, every culture imitates and revises, he notes, and so does literary writing. There is no single literary work that portrays cultural purity that it is undeniably isolated from anything coming from outside. As we have arrived to the age of mobility (either transnational or local mobility), Indonesian literary works are not immune from Appiah's "cosmopolitan contamination."

In the spirit of cosmopolitanism today more and more writers are contaminated by the global world. More interestingly, it is women writers who have now crowded Indonesian literature with stories of such "cosmopolitan contamination." Drawing on a cosmopolitan world they know very well, these women writers place their stories and novels in "urban settings, peopled with hip intellectuals whose speech is sprinkled with English phrases, no different than the young executives gathering for a drink at a café after work."⁹ The language used is fresh, alive, and loaded with colloquial speech narration; covering all topics from sex, drugs, homosexuality and politics. The audacity of these young writers is highly valued, as they construct new images of young modern Indonesian women who are unconventionally reactive in responding to the problems of modern life.¹⁰ These new women writers are often stereotypically categorized as *sastra wangi* ("perfumed" literature)¹¹ whose writings mostly center on characters who are members of

⁶ Gerard Delanty, "The cosmopolitan imagination: critical cosmopolitanism and social theory," *The British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 57 Issue 1, p. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸ Appiah, *ibid.*, p. 52.

⁹ Lie Hua, 'Sastrawangi': RI's 'chick lit' or literature lite? *The Jakarta Post*, 27 October 2004, Internet, <http://www.thejakartapost.com>, (17 April 2005).

¹⁰ Barbara Hatley 'Literature, Mythology and Regime Change: Some Observations on Recent Indonesian Women's Writings' in *Women in Indonesia: Gender Equity and Development*, Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessel (eds), Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2002, p. 131.

¹¹ The name *sastra wangi* comes because the members of this group, such as Ayu Utami, Djena Mahesa Ayu, Fira Basuki, Dewi Lestari, Nova Rianti Yusuf, and others, are female, young, beautiful, attractive, very urban-centered and cosmopolitan, thus they smell very nice as if they use perfume to beautify their appearance. The very name *sastra wangi* distinguishes their narratives from their antecedents. If the *Balai Pustaka* generation of 1920s is marked with the conflict between the individual and local custom, the *Pujangga Baru* of the 1930s writers with the nationalist movement, the 1940s with humanism, 1966 with social and political protest, and the 1970s-1980s with popular fiction, generation 2000 is identified with liberalism in every aspect of their writings. The writings are often harsh with no pretense to morality, and full of everyday slang and social references.

the burgeoning urban middle- and upper-classes with higher education and global experiences (many of the settings are placed overseas, such as in New York, London and Singapore).

Cosmopolitanism, Transnational Mobility, Migration and Beyond: Abidah's *Geni Jora* and Ratna's *Lemah Tanjung*¹²

Next to writers of *sastra wangi*, there are AbidahKhalieqy and RatnaIndraswari Ibrahim. Both writers are known to be very prolific literature and who are amongst the women writers whose writings have put forward the necessity of Indonesian women to become transnational women. Unlike writers of *sastra wangi*, these women can be categorized as Muslim feminist writers whose writings consistently deal with the problematic notion of identity for Muslim women. Religious identity (i.e. Islamic identity) is constantly shaped and recreated in their writings, and this significantly differentiates them from writers of *sastra wangi* who often stay away from religious identity. As Indonesia is known to be the world most populous Muslim country, bringing Islam as a seminal variable in identity making is justified. Due to the limitation of word count, this paper will not discuss all of the works written by these writers but only their writings that represent strong idea of cosmopolitanism.

Abidah El Khalieqy (b. 1965), later called Abidah, published her second novel *Geni Jora* (Jora's fire) in 2004. This novel won the second prize for 2003 novel writing conducted by *Dewan Kesenian Jakarta* (The Jakarta Arts Council). *Geni Jora* is set in Indonesia and the Islamic regions like Middle East and North Africa. Acclaimed by many critics, *Geni Jora* reflects one girl's global journey in the search and struggle for justice. In the novel, Abidah continuously moves between times and places: between the past and the present; 1993 Marrakech, 1982 East Java, 1992 Damascus, 1993 Amman and 1993 East Java. The time movement does not develop in conventional linear manner: Abidah jumps easily between times, between regions, between spacio-temporality. *Jora* is positioned as a speaker writing her own self within the constituency of selfhood and story-telling.

In *Geni Jora*, Abidah also moves beyond geographical constraints, she portrays *Jora* as a global woman, a transnational body whose journey marks both her physical and intellectual journey to freedom and justice. In *Jora's* journey to Algeria, Jordan, Syria and Morocco she seeks knowledge, and continues her education at the global level. In so doing, she is working toward a gender's redefinition of what constitutes a "global Muslim woman," and challenges contemporary discourses on gender and Islam. Education is the key theme in this novel. The story of *Jora* revolves around her educational experiences from the *pesantren*¹³ world in East Java to the Middle East and North African regions. In the light of cosmopolitanism, education and travel indeed go hand in hand in creating education for global citizenship. In Appiah's argument, education is a tool that can foster cosmopolitan spirit. He writes:

While accepting the idea that we live in many overlapping communities—not just a single *polis*—requires us to think of education, in our present world, as a matter of shaping people for the global community as well as more local ones. . . . We should be doing, so far as we can, what schools and colleges have increasingly been doing: encouraging young people to go abroad and

¹² A very few part of the discussion in this article is taken from my publication entitled *Representation, Identity and Religion of Muslim Women in Indonesian Fiction*, Amsterdam University Press – ICAS Publications, Amsterdam, 2009, pp. 135 -136, 154 – 155.

¹³ *Pesantren* is single sexed Islamic boarding school, usually head by a *Kyai* (Islamic scholar).

work and study with young people in other nations, and inviting young people of other nations to study here. Cross-national educational projects—whether pursued in the virtual common space of the Internet or the literal common space of the semester abroad—are absolutely crucial, if this is right, to a cosmopolitan education—an education for a global age. And the good that it brings is a matter of practical habit more than theoretical conviction.¹⁴

Education is power, and Abidah's story indeed lies at the heart of cosmopolitanism as it emphasizes on education and travel as the only means to achieve the goal of cosmopolitanism. Islam also requires travel for knowledge as one *hadith* (the words of the Prophet Muhammad) says that one must seek knowledge even if one needs to travel to China and Jora follows the similar step that the Prophet himself had taken.¹⁵

Ratna Indraswari Ibrahim (1949 – 2011), later called Ratna, is one of the most productive short story authors in the Indonesian literary world. She had published more than 300 short stories and one novel despite her disability. She suffered from poliomyelitis, which left her with little use of her hands and legs, and to help her move around she used a wheelchair.

Her only novel *Lemah Tanjung* was published in 2003. This novel, based on a true story, concerns the struggle of local residents—led by an environmental activist named Ibu Indri—to preserve the only green area in the city of Malang, Lemah Tanjung. The novel narrates the story of Gita, the main character, whose involvement in Ibu Indri's struggles enables her to resolve the problematic of her identity. Gita is married to Paul, who is of Chinese descent, and they have a teenage daughter, Bonet. In 1998 Indonesia experienced political and social upheavals, and Chinese Indonesians were targeted. Because of the fear of becoming a possible target Paul emigrates to Perth, Australia, and asks Gita and Bonet to follow him as soon as he finds a secure place for them to settle. The story occurs in this “waiting period” when Gita is unsure about her relocation and her decision to leave the city and the people she loves most.

Gita's story is a story of migration and border crossing. Gita's husband, Paul, had never thought of himself as a “keturunan” (a Chinese descendant), as his mother was Sundanese. Identity was not a problem; Paul simply accepted it. Although ethnically/racially¹⁶ he was different to Gita, culturally and religiously he was not. He converted to Islam long before he met Gita and he wants to raise his children in Malang seeing it as a still secure and natural place. The 14th of May 1998 riots changed his mind. Paul was forced to see that ethnically he was different from Gita, and that due to this difference he would be treated differently. Paul witnessed the atrocities against the *keturunan* and their families: his female cousin was raped, and he and his cousin just managed to escape an angry mob of rioters trying to kill them. It was then that Paul began to question his identity and ethnic difference. Paul believed that he was no longer accepted as an Indonesian, a *pribumi* (native)¹⁷ and he decided to follow his two brothers who had earlier emigrated to Australia. For Paul, despite his conversion to Islam, his ethnic appearance proves more important in the eyes of the wider community than his religion and social position.

¹⁴ Appiah, 'Education for Global Citizenship,' pp. 88 – 92.

¹⁵ Abidah El Khalieqy, *Geni Jora*, Matahari, Yogyakarta, 2004, p. 32.

¹⁶ In Indonesia, Chinese descendants are believed to be ethnically rather than racially different. Racial difference is only applied to Westerners whose appearance is racially Caucasian.

¹⁷ Ratna Indraswari Ibrahim, *Lemah Tanjung*, Grasindo, Jakarta, 2003, p. 8, translation mine.

Gita is also forced to an awareness of ethnic difference, which at first seemed to be unproblematic. But her new awareness of the difference makes her position difficult. On the one hand, she wants to close this gap between her and Paul, be it ethnic or spatial difference, thus following Paul will bridge the gap. On the other hand, the idea of displacement worries Gita. She does not want to leave Malang, because it is linked closely to her identity. However, Gita feels her attachment to Malang is no longer secure and she eventually crosses the geographical border and migrates to Australia. Being not actually settled and rooted in a fixed identity she will become one of those migrant identities moving between two different borders—people with different identifications. Her voyage must then be rooted in two poles, Indonesian and Australian. Her Indonesian identity is at risk with her spatial displacement, Gita understands this and it drives her to empowerment: “Yes, I know, sooner or later, I must leave Malang, for how long I can’t be sure. Perhaps, before leaving this beloved town, I must do something.”¹⁸ Gita decided to create her own and her homeland’s history. Her border crossing is reflected not only in her travel, but also in her decision to marry Paul where she moves beyond her own ethnicity: ethnically Gita is Javanese.

Travel is significant in Ratna’s narrative. This correlates to the last of the five pillars of Islam: the *hajj*, the pilgrimage. Travel for *hajj* and seeking knowledge becomes essential embodying movement between space and time. The Prophet himself had to undergo a *hijrah* (the Prophet’s emigration) to find a place where the practice of Islam was not constrained. Travel may be interpreted as crossing confined boundaries, connecting points of departure and return. For Muslims, travel, be it physical, literal or symbolic, allows concurrent self-positioning in the local and the global space: it also allows movement from the present to the past and then back to the present again but a transformed one. Gita’s travel is symbolic of such movement. Malang is the point of departure, then travel to Australia, and then back to Malang again: she desires to return to Malang later as she gets older—as point of return—but her return certainly will be a transformed one. Her movement between points of departure and return narrates her in-between-ness, as she moves flexibly across geographical boundaries, which oscillate between destination and origin. Yet, she retains deep connections with a specific place, her homeland. For Gita, travel is an indispensable part of her material and spiritual identity: identity which is constructed between two poles; between rooting herself in a specific territory and pointing towards another territory, a projected place where travel must be undertaken to connect the gap between Malang and Perth. Through the story of *Lemah Tanjung*, it can be argued that contemporary forms of identity cannot be simply regarded as continuing the past, although the past undoubtedly shapes present forms. In the context of this story, cosmopolitanism is strongly attached to religious underpinning. Cosmopolitanism requires travel, movement and relocation, so does Islam. Travel, religious identity and cosmopolitanism are literally embodied in this novel. Cosmopolitanism requires transformation and certainly Gita shows such transformation: in terms of physical relocation and identity transformation. Szerszinski and Urry has expanded Appiah’s cosmopolitanism by saying that cosmopolitan predispositions and practices involve, among others, extensive travel “corporeally, imaginatively and virtually”¹⁹ and Gita’s story is much

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p.21

¹⁹ Bronislaw Szerszinski and John Urry, “Visual, mobility and cosmopolitan: inhabiting the world from afar, *British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 57, Issue, 2006, p. 114 (pp. 114 – 120).

connected to travel, movement and identity thus strongly exposing cosmopolitanism. This novel is then a blatant example of cosmopolitan identity.

Conclusion

The women in the two stories must travel around the world to make their identity meaningful. The construction of identity must then, for these women, include spatial mobility. Contemporary Indonesian women writers have indeed proposed the notion of cosmopolitan imagination for women so that they are no longer trapped within the shackles of patriarchy. Education, travel and mobility signal cosmopolitan conditions that is also a complex social reality. It incorporates multiple elements that are significantly fluid and adaptive to the individuals (the women characters in the novels). In this sense, cosmopolitanism goes beyond moral virtues, ethics and norms. It has turned into an identity marker, embodied in the construction of these women's identity politics.

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Indonesian Moslem Women's Dress Evolution

Atikah Ruslianti and Eka Nurcahyani
(English Department-Universitas Negeri Jakarta, Indonesia)

This paper will discuss the culturally ever changing of Indonesian Moslem women's dress. This changing is incorporated with the change in political power and other institution relation as well as the role of the media in spreading and fixing this cultural practice. As a cultural practice, wearing Moslem women's dress is a signifying practice that is very meaningful for the users as well as for others, the spectators. The phenomenon of this cultural practice in Indonesia, the consumption of the Moslem women's dress itself, is symbolic significance. The relation of this dress with other aspects of life, for example; the religious cultural and sociopolitical relationship is far broader than just wearing the dress. Genealogical analysis of cultural studies approach will be conducted to elaborate the origin of Indonesian Moslem women's dress phenomenon evolution out of historical, cultural and sociopolitical environment.

Keywords: *Moslem women's dress, evolution, Historical and cultural environment*

Introduction

Wearing Moslem women's dress, nowadays, has turned to be a fashion trend, not only among adult women, but also among teenagers, especially before and during the fasting month, Ramadhan, and the celebration of Ied Fitri. More and more Moslem women wear Moslem dress that covers almost all parts of their body. Formerly, wearing Moslem dress was considered as not stylish, but in the past 20 years there is a shifting in fashion trend that Moslem women's dress become one of the most stylish and adorable dress style in Indonesia. Thus, it is not surprising that it becomes a profitable business opportunity, which is used by many fashion designers and fashion businessmen to get involved in this segmented market.

When we talk about Moslem dress as a cultural practice, our main focus is the dress worn by Moslem women, which makes them recognized as Moslem women. Thus, the wearing of this Moslem dress is a "signifying practice" that is very meaningful for the user as well as for others, the watchers. As stated by McKay (1997, p. 4):

Consumption is the articulation of a sense of identity. Our identity is made up by our consumption of goods—and their consumption and display constitutes our expression of taste. So display—to ourselves and to others—is largely for symbolic significance, indicating our membership of a particular culture.

Therefore, the phenomenon of this cultural practice in Indonesia, the consumption of the Moslem dress itself, is symbolic significance. The relation of this dress with other aspects of life, for examples the religious cultural and sociopolitical relationship is far broader than just wearing the dress.

When someone chooses to wear this dress, it becomes her identity symbol. In everyday life, there are so many variations and modifications of the appearance and the performance of the dress. A woman is said to wear Moslem dress when she covers all parts of her body and wears veil, skull cap or headscarves on her head called jilbab or hijab. Principally, the dress has certain characteristics, among which is not showing the body shape and the hair, except for the face and the palm. It also has to be loose, not transparent,

and to cover the hair and the neck. The model and the form may vary, such as long dress, tunic combined with pant, cloth or long skirt with long blouse. These kinds of Moslem dress are the ones discussed in this paper.

Discussion

In recent years, we see many women wearing Moslem dress in almost every occasions and places, whereas in the past years, this kind of dress was worn only by certain groups or in certain occasions. For example, it was worn by those who would go to some religious activities:

They are dressed in *kain* and *kebaya*, with a head scarf, the form of the dress they usually wear when they go to a religious meeting or attend a *selamatan* (celebration of some special occasion). Others are wearing a more practical style of dress: long pants, over which they wear an almost knee-length shirt, and a head scarf or a cap covering all the hair. These are younger women, quite a few of whom are carrying a baby or leading an infant by the hand (Marcoes in Bemmelen (eds.), 1992, p. 207).

Therefore, this Moslem dress, then, was identified as women dress worn for *pengajian* (religious activity, such as reading Koran and listening to some religious teachings). This dress was also considered as countrified (*kampungian*) because of its simple model. Since it was worn by a small number of women, therefore, Moslem women's dress was considered to belong only to certain groups.

"Jilbab (bukan kerudung) dulu tidak dikenal luas dan hanya ditemukan di kalangan wanita Minang. Maka, pakaian itu disebut pakaian cara Minang, Sumatera Barat, dan dikenakan oleh beberapa wanita dari Aisyah (Organisasi wanita Muhammadiyah). ...Muhammadiyah sebagai organisasi reformis dan modernis justru mengenalkan jilbab (meskipun kerudung merupakan kebiasaan wanita mereka pula) bukan kalangan NU yang menganut Islam tradisional" (Andree Feillard, Ph.D in *Femina* 49/XXVIII, Des, 2000, p. 70).

The effect of this cultural practice is that those who wear Moslem women's dress are considered as part of this group and become susceptible to suspicion and prejudice from others. They are considered against the majority and the authority which was under the New Order government. The consequences are the negative image along with all the implications for them. It is argued by a prominent commissioner of Moslem women's dress producer:

"Saat itu busana Muslim masih belum "aman" dipakai. Artinya orang masih ragu mengenakannya. ...karena masih ada beberapa perusahaan yang melarang karyawatnya memakai jilbab atau busana Muslim" (Feny Mustafa/PT. Shafira, *Nova* 616/XII, Des. 1999).

The practice of wearing Moslem women's dress at school was also forbidden. In 1990s, female students who were wearing school uniforms—knee length skirts—with veil or headscarves on their heads, were not allowed to enter the classroom. The school management considered them breaking the school rules by wearing veil or headscarves on heads.

Those negative images and acceptances have gradually diminished or even disappeared. Moslem women's dress has become a fashion trend among old and young women. It is used not only during religious activities, but also in formal and non-formal activities. It is no longer considered as countrified (*kampungian*), but as a part of mode of fashion which is more stylish and up to date, not only in the variation and modification of the appearance, but also in the performance of the dress. In this case, there is a shift on

society's value and perspective about the dress. Referring to Du Gay (1997, p.133) this shift is "from minority to majority acceptance." Furthermore, at present almost all sectors, private and government, and almost all companies are opened for all ladies wearing Moslem women's dress. Women are not limited by their Moslem women's dress anymore as it used to be. This is in line with Storey who says that "Value is always the result of a historically situated encounter between reader and text" (1997, p. 196).

It can be seen that the wearing of Moslem dress has values that rely on the temporal context. On certain period, this dress was marginalized; meanwhile on the other period, like at present, the dress is appreciated positively by society as it becomes a fashion trend. The society's attitude cannot be separated from the social and political situation. When society is given enough freedom to express their attitude and ideas, this Moslem women's dress trend arises as manifestation of that freedom of expression.

Media, such as TV, newspaper and magazine are actively getting involved in spreading and fixing this practice through their news and advertisements. Even, now cyber media like internet is used to share and show the latest information, news and up to date Moslem dress through website and individual or community blogs, such as hijabers community. Moreover, there are more and more popular people, such as those with power in many aspects of life or celebrities, wearing this Moslem women's dress. The large numbers of advertisements promoting Moslem women's dress in magazines, for examples in woman magazine *Kartini* (May 2002) and *Femina* (Nov. 2000, March 2001, March 2002), indicates that today Moslem women's dress is already accepted by society. The choice of media types, such as woman magazine, is suitable since the two magazines are well-known woman magazine and have a broad potential market.

At the same time, these media is also giving a space and a way to the acceptance of this dress in society. Fashion shows by some famous fashion designers (Ramli, for example) will be covered and reported by media. When he produces Moslem women's dress and is reported by media, it becomes a kind of promotion to the wearing of Moslem women's dress in society. The year 2000 has a special meaning for Ramli. He has built his career as fashion designer for 25 years who consistently focuses on embroidery art. As reported in *Femina*:

...Karya mutakhir Ramli kali ini sangat beragam.Busana Muslimah yang dibawakan oleh para mantan model seperti Enny Sukamto, Atiek Sinuko, Rima Melati berhiaskan border di bagian ujung lengan, kerah dan bawah busana (*Femina*, no. 46, Nov. 2000, Rubrik Foto Mode).

If high-class fashion designer like Ramli has already made Moslem women's dress, the people, certainly understand that this dress is not a cheap dress, thus raising the social class of this dress. The effect is that there is a positive appreciation and the increase of the necessity of this product in the society. To answer this market needs, there are many garment companies was built to produce this type of dress, such as *Shafira*, *Ranti*, *Zilda's* and many more. Their outlets spread throughout well-known malls in major cities in Indonesia. These outlets are attached in their advertisements, thus those advertisements function as a promotion for the wearing of Moslem women's dress. The image develops in people's mind is that now Moslem women's dress products are malls, boutiques and fashion houses. In this case, the role of retailer is raising this dress image among the people.

Along with this image shifting, media, either print or electronic, relatively have more freedom to show Moslem women's dress in their fashion columns or programs. One of fashion program in RCTI, "Gaya," for example, also shows Moslem women's dress. Being in a prominent TV station, certainly the programmers have a certain consideration when they decide to show Moslem women's dress in their program. It can be considered as

a breakthrough at the time because previously this type of dress is only shown in Islamic magazines, such as *Annida* and *Ummi*.

Another factor that also supports people's acceptance toward Moslem women's dress is that the dress model today adopts Malayan dress called *baju kurung* which is decorated by some decoration adopted from *kebaya* decoration, such as, embroidery, lace and so on. Since there are some similarities between Moslem women's dress with these Indonesian traditional dresses, it is unsurprising that there are many fashion houses and designer who parallelized the Moslem women's dress with those Indonesian traditional dresses. *The House of Christie*, for example, held its fashion show to introduce its new fashion house, having *kebaya* and Muslim dress as its approximately 90% of the collection (*Kartini* No. 2052, Jan. 2002). The existence of Indonesian image in the Moslem women's dress seems to be the reason for *Ranti* (a brand of Moslem dress) name their fashion house as *Citra Busana Indonesia*. Even, in Zilda's Moslem dress product advertisement, it is stated, "menyediakan busana Muslim dan bordir" (*Kartini*, May 2002, and *Femina*, March 2002). In this case, Zilda's mentions *bordir* as other word for *embroidery* dress or *kebaya* with embroidery.

Women are used to wearing accessories, which are usually worn with *kebaya*, but this accessories were then worn with Moslem women's dress like shawl or stola (*selendang*). The wearing of shawl or stola as a complement of Moslem women's dress is usually used for formal occasions. Its function is similar to that of shawl or stola as a compliment of *kebaya* in formal occasions.

Nowadays, there are many Moslem women's dress model variation and accessories, which make the dress possible to be worn to formal occasion, even to a party. The wearing of this dress is not merely limited to religious activities anymore, but it can be worn to a wedding party. Unsurprisingly, in this case, the wearing of Moslem women's dress seems to replace the wearing of *kebaya* in formal occasions. Practical factor is the reason for this to happen. Wearing Moslem women's dress is much practical than wearing *kebaya*, because when we wear Moslem women's dress, we do not have to be worried about sophisticated hairdo. We just wear *jilbab* that is generally designed and made as practical as possible to cover our head and neck.

The appearance of Moslem women's dress in woman magazines is increasing in the upcoming Ied Fitr and Ramadhan month. It is because on those months, the wearing of Moslem women's dress is increasing along with the increase of religious activities in the society. These opportunities are seen by businessman as profitable business opportunity to promote their garment products. For magazines, which become the advertisement media of the dress, this opportunity is seen as profitable opportunity to increase and raise their magazine's circulation.

From the advertisements' appearance made by each Moslem woman's dress producer, one can see its market segment and target. *Zilda's* aims the teenagers as its potential consumers. It can be seen from its advertisements' appearance modeled by youngster. The dress's model is adjusted to teenagers' characteristics, such as sporty, active and dynamic. The dress is generally a set of tunic and pants. The models used in its advertisements are youngsters and popular among teenagers as *sinetron* artists. Meanwhile, *Shafira* present its image as family dress. It uses artists' family, I Kang Fawzi-Marissa Haque as its model. It seems that the choice of the model has certain consideration. The family has been known as harmony, religious and unified family, so that the positive image of the models will be caught by the consumers as the source of attraction.

The large numbers of TV programs, such as *sinetron* and talk show, which have Islamic nuances on those months also influence people's interest on wearing Moslem

women's dress. It is because people tend to imitate their idols or artists. Thus, the trendy dress and *jilbab/hijab* are the imitation of the model worn by the idols. Not only imitating the idols's dress and *jilbab/hijab*, they also imitate the style of the idols wearing dress and *jilbab/hijab*, as long as it confirms to the principles.

This phenomenon, then, is used by Moslem women's dress producers. They give the name of their products after the idols, such as, *kaftan* dan *abaya* Syahrini, *jilbab* Inneke, Krisdayanti dress, Marissa dress and so on. People do not merely need the dress as commodity product to be used, but they want to follow the trend; they do not want to be left behind. The wearing of these Moslem women's dress model (not the wearing of Moslem women's dress) is temporary. It depends on the *sinetron*, which is presented on TV. It is the image brought by the characters in *sinetron* that they wanted. People imitate their idols in the hope that others will see them as the characters in the *sinetron*. This is in line with Baudrillard opinion that, "We become what we buy: sign and signifying practices are what is consumed—even if we do not consume the product" (in McKay, 1997, p. 5).

People as the consumers think that by wearing dress model like Syahrini or Inneke and Krisdayanti, for example, they have already followed the trend and not out of date. Then, if the character played by the artist is kind-hearted, humble and so on, people will identify her as a person with such qualities. As stated by Storey (1997, p.178), "In the realm of hyper-real, the distinction of simulation and the 'real' implodes; the 'real' and the imaginary continually collapse into each other." The fans (for example, the fans of Syahrini and Krisdayanti) think that Krisdayanti has personal qualities similar to the character she played in the *sinetron*. Thus, it is not surprising that they imitate the attitude and the style of the character. This, among others, makes certain *sinetron*, especially Ramadhan *sinetron*, become another strong factor behind the popularity of Moslem women's dress wearing.

It has become a routine that during Ramadhan month, every TV station races to present *sinetron* with Ramadhan or Islamic nuances. It aims to attract people's attention to choose their TV stations as an entertainment. The goal is to get profit from the advertisements. Yet, the fastest and direct response by the people from this program is Moslem women's dress model worn by the artists or the characters in the *sinetron*. Since the wearing of Moslem women's dress becomes fashion trend, many *sinetron* non-Ramadhan characters (*sinetron* presented outside the Ramadhan month) wore Moslem women's dress. Thus, if the wearing of Moslem women's dress is seen as a culture, it is difficult to explain whether TV which made this dress becomes a culture or real life which imitated by TV. In other words, is it also become a culture in cinema world to present characters worn Moslem women's dress? Since as it is stated by Burton (1999, p. 62), "In fact, it would be argued that there is clear division between culture in the media and culture as practiced in life".

Conclusion

As a result of its evolution, today there are more and more popular people and people with power in many aspects of life wearing this Moslem women's dress. Most people do not see this practice of wearing Moslem women's dress as a symbol of resistance to the government status quo any longer. Instead, they are willing to wear it because of so many reasons, out of the dress itself. Apart of religious control around them, they come up as a new fashion trend. Apart of its struggle in the past, today Moslem women's dress steps into becoming a new cultural representation. It is also resulted from the great change of people perception towards its symbolical meaning.

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