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**POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS
AND THE REACH OF THE STATE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

Takeshi Kohno

YOUTH AND POP CULTURE IN INDONESIAN ISLAM

Claudia Nef Saluz

NEW TREND OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

Jamhari Makruf

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Claudia Nef Saluz

Youth and Pop Culture in Indonesian Islam

Abstrak: Sejak dekade 90-an, Indonesia telah disemarakkan oleh berkembangnya budaya pop Islam. Terutama untuk masyarakat perkotaan, Islam dalam hal ini ditampilkan sedemikian rupa, khususnya dalam kerangka dakwah, sehingga menjadi demikian memikat.

Maka, jika di dunia fashion kita disuguhkan beragam model busana—utamanya jilbab gaul, yang belakangan marak digunakan oleh generasi muda Islam semisal Zaskia A Mecca dalam setiap penampilannya—maka di dunia musik kita dihadirkan sajian musik Islami penuh nada-nada religi yang direpresentasikan oleh beberapa grup musik Islam (nasyid) semisal Justice Voice, The Fikr ataupun Ar-Ruhul Jadid. Mereka, seperti halnya Rhoma Irama yang dikenal sejak era 70-an dengan “nada dan dakwahnya”, memberikan ragam sentuhan musik religi yang sarat dengan nilai-nilai spiritual Islam.

Demikian juga di dunia media, baik cetak maupun elektronik, yang berkembang demikian pesat setelah mendapatkan nafas kebebasan di era reformasi ini. Hampir setiap hari kita menyaksikan tayangan sinetron Islami serta program lain yang identik dengan tema-tema keislaman, seraya pada saat yang sama kita menyaksikan munculnya beragam majalah Islam seperti Hidayatullah, Sabili, Ummi, Amanah, Annida, Nikah, Noor, Karima, serta banyak lagi majalah yang secara umum fokus pada bahasan keislaman, khususnya bagi kalangan muda muslim.

Sampai di sini, Islam tampil sangat familiar bagi kaum muda Muslim perkotaan. Simbol-simbol Islam dimunculkan dalam beragam bentuk, dan tampak begitu kuat mempengaruhi kehidupan keseharian mereka. Dengan mengambil pendasaran pada latar tradisi yang beragam, mereka berhasil membentuk identitasnya melalui simbol-simbol yang terdiseminasi mela-

lui bentuk musik, film, sinetron, novel, majalah ataupun pernik lain yang dikait-eratkan dengan standar nilai-nilai keislaman. Namun, kondisi ini pada saat yang sama juga turut memunculkan praktik bisnis keagamaan oleh beberapa kalangan tertentu, dengan memanfaatkan sensibilitas keagamaan masyarakat, utamanya generasi muda.

Artikel ini berupaya menjelaskan bahwa menggeliatnya fenomena budaya pop Islam di Indonesia membawa dampak lanjutan bagi warna keislaman secara umum. Meski di satu sisi Islam dijadikan sebagai bagian tidak terpisahkan dari segala produk budaya yang menghiasi ranah keseharian masyarakat Indonesia, namun di sisi lain Islam mengalami satu proses komodifikasi. Fakta maraknya produk-produk berlabel Islam mulai dari kosmetik—semisal lipsticks, make-up ataupun eye shadow—, busana muslim terkhusus “jilbab gaul”, novel, majalah ataupun kaset-kaset islami, setidaknya dapat menjelaskan bahwa dalam batas tertentu, Islam melalui ragam simbolnya memang sangat prospektif untuk dipasarkan.

Bahkan, seperti halnya perusahaan-perusahaan khusus yang bergerak di bidang produksi fashion ataupun makanan, seorang da'i kondang Aa Gym (Abdullah Gymnastiar) pun, selain sibuk memasarkan ide-idenya melalui pemahaman keagamaan yang cenderung intuitif, juga turut serta memproduksi sejumlah piranti kebutuhan sehari-hari yang dapat dilihat pada supermarket maupun café yang dibangunnya di Bandung. Kesemuanya—termasuk minuman sejenis Cocacola yang diproduksinya—disimbolkan dengan label Qalbu, sebuah terma keislaman yang sangat dikenal khalayak umum seiring kesuksesannya mensosialisasikan gagasan Manajemen Qalbu.

Selain itu, artikel ini juga menjelaskan perihal terjadinya proses akulturasi kebudayaan global yang faktanya tidak selalu dihadirkan serta dipengaruhi dunia Barat, tapi juga oleh dunia Timur, khususnya dunia Arab. Gandrungnya remaja muslim atas jilbab gaul menjadi contoh kasus yang menggambarkan kondisi tersebut. Meskipun berasal dari dunia Arab, jilbab menjadi trend yang bahkan dalam konteks Indonesia pernah mengalahkan fashion-fashion yang berasal dari dunia Barat. Alhasil, Jilbab dalam hal ini berhasil menunjukkan bagaimana sejatinya pengaruh global—dari manapun ia berasal—akan mampu terintegrasi dalam ranah budaya lokal. Begitupun dengan pelbagai produk budaya pop Islam lain yang selalu berkembang dinamis dan notabene telah menemukan pijakan utamanya pada generasi muda.

Claudia Nef Saluz

Youth and Pop Culture in Indonesian Islam

قد انتشر بريق ثقافة البوب الإسلامية في إندونيسيا وهي ظاهرة تشير إلى أن خزانة ثقافية إسلامية في هذا العصر. بمختلف المنهاج، صمم الإسلام على صورة معينة ليظهر نزعة

، فقدم لنا مختلف الأشكال للأزياء -خاصة الجلابيب اليومية- التي كثير ما يلبسها زسكيا أ. مكة (Zaskia A. Mecca) في ملابسهم اليومية. وفي مجال الغناء، قدم لنا دينية تمثلها مجموعة موسيقية إسلامية (نشيد) مثل *Ar Justice Voice, The Fikr* وروما إيراما (Rhoma Irama) -المشهور في السبعينات- يقدمون مختلف الأغنية الدينية

إعلام، سواء كانت مطبوعة أم إلكترونية، حيث حصلت على روح الحرية من جديد بعد (Soeharto)، قدموا على مختلف الجهات. وفي مجال وسائل الإليكترونية، يكاد نشاهد مع برنامج أخرى لها علاقة بالموضوعات الإسلامية. وفي مجال المطبوعات، نعرف بظهور نل هداية الله وسبيلي وأمانه والنداء (والمجالتان الأخيرتان من إنتاج المجلة كارتيني)، ني وبوتيري ومسلمة وبيرماتا وغيرها. وجميعها تركز عامة على الأبحاث الإسلامية الموجهة

مألوفاً جداً، ورموز ظهرت في مختلف صورها لها تأثير قوي في الحياة اليومية للشباب إطار العرف المتنوعة التي تمكنت من تكوين هويتهم عن طريق الرموز التي انتشرت على مسلسلات والمجلات وكمالية أخرى مرتبطة بقيم إسلامية. بجانب ذلك، أن البيئة المحاطة بها أخرى قد يمارسها البعض باستغلال حساسية دينية خاصة جيل شبابي لكسب الأرباح

رح بأن انتشار ظاهرة ثقافة البوب الإسلامية في إندونيسيا تؤدي إلى آثار امتدادى لصبغة حية أن يجعل الإسلام جزءاً لا يتجزأ عن ما يتعلق بالإنتاج الثقافي الذي ظهر لتلوين مجال دمي، لكن من ناحية أخرى أن يقع الإسلام في موقف مهموم، إذ انتشار المنتجات الطابعة مرات التحميا (مثلاً، أحمر الشفاه) والملابس الإسلامية (مثلاً، جلابيب) والحكايات والمجلات

ا رمز باسم "قلبو" (Qalbu) وهو نزعة إسلامية معروفة عند الناس مع نجاح السيد المذكور (Mana) (إدارة القلب).

هذه المقالة في شرح حدوث عملية الإستيعاب الثقافي للحضارة العالمية التي في الواقع لم تتأثر أيضا بثقافة شرقية، خاصة من شرقى الأوسط. وانتشار الجلايب عند الشباب (وهو ظاهرة موضوعة لمقالته) يكون نموذجا من القضايا لوصف الحالة المذكورة. بالرغم من أنها من شرقى نسب نزعة عالمية، بل أنها في سياق إندونيسيا تغلب على موضة غربية. وخلاصة القول أن د. تشير إلى مدى تأثير العالمية (من أية جهة تأتي) يستطيع أن يتكيف مع ثقافة محلية. على مختلفة المنتجات لثقافة البوب الإسلامية تظل بالطبع تتطور متحركة وفي النهاية تنكشف لها

Introduction

Since the 1990s the development of an Islamic pop culture has taken place in Indonesia. Islam has become part of an extensive consumer culture with the trendy veil (*jilbab gaul*) as one of its most conspicuous symbols. The term “pop culture” is used to reflect the disappearance of oppositions¹ and follows Andy Warhol’s comment on pop: “*The Pop idea, after all, was that anybody could do anything*”.² This definition of pop culture by Andy Warhol implies a notion of democracy; anyone can produce a masterpiece, taking its inspiration from the everyday.³ Applying this idea of one of the greatest pop artists to the changes to the face of Islam currently taking place in Indonesia, I use the term “Islamic pop culture” to show that a form of Islam has developed that is not opposed to consumer culture, nor to the local past, nor to the government, the west or the Islamic influences from the Middle East. Everything is acceptable and combinable. One can be creative in constructing one’s identity as a devout Muslim, a fan of the rock band Metallica, and as a believer in Javanese ghosts. The neon pink sticker on one’s motor-bike helmet, worn over a bright green veil, saying “Allah is Great” can appear alongside other stickers saying “I’m sexy” or “Punk”. Young people can eat at McDonald’s before going to the mosque for prayers and after that go home to watch the new episodes of the daily Islamic soap opera *Hidayah* and then switch to an Indian Bollywood movie.

From a methodological point of view, this research combines the method of the classical anthropological fieldwork conducted among students at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta in 2005 – 2006 with methods from the field of cultural studies.

Islamic youth culture – a lifestyle

In the constant process of hybridization in Javanese society young people play a central role. Nilan and Feixa point to youth cultures as laboratories for hybrid cultures.⁴ No matter where in the world, the lives of young people fit less and less within a linear model of change. The transitions between education and work, dating and mating, and childhood and adulthood are increasingly prolonged.⁵ As a consequence, participation in youth cultures can no longer be characterized as a brief period, restricted to a limited period in the teens and early twenties. The late modern extension of youth culture practice has to be taken in two chronological directions, down-

wards towards late childhood and upwards towards the mid to late thirties.⁶

My interest lies in the social construction of identity where young people take an active role. Like young people everywhere, their construction of local youth style signifies the fractured process of identity-formation in an uncertain world. Islamic faith may provide a strong and reassuring sense of certainty to those youths committed to it, but there are other aspects of their lives to be negotiated which are not as easily ordered by religious faith alone. Because of the rapid socio-economic transformation, transitions to adulthood are increasingly fractured.⁷

Young Muslims combine lifestyle characteristics, such as consumption practices, with religious faith. They do, however, not only frame their identities in relation to what in their eyes are western lifestyle products and trends but also in relation to influences of global Islam. Young Muslims thus draw upon religious law at the same time as on global popular trends to create hybrid youth products and practices that serve to anchor the young person securely in the world of Islam and teen popular culture.⁸ A market for Islamic products was therefore able to develop where Islamic lifestyle products are sold such as Islamic magazines, *nashīd* music, clothes, *halāl* cosmetics, stickers or pins. Young people in Indonesia, as elsewhere, have therefore no choice but to choose. By choosing what they consume, young people construct their identity, for example as young, trendy, Muslim and Indonesian. According to Nilan, Islamic youth culture in Indonesia constitutes a "third space" that is not shared by non-Muslim Indonesian age peers, westerners or adults.⁹ They can thus construct their identity as fundamentally different from other Indonesian youths.¹⁰

Clothes in general are very important for identity construction, especially among young people. According to Schulte Nordholt, clothes help us to make our individual bodies into social beings and to communicate who we are. Clothes can be seen as our social and cultural skin.¹¹ As veils are conspicuous symbols in framing one's identity, they play an important role in identity construction and the construction of otherness. Young Muslims in Indonesia, for example the students of Gadjah Mada University, have different choices to express their identity, for example by wearing a certain style or model of veil. There is no neutral choice concerning the veil. The trendy veil is a testimony to how cultural forms are generated - allowing young women to express their multiple identities as fash-

ionable Muslims. They shape it through acts of choices. To simply wear a veil is not enough. Meaning, to the veil for example, is attributed through action. The attributed meaning is not stable but constantly changing depending on context.

Here, I adapt the idea held by Goffman that the world is a stage where all people merely play different parts.¹² According to Goffman, observers thus get clues from the conduct and appearance of others which allow them to apply previous similar experiences with other individuals to that which they observe - to apply stereotypes.¹³ Information about the individual helps therefore to define a situation and one may therefore know how best to react within it. In the case of veiling, this may mean that when seeing a veiled girl one can tell that she is Muslim and act according to this by adapting one's behaviour. 'A "performance" may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants.'¹⁴ According to Goffman, information about an individual helps us to define a situation, as this enables us to know in advance what to expect.¹⁵ Goffman's idea stands in accordance with the approach of Cooley's looking-glass self, stating that we imagine how others see us and look at ourselves through the eyes of others and therefore adapt our strategies and therefore the meaning we attach.¹⁶

Young Muslims select symbols and rituals of Islamic culture as well as symbols and rituals of Western culture. This form of hybridity, of combining global and local influences, challenges the assumption that cultural meeting points must signify relations of domination, this being the classic position of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, based on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony. This view of "youth culture as resistance" proposes that the dominant groups in society, who possess the most valued forms of cultural capital, create and define a hegemonic culture which serves to support and enhance their powerful position.¹⁷

Trendy Islam through Islamic mass media

The role of the media is important in making Islamic symbols trendy. In the *era reformasi* (the reformation era), the years following the fall of Soeharto, the media market has been liberalised considerably; many magazines that were either forbidden during the time of Soeharto's media censorship or only published illegally in small numbers are now being published freely. Also, the Islamic press¹⁸

has become more diverse and now occupies an increasingly strong position in the Indonesian print media market. The number of Islamic magazines in recent years has grown and with it their reader segments have become more diversified along different parameters such as age, gender, social group and religious conviction.¹⁹

The Islamic press is not a new phenomenon but has existed since the beginning of the twentieth century, with the rise of the ideas of reformation that had developed in the Middle East, mainly in Egypt. In general many Islamic magazines wrote about modernity and development. Towards the end of the 1980s, in the context of the student protests, in the academic environment a new generation of students started to create their own Islamic media, for example *Hidayatullah*, *Sabili* and *Ummi*. Also during this time, the big commercial editors began to see Muslims, especially young ones, as a potential target group. In 1986 the editor of the women's magazine *Kartini*, for example, launched *Amanah*, a new magazine with a special focus on Muslim families and Islamic content. *Amanah* can be considered as a pioneer of an Islamic press that is easy to read, popular and funny, with a strong orientation towards business and earning money. Only one-third of the content consisted of Islamic articles, with the rest being popular entertainment.

Three years after *Amanah*, *Ummi*, another commercial Islamic magazine targeting women was launched. As this magazine was successful, the editors of *Ummi* created a new magazine *Annida*, targeting Muslim girls. In the style of other magazines for the youth such as *Hai* or *Gadis*, *Annida* uses the language of the youth, *bahasa gaul* (slang language). Slang terms that are commonly used in these magazines are for example "banget" (a lot), "lho" (you), "tapi" (but), "kok", "nggak" (not/no), or "nih" (this). It is colourful and fun and contains a lot of advertisements for cosmetics, shops selling veils and Muslim clothes, Islamic music and so on.

As publishing became even less legally complicated in 1999, many more popular Islamic magazines started to be published, mostly targeting young Muslim women. These included such publications as *Nikah*, *Noor*, *Karima*, *El-Fata*, *Puteri*, *Muslimah*, *Permata* and many others. The formula that was used was "to serve Islam with a smile" ("*menyuguhkan Islam dengan senyum*").²⁰

To give a concrete example of how these trendy Islamic magazines make the veil and Islamic symbols in general more popular and fashionable, I will look closely at the February 2006 edition of the magazine *Muslimah*, addressed to young Muslim girls. On the

cover of the magazine, the title *Muslimah* is written in white and bright pink, decorated with yellow flowers on the side, the subtitle reads "Trend of the Islamic youth" (*Tren remaja Islam*) and below the title there is an image of one of Indonesia's young celebrities Zaskia Mecca, an 18-year-old girl, wearing pretty Muslim clothes and a fancy veil that is decorated with a band of small seashells. On page twenty we find the cover story about Zaskia, illustrated with photos, showing her with different veils and dresses. In the following article she tells us that it is very easy to wear a veil nowadays and that many artists have decided to make the veil an important part of their identity and everyday appearance (*banyak banget artis-artis yang menjadikan jilbab sebagai identitas penampilan mereka sehari-hari*).

The article then tells how the soap opera actress lived in glamour, wearing short and very tight clothes, going clubbing and to rave parties, even trying a little bit of alcohol, now admitting that it tasted really bad and that she would never try it again. She emphasises however that even though she was partying she never tried any drugs. This would maybe be too bad for her image. After a while, however, she suddenly realised that her life at that time, and that of her friends too, was empty and so she decided to return to the right track, the one of Allah. She changed her appearance, started to wear Muslim clothes and a veil. Finally she says she got back to the right way and was saved. She stopped clubbing and says that now, as she wears the veil, she is protected from many of the bad things in life. The veil just makes her feel safe and comfortable, *Alhamdulillah*, praise be to God, she says, smiling happily.

In almost all Muslim magazines there are reports of artists and how they were on the wrong path but all of a sudden realised this and changed their ways, started to wear the proper Islamic attire, such as the veil. In an interview with the UGM sociology professor Mbak Tia, I was told that Indonesians would forgive many sins of celebrities, such as drug or alcohol use or almost any sort of scandal if they just cried on camera, pleading that they were on the wrong path in the past but had now found their faith again and would return to the good Islamic way of life. Of course it is even more effective if this statement is underlined by starting to wear a veil. There are many examples of artists who have done just that, she tells me. You only have to turn on the TV or read popular magazines.

Besides the artist report of Zaskia, there are several other rubrics in this edition of *Muslimah*. There is however not one single photo of a woman or a girl without the veil. A large part of the magazine

is dedicated to fashion, for example showing how to look cool by wearing a veil for every type of personality. You can look sporty, hip-hop, sweet, or girly. The veil is by no means seen as uniform in these magazines, but as something that can help to express a personal, individual style. Besides fashion, there are also styling tips, including which model of veil and which colours look good with a certain face form. One example of a styling tip is that girls with darker skin should avoid dark coloured veils, such as dark brown, as this makes the skin look even darker. Other articles include information on how to make chocolate sweets and explanations of the health benefits of drinking milk. A further long article is about cellular phones and the phenomenon of trendy "hand phones" (*fenomena HP gaul*), and about trendy flip-flops. Interestingly, the feet are not covered by the girls in this magazine. Also the girl in the photo story wears a pink veil and jeans and wants to break up with her boyfriend, as she has seen him with another girl. In this edition the magazine *Muslimah* also looks for candidates who could become the model of the year 2006. Among other participation criteria, one has to wear a veil.

By looking through these magazines, we see that these veiled girls are shown as friendly, merry, polite and having a good character without being boring. It is shown that by wearing a veil, one can only win. Through these kinds of texts, Islam is seen to have a friendly and trendy image, and not to be a punishing religion. Instead of using the argument that if one does not veil one will go to hell, the veil is made attractive through the transmission of positive connotations linked to it. By reading and looking at magazines such as *Muslimah*, the question that arises is to what point has the veil just turned into a fashion accessory and to what extent is it still connected with religious convictions.

Veiled TV stars

It is hard to measure, as to how far TV contributes to making Islamic symbols attractive. It seems evident that many television programs and producers of soap operas or series have realised that Islam sells and see Muslims as a target group. According to Nuning, a writer for a magazine of cultural studies in Yogyakarta and a lecturer in media studies at UGM, it is only a rather recent phenomenon that women and girls wearing veils are seen on TV. According to her, the soap operas and series showing veiled women only start-

ed around Ramadan 2002 and only in the last two years began to become really popular. Another recent phenomenon is that of artists veiling and popular religious teachers giving speeches on TV.

The Islamic soap operas and TV series are very interesting, Nuning tells me, because within their story lines there exist mostly two types of women, one type being the ones wearing a veil, playing the good, soft and moral part, caring lovingly for everyone and on the other hand there are the ones not wearing a veil, living an easy life, causing disorder, mostly having an unbalanced and labile character. The clothes these women wear are rather sexy, clearly imitating the western clothing style or at least the way in which Indonesians imagine typical westerners dress. I myself have never seen a soap opera where the roles were switched, although it may happen in a storyline that a veiled woman makes mistakes, but she is always quick to regret her actions and to beg Allah for forgiveness. The equation "veiled woman equals good woman" and "unveiled woman equals bad woman" is obvious in these soaps and TV series. This is of course not directly transferable to the practices of everyday life, but the tendency to see veiled women as having higher moral principles was confirmed by almost all of my interview partners: Many commented that the veil prevents women from behaving badly as they are under stronger social pressure and expected to behave well.

As the demand for veiled actresses in Islamic soaps and other TV productions has increased, veiling is no longer deemed to hinder a celebrity's career development as a TV star. It could even be a criterion to be chosen for a certain role. I do however not see this as a one-way process of either the public wanting to see veiled actresses or the TV stations suddenly starting to show Islamic programs, but as a constant interaction resulting in Islamic symbols becoming increasingly popular and trendy and associated with a good image, at least among the majority of the population.

Nasyid – Islamic pop music

Apart from Islamic TV productions, Islamic novels, Islamic magazines and newspapers, other media sources have also contributed to making the veil popular, i.e. the *nasyid* group which makes music with Islamic lyrics. The style of music these groups make can vary from pop music, using drums and electric guitars, to reggae music such as the band "Mecca2Medina" featured in the February

2006 edition of “*Muslimah*”. Some however say that it is best to only use the instruments that existed in the time Muhammad lived or simply not to use instruments at all, only the voice. All of these music groups have one thing in common: they make music to praise Allah. One interview respondent told me that these are songs of love for Allah (*lagu-lagu cinta untuk Allah*). Some of these groups sing in Indonesian, some in Arabic, whilst others may even sing in English.

There are very famous *nasyid* bands in Indonesia, such as *Justice Voice*, *The Fikr* or *Ar-Ruhul Jadid*. Besides many male *nasyid* groups, there are also female groups that are famous in Indonesia and of course the singers are veiled. Such groups once again help to make Islam, Islamic teachings and also the lifestyle that goes with it become popular. One can attend *nasyid* concerts, download *nasyid* ring tones for one’s cellular phone or join fan clubs. If you go to a market in Yogyakarta selling pirated DVDs, CDs and VCDs, you can choose from a large variety of different *nasyid* groups and these discs sell well. There are however not only famous *nasyid* bands in Indonesia but also many small groups; almost every mosque usually has at least one band. Contests and many small concerts are organised, especially during Ramadan, when people gather to break the fast together.

Islamic pop music is however not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. In this context Indonesia’s first true entertainment superstar, Rhoma Irama has to be mentioned. Especially in the years 1975 – 1981, he was enormously influential and has changed the face of Indonesian music. Not only his work but also his outward appearance was strongly influenced by Islam—he had neatly trimmed hair and frequently wore a kind of Islamic dress of an “exotic Middle Eastern type”.²¹ Rhoma can therefore be seen as the father of Islamic pop music; however, he was not the first to make “Islamic” music as it were in the Indonesian context. According to Frederick, Ellya for example, a famous Indonesian *dangdut* singer, had already included lines like “Let’s go to the mosque together and pray” in songs from the late 1950s—the practice however never developed beyond an occasional mentioning of prayer or proper behaviour. Rhoma Irama, however, moved boldly into the arena of what can be designated as *dakwah* music, that is, music with a conscious Islamic message. He went as far as to include Qur’anic phrases in his compositions.²² Just like the *nasyid* bands, Rhoma Irama emphasized the validity of Muslim values in everyday life. Besides music, he also produced films based on Islamic values, and became very popular.

As Islamic music, Islamic TV productions and Islamic magazines have become popular, Islam as a whole has become popular. Shortly said, it is trendy to be Muslim and to show it.

Islamic consumerism

There is an ever expanding range of products for young Muslims. These products are similar to those designed for young people in many other places of the world and, thus, young Indonesian Muslims do not have to miss out on consuming. The trendy veil is just one example for the possibility of consuming, fulfilling the needs of being trendy and practicing a religious duty at the same time. Consumption is one of the crucial, defining experiences of the age, whether they are devout Muslims or not.²³ The city of Yogyakarta is filled with huge advertising billboards that dominate the cityscape. It seems to be difficult for anyone, and especially for young people such as students, to avoid the discourse of avid consumption. As Pam Nilan writes, "The reflexive youth culture of devout Muslim youth in Indonesia" there is "membership of urban youth style culture for Islamist youth typically signalled on the body, what you carry, where you go and what you do, how you speak and what you talk about, what music you prefer and who your heroes and heroines are".²⁴

According to Turner, identity is constructed through consumption: "The modern consuming self is a representational being. It is the surface of the body which is the target of advertising and self-promotion, just as it is the body surfaces which are the site of stigmatization".²⁵ Any Islamic symbol that is consumed can therefore be seen as an item of identity construction and representing the self. According to Turner "the notion of embodiment suggests that all of the fundamental processes of conception, perception, evaluation and judgement are connected to the fact that human beings are embodied social agents. It is not the case simply that human beings have a body but they are involved in the development of their bodies over their own life-cycle; in this respect, they are bodies".²⁶ The body is therefore becoming increasingly central to the modern person's sense of self-identity.

In his book "The consuming body" Paci Falk writes one chapter entitled "Selling good(s): on the genealogy of modern advertising"²⁷ that is especially interesting in the context of the economic perspective and the marketing of Islamic symbols. He notes that: "Modern

advertising operates almost exclusively with the positive register, depicting the happy and content soap user for whom there is always room even in a cramped lift rather than the distressed non user who is left out".²⁸ "The outcome must establish a positive link between the identified product and the "good" that characterizes it. The building of this link implies a metamorphosis in which the product transforms into representation – and it is this that modern advertising is basically about".²⁹ "This story is about how this world of goods becomes visible to the consumer and how this visibility constitutes a direct consumer-product relationship".³⁰

With the liberalisation of the media the time seems to be ripe for modern advertising, as modern advertising requires the development of as many channels of mass communication as possible, such as TV, radio, internet, newspapers, magazines, billboards or posters. This is, according to Turner, necessary so that the message can be addressed to the potential consumer *en masse* but also so that the consumer can be simultaneously "singled out" and addressed as an individual.³¹ According to Turner it is "this tendency to single out the individual that can be regarded as the distinctive characteristic of modern advertising. The individualizing mode of communication creates an imaginary relationship between the assumed consumer and the identified product that is personalized by means of positive characteristics, a relationship which appears to every consumer to be as unique as a romantic love affair".³²

Islamic symbols such as the veil have been the target of modern marketing strategies. The times seem to be over when religiosity seemed to limit consumption. In her thesis "*Konsumerisme religius: Etika agama dalam etos konsumsi*" (Religious Consumerism: The Ethics of Religion in the Consumptive Ethos), Sita Hidayah departs from the assumption that since around 2000, Islamic values have been bought and sold and that Islam has become part of the extensive consumer culture existing in Indonesia. Hidayah sees the new styles of veils as the most striking example of this phenomenon.³³

Let us look at how the veil is advertised in Yogyakarta and how this "romantic love affair", as Turner notes, is becoming established. The modern forms of advertising operating with positive registers have had a big influence in making the veil popular. Not only have the teachers of the Qur'an school started to inform people that one should wear the veil, but also business people have started to realize that one could make money by selling veils and Islamic clothes. Young Muslims in Indonesia in particular are a group with a large

potential buying power. In Yogyakarta there are many shops specializing in Muslim clothes, wherein many stalls in the market sell only veils and veil accessories, whilst others specialise in general Muslim fashion. Also department stores such as *Matahari* have special sections where Muslim fashion is sold. All of these shops and stalls do not just sell veils and Muslim clothes because they believe that it is a good thing for Muslim women to veil, hence for religious reasons, but also, or mainly, to earn money. Islamic symbols have become a lucrative business.

As previously mentioned, Muslim clothes and veils follow fashion trends in material, colour and cut. Fashion designers show their latest models at fashion parades. The largest designer association is the Designer Association of Indonesian Fashion Entrepreneurs (*Asosiasi Perancang Pengusaha Mode Indonesia*, or APPMI). The carefully selected designers that join this organisation work together with *Gramedia*, the largest bookshop and book publisher in Indonesia, and constantly publish books showing the latest fashion trends. The shops selling Muslim fashion therefore also follow the fashion trends.

In Yogyakarta some stores have focused especially on young customers, with the biggest and best known being *Karita*. This store, with its pink décor and trendy posters, opened in 2002. The current shop is two floors, but there are already plans to expand because of the overwhelming success of the business. The ground floor has a wide range of clothes such as long embroidered skirts and all sorts of different tops made from materials such as batik and silk. Upstairs there is a range of scarves and hats in every colour and cloth imaginable, as well as the accessories to go with them. All of the clothes sold there have one thing in common – Islamic fashion. Some items are tight, some are loose, and they all have two main functions: the first being to cover the *aurat*, the part of the body that the Qur'an requires believers to cover, and the second and probably more important function, to make the wearer look good.³⁴

When I went to *Karita* for the second time to look at all of the different garment styles again, I chose a relatively quiet morning in order to have time to talk to the shop assistant and to ask her which styles were trendy at the moment. She told me that currently veils in light pink and gold were selling very well because they would easily match with many styles of dresses. The young woman wearing a beautiful golden-coloured veil decorated with a band of pearls told me that people normally decorate their veils with bands or pearls in

a matching colour. She then showed me some of the latest models and demonstrated how to wear each of them. I was sitting there for more than half an hour and she placed all different models of veils on my head and after every model exclaimed how sweet I looked wearing this or that model of veil, telling me which ones especially matched the colour of my skin or the shape of my face or the shirt I was wearing. Finally I ended up buying a light purple one. She told me that she often helps girls with choosing veils and shows them different styles of wearing them. Bigger groups can also benefit from the opportunity to have a veil demonstration at their house, school or mosque for free. She really was a good saleswoman and of course only mentioned the positive aspects of the veil and how it made me look nice.

Another popular shop for young Muslims near UGM is *Jilbabers* ("Veilers"). The target group is young trendy girls who wear the *jilbab* and have money to spend. None of these shops use negative appeals to advertise their clothes. They advertise exclusively with positive appeals, making the veil look friendly and trendy.

Looking at the staff or the clients of such shops, it becomes obvious that spending a lot of money on clothes or veils and to trying to look as good as possible does not conflict with their efforts to be good Muslims. Tara, a UGM student of the medical faculty, who likes to buy different veils and spend money on them tells me that at least she is spending her money on something "good". I realised that many fellow students followed this logic, that is, that it is better to spend money on veils because the veil is something "good", something that Allah likes. Some of the girls wearing long veils or *cadars*, however, told me that one should not consume too much, that one should be happy without too many material goods.

A problem however that some see when spending too much money on veils and fashion in general is that one of the reasons to veil, namely not to attract men, is fading away. Many Indonesians do not agree however that one should not attract attention by veiling. In their eyes it is written in the Qur'an and Sunnah that a woman should cover her hair but not that she should not look stylish and trendy by wearing her veil. In the eyes of many Indonesian Muslims, one can be trendy and fulfil ones religious duty at the same time – thanks to the new good-looking veils.

“Islamising” Products – Islam sells

With the growing popularity of Islamic products, marketing agents have cottoned on the fact that Muslim consumers constitute a lucrative consumer group. The good image of Islam is therefore used to sell all sorts of products. For the marketing of these products, Islamic symbols are used, such as the colour green (Muhammad’s favourite colour), calligraphic writing or models wearing Muslim clothes, which of course includes women wearing veils. Advertisers not only use the good image that Islam in Indonesia nowadays commonly has, but also help a great deal in constructing and reconstructing it in a continuing interaction. The consequence of this process is the reinforcement of the good, polite, friendly, peaceful and trendy image of Islam in Indonesia, as not only Muslims but also big marketing companies seem to benefit from it. Islam sells.

In Yogyakarta for example, an omnipresent advertisement in the city in 2005 and 2006 was a banner of a shampoo advertisement showing the famous Indonesian model and actress Inneke Koesharawati who, in the 1980s, wore quite sexy clothes but now wears a veil. The shampoo she advertises for is *Sunsilk hijau* (green) and was specially developed for women wearing a veil. It should make the scalp stay fresh and stop the loss of hair. The colour green is not chosen accidentally but rather because it is associated with Islam. It is quite unique for a shampoo advertisement that one cannot see the hair of the model—a woman with a veil. The veil she is wearing of course suits her very well and matches her greenish dress. Below the shampoo there is a slogan stating: “*Hati sejuk, kepala dingin*” (A fresh (satisfied) heart, a cool head). Inneke is smiling happily down upon the streets of Yogyakarta. Other shampoo brands have followed the example of *Sunsilk* and have also developed special shampoos for Muslim women wearing veils.

Apart from shampoo, some cosmetic brands also focus on the needs of Muslim women, for example *Wardah*, with the slogan *Kosmetika suci dan aman* (Holy and safe cosmetics), also written in green and using calligraphic writing in the logo design. These products guarantee that they are free from pork or other ingredients that are forbidden for Muslims—they are *halal*. Besides the usual cosmetic products such as lipsticks, make-up and eye shadow, many whitening products are also sold; as with other Asian nations, it is trendy in Indonesia to be as white as possible.

When it comes to selling products in the name of Islam one man is especially popular and has become rich by this strategy: Abdullah

Gymnastiar, or Aa Gym as he is commonly known. He is a very famous religious teacher in Indonesia, often speaking on TV, where he has his own show. Besides this lucrative occupation, he also produced his own brand *Qolbu*, which can be translated as “heart” or “soul”. He publishes books for example carrying the title “*Jagalah hati: step by step manajemen Qolbu*” (Guard your heart: managing your soul step-by-step). There are books for beginners in “*manajemen Qolbu*”, but also those for more advanced readers having already read the first book. If one has problems in the process of becoming a better person through Islamic philosophy, this is what these books promise: one can contact Aa Gym’s team by email and write about one’s problems. Besides many books, he has also created *Qolbu* Cola, similar to Coca Cola but “better for your soul”. He has special *Qolbu* supermarkets in Bandung, *Qolbu* cafés where one can drink *Qolbu* Cola and read books about *Qolbu*, and he has even designed *Qolbu* motorbikes. All these products are sold using the name of Islam. His marketing strategies using positive Islamic registers seem fascinating and reflect the trend that Islam sells very well and once again reinforces the positive, friendly image of Islam.

Besides the above-mentioned products, other examples of products aimed at Muslims include *Mecca Cola* or *Zam-Zam* drinking water. There are also businesses aimed at Muslims, such as Islamic banks, where of course the female staffs are veiled, offering financial solutions adapted to Islamic law. There are special travel agents for Muslims and special hair dressers for women wearing the veil where only women are allowed to enter. The trend of “Islamising” products becomes especially visible during Ramadan, when McDonald’s, KFC and many other restaurants and bakeries suddenly have special Ramadan packages and use Islamic symbols and green colours for decoration in order to attract Muslims. At McDonald’s in Yogyakarta, for example, female staffs are obliged to wear the veil during Ramadan. This is also the case at KFC³⁵ and some other restaurants.

Not only do private companies make money by “selling Islam”, but also the Indonesian state. Every year around 30,000 Indonesian Muslims depart for their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The Indonesian state airline *Garuda* has the monopoly on flying pilgrims to Mecca. When the hajj journey can easily cost 5,000 US Dollars,³⁶ the pilgrimage is a very lucrative business for the Indonesian government.

Another example is the label “*halal*” to be found on almost any food packaging. This label is very important for many Muslims as it guarantees that Islamic food and slaughtering regulations are fulfilled. The only institution, however, that has the power to supply this label is the MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia), the committee of the most important and learned Muslims in Indonesia, which is very powerful. The label is however not for free – the consumer has to pay a kind of tax for every item bought with the label “*halal*” on it, costing 10.-Rp. (around 0,001 Euro) and that goes to the Indonesian government.³⁷

Ramadan Hedonism

When talking about consumption and Islam, I think it is worth mentioning the situation to be found in Yogyakarta during Ramadan, the Islamic fasting month, when, in the eyes of many, “Islamic hedonism” reaches its peak. Along many streets, also around the campus of UGM, a lot of small stalls are set up and drinks and light snacks are sold for the breaking of the fast in the evening. Many people go to spend time with friends and there are many events during the whole month to eat together after a long day of fasting. The major attraction of some of the “Ramadan strips”, such as *Jalan Kaliurang* passing by Gadjah Mada University, is not so much the refreshments sold to people breaking their fast for the day, but the opportunity to show off one’s style and wealth. Most of the vendors who set up a shop are not “career salespeople” but “opportunistic salespeople”. The atmosphere is festive and funky with the sounds of the latest electronic or rock music reverberating from expensive car sound systems. The casual visitor might actually be surprised to see what happens on this city street in the name of restraining desire. The music pounds, young people flirt and everyone is dressed in their best clothes. The students hanging out there see no problem in being religious and having fun - they still fast. That is part of the game. Discipline and hedonism are no longer seen as incompatible.

On *Idul Fitri*, the big celebration at the end of Ramadan, everyone should wear a new dress. This seems to be an unwritten rule in Indonesia that everyone seems to follow. The stores, especially those selling Islamic clothes, are therefore very crowded in this month. Critical voices can be heard saying that the shopping malls seem to become the new mosques, that the mosques move to the malls

(*masjid pindah ke mall*), as the mosques seem to get emptier the closer it gets to *Idul Fitri*, the end of Ramadan. Critics say this consumerist culture distracts people from the real meaning of Ramadan. While this criticism is mostly diplomatic in form, it can also find violent expressions. In the year 2001, for example, a “sweeping” was carried out in Yogyakarta. Over several days, dozens of activists of the *Gerakan Pemuda Ka’abab* (Ka’abab Youth Movement or GPK), a militant Islamic group, accosted amateur vendors, destroyed several cars, and forced women to veil. Apparently, however, the GPK’s attempts to enforce its own version of piety failed to impress and a week after the “sweepings” ended, people came back to their Ramadan hangout. In Jakarta these “sweepings” are much more violent and carried out by groups such as the *Front Pembela Islam* (Islamic Defenders Front or FPI). In the past years “places of sin” were especially targeted, such as places where drugs are known to be sold, prostitution, gambling and drinking alcohol.³⁸

The limits of Islamic pop culture: Opinions of activists of Islamic student organisations

At UGM there are four large active Islamic student organisations. Their main difference is their understanding and interpretation of the Qur’an and Sunnah, and this has consequences on how they dress, how they hold their meetings, and how they interact.

The most critical organisation towards this new form of Islamic pop culture was KAMMI. KAMMI is the acronym of *Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia* (Unity of action of Muslim students in Indonesia). This Islamic student organisation was founded in 1998, before President Soeharto’s resignation.³⁹

KAMMI is the most formalistic of the larger Islamic student organisations. According to this organisation’s members, Islamic precepts should be based on the Qur’an and Sunnah – reports of what the Prophet said, did, and tacitly approved or disapproved of.⁴⁰ In the opinion of KAMMI activists, not everyone is able to interpret these sources of Islamic law, but rather this is the work of Islamic jurists. According to their interpretation of the Qur’an and Sunnah, forms of Islamic pop culture such as the trendy veil do not conform to Islamic teachings. The female members of KAMMI wear long veils, long skirts and socks, not the short veils and jeans common to many. KAMMI activists do, however, also see a positive side to the trendy veil. That is that more and more people are becoming inter-

ested in learning more about Islam, and some are wearing the veil because of this. That being said, there are still the critical voices who argue that girls wearing short veils with revealing clothes, hanging around with boys will harm the image of Islam.

Many activists are also critical towards Islamic TV series, especially the ones that combine Islamic content with Javanese ghost stories. Such syncretistic TV productions are very popular in Indonesia but have also been sharply criticised by orthodox Muslims. In recent times a compromise has been made to ensure that Muslims are not misled by such TV programs: At the end of the broadcast an Islamic scholar gives a speech for about five minutes on the “real” values of Islam. This is just one example that shows how forms of Islamic pop culture are negotiated.

The other three Islamic student organisations are not as textual as KAMMI in their interpretations of the Qur’an. The female activists of the Student Association of Muhammadiyah (*Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah*, or IMM), for example, wear trendy veils and jeans.⁴¹ The activists of IMM I met see in forms of Islamic pop culture a chance to promote Islam, wherein one should not try to evade global influences. Veiling is seen as a religious obligation, the trendy veil, however, is fine and one should not exaggerate by wearing veils that are too long. Furthermore, the *aurat*, meaning the body except the hands and the face, should be covered and the veil should not be used to deliberately attract men. They explained that Islamic pop culture becomes problematic at the point in which it becomes fully detached from Islamic values and beliefs. The veil for example should not just become a fashion accessory and should link up to one’s actions, wherein one has to live according to Islamic values, be a good person, help others and believe in Allah. This is the most important issue and as long as one keeps these values in mind, one can combine a veil with jeans and listen to *nasyid* music or to anything else one likes.

The Islamic student organisation *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (Association of Islamic Students, or HMI) was founded in 1947, just two years after Indonesian independence. It is the oldest Islamic student organisation in Indonesia⁴² and also the most heterogeneous one. According to HMI thought, there nothing wrong with the trendy veil—as one of the most conspicuous symbols of Islamic pop culture—and in fact it seems to be a good way of making Islam more popular. Agus, one of the leaders of HMI Dipo from Gadjah Mada University I met, thinks that Islam has to be *gaul*, meaning

trendy. Agus points out that when the Prophet Muhammad lived, living conditions were different, and if he had lived in contemporary Indonesia a lot might have been different. He sees the veil, as well as other practices, as a pre-Islamic phenomenon and not as an "invention" of Islam. That is, the veil is one expression of hybridisation of the local culture with the new religion, wherein a local tradition was integrated into the new religion. He does therefore not perceive the practice of veiling as a religious obligation that a woman has to follow, but more as an Islamic symbol to state one's identity.

From the very beginning Islam was a hybrid religion, as Muhammad did not live in a cultural vacuum. The contemporary forms of Islamic pop culture are therefore just the normal order of things and should be accepted and used to make Islam develop, to become and stay popular. Agus warns, however, against using Islamic symbols too extensively, as they can also serve to exclude others, as is the case for example when women wear long veils or *cadars*. In his eyes, exclusivity starts when social interaction with other people becomes limited. The spirituality has to be a social one, not one specific to a certain group. Everyone should be able to read and interpret the Qur'an as long as one is convinced that this interpretation is right and in accordance with the ideals of Islam.⁴³

The activists of *Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia* (Movement of Indonesian Islamic students, or PMII) also see the phenomenon of Islamic pop culture mainly as a chance for Islam in general in Indonesia. PMII was born from the big Islamic organisation Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) that was founded in 1926. It took this organisation quite some time before it became autonomous in 1965.⁴⁴ Hybridisation as a process of cultural transactions and assimilation with the local culture has always been one of the aims of NU as well as PMII. Contrary to Muhammadiyah, NU favoured syncretistic forms of Islam with the local Javanese culture and never understood the Qur'an in a very textual manner. Also, the activists of PMII believe, just as many members of HMI do, that during the time of Muhammad Islam was influenced by the local culture of that period and place.

Thus, today Islam should be adapted to contemporary circumstances. Concerning clothes, Imung, who holds quite a high position in PMII, tells me there are certain occasions when it may be suitable to veil, for example for demonstrating or for other formal occasions, but others where it would be disturbing, such as when the members of PMII go to spend a day on the beach. He says that this would be

too hot for the body and therefore not something that is good. In these kinds of circumstances it is acceptable to wear simply a shirt and jeans, there is nothing wrong if one does not wear a veil, however the important thing is to guard the heart (*"Cukuplah memakai kaos, celana jins, jilbab ndak ditutup kan enggak salah, yang penting hati tetap kita jaga"*).

In regard to new Islamic commercial products such as TV series, books or cosmetics, PMII activists do not have any concerns. What is important however is that one lives in an Islamic way, meaning that one is a good person and always keeps the essential Islamic values in mind. What PMII wants is an "Islamisation" of Indonesia that is in accordance with the local traditions, and not "Arabisation" (*"Kembali ke yang diinginkan PMII, itu Islamisasi yang sesuai dengan tradisi-tradisi di Indonesia, bukan Arabisasi"*). Global influences from the Middle East should thus be adapted to the local tradition as well, just as global influences from the west should.

Conclusion

This article presents a picture of Indonesian pop culture which I believe transmits both a sense of complexity and of the detailed interrelations among its forms. As it has been shown, each element in the kaleidoscope has its own distinctive characteristics, styles and manners.

In the different ways Islam is contemporarily expressed and lived, a hybridisation process is reflected that shows the challenges Indonesian Muslims face in integrating, rejecting or adapting global influences from the western world as well as from the Islamic Middle Eastern countries. The example of the trendy veil shows how these global influences are integrated in locality and how locality is assimilated with global trends. Young people in particular are creative in constructing their own identity as each variant of veiling embodies a different attitude towards Islam. What brings them together is a common social context in which no single element can be understood without reference to the others. The complexity of borrowing, avoidance, suppression and irony takes us beyond this purely formal and structuralist insight. Within a certain frame, individuals find creative ways and play an active role in constantly constructing and reconstructing meanings of symbols, for example of the veil. My aim has thus been to show how political and social tensions affect religious expressions, how they shape and mutate it,

without neglecting the especially active role the youth plays in this very dynamic process.

This study on the varieties of expression Islam finds in Javanese society stands in a long tradition of a number of excellent studies such as Beatty (1999), Brenner (1996), Geertz (1960, 1984), Gibson (2000), Hanneman and Schulte Nordholt (2004), Hefner (1987, 1993, 1999, 2002), Howell (2001), Hudson (1986), Koentjaraningrat (1980), Muzakki (2005), Van Dijk (1997), Woodward (1989) and many others. Many of these works, however, have one weakness in common: they tend, to a great extent, to present local Javanese tradition as well as Islam as static and homogenous. Usually if change and transformation processes are described, this is done under consideration of external influences or structural changes, for example in politics that then have an influence on the varieties of expressions Islam finds. The important role that the active and creative individual plays within these structural constraints is very often neglected, if not omitted. It was my aim to integrate this aspect of individual agency without neglecting structural constraints in the analysis. I chose to focus on students as I perceive them to be a particularly active social group and a driving force in the process of social change. In many studies, for example in Geertz's (1960) famous book of *"The Religion of Java"*, one may furthermore gain the impression that there exist three religious variants and that the practitioners inhabit separate worlds, with each being consistent in his or her separate identity. My interest lies in the compromise and ambivalence which cannot be captured by a categorical opposition. I start with the idea that many students take elements from different traditions and also use global influences to constantly construct their identity – they constantly compromise, switch and make up daily life in mixed communities, where religious orientation is just one among many other parameters that define one's position in a fast changing world. It seems important to me to consider how religious orientations influence other spheres of social life, for example how it affects attitudes towards consumption. I agree with Beatty in the point that a strictly typological approach, which many authors on Javanese religiosity have taken, cannot register this kind of complexity.⁴⁵

With this article I hope to have made a small contribution to the large and very diverse field of studies in transformation processes and religious diversity in Javanese society. By taking Islamic symbols as a concrete example of showing how global influences are assimilated in locality and how students use religious symbols to

construct their identities, I also want to react to simplistic and often ethnocentric explanations that associate for example women's veiling almost exclusively with seclusion and patriarchal suppression and control. I hope to have been able to show that Islamic symbols are complex and that the meaning attributed to them is not endemic but rather produced through cultural discourse and vast networks of social relationship. Meanings of Islamic symbols are thus often fluid and change depending on the context and may find many diverse expressions in everyday life practice.

Endnotes

1. Gerd Gemünden, *The Depth of the Surface, or, What Rolf Dieter Brinkmann Learned from Andy Warhol*. *German Quarterly*, 68: 3, Summer 1995: p. 235.
2. Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol '60s* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), p. 134.
3. Gemünden, p. 244.
4. Pam Nilan and Carles Feixa, "Introduction: youth hybridity and plural worlds", in Pam Nilan and Carles Feixa (Ed.), *Global Youth? Hybrid identities, plural worlds* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 2.
5. Nilan and Feixa 2006, p. 7.
6. Ibid.
7. Pam Nilan, "The reflexive youth culture of devout Muslim youth in Indonesia". In: Pam Nilan and Carles Feixa (Ed.). *Global Youth? Hybrid identities, plural worlds* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p.92.
8. Ibid., p. 107.
9. Ibid., p. 93.
10. Non-Muslims are excluded from the Islamic lifestyle. The new forms of Islamic pop culture have also discriminating aspects. To play and be creative with Islamic symbols is reserved for Muslims. It is not common for Christian or Hindu students to veil, to read Islamic magazines or to attend *nasyid* concerts. Not only are non-Muslims excluded from this Islamic lifestyle, but they also do not gain advantages from the good image that especially veiled girls benefit from. This is one point where the idea of Islamic pop culture, where everything seems possible, reaches its limits in everyday life.
11. Henk Schulte Nordholt (Ed.), *Outward Appearances: Dressing state and society in Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1997), p. 3.
12. Brian S. Turner, Preface, in *Parci Falk: The Consuming Body* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), p. xiii.
13. Erving Goffman, *The presentation of self in everyday life* (Great Britain: Pelican Books, 1959), p. 13.
14. Ibid., p. 26.
15. Ibid., p. 13.
16. Horst Jürgen Helle, *Symbolic Interaction and Verstehen* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 54.
17. Nilan and Feixa 2006, p. 9.
18. By Islamic press I understand the press which serves the needs of the Islamic community, in material form, political needs as well as in form of values. See Alia Swastika, "Media Massa Islam Indonesia". 13th Edition. Yogyakarta: KUNCI Cultural Studies Centre, 2003, p. 12.
19. Swastika, p.12.

20. Ibid., p.13.
21. William H. Frederick, "Rhoma Irama and the Dangdut Style: Aspects of contemporary Indonesian Popular Culture", *Indonesia* (34), 1982: p. 115.
22. Ibid., 116.
23. Nilan, p. 94.
24. Ibid.
25. Turner, p. xiii.
26. Ibid., p.xi.
27. Ibid, 151-185.
28. Ibid., p.155.
29. Ibid., p.156.
30. Ibid., p.157.
31. Ibid., p.159.
32. Ibid., p.160.
33. Sita Hidayah, *Konsumerisme religius: Etika agama dalam etos konsumsi* (Yogyakarta: Skripsi. Jurusan Anthropologi Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM, 2004), p.5ff.
34. Jessica Champagne, *Jilbab Gaul* (Bali: Latitudes Nov. 2004), Vol. 46: p. 15.
35. Interestingly, female employees at KFC are only allowed to wear the veil during Ramadan, not the other months. The female staffs at McDonald's, however, are free to choose.
36. Hidayah, p.60.
37. Ibid., p.77.
38. Antariksa, *Fasting*, (Bali: Latitudes Nov. 2002), Vol 22: 13-16.
39. Nur Ikhwan Rahmanto, "Islam dan Masyarakat dalam Pandangan Gerakan Mahasiswa Islam. Suatu Kajian Antropologis Mengenai Gerakan Mahasiswa Islam dan Aktivistis Mahasiswa Islam". Yogyakarta: Skripsi (Jurusan Anthropologi Fakultas Ilmu Budaya UGM, 2005), p.69.
40. Neal Robinson, *Islam: A concise Introduction* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), p. 67.
41. Muhammadiyah was founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta as an organisation dedicated to Islamic modernism. As Gibson notes: "The sort of reformed Islam advocated by this movement stressed individual reason, learning from printed texts, the absolute authority of scripture, and a rejection of all "innovations" in ritual. It was particularly hostile to organized Sufi orders and even traditional schools of law, in both of which a pupil is expected to accept the authority of a master". See Thomas Gibson, *Islam and the Spirit Cults in New Order Indonesia: Global Flows vs. Local Knowledge* (Indonesia, 2000), p. 52.
42. Rahmanto, p.52.
43. Also Ernest Gellner, among many others, shares the perception of Islam as an open source that can be read and understood in differ-

ent ways. He writes in the foreword to the book "Islam, globalisation and postmodernity": "Christianity has its Bible belt: Islam is a Qur'an belt. So Islam became a kind of permanent or cyclical reformation". See Gellner, p. xii.

44. Rahmanto, p.63.

45. Andrew Beatty, *Varieties of Javanese Religion. An Anthropological Account* (Cambridge (etc.): Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 115-116.

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