

Religious Behavior among Female University Students with Full Face Veil in East Kalimantan

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Abstract

face veil (known as cadar) in public sphere. Among educated young Muslim women in Indonesia, particularly in university settings in East Kalimantan, the use of cadar as an expression of piety managed to gain substantial ground since 2016. The majority of people often identify the full face veil with the fundamental Islamic movement. Full-face veil users among educated young Muslims, mostly in those resided in urban settings, reject the stigma and labels of hardliners that often attached to them. Believing that such practice as covering face constitute their very understanding of Islamic tenets, this particular group of young educated Muslim women are struggling to challenge the narrative of covering face among Muslim women as indication of backwardness, radicalism and extremism. This paper, therefore, aims at discussing religious behavior among female students who use full face veil in several universities in East Kalimantan. A combination of in-depth interviews and survey technique are utilized to collect data while thematic analysis technique is applied to analyze collected data. Findings reveal that, ideologically speaking, female Muslim university students split into two factions; one that believes wearing cadar as a highly commendable action and one that believes the act to be merely a good deed. They also feel much safer once they started wearing cadar. Most of informants agree that wearing full face veil has made their private lives much safer in comparison to before they wear full face veil.

Keyword: *cadar, full face veil, religious behavior, female university student, East Kalimantan*

A. INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the reform era in Indonesia in 1998, the gate of freedom of expression for Indonesian has been wide open. The amendment of the Indonesian constitution, the UUD 1945, stipulates that every Indonesian has the freedom to believe in religion and express his/her believe accordingly. The addition of article 28E into the constitution through the annual meeting of people's representatives (MPR) in 2000 has asserted that every Indonesian is entitled the right to expressing their thoughts and opinion. The essence of such constitutional warranty is that no one, including the state, has the right to prohibit other people to express their opinion as long as such expressions are in line with the universal values of human rights and the principle of democracy in Indonesia.

The opening up of political freedom brought by the democratization process was also utilized by religious groups that were suppressed before 1998. Those groups effectively seized the opportunity to spread their ideology and thoughts to the public realm. There was no need to spread their message clandestinely thanks to the euphoria generated by the dawn of democracy in the country. Rapid developments in information and communication technology allow many religious groups to spread the thoughts even faster through online media and managed to attract substantial numbers of followers and sympathizers in the country.

One of such expressions is the mainstreaming of “*Jilbab*” as a certain fashion mode to express personal piety. In the 1990s, when President Suharto was still in power, the use of *Jilbab* was still rare and was considered alien to the general public. To make things worse for people who wear *Jilbab* in public, the government, out of fear of the rise of political Islam, indirectly banned the use of *Jilbab* mostly by discriminating against those who wear it. Those who insist to use *jilbab* were forced to deal with the harsh reality of the Indonesian political atmosphere.¹

Entering the reform era, the political situation in Indonesia started to change. Several policies discrediting *jilbab* was effectively disbanded. The peak of the use of *jilbab* as a fashion style was in the 2000s when everyone could eventually express themselves freely thus Muslim women wearing *jilbab* were to be found everywhere. *Jilbab*, a symbolic feature once accused as a representation of backwardness, becomes one of the most favorite fashion styles among the majority Indonesians. This change in fashion trend was soon captured by the market and soon the market responded by providing many styles of using *jilbab*.

On the other hand, several expressions of Islam about piety brought with them new challenges. Besides *jilbab*, *Cadar*, or a full-face veil for women emerged as another way to express piety in public. Among educated young Muslim women in Indonesia, particularly in university settings in East Kalimantan, the use of *cadar* as an expression of piety managed to gain substantial ground since 2016. This can be observed through the increasing number of young Muslim women in university campuses who wear *cadar* in their daily college life.

The general public in Indonesia, however, did not merely accept the trend of using *cadar* among Muslim female university students. Discussion about *cadar*, thus, started to emerge and color the public discourse on religious expression. *Cadar* was soon associated with attributes of fanatical, fundamental, and even radical Islamic organizations.² Public discourse on *Cadar* has also confused the use of *cadar* with being Islamic hardliners in society.³ Stigmatization towards Muslim women who wear *cadar* or full-face veil exacerbated by the media reports showing women among family members of terrorist

¹ Nancy J. Smith-Hefner, “Javanese Women and the Veil in Post-Soeharto Indonesia,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66, no. 2 (2007): 397.

² Yenny Puspasari, Turnomo Rahardjo, and Agus Naryoso, “Memahami Pengalaman Komunikasi Wanita Bercadar Dalam Pengembangan Hubungan Dengan Lingkungan Sosial,” *Interaksi Online* 1, no. 3 (2013).

³ Lintang Ratri, “*Cadar*, Media, Dan Identitas Perempuan Muslim,” in *Forum*, vol. 39, 2011, 29–37.

suspects or suicide bombers in Indonesia that depict cadar as their daily fashion.⁴ The media framings about such particular women who wear cadar, surely, given the negative label to many educated young Muslim women who wear cadar.

Recently, discussions about the radical movement in Islam attract many scholars and are hotly debated topics in academic seminars on campuses around Indonesia. Some research suggests that radicalism and intolerance are becoming stronger in society.⁵ A survey from Convey Indonesia in collaboration with the Center of the study of Islam and society of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta shows that around 80 percent of students in Indonesia are exposed to radicalism. The tendency towards conservatism, concerning radicalism, is one serious challenge that comes along with the emergence of intolerant behavior and support for radicalism and extremism among young Muslims in Indonesia.⁶

The negative stigma associated with the use of cadar in public does not hinder educated young Muslim women from wearing it in their daily life in the public sphere. Most of these particular segments of the Indonesian population start wearing the cadar during their first year in university. Many students start to use cadar in their college because many universities in Indonesia do not have strict regulations about the usage in university.

The widespread use of cadar among these female Muslim university students is supported by the proliferation of numerous “cadar styles” available in the market. Cadar in the form of simple black fabric to cover face is no longer the norm. Instead, the cadar has transformed into colorful stylish accessories. Social media also did a great job of promoting this colorful and stylish cadar by depicting images of Muslim girls and women wearing modern cadar while doing their daily chores.

In this regard, the users of cadar among educated young Muslim women and girls try to erase the negative stigma labeled on the use of cadar. They try to show that they are not fundamentalists, radicals, or hardliner Muslims as people tend to think they are. Showing up in public spaces is utilized as a medium of socialization by the user of the cadar to tell people that they are not exclusive and avoiding social interactions. This trend of using cadar among educated young Muslim women and girls is different from that of the 70s during which cadar was closely related to the idea of avoiding social interaction.⁷ This research, hence, aims at understanding the religious behavior of female university students in East Kalimantan who use cadar in their daily college life.

⁴ Faricha Hasinta Sari, Salmah Lilik, and Rin Widya Agustin, “Studi Fenomenologi Mengenai Penyesuaian Diri Pada Wanita Bercadar,” *WACANA* 6, no. 11 (2014).

⁵ “Vol.1 Nomor 8 - Sikap Dan Perilaku Keberagamaan Guru Dan Dosen Pendidikan Agama Islam.Pdf,” Google Docs, accessed September 28, 2018, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hC8FSCBTbUbyl1tompdHPe1SvBuRzmewa/view?usp=drive_open&usp=embed_facebook.

⁶ “Vol.1 Issue 6 - Potret Keberagamaan Kaum Muda Muslim Indonesia.Pdf,” Google Docs, accessed September 28, 2018, https://drive.google.com/file/d/1C-RLMmFnoa23veIap6ZgcBDPpThbtdSK/view?usp=sharing&usp=embed_facebook.

⁷ Nursalam Nursalam and Syarifuddin Syarifuddin, “Persepsi Masyarakat Tentang Perempuan Bercadar,” *Equilibrium: Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi* 3, no. 1 (2015).

Female Muslim university students have been chosen to represent educated young Muslim's women and girls due to several reasons. First, cadar users among female Muslim university students could represent the thinking and experience of the cadar user in general. Secondly, university students are capable of expressing themselves without outside interventions. Students are also closely related to the search of identity thus making it more relevant because they tend to be more independent in making decisions related to their personal life including to wear or not to wear cadar.

This research is field research using a phenomenological approach. The use of phenomenology in this study was carried out to get a deeper picture of informant orientation concerning religious behavior and their experience while using cadar. This research was conducted in several regencies and cities in East Kalimantan such as Samarinda, Kutai Kartanegara, Balikpapan, and East Kutai. This research uses observation, interviews, questionnaires, and documentation as data collection techniques. The researcher analyzes the important themes in the questions posed, generalizes the unit of meaning, and describes descriptively the core of the phenomenon being studied.

B. RESEARCH METHODE

This research uses a qualitative descriptive approach. Data collection methods used in this study were observation, interviews, documentation and questionnaires. The researcher used John W. Creswell's analytical model to analyze the results of interviews, observations, and documentation. The researcher analyzes the important themes and codes in the questions asked, generalizes the units of meaning and describes descriptively the essence of the phenomenon being studied.⁸

C. DISCUSSION

1. Jilbab, Cadar and Female Muslim Identity

In Indonesia, the headscarf for women has several names such as *kerudung*, *jilbab*, and *hijab*. In many Islamic countries, clothing that resembles a headscarf is also known by many names such as *chador*, *pardeh*, *milayat*, *abaya*, and *charsaf*. Practically, there is nothing different among these clothing except their names. Muslim women in many Islamic countries, however, have different characteristics in the way they cover their faces with cadar.

Several controversies about jilbab also exist in Muslim society thus if one searches on youtube with keyword "hijab" then the majority of the videos or results are around tutorials on wearing a hijab. On the internet, this topic has shifted to the actual need to make hijab as a viral and trending mode or style. In addition to YouTube, young Muslim women also use Instagram as one of the media to find the latest hijab modes.

On the other hand, the emergence of various hijabs communities in various social media has an impact on the dissemination of information related to the latest modes of wearing the hijab. For example, Dian Pelangi and Siti Juwariyah identified themselves as

⁸ Jhon W. Crasswell, *Research Design: (Pendekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, Dan Mixed)* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014).

hijabers when they first started blogging. In the various photos they upload to their private social media channels, they show that they can combine a variety of appearance styles while at the same time showing a fashionable and/or pious impression. The *hijaber* community shows that they can bring up their religious expression while following the latest trend of fashion modes.⁹

Nevertheless, some people believe that the hijab should be worn in as polite as a possible manner and with several basic requirements such as the obligation to fully cover the whole body. Those who wear hijab are also required to act and behave in a certain way in their daily social interaction. Others, however, have more moderate thinking about the hijab as a normative obligation that should not burden the users.¹⁰ This latter group insists that the level of piety should not be measured by how one wears the hijab but by how one behaves in one's daily life.

On whether the hijab or veil is an expression of piety or a mere mundane social phenomenon, Yulikhah concluded that veil is both a mundane social phenomenon and an expression of piety. This dual role of the veil (Hijab) among female Muslims in Indonesia relates closely to the already widespread use of headscarves among several communities in the country due to political, legal, and other reasons.

Besides jilbab, other religious garment Muslim women use to express their piety is cadar. In the Indonesian context, textbook meaning for cadar is a garment used to cover face or head.¹¹ As mentioned earlier, the obligation to wear cadar for Muslim women can be found in the Qur'an chapter al-Ahzab verse 59 and chapter an-Nur verse 31. From these verses, it can be inferred that Prophet Muhammad PBUH was asked to tell his wives, daughters, and all Muslim women to cover their entire body to avoid fitna.

Islamic scholars, including those affiliated with one of four most well-established schools of thought; the Hanafi, the Maliki, the Hanbali, and the Syafii, have different opinions regarding the use of cadar among female Muslims. The Maliki school argues that covering face among female Muslims during or outside prayers is an exaggeration in religion. However, a small minority within this school also believes that every very pretty female Muslim must cover her face to avoid being a victim of fitna and other crimes due to her beauty and attractiveness. The Hanafi school provides a different legal and religious opinion regarding the issue of face-covering among female Muslims. According to the school of Hanafi, young female Muslims are not allowed to show their face to men they are allowed to be married to (Muhrim). Within the circle of Hambali school, a women's face is considered an aurat thus showing it to men other than one's Muhrims could lead to the emergence of fitna.

Among those four prominent schools of thought, Islamic religious scholars within the School of Hanbali and Syafii have not reached a strong conclusion regarding the issue

⁹ Annisa R. Beta, "Hijabers: How Young Urban Muslim Women Redefine Themselves in Indonesia," *International Communication Gazette* 76, no. 4-5 (2014): 377-89.

¹⁰ Rima Hardiyanti, "Komunitas Jilbab Kontemporer 'Hijabers' Di Kota Makassar," *Makassar: Skripsi. Program Sarjana Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Hasanuddin*, 2012, 63-74.

¹¹ "Hasil Pencarian - KBBI Daring," accessed September 28, 2018, <https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/cadar>.

in question. Some of the ulamas argue that face-covering among female Muslim is compulsory (wajib) while some of them argue that such action is not compulsory yet female Muslims are advised to do (sunnah)

Several works discuss the issue of cadar in Indonesia. The majority of those discussions are concerned with the adaptation process and society's acceptance towards female Muslims who wear cadar. Sari, Lilik, and Agustin, for example, discuss the adaptation process among those who wear cadar and came into the conclusion that female Muslims wear cadar for a variety of different reasons thus the way they adapt to their social environment differ from one to another.¹² On the other side of the spectrum, Salam and Syarifuddin, for example, talk about the society's acceptance towards female Muslims who wear cadar and concluded that in the context of To'bia people in Luwu Regency, wearing cadar is considered negative. Some of Luwu people could go even further to exclude those who wear cadar and put the status of an outcast on them.¹³

In the context of East Kalimantan, Inayah and Abdi argue that female Muslim wear cadar to symbolize Hijra, a recent term used to emphasize one's spiritual transition from ignorance to a high level of religious awareness. Cadar is also used as a shield to protect female Muslims from fitna during their interactions with men in daily life.¹⁴

In its relation with identity, female Muslims who wear cadar believe that wearing cadar is a manifestation of piety in daily life since they tend to understand Qur'anic texts regarding female modesty literally.¹⁵ Moreover, Ratri, for example, explains that female Muslims who wear cadar are more aware of the afterlife, a common indication that they are more pious than those who do not wear cadar. Cadar wearing female Muslims generally emphasize the notion that life in this world is merely a transit point leading to the eternal life in the hereafter.

Cadar wearing female Muslim involved in both Ratri's and Inayah's researches do not feel awkward while interacting with people in their social environments. Most of them genuinely accept other Muslims as brothers and sisters thus try their best to maintain good and healthy social relations with them. However, among informants involved in Ratri's research, building good relations with the community at large is particularly more challenging.¹⁶

In this research, informants explain that their reason for wearing a cadar is to get closer to Allah. It also the way they manifest their Hijra. In this regard, informants refer to their Hijra as the transition from wearing tight clothing by which their body features are seen to wearing less tight clothing that also covers part of their face. Hijra, according

¹² Sari, Lilik, and Agustin, "Studi Fenomenologi Mengenai Penyesuaian Diri Pada Wanita Bercadar."

¹³ Nursalam and Syarifuddin, "Persepsi Masyarakat Tentang Perempuan Bercadar."

¹⁴ Sitti Syahar Inayah and Andi Muhammad Abdi, "ETNOGRAFI KOMUNIKASI MUSLIMAH BERCADAR DI SAMARINDA," *LENTERA* 2, no. 2 (2018).

¹⁵ Ratri, "Cadar, Media, Dan Identitas Perempuan Muslim."

¹⁶ Ratri.

to them, also refers to changes toward a more Islamic behavior such as limiting one's casual relation with men. This finding is similar to those of Inayah and Abdi's.¹⁷

The term Hijra used by cadar wearing female Muslim students in Samarinda is very similar with the same term used by young cadar wearing Salafi Muslims involved the research conducted by Yunesti, Hasan, and Azcain with the term Hijra refers to a form of negotiation made by millennials young Salafi Muslims that refers to the transition from less Islamic to a more Islamic way of life.¹⁸ It is almost an acclamation among researches on cadar wearing female Muslims in Indonesia that these female Muslims feel safer after they wear cadar; they feel more protected during their interactions with other people, especially men.

2. Cadar among Female Muslim University Students in East Kalimantan

Even though almost no empirical data exist that can be used to estimate the increasing number of Muslim women who use cadar in East Kalimantan or Indonesia in general, the recent phenomenon of the use of cadar among Muslim university female students in universities in East Kalimantan suggest a drastic increase in the last three years.

Female Muslim university students come from a variety of backgrounds. They come not only from Islamic universities but also from public universities without any religious affiliations. Information that founded their understanding of wearing cadar comes mainly from friends, family, and other informal sources.

Most of the female Muslim university students involved as respondents in this research are in their first year in college. Most of them started using cadar relatively recently, including those who are now in their end years of college life. The relatively recent use of cadar among these female Muslim students reinforces the existing assumption among university professors and lecturers about the drastically increasing number of cadar users in university settings in East Kalimantan in the last three years that is a new phenomenon.

University administrators in East Kalimantan until recently still do not have clear regulations to respond to the use of cadar among their female students. However, unwritten norms about the issue of wearing cadar among female students do exist. According to this widely accepted unwritten norm, wearing a cadar for female students is a violation of university norms since it hinders healthy social interactions. It is widely accepted that covering face using cadar has a negative impact since knowing one's face is deemed important for healthy communication.

However, the percentage of higher education institutions that for or against the use of cadar in university settings seems to be balanced. A large number of respondents

¹⁷ Inayah and Abdi, "ETNOGRAFI KOMUNIKASI MUSLIMAH BERCADAR DI SAMARINDA."

¹⁸ Yuyun Sunesti, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Muhammad Najib Azca, "Young Salafi-Niqabi and Hijrah: Agency and Identity Negotiation," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (2018): 173–98.

in this research admitted that their institutions are supportive of their choice of wearing cadar while another large number reported otherwise.

In Mulawarman University, a state-funded public university in Samarinda, even though there is a regulation prohibiting students from wearing cadar or full-face veil when attending class, the regulation has never been publicly socialized. However, lecturers usually use the regulation to respond to students with cadar or full-face veil. A different case can be observed in IAIN Samarinda, a state institute of Islamic studies run by the ministry of religious affairs. In the later university, the cadar users enjoy a relatively higher degree of freedom to express their views and to wear religious garments/attributes including during class.

The case of cadar restriction in Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University in Yogyakarta, an Islamic higher education institution under the ministry of religious affairs, a few years ago gives a strong impact on lecturers in IAIN Samarinda about how to respond the practice of covering the face in university settings. Lack of clear stated responses towards this practice among the board of leaderships in IAIN Samarinda indicates at least two important points; (1) discussions about restricting cadar as a religious practice are still perceived as taboo considering that IAIN Samarinda is a university-based on Islamic values thus this also happened out of fear that misconception about IAIN Samarinda will emerge in public, and (2) many of those in the high-level leadership boards in IAIN Samarinda are sympathetic to the use of cadar by their female students.

Some of the cadar wearing female Muslim in East Kalimantan began wearing cadar by wearing common face mask used usually for mundane health purposes. During this phase, those female Muslims do not always wear such a face mask. Instead, they put their mask on and off frequently to avoid rejection from their social environment. In this regard, rejection from one's parent/s is the most significant challenge for those who plan to wear a cadar.

One of the main reasons not to give up wearing a cadar despite the social pressure to do so comes from family. All informants involved in this research explained that their family, especially parents, are supportive regarding their choice to wear cadar in public. However, family support for wearing a cadar is not to be taken for granted. For most of the informants, support from family comes after numerous attempts to convince one's family that wearing such garments would not bring negativity in any way possible. Some of our informants even admitted that they would take off the cadar had their parent/s stopped allowing them to wear one. This overall situation of cadar wearing among young female Muslims signifies that family plays a pivotal role in determining the decision to wear cadar among informants.

Slow and step by step transitioning on the decision to wear cadar is the norm among cadar wearing female Muslims involved in this research. At first, they started by wearing a common face mask. This common face mask gave them an idea about the feel of being covered on the face thus helping them to avoid shock when they wear full-fledge cadar later. Wearing common face masks also allowed them to observe reactions from their social surroundings. A more practical benefit of wearing a common face mask as a

starting point is because most schools have rigid regulations regarding uniforms for students. It was when they are enrolled in a university that they stopped to worry about wearing cadar since most universities do not have strict regulations about clothing or uniform on campus.

Even though most universities do not have strict regulations regarding dress code in general and cadar in particular, most of our informants admitted that they thought they had to talk to their lecturers first to make sure they will not cause disturbance and get discrimination during their classes. All of our informants unanimously agree that university/faculty do not have the right to determine whether it is okay or not for a female Muslim to wear cadar and that this matter should be left to students.

Besides being active in mosques within university campuses, female Muslim students who wear cadar also active in other religious gatherings in East Kalimantan in general. Almost all respondents involved in this research stated that they join at least one weekly religious gathering. One of the most popular religious gatherings among female university students who wear cadar is known as “Dakwah Sunnah Samarinda”. This study club was popularized by TV station Rodja TV and managed to attract significant followers from Samarinda.

This study club utilizes social media to reach further potential audiences within East Kalimantan in tandem with their offline activities in many mosques in the province. They routinely publish their schedules on their social media account and attracted plenty of responses from their followers. One of their social media accounts, Instagram, succeeded to gain more than 7000 followers.

On the other hand, data from this research suggest that the majority of cadar wearing female Muslim students are affiliated with Nahdatul Ulama (NU). However, almost all of the ulamas these self-declared NU female Muslim students follow are not affiliated with NU. Instead, most of them are known for their fierce critics towards NU.

3. Religious Behavior among University Students in East Kalimantan

The majority of the respondents understand that wearing a cadar is not an obligation for female Muslims. Instead, they think of wearing a cadar as a sunna. In this context, they regard wearing cadar as a *sunna muakkad*, a highly commendable action yet noncompulsory. The purpose of sunna *muakkad* is to complement obligatory rituals such as praying and fasting during the month of Ramadhan. However, others believe that wearing a cadar is not a highly commendable practice. Instead, it falls to an area named *sunna ghairu muakkad*, a suggested practice but not highly commendable according to Islamic law. This group also emphasized that its’ members should not force themselves to wear cadar on every occasion and admitted that its’ members limited the wearing of cadar for special occasions such as religious gatherings.

Applying Verbit’s theory of the dimensions of religion¹⁹ to the phenomenon of cadar wearing among Muslim female university students can lead to a conclusion that

¹⁹ Ahmad Saifuddin, *Psikologi Agama: Implementasi Psikologi untuk Memahami Perilaku Agama* (Kencana, 2019).

ideologically speaking, female Muslim university students split into two factions; one that believes wearing cadar as a highly commendable action and one that believes the act to be merely a good deed. However, these students still find it challenging to negotiate between their ideology and rules and norms that apply in public settings such as a university.

Upon believing an ideology that implies that wearing cadar is commendable according to Islamic law, these students found more incentives to learn more deeply about cadar in Islam (intellectual dimensions). All students involved in this research are involved in one or two religious study circle/s and attend religious gatherings one to two times a week.

Fifty-five percent of respondents got their early information about cadar through friends. It is from their friend who was already wearing cadar that they got more information about the legal standing of wearing cadar in Islamic law as well as the lived experience of wearing cadar. Besides a network of friends, two other sources of early information on cadar are religious figures (through religious gatherings) and social media (28% and 14% respectively).

Having sufficient information regarding the wearing of cadar, our informants admitted that they gradually started wearing cadar in their daily lives. All informants stated that they only wear cadar once they have permission to do so from their parent/s. The majority of informants, however, also admitted that they faced challenges from their parent/s, family, and schools regarding their decision to wear cadar.

Our informants explain that they experience changes in attitudes towards religious rituals after they started wearing cadar. All informants suggest that once they decided to wear cadar they gradually feel more aware of sunna practices such as fasting outside the month of Ramadhan (usually every Monday and Thursday), dhikr (chanting Allah's name/s), and reading the Quran. All informants agree that these changes in religious behavior are a manifestation of the popular term of hijrah which is a gradual change from less Islamic way of life towards a more Islamic way of life.

To be able to understand Islamic teachings and values and to live life accordingly is the main motivation behind the students' decision to wear cadar. They started thinking about wearing cadar after they have had absorbed various understandings about the religious benefits of doing so. In terms of emotional dimension religious practice, according to these students, wearing cadar has made them more aware of their religious duties. They also feel much safer once they started wearing cadar. Regarding the later, 30% of informants highly agree and 60% agree that wearing cadar has made their private lives much safer in comparison to before they wear cadar.

In addition to feeling much safer, our informants also explained that they do not necessarily feel more beautiful by wearing cadar yet they thought of wearing cadar could boost their inner beauty. This idea of inner beauty circulates widely among those who wear cadar since outer beauty that correspond mostly to bodily features is not supposed to be available for everyone to see.

For the majority of informants, wearing cadar is the manifestation of their piety. They claimed that by wearing cadar they feel more comfortable in their daily life. They argued that wearing a cadar is a way to protect themselves and make themselves feel safer and it is not intended to limit social interaction. However, our observation suggests that cadar wearing female Muslim students tend to attend religious gatherings/circle of studies in which most of the attendee wear cadar too.

As explained previously, almost all our informants argue that wearing cadar makes them feel much safer while at the same time it allows them to limit interactions with men. Changes in the ethics of social courtesy also include the way they speak to each other. All these changes represent respect for the cadar that they wear. To make things look more Islamic, some of our informants change some vocabularies used in daily life to Arabic such as “saya” to “ana” and “kamu/anda” to “anta/anti”. According to them, changing such vocabularies is motivated by the urge to look more Islamic hence using more Arabic terms in daily life.

Furthermore, the urge to look more Islamic is promoted continuously by a number of famous and fancy Islamic online religious circle based in the province such as Muslimah Motivation chapter East Kalimantan, Balikpapan Mengaji, Dakwah Sunnah Samarinda, Akhwat Bercadar Indonesia, Tabalong Hijrah, Akhwat Kayyisah, Wanita Indonesia Bercadar Samarinda, and al-Karimah Samarinda.

D. CONCLUSION

Cadar in Samarinda have been widely used by female students for the past three years. Although there are regulations related to the prohibition of wearing cadar, some students still using the religious garment. Students realize that cadar is a form of piety that they want to show. Hence, women with high education level are likely to be associated with modernity and professionalism that stand in diametral opposition to the traditional image of ideal womanhood. Instead of aspiring to join the future workforce and work as professional in their respected area of interests, many respondents involved in this research believe that they will stick to the traditional role of women who stay in her house instead of joining her husband to work outside her house because traditional image of ideal women is much closer to the picture of ideal Muslim woman. Regarding the issue of interreligious tolerance, students with cadar has a variety of opinions. However, female university students who wear cadar in East Kalimantan can be categorized into exclusivist camp since they tend to avoid building good social relation with people of different religions. This trend is, of course, not very surprising since wearing cadar in the context of Indonesian society has long been associated with the tendency of keeping Islamic purity in the middle of an un-Islamic environment.

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