

## ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL DISCOURSE: ANALYSIS OF KIAI'S ATTRIBUTION TO MUSLIM WOMAN

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### Abstract

Muslim women in this study are the clothes they wear. Muslim women's clothes continues to develop, many new trends emerge. Fashion show activities, artists involved in Muslim fashion trends, to shopping centers that provide various models of Muslim clothing. The diversity of Muslim styles is a new phenomenon that requires specific Islamic studies to provide objective observations to enlighten Muslims in living life. Islamic studies, one of which was born from the role and contribution of pesantren. Pesantren is the oldest Islamic educational institution in Indonesia, and Kiai, through his pesantren, always takes part in setting policies in pesantren. The movement and role of the Kiai are not only given to the pesantren he leads but also to the phenomena that occur in the community outside the pesantren. For example, the trend of Muslim fashion among women.

The focus of this research is 1) What is the process of forming the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes?; 2) What is the model of the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes?. And as for the purpose of this study is to analyze the process of forming the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes; To analyze the attribution model of the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes. The research method used is a qualitative research method, and the type of research used is phenomenology. This research uses interview, observation, and documentation research techniques.

The results of this study are the kiai's attribution to women's clothing is the kiai's perception of the phenomenon of Muslim Women's Clothes. 1) The process of forming the kiai's attribution, starting with the phenomena that occurred in Jember, was then interpreted based on the yellow book. The attribution of the Kiai states that there is a standard to cover the aurat. They agree on the obligation to cover the genitals (Satrul Aura); 2) The kiai's attribution model regarding Women's Clothes is moderate and pivots on the principle of covering aurat and not rejecting current fashions and trends. Tolerance attitude. The kiai's attribution model is based on sources of the Islamic law that form a collective agreement and form a sub-culture. The most important principle underlying the kiai's attribution is to live in harmony and mutual respect—tolerance between those who wear hijab and those who do not become the concentration of the Kiai.

Keywords: *Kiai's Attribution, Muslim Women*

## A. Research Context

This research is motivated by a unique social phenomenon regarding women's clothing in Jember. Changes in women's clothing in Jember have developed, many Jember people wear hijabs, and Muslim women dress to wear the niqab. However, many are also wrapped in Korean-style Muslim women. This study wants to reveal how the attribution of Kiai is related to the phenomenon of women's clothing. With the existence of a policy regarding Muslim women's dress in the pesantren environment, this proves the kiai's view regarding how to dress a woman until there is a belief that you are in a pesantren environment, a Muslim woman must wear a hijab and a robe.

Muslim clothing continues to develop. Many new trends emerge. Fashion show activities, artists involved in Muslim fashion trends, to shopping centers that provide various models of Muslim clothing. As time goes by, the fashion industry increases by producing new and different fashion models to meet changing lifestyles and trends. Many factors drive change to create fashion behavior that shows a lifestyle. This behavior is influenced by cultural, environmental, gender, and technological factors. Many women use syar'i clothing and even veils (niqab), and also many women use Muslim clothes with Korean-style dress styles. Women wear models of Muslim clothing, from traditional to modern, with various patterns, materials, and types. Clothing is also seen as an expression of the Muslim religion and is a demand for today's trends. (Inayatul Ulya, 2018: 97-120)

The movement and role of the Kiai are not only to orchestrate the pesantren but also to the phenomena that occur in the community outside the pesantren. Muslim clothing does not escape the scrutiny of the Kiai. The kiai's view regarding women's clothing is that the clothes that should be worn are clothes that do not show the body's curves (Initial observation, Kiai Abdul Wasik: 2020). In the Qur'an QS (7) verse 6, it is explained that clothes function as jewelry. In addition, Eliyyil Akbar (2015: 61), in his research, states that clothes are used as protection from heat, enemy attacks, and rain as described in the Qur'an Surah An-Nahl verse 81.

Regarding clothing, Imam Shafi'i explained that women were not allowed to decorate (*tazayyun bi tsiyab*). It means that the prohibited clothes are all clothes to amaze humans. Based on this opinion, it does not mean that Islam forbids dressing beautifully and nicely. Still, the most important thing is that there is no element of arrogance with no aspect of amazing people to themselves. In the book of Al-Umm chapter, clothes in

prayer are stated: "And every woman is nakedness except the two palms of her face." (Imam Syafi'ie in Eliyyil Akbar, 2015: 161). Based on this perspective, the essence of dressing is covering the aurat. Excellent and beautiful clothes still cover the nakedness.

Ahmad Hasan (1999: 13) states that Islam does not forbid its followers to dress according to current fashions or trends, as long as they do not conflict with Islamic principles. Islam hates the way of dressing like the clothes of the ignorant, which show curves of the body that invites evil and disobedience. The concept of Islam is to take benefit and reject harm.

Based on this argument, the diversity of Muslim clothing is a new phenomenon that requires specific Islamic studies to provide objective observations. A study entitled "Islamic Boarding School Discourse: Analysis of Kiai's Attributions to Women's Clothing in Jember" was conducted.

#### **B. Research Focus**

1. What is the process of forming the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes?
2. What is the model of the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes?

#### **C. Research Objectives**

1. To analyze the process of forming the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes;
2. To analyze the attribution model of the kiai's attribution to Women's Clothes.

#### **D. Previous Studies**

This previous study contains previous studies related to attribution and Muslim clothing. There are several studies and writings related to this research, including:

*First*, the research conducted by Inayatul Ulya about the cosmopolitan Muslim lifestyle resulted in the Muslimah Cosmopolitan Lifestyle being an expression of modern Muslim religious diversity in accommodating Islamic law and the demands of today's trends. The study of popular culture is one approach to Islamic studies that will be able to uncover the many phenomena that appear on the surface, including the event of the Election of Indonesian Muslim Women so that it can be distinguished which elements of shari'ah, the necessity of being accommodative to culture and the capitalization of religion which tends to make religion tools for financial gain.

*Second*, it is almost the same as the research conducted by Pupilan among IAIN Purwokerto students about the fashion phenomenon in the struggle for Muslim identity. The study results found that in Muslim women's clothing, IAIN Purwokerto students have three motives, namely the past, present, and future. In the past, it was found that the

motive for wearing Muslim clothing was based on compulsion and religious reasons. In today's explanations, it is found the reason that Muslim women's dress is a current trend. Students want to continue to be Istithmar in Muslim clothing for future motives, even to their descendants later.

*Third*, it is different from the research conducted by Gatot Sukendro et al. about the Fetishism Value of Hijab Style Commodities (veils and headscarves) in Muslim clothing. Gatot knows the value of commodity fetishism in hijab styles (veils and headscarves). The analysis results show a commodity fetishism value in hijab products. Through this research, Muslim women select and sort out the covers and headscarves by the rules of the Qur'an and sunnah. Thus, hijab designers and producers are expected to be guided by the Qur'an and sunnah in designing their hijab products.

*Fourth*, research that has been published in the International Journal of Asian Social Science entitled Growing Popularity Of Muslim Attire: Faith or Fashion? This study surveyed 150 women using a structured questionnaire on 14 variables. The research results conducted by Mashruha Zabeen et al. show that religious obligations, beauty, and the influence of opinion from leaders have a positive relationship with the increasing popularity of Muslim clothing.

*Fifth*, it is different from the research conducted by Afroza Akter Rita with the title Assertion of Wearing Hijab in The Community: An Analysis. Primary data collection and surveys in this study were based on hijab users. The role of social influences women to wear the hijab. The approach in this research is quantitative, carried out by more than one hundred women who wear hijab in Bangladesh. In this study, we tried to analyze the participants' thoughts and statements about the awareness of wearing the hijab. During the survey, it was found that 74.19% of respondents agreed that the hijab would become a part of fashion; 19.35% of respondents agreed to wear the hijab because of the new style; 25.8% of respondents agreed to wear the hijab because they take care of their hair.

Some of the results of these studies have the theme of women's clothing and hijab. The majority reveal the phenomenon of women's clothing and why they wear Muslim dress. So far, none of these studies have uncovered and conducted research on the attribution of Kiai to women's clothing. This research focuses on the process and model of the kiai's attribution to the phenomenon of Muslim women's clothing in Jember. The Kiai in this study were 1) KH. Abdullah Samsul Arifin, the caretaker of the

Darul Arifin Islamic boarding school, Bangsal-Jember; 2) KH. Muhyiddin, the Antirogo-Jember Nurul Islam Islamic boarding school; 3,) KH. Rosidi Baihaqi, the caretaker of the Miftahul Ulum Islamic boarding school in Kalisat-Jember; 4) KH. Abdul Wasik, the caretaker of the Al-Barokah Pesantren An-Nur Khumairoh Ajung-Jember; 6) KH. Pujino, the Mangli-Jember Islamic boarding school; and 7) KH. Badruttamam, the caretaker of the Nurul Qornain Islamic Boarding School in Sukowono, Jember. The seven Kiai have an educational background in Salaf, Modern, and Khalaf.

## **E. Theoretical Study**

### **1. Discourse on Islamic Boarding Schools and Women's Clothes**

A pesantren is one of the traditional Islamic educational institutions whose students live together and are guided by the kyai in studying religious knowledge. (Imron Arifin, 1993: 6) Meanwhile, Abdurrahman Wahid stated that pesantren is a place for santri to live. (Abdurrahman Wahid, 2010: 62) Islamic boarding schools emphasize religious, moral aspects so that they can be used as guidelines for daily behavior and pesantren are traditional Islamic educational institutions to study, understand, appreciate and practice the teachings of Islam. (Mastuhu: 55) According to the records of the Directorate of Islamic Education of the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, in 2015 throughout Indonesia, there were 25,938 Islamic boarding schools with 3,962,700 students, of which 82.2% of the pesantren were located on the island of Java (ditpdpontren.kemenag.go.id ). Some of the main elements that make the difference between education in Islamic boarding schools and other educational institutions in Indonesia that make pesantren unique are kyai, santri, mosques, huts or dormitories, and the teaching of classical Islamic books. (Zamachsyari Dhofier, 1994: 44)

Education for male and female students is generally carried out separately. This separation is done to make it easier to educate and supervise them. In establishing a law, Islamic boarding schools place the opinions of fiqh scholars in classical books (the yellow book) as their backing. The application of gender segregation in the pesantren environment is based on the Qur'an and classical texts. In addition to the separation, the regulations and sanctions for violating these regulations were also emphasized.

Such pesantren regulations also apply to people in the pesantren environment or to people who visit the pesantren. There are also some pesantren that provide

regulations for pesantren visitors, such as in PP Al-Qodiri Jember and YPP Al-Barokah An-Nur Jember. Most of the female visitors are wearing robes. Because if you don't wear a robe, you will feel uncomfortable.

In Islamic teachings, clothing is not just culture and fashion. Islam has given certain restrictions for both men and women. Muslim women have unique clothes that show their identity as Muslim women. If traditional clothing is local, then Muslim clothing is universal. That is, it can be wherever the woman is. Several standard criteria for women's fashion must be considered (Farid L. Ibrahim, 2011: 26). Muslim women must pay attention to the clothes she wears when she leaves the house and meets a man who is not her mahram. According to Islam, this procedure is a dressing procedure ( Shaykh Muhammad Nasiruddin al-Bani, 2000: 1).

Muslim dress is not only an obligation. It can also protect the body from various natural conditions, one of which is sun exposure.

Muslim clothing can also be interpreted as a hijab because Muslim clothing is synonymous with the hijab. In Islamic jurisprudence, the hijab means a covering garment that covers the entire body. There are differences of opinion among fuqaha regarding the hijab. One of them states that the hijab is a bracketed shirt (mula'ah) that covers the entire woman's body, except for the eyes. Another opinion says that the hijab is a kind of veil (rida ') covering the top to the bottom of a woman's body, including the face (Manshor Abdul Qadir, 2012: 254-255)

## 2. Social Perception Model

Perception theory is used in this research to understand the influence that can shape one's perception. Perception is a process experienced by individuals in interpreting the sense impressions obtained by individuals to give meaning to their environment. In the study of organizational behavior, perception is considered essential to know about reality and not reality. (Veithzal Rivai, 2002: 231)

Perception is a process that begins with the receipt of a stimulus by the individual through the five senses. In general, the following process is that nerves pass on the motivation to the brain, which eventually becomes a perception (Walgito, 2004: 124). Perception is an internal process in selecting, organizing, and interpreting external stimuli. This process can influence (Mulyana, 2005:167-168), so with this perception process, and a person can accept and reject the information he receives.

Perception begins with a sensory or sensing process, namely the process of receiving a stimulus by the individual through the five senses. Then the inspiration is passed on through the perception process. Therefore, the perception process is preceded by the sensing process, which cannot be separated from the perception process (Bimo Walgito, 2004: 87). So it can be concluded that perception is a process that begins with the sensing process in the form of observation, reminder, and identification of an object.

Because each individual has different knowledge and experience, each individual will have a different perception (eprints.walisongo.ac.id). Perception does not just happen but through a process. There are three factors in the perception process, namely according to Walgito (1989: 54):

- a. Selection, a process of selecting external stimuli by the five senses.
- b. Interpretation is a process of organizing information to have meaning for the individual. Somebody. Factors that influence interpretation include: experience, value system, motivation, personality, and intelligence. Interpretation is also influenced by
- c. Interpretation translation and perception in behavior. So, the perception process begins with the act of selecting, then interpreting, and rounding off the information obtained.

Robbins (2004: 164-167) reveals that the process of forming perceptions comes from several factors:

- a. Election

Paying attention to something means that the individual does not pay attention to the other. Why and what is screened usually stems from several external and internal factors. External factors consist of: 1) Size, something big it will be easier to attract attention; 2) Contrast, a situation with a contrasting background is usually very prominent; 3) The intensity of a stimulus, for example, a loud sound in a quiet room; 4) Movement, a person's attention will be more attracted to objects that move to be seen than the same object but still; 5) Something new. New objects in a familiar environment will attract more attention.

- b. Organizing

Management of the stimulus or information involves a process of cognition, where individuals understand and interpret the existing trigger. Individuals who

have a good level of understanding tend to have a good perception of the perceived object.

c. Interpretation

Individual interpretation usually sees the context of an object. In addition, the performance also occurs what is called the process of experiencing the environment, namely checking perceptions. Do others also see the same as the individual sees through consensus validity and comparison.

According to Rahman (2003: 128), several factors influence perception, namely: a) selective attention; b) excitatory characteristics; c) Individual values and needs; d) Previous experience.

The stimulus comes from outside influences in perceiving messages (sensory and structural elements). Attitude changes occur in individuals due to stimulus responses that occur as in the SOR model theory. There is an unusual reaction to a unique stimulus in the SOR.

3. Kelley's Attribution Process

The perception theory used in this research is Harold Kelley's theory of perception, better known as Kelley's attribution theory. Attribution is a process of explaining, interpreting, assessing, and making decisions from an event according to individual perceptions. Attribution is forming an impression that explains the causes of individual behavior. Attribution theory is used to understand the reasons that occur in various events or events it faces and understands the causes of individual behavior. According to Kelley's approach, we attribute the behavior of others to internal causes when the level of Consensus and distinction is low, but consistency is high. Kelley further stated that to answer the question of why in other people's behavior, we focus on matters relating to three essential sources of information (repository.my.ac.id), namely:

- a. Consensus is the degree of similarity of other people's reactions to certain stimuli or events with the people we observe. The higher the proportion of people who reacted similarly, the higher the Consensus.
- b. Consistency is the degree of similarity of a person's reaction to the same stimulus or event.
- c. Distinctiveness is the degree of difference in a person's reaction to various stimuli or events.



When ignoring the role of one factor causing a behavior, When two or more possible factors are causing a behavior, this is known as discounting. However, both are present when a cause facilitates the emergence of behavior and becomes the cause of the elimination of behavior, but the behavior still occurs. This is called augmenting.

There are three attributes of behavior developed by Kelley, namely (Nuke Martiarini, psychology.unnes.ac.id):

- a. The initial stage (observation of an action). That is, is there any visible behavior that can be observed? If "yes," then the second process will continue. If "no" exists, then the second step cannot be carried out;
- b. The second stage (judgment of intention). Does the behavior show to serve a specific purpose? If "yes," then proceed to the last process. If "no," then the process is finished here;
- c. The last stage (making a dispositional attribution). Is the behavior that arises done of his own volition? If "yes," then it can be concluded that the cause of the behavior is a personal factor. However, if the behavior is carried out under the pressure of the environment, then the conclusion that causes the behavior is environmental factors.

## **F. Research Method**

This study uses a qualitative approach because it understands the behavior of women dressed in Muslim women. In its implementation, this research was carried out using a phenomenological type of research to reveal the views of the Kiai on the social reality of women's clothing in Jember to find the meaning of the primary and essential things from the phenomenon of the use of Muslimah clothing.

Data collection techniques were carried out by interviewing directly (face to face) or focus group interviews. Interviews were conducted semi-structured, which provided a more expansive space for informants, and the questions asked were open-ended. The selection of informants was made by the purposive method. The informants consisted of NU Jember figures, namely KH. Muhyiddin Abdussomad, Dr. KH. Abdullah Syamsul Arifin, KH. Pujiono, KH, Rosyidi, KH. Abdul Wasik, KH. Badruttamam, Ustadzah Oktavina, and several student students wear Muslim clothing. They have the authority to talk about the development of Muslim clothing in Jember.\

## **G. Discussion**

Since the last few years, the phenomenon of Muslim clothing in Jember has shown positive symptoms from the religious aspect. Informants stated that, on average, most schools had covered their genitals. Kiai supports the efforts of high school and junior high schools to cover their genitals. At the Assunniyah Islamic boarding school, there is a shift where female students wear sportswear by wearing *trining*. It was added in front of him, plus a cloth to the bottom so that his body shape was not visible. On public campuses, some Muslim female students wear the hijab, niqab, and khimar. This phenomenon gets the perspective of the Kiai.

### **1. Kiai's Attribution to Women's Clothing**

The kiai's attribution to the phenomenon of Muslim clothing is a psychological basis. Kiai appreciates the symptoms of Muslim clothing formally and substantially. Rationale uses the point of view of Islamic law adapted to local wisdom. KH. Muhyiddin Abdussomad and KH. Abdullah Samsul Arifin provides a substantial view of women's clothing. They admit that they are not fashion experts but present exciting perspectives on the principles of the dress. They don't know the difference, but the hope is that Muslim women cover their genitals and dress not as sensual or stimulating as tight.

This opinion is based on the perspective that humans, everywhere, no one is free. In a country that is said to be independent, rules and regulations still apply. If people live according to the existing rules, not just thinking about it, then the order of life will be achieved. Those who cross the road arbitrarily, do not refuse, can be hit and die. The nature of the rule is binding.

Similarly, people in the fields follow the rules that apply in the agricultural world. There is no free behavior with no restrictions because we do not live in the wilderness. Thus, the matter of dress still refers to the applicable regulations.

On the other hand, Allah SWT gives advantages to women, who are physically more attractive than men. This is proven. When you find a naked man walking on the highway, you will be stoned—different treatment for women where all came with cellphones to record the incident. Kiai views the beauty of a woman's body as a gift from God so that women are made physically sexy creatures. The phenomenon of television peddling advertisements displayed more women than men because women are indeed more attractive.

Talking about Muslim clothing, standards and definitions need to be explained. What is meant by Muslims is clothing covering the genitals by the limits of the genitals, which in quotation marks are agreed upon by the majority of scholars and differing opinions. Kia believes that there is no model and no form of Muslim clothing. Thus, Muslim clothing is any clothing that covers the boundaries of the genitals that must be protected. This perception is based on the opinion of the Shafi'i, which states that the genitalia is all parts of the body, including the face and palms, except in prayer. The statement of Hanafiyah scholars and widely applied in Indonesia says that genitalia is all members of a Muslim woman's body and the face and palms. Thus, the clothing must cover all the parts that must be protected. There are no specific provisions regarding certain fashions that mark Muslim clothing.

The dress has nothing to do with Islamic or non-Islamic views. Muslim clothing was made because of the services of fashion experts to make it look attractive. Islam does not mention Muslim clothes but clothes that cover the genitals. Even the term piety clothes are koko clothes worn by men, not Arab culture but Chinese. It's just that people have already given the Islamic label to the clothes of righteousness. The consensus that emerged was that someone dressed like that gave the impression of being an intelligent person. Fashion people in business made the term Muslim clothing. These findings strengthen Inayatul Ulya's opinion that clothing is a religious expression that adapts Islamic law.

Islam only outlines the principle of covering the genitals and not being erotic. In connection with the phenomenon of hijab contained the meaning of hijab. In Kiai Muhyiddin's view, the problem of hijab in Indonesia, especially NU, is the majority of the Imam Syafi'i school of thought. There are two opinions in the Shafi'i school of view, and if we take it from the books of Syafinatur Najah, Sullam Taufiq, Taqrib, or Fathul Qorib, women must wear a veil. But in the Shafi'i school of thought, as Abu Yahya Zakaria Al Ansori argued, the face and palms are not included in the genitalia that must be covered. It may be based on An-Nawawi's opinion as contained in the book of Sullam Taufiq.

Safinatur Najah stated that women must wear the veil. Interestingly, there is a perception among Indonesians that those who wear the veil are seen as terrorists. There should be tolerance for those who are willing to wear the veil. On the other hand, those who do not wish to wear the mantle may also. What is essential is covering the genitals

and, most importantly, the face and palms are a difference of opinion among Ulama as genitals. Among the Shafi'i madhhab, there is the opinion of Abu Yahya Zakaria Al Ansori, who says that the face and palms are not aurat.

In responding to these differences, the Kiai emphasized being tolerant and not cornering each other. Those who wear the hijab are considered terrorists, and those who do not wear the hijab are labeled liberal. The kiai's policy states that they are not the same and, most importantly, must respect each other. The term Muslim clothing is a new term that certain groups then hold. Some call the hijab syar'i so that others seem not syar'i.

In fiqh or the Islamic view, what is called a headscarf is not a veil. The Arabic language is Khimar. The perception of the headscarf is the total clothing that covers the aurat. In its development, the meaning of the hijab was reduced to a veil. A person who does not wear a headscarf is not a headscarf, even though the hijab is referred to in fiqh rules as in the Qur'an and Jilabib refers to the entire garment that covers the aurat, including the clothes underneath. In Jember, the hijab is translated into the term Khimar.

These findings coincide with Gatot Sukendro's opinion that the hijab style is a commodity. In this case, economic interests support the Muslim lifestyle. The same argument was conveyed by Afroza, who views the pure hijab as a lifestyle. The financiers make a trend or a particular brand or syar'i, and it becomes a specific brand for certain groups. Gus Aab emphasized the importance of straightening out the perception of the nature of the term, which was adopted by a particular community and then agreed upon as a consensus.

The terms of religion are not distinguished whether the hijab is big or small. The most important thing is to cover the nakedness. The two criteria above do not indicate the color of the skin and the shape or curves of the body like that. If it is different now, syar'i is the long one. So there is a perception that what is not extended is not syar'i and is prone to abuse substantial meaning. When the extraction is taken, what is not long is not syar'i. Yet Islam does not view it that way.

About the aurat, the phenomenon of covering the whole genitalia or only covering or not opening the head. The mindset is that people see people wearing Muslim clothes until they become targets. There is Muslim swimwear. Does the syar'i fulfill those that don't show body curves? Syar'i swimwear is clothing where the important thing is a covered head while the body's shape is still visible.

Kiai believes that covering the genitals is not a specification of Muslim clothing, but wearing clothes that cover the genitals. Because this is a biased term, if it is said that what is called Muslim clothing, people's associations have been limited to Muslim clothing, so the koko clothes are not Muslim clothes. A group of people agrees with that, for example, a Muslim fashion shop. At the same time, Muslim clothing is clothing that covers the genitals, namely the navel to the knees. The hem clothing does not include Muslim clothing, which is the definition of the seller of the clothes made by the shop. This view corrects fashion as a Muslim identity.

Muslim clothing seller, what is the association of Muslim sellers? Coco shirt. Based on this perception, what is the difference between a koko shirt and ahem when it is worn for Muslims? of course, it makes no difference. Because the nakedness is only the navel and knees if many things are studied academically or scientifically, the reduction of meaning must be clarified. Muslim clothing in Jember, there are two motivations for wearing clothes that cover the genitals: awareness of diversity and the influence of the environment.

From the related explanations above, the process of forming the kiai's attribution to Muslim women's clothing, namely, first is through the selection process by the five senses by seeing what and how is going on regarding Muslim women's clothing emerges a perspective and related opinions—Muslim women's clothing itself. According to the kiai's statement, two factors influence Muslim women's dress in Jember, namely the religious awareness factor and environmental factors following the developing fashion trends.

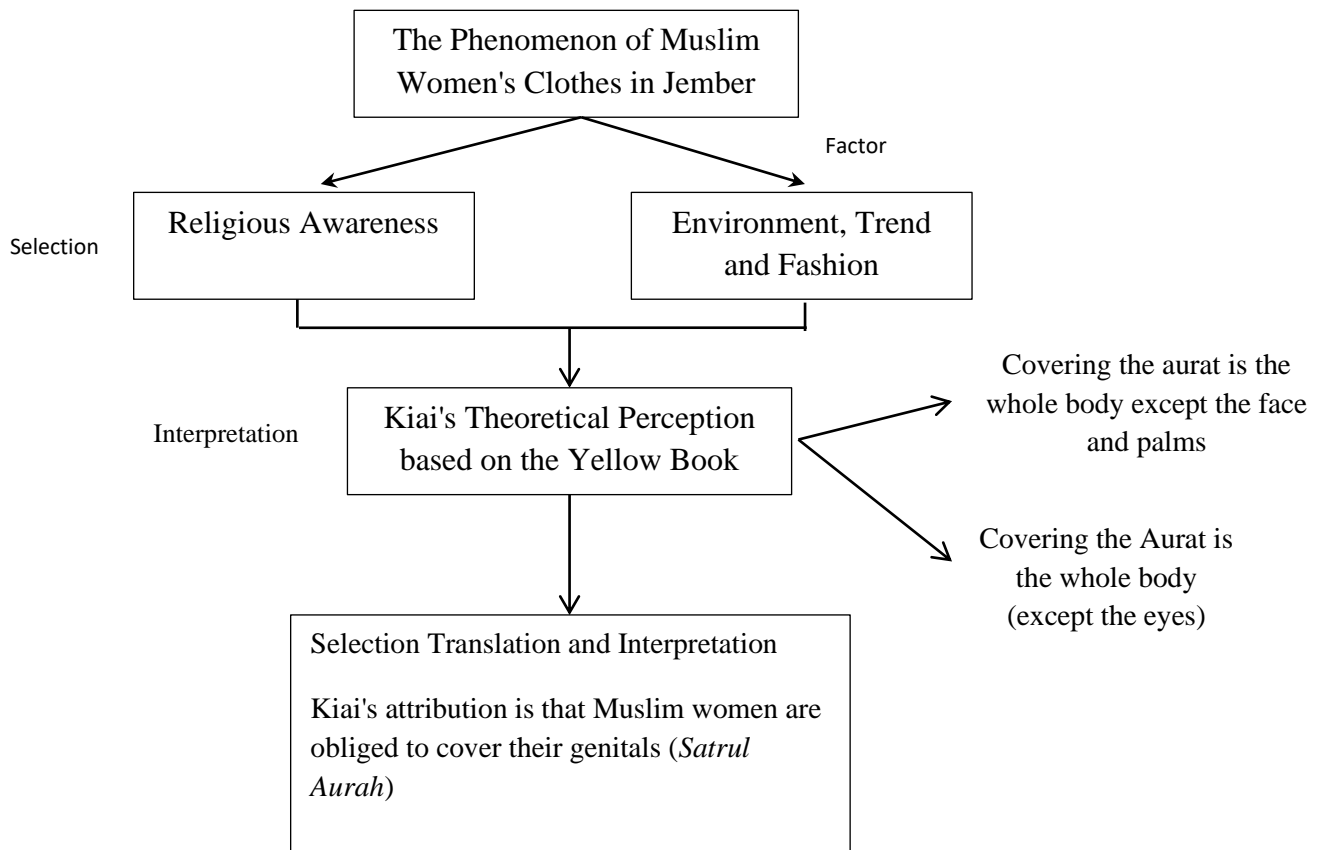
Second is the interpretation process, a process of organizing information to have meaning for the individual. The kiai's theoretical perception is based on the yellow book.

There are different views among schools of thought, some state that women's clothing is to cover the boundaries that must be partially covered, and others are to cover the entire body, including the palms of the hands, or the current term is to wear wide-sized clothing and the view of women's clothing is the veil. So when talking about veiled Muslim women, they are indexed with terrorism. The development of Muslim women's clothing is also inseparable from economic factors, so new terms related to Muslim women's fashion appear, including "syar'i clothing," "khimar" which means a wide hijab, and "hijab," which means wearing a veil.

The third is the translation of the selection process and interpretation in behavior. Because the attribution process is formed starting from the selection process, then understanding and rounding off the information obtained. They agreed that Muslim women's clothing was obliged to cover their genitals (*Satrul Aurah*).

**Chart 2.1**

**Kiai's Attribution Forming Process to Women's Clothes**



**2. Kiai's Attribution Model**

After discussing the process of forming the kiai's attribution to the phenomenon of Muslim fashion in Jember, the attribution model is then presented. Muslim fashion trends are getting better when viewed from the surface, although this is not necessarily directly proportional to awareness. In public schools, it is not required to wear a headscarf, and it turns out that most students are already wearing headscarves due to fashion and trend factors. Many models of hijab that are fashionable and worn are better than not wearing them. The phenomenon in public places, which are generally not required, turns out to be more common. They initially follow trends and fashion and have not felt diversity awareness. Finally, gradually lead to the aspect of religious understanding.

The provisions for covering aurat and the fashion is not tacky or slumber. Muslim clothing is already stylish, fashionable, and attractive. The veil that is used is not standard and covers the genitals. In Jember, there is a phenomenon showing the body's curves due to wearing tight jeans by wearing a tight t-shirt. At least the top is wearing a hijab. It's getting better day by day than it was in the 1980s. People still find people who don't cover their heads by wearing headscarves in banking or malls. That's because the rules forbid it.

Awareness of diversity has emerged, but he does not wear a headscarf at home in his daily life. He wears a hood when he goes out of the area. But when he was employed, he did not wear a headscarf because there was a ban from the company. He had to follow the rules at work. If we observe, people like this wear clothes that cover their aurat when leaving home, then when they get to the office, they change clothes. After work, he covered his aurat back to his house. When someone asked, he answered because he had to and was afraid of losing his job because his place of work did not allow it.

In the past, there was a prohibition on covering the genitals in Indomaret. Later, labor unions whose affiliation with Islamic mass organizations continued to advocate for the right to wear clothes according to their religious obligations and were finally allowed, and some were not. Usually, in cosmetic shop stands, there are still many prohibitions. What's more, those who offer hair oil products or hair drugs that do show a tendency not to wear a headscarf. On the other hand, there is an awareness of the diversity that has emerged, but the situation and conditions, and the work environment require that you do not wear a headscarf. There is a phenomenon where she initially did not wear a veil, but she wore a covering because of the job's demands. The two categories cannot be separated because of awareness of diversity and the environment.

Based on this uniqueness, there are criteria for covering the body so that the skin color is not visible and the shape and curves of the body are not visible. They do not show skin color but offer a form that still does not meet the category of clothing that covers the genitals. Responding to this phenomenon, the Kiai refers to the hadith, which means "clothed but naked." It contains the intention of dressing that is too close to the body to show the curves of his body.

There is a boundary theory or hudud theory developed by Syahrur. He divides Alhadul Akhla in the clothes worn by the prophet's wife and honorable people. The second category is underlined, which is minimal clothing that is important to meet the

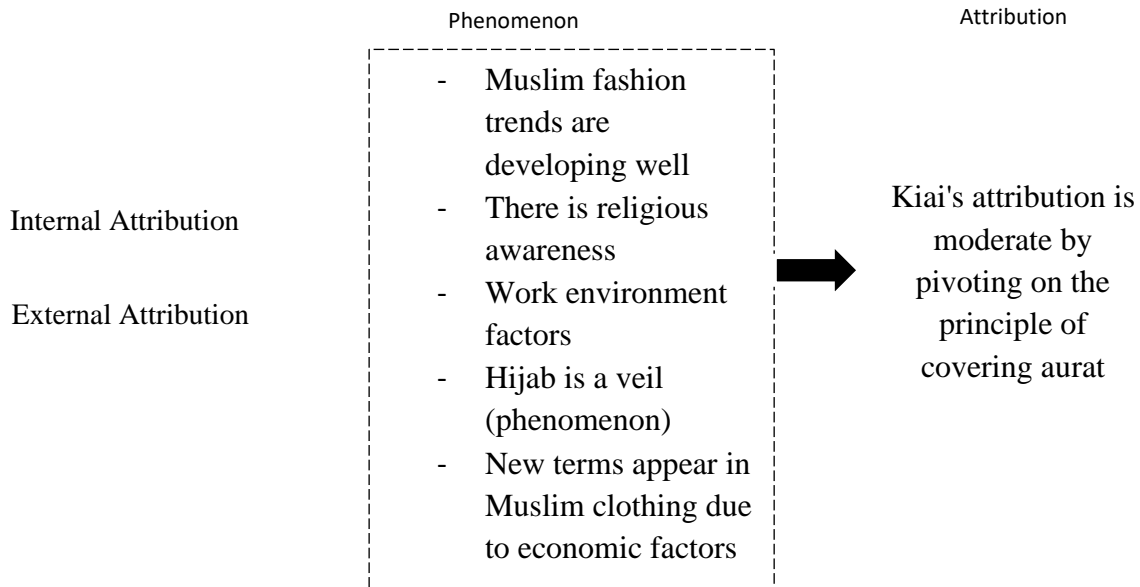
standards to be considered appropriate. They must cover their genitals like free women. Slave women who do a lot of work activities for work, it turns out that the nakedness of enslaved people is only half of the nudity of free Muslim women. So, the enslaved person may not wear a veil because his awrah is the same as that of a man, namely the navel to the knees. After all, they are around the work.

The aurat is an unfinished discussion if we look at it from the majority's perspective, apart from the face and palms. And this is at least safe to be agreed upon by the majority of the people, some make it mandatory to wear a burkoh or veil, and some do not. Some hold a leftist view, and many of the characters are of mukhabarat caliber, such as the view of Quraish Shihab, which does not require wearing a headscarf. Some argue that Muslim women who have worn and covered their genitals except for the face and palms have fulfilled their obligations as Muslim women properly. But it is said that Muslims who do not wear the veil do not fulfill their obligations. Some say it is more subtle than saying they violated it because there are opinions that allow it. Muslim women in the archipelago at the time of KH. Moh. Hasyim Asy'ari did not wear. Nusantara clothing is Muslim clothing of the past and is a process where changes in terms of traditions and previous clothes. Responding to this phenomenon, kiai's attribution model is classified into two. Namely, there is an awareness that diversity is more perfect. The second is environmental factors, fashion, and trends.

In kiai's attribution perspective, the most important thing is to build tolerance between hijab users and those who don't. The attribution model of the Jember Kiai is moderate. In Jember, some students wear the hijab. When President Joko Widodo visited an Islamic boarding school in Jember, a child was wearing a hijab, a student from Thailand, sitting in the front row. Journalists photographed him because it became an issue that those who wear the hijab are terrorists. That's an extreme view and needs to be straightened out. In Jember, many Islamic boarding schools wear the hijab like Assunnayah. The most important thing is mutual respect and tolerance based on a solid religious understanding.



**Bagan 2.2**  
**Kiai's Attribution Model for Muslim Women's Clothes**



## H. Conclusion

1. The kiai's attribution to women's clothes is the kiai's perception of the phenomenon of Muslim women's clothing. Forming the kiai's attribution begins with the phenomena that occurred in Jember, then interpreted based on the yellow book. The attribution of the Kiai states that there is a standard to cover the aurat. The term Muslim clothing emerged in the modern era to strengthen Muslim women's identity. On the other hand, Muslim clothing is a fashion, trend, and influence of modernity and the economy. They agree on the obligation to cover the genitals (Satrul Aura) and not to show bodily sensuality. Muslim fashion models are left to the local wisdom of each region and country.
2. The kiai's attribution model regarding women's clothes is moderate and pivots on the principle of covering aurat and not rejecting current fashions and trends—tolerance attitude. The kiai's attribution model is based on sources of the Islamic law that form a collective agreement and create a sub-culture. The most important principle underlying the kiai's attribution is to live in harmony and mutual respect—tolerance between those who wear hijab and those who do not become the concentration of the Kiai.

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