

Social Construction of Veiled Islam Student (Santri) and Radical Islamic Stigma at Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic Boarding School Sukorejo-Situbondo

Nawawi¹, Rifa'i², Ardiyan Firdausiyah³

¹Postgraduate Lecture of Ibrahimy University Sukorejo Banyuputih Situbondo

nawawithabrani71@gmail.com

²Lecture of Islamic High School of At-Taqwa Bondowoso East Java

rifaibachtiar42@gmail.com

³Lecture of High School of Al Utsmani Bondowoso East Java

Alghazaliaddahil82@gmail.com

Abstract: *Veiled (a sheet of fabric covered the Muslim woman face) is Nahdlatul ulama (islamic organization) step of the veil, in the study of Islamic interpretation itself the arguments governing whether or not the use of the veil is obligatory are still debated. However, the use of the veil carries a greater rejection consequence than the hijab. In fact, nowadays there are many students using the veil in the Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization) (Islamic Organization) Islamic school environment. This research focused on the construction of student's veils and the stigma of radicalism at the Islamic boarding school of Sukorejo Situbondo with a sociological and maqashid syariah approach. This study uses a qualitative approach, and data collection techniques through observation, interviews, and documentation. The findings of this study are that the social construction of the veiled Islam student (Santri) is an internalization process towards externalization through two dimensions. First, the socializing process on the authority is based on the power of guardian Islamic school. Second, the socializing process on the equality is influenced by peer. In this context, the veiled Islam student are not influenced by the understanding of radical Islam, this is based on empirical facts, namely the veiled Islam student are trained through an understanding of moderate Islam and there is no access to social media with radical groups. This is evidenced by the firmness of the attitude and policy of the Islamic school regarding the termination of the relationship between students through information networks and communication with certain parties outside the Islamic school, which does not allow propaganda and indoctrination of radical Islam from outside. As for the symbolic meaning of the veiled Islam student as resistance to radical Islamic groups who claim that the veil is only their identity. This shows that not all veiled women are radicals. Because all this time, there is a symbolic meaning behind the veil of the struggle for ideology and identity of radical Islamic groups.*

Keywords: *Social Construction, Veiled Islam student, Stigma, Radical.*

Introduction

Recently, Islam has been faced with the emergence of a terrorist movement as a symbol of radicalism in the name of Islam. This implies that Islam seems to be a frightening specter in the eyes of Muslims and non-Muslims alike. One of them is Islamic fundamentalism, partly grown by the views of its adherents who have principles that are contrary to modernity. Fundamentalism is an ideology that makes Islam a system of reinterpretation of conventional concepts.

Fundamentalism as a renewal movement is a reaction to the currents of modernity and westernization, by believing in religion as an alternative theology. The fundamentalist character is committed to strict religious practices to establish an Islamic state with sovereignty in the hands of God. In Farid Esack's view, fundamentalism has seven characteristics; that is; first, commit to strict religious practices; second, committed to obeying the text; third, having an ahistorical view that Islam is able to permanently answer all the problems of mankind; fourth, believes in the need for the application of syariah as fundamentalists believe it has been practiced in the era of the Prophet SAW. In Medina; fifth, he is committed to upholding an Islamic state with sovereignty in the hands of God; sixth, hostility towards all who reject fundamentalism by calling them people who have gone astray rather than the truth; seventh, denial of any good in anything non-Islamic.

Recently, there has been an interesting issue regarding the prohibition of wearing the niqab in one of the Islamic universities in Indonesia. This phenomenon has given rise to theological debates, for example, what is the correct standard and differences of opinion regarding women's genitalia. Around the 1930s in Java, the veil was identified with the Veiled Islam student (Santri) culture which combined elements of Islam and local culture such as batik or *kebaya*. While the term of hijab is more fashionable and a modern cultural trend that can combines the elements of Western fashion and lifestyle with Islamic values. Indonesia as a country inhabited by the largest Muslim community, the acceptance of the hijab requires a long process because the hijab is considered not part of Indonesian culture. While the veil as a contiNahdlatul ulama (Islamic organization)ation of the use of the hijab. In the study of commentary, the arguments governing whether or not the use of the veil is obligatory are still a polemic, but the use of the veil carries a greater rejection consequence than the hijab. In addition to the issue of the stigma attached to veiled women with the flow of fundamental Islam. This happened to a student's veil from Malaysia who studied at State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijogo Yogyakarta and State Islamic University Sunan Ampel in Surabaya. State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijogo

made a regulation prohibiting the entire academic community from wearing the veil, as well as at State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel Surabaya, the majority of female students did not wear the veil, as a result, she felt intimidated by the existing culture so that the female student took off her veil.

The majority of Islamic boarding school under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization) is not used to the veil, so it feels strange to deal with students who wear the veil. Today, hijab as a fashion, style and so on. Many artists, models, doctors and other professions use the hijab. Thus, it is increasing the interest of Muslim women in Indonesia to use the hijab as a fashion and an obligation as Muslims. In Arab and Middle Eastern countries, many Muslim women wear the veil for various reasons, including avoiding adultery and slander,

No less unique is the students of the Salafiyah Syafi'iyah Islamic boarding school Sukorejo Situbondo who use the veil, maybe still relatively few, but it is increasing day by day, even though this school has not had a single student during the three periods of caretaker veiled. This implies that there is an assumption that this school has been infected with radicalism and transnational ideology. In this case, the Islamic school's internal responses varied, such as Ahamd Syafi'i, a lecturer of Ibrahimy University who firmly stated that this Islamic school was infected with radical ideology.

Veiled Islam student (Santri) Social Construction

Individuals are free beings who can relate to one another. The individual is the determinant in the social world which is constructed based on her will. Humans in many ways have the freedom to act outside the control limits of their social structures and institutions, where the individual herself comes from. Humans effectively and creatively develop themselves through responses to stimulate in their cognitive world.

In this study, the Veiled Islam student (Santri) of Islamic Boarding School in Sukorejo carried out a process of internalizing herself to existing social institutions or institutions, in which she absorbed an understanding of the veil, so she got information about the veil or niqab. The information is then internalized within her and understands that the veil is not a human product, but as if it was a natural product like other natural facts that are outside of humans. Therefore, the veil is a law that must be implemented by all Muslim women. This dialectic runs simultaneously, meaning that there is a process of pulling out (externalization) so that it seems as if it is outside (objective) and then there is a process of pulling back in (internalization). As a result, something that is outside it seems to be a subjective reality. Society is an individual product so that it becomes an objective reality through a process (externalization) and individuals are a product of society through a process of internalization. Three simultaneous dialectics in the process of reproduction, namely Externalization, Objectivity and Internalization, are social agents that externalize social reality. At the same time an understanding of reality that is considered objective is formed. These three dialectics have been carried out simultaneously by the students' veil of Islamic Boarding School in Sukorejo, Situbondo.

In the end, through the process of externalization and objectification, individuals are formed as social products, so that it can be said that each individual has knowledge and social identity in accordance with the institutional roles that are formed or played. Peter L. Berger's social construction contains both objective and subjective dimensions. There are two things that stand out from seeing the reality of the media's role in the objective dimension, namely institutionalization and legitimacy. Institutionalization in Berger's perspective occurs when all human activities undergo a process of habitual activity. This means that every action of the Veiled Islam student (Santri) that is often repeated will eventually become a pattern which can then be reproduced and understood by the Sukorejo students. Meanwhile, legitimacy produces a new meaning that functions to integrate the controversial meaning of the veil with the world of Islamic boarding schools. The function of legitimacy is to make institutionalized objective available objectively and subjectively reasonable.

In the life of the Sukorejo Islamic school, there are rules and laws that serve as guidelines for social institutions. The rule is actually a human product to preserve social order regarding Veiled Islam student (Santri) in the learning process. Although these rules are restrictive, it does not rule out the possibility of violations being carried out by individuals. This is due to the individual's inability to conform to the rules used to maintain social order. In the externalization process for students who prioritize social order, individuals try as hard as possible to adjust to social roles that have been institutionalized, such as wearing the hijab. In this context, there are three dialectical processes, namely externalization, objectification and internalization. The first process is externalization to see individual adjustments to the use of the veil or niqab. The second process is an objectivity to see the veil that is used as a sign or symbol that distinguishes people in society. The third process is Internalization, individual understanding of the veil which is a recommendation that must be carried out by tahfidz students.

In the findings, the researchers found that there was an internalization process that occurred in students who used the veil, both at the central and branch cottages the internalization process begins with the socialization process where values and norms are transferred through the socialization process about clothing in the context of the veil. There are two types of socialization processes namely authoritarian socialization and equality socialization. The authoritarian socialization process is carried out by the caretakers of the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school and its stakeholders who have charisma. The process of socialization of equality is carried out by influential peers. In this study, the socialization process about the values and norms of student's veils when viewed from the type of authoritarian socialization carried out by charisma figures, in this case found RKH. Azaim Ibrahimy, KH. Muzakki Ridwan and Nyai Ummi Khoiriyah. Then the socialization of equality is carried out by friends or peers who consistently use the veil that can influence it.

The Veiled Islam student (Santri): Symbolic Minority Identity

According to Leslie White, the meaning of a symbol can only be captured through non-sensory ways, namely through an interpretative process. The meaning of a certain symbol in the process of social interaction cannot just be directly accepted and understood by everyone, but must first be interpreted. A symbol is something that is "apart" from what is symbolized, because human communication is not limited to space, physical appearance or figure, and the time in which sensory experience takes place, on the contrary, humans can communicate about objects and actions far beyond the boundaries of time and space. . Thus, the two informants adjusted the syar'i hijab in the tradition of the Salafi group with the development of hijab fashion so that it could be accepted by the family. Hopefully, the syar'i clothes that are adapted to this era can be accepted by relatives and people who are common/ nonexpert with the Salafi group. There is an effort to make it suitable, appropriate, and in accordance with the choices, tastes, and the environment. The surrounding environment encourages Fatimah and Ening to choose a syar'i hijab brand that can fulfill both personal and social interests. Therefore, they try to present their identity as Salafi women who are contemporary and not out of date. Self-image is managed with contemporary entities through creative efforts in order to build self-image to make it seem more fashionable and trendy.

In certain situations, the veil used by students creates negative perceptions because they are considered part of the radicalism movement, identified as wives and even suicide bombers. Every individual cannot be separated from communication activity; in this case interpersonal communication is also strongly influenced by interpersonal perceptions. According to Mulyana, social perception is the process of capturing the meaning of social objects and events experienced in the environment. Veiled Islam student s (Santri) who wear the veil are still a minority and only in certain circles make users stigmatized. Individuals having the same interests in a group make several individuals will form a community.

According to Mulyana, Community is a group of people who gather or live together to achieve certain goal and they share meanings and attitudes. Without communication there can be no community. Community relies on shared experiences and emotions, and communication plays a role in and explains togetherness. Self-identity is a fairly broad terminology, so the labeling of minority groups is the impact of the primordialism of identity politics. Meanwhile, identity politics is rooted in primordialism. Primordialism itself, following the concept of Aristotelian polity, that identity politics is always in the range of tension between superior and inferior, between the same and the other, between the majority and the minority. So when the issue of the veil that developed in the Sukorejo cottage, which was only known, there were 10 to 11 people who were included in the minority category. In which they (student's veils) are faced with two choices. Namely, first: choosing to fight outside in the sense that they still maintain their identity and their choice, which is to remain veiled but out of their minority zone. Or secondly: they (student's veils) choose to consolidate inward, that is, they prefer to take off their veils and mingle with the majority. It seems that the student's veils still maintain their identity and choices, namely remaining veiled but out of the minority zone in the Islamic boarding school environment.

As a Veiled Islam student , wearing a veil is a religious order, believing that the face is a woman's genitalia. When the Prophet spoke to Asma bint Abu Bakr, to give guidance on how women should dress, he said, "Verily a woman, when she has reached puberty, does not deserve to be exposed from her body except this and this." The words were spoken while pointing at the face and palms. Based on this, scholars generally hold the view that a woman's awra is the entire body, except for the face and palms. However, there are some who argue are the eyes and palms. For that reason they are of the view that women's faces must be covered, only the eyes that can be seen.

Thus, the rejection of the veil is more based on the negative stigma of society that attaches veiled Muslim women to fanatical, hard, extreme groups and even after the Bali bombing or terrorism cases, the community was influenced by the media which constructed veiled Muslim women to be identical with part of the terrorist (terrorist's wife). Veiled women are often identified with terrorism so that in their lives, veiled women find it difficult to communicate with their surroundings. Generally, people are closed to the presence of veiled women in their environments. This is evidenced by the many cases of veiled women being ostracized from the environment. Veiled women find it difficult to interact or communicate with the surrounding environment because of the negative stigma about the veil, which has exclusive and limited relationships.

Sukorejo Islamic boarding school is a salaf Islamic boarding school that adheres to the Ahlussunnah Waljamaah an Nahdliyah understanding, which is an understanding that adheres to the Qur'an, Al Hadith, Ijma' (the opinion of the majority of scholars) and Qiyas (legal analogy) as well as doctrines that are based on three understandings in monotheism follows the Asyari and Maturidi priests. In the field of fiqh follow the Imam Syafii madhab, which is one of the four priests of the school. In terms of Muslim dress, it is obligatory and Sunnah to wear the hijab.

In this context, the motive of the Veiled Islam student (Santri) is to protect themselves, because wearing the veil will avoid promiscuity, especially with the opposite sex who is not family. This participant also interpreted that his honor lies in his ability to keep himself from promiscuity, as well as not using the veil is the participant's decision based on what he has understood in religion. The act which do not thinking about the negative attitudes of others taken by the Ening participants because for him showing patience can bring rewards. Meanwhile, participant Eva felt that this was the right way so as not to affect her stance on wearing the veil. The second participant even got a negative reaction from his friends and lecturers because he was wearing the veil and resigned himself to accepting it as a risk.

The Dilemma of Student's veils: Between Fashion and Theological Identity

The veil which is usually worn by Sukorejo students is a stage after wearing a wide veil. However, on the other hand, there are still many objections that are debated about whether it is obligatory or sunnah to wear the veil, both in society and among scholars. The rejection of the veil is more based on the negative stigma from society which is directed at veiled women with their assumption that they are hard-line, extreme, as a form of excessive fanaticism towards their religion, especially after the Bali bombing case it is always linked to terrorism which makes people influenced by the media that constructs women with identical veils with negative.

The existence of student's veils has not been accepted and there is a negative perception from the community. First, it disrupts the process of interpersonal relationships in society. Second, society also assumes that women who wear the veil are just a cover. Third, veiled women are terrorists or adherents of a momentary sect. Fourth, veiled women do not want to socialize and interact with other people. As long as the reason for the difference of opinion still exists, then differences of opinion will always exist between humans, even though they are both Muslims, obedient to their religion. Each party wants to favor and enforce the opinion that it believes to be true as a religious teaching.

Sugihartono argued that perception is the brain's ability to translate a stimulus or process to translate a stimulus that enters the human senses. In human perception there are different points of view in sensing. There are those who perceive something as positive or negative which will affect visible or real human actions. According to Terry (1989) the factors that must be considered in making decisions are as follows: tangible and intangible things, emotional and rational things need to be taken into account in decision making; every decision must be used as material to achieve organizational goals; every decision should not be oriented to personal interests, pay attention to the interests of others; there is rarely 1 satisfactory choice; Decision making is a mental act. From this mental action it must then be transformed into a physical action; effective decision making takes time; practical decision making is needed to get good results; every decision should be developed, so that it can be known whether the decision taken is correct; and each decision is the starting act of the next series of activities.

In this case, it can be observed from interviews and observations that the cause of students wearing the veil is because they are influenced by their own environment, including being forced by their husbands, there is also an organizational background. As time goes by, the Veiled Islam student (Santri) are no longer due to pressure from their husbands and organizations but because of their awareness and adherence to religion. They consider that covering their genitals or veiling looks more beautiful, calm, safe and comfortable when leaving the house, without any fear of other people.

The results of this study indicate that the motivation of student's veils is not only as worship, but as protection in social interactions, especially with the opposite sex. In general, the intense coverage of terrorism and ISIS in the media caused the surrounding community to view it negatively by identifying the veil as a symbol of radical Muslim networks.

Islam has regulated the rules of clothing (fashion) as stated in the texts which cannot be separated from the rules of the Syariah. Almost all the Syariah built in the texts contain a political mission, identity law so that it leads to a goal of forming an integrated legal building, and has a strong identity, the concept of fashion has a high value in shaping legal ethics, in dressing not just using and covering body parts. However, Islam has instilled very high philosophical values reflected in the concept of fashion. Even fashion has transformed into an identity for every Muslim. In this case, the Veiled Islam student (Santri) in Sukorejo is a way to identify themselves in the public sphere that not all women who wear the veil are radical groups but instead want to reveal themselves as moderate Islamic groups under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization).

The veil as fashion, especially clothing, demonstration of the part mentioned in the verse is a trend, ironically such attitudes and actions by some people are considered as part of art and artistic fashion with the slogan, the woman's body is beautiful, so why should it be covered. The act of showing nakedness in public in an Islamic perspective is known as *tabarruj*. The Prohibition for women not touches up and make up like the ignorant women, because the ignorant women do not pay attention to the limits of the nakedness that must be covered. Even in history it is explained that women in tawaf do not use clothes.

Although, the orientation of the veiled Islam student (Santri) cannot be separated from the interests of the outside world, which is the development orientation is focused on the capitalist or liberalist economic system. Money and material things unwittingly become supreme values (everything) in society. For the sake of money, everyone is ready to do anything, including breaking the law, let alone morals. Businesses related to fashion are very promising economically because they have a large market share and many enthusiasts.

Clothing serves to protect the body from cold, heat, unexpected accidents to dangerous sports. According to Flugel, even a moral hazard can be avoided wearing thick and dark clothes. Flugel relates this function to the fantasy of the womb, namely the fantasy of returning to the warm, caring and protective home that we experienced during the first nine of our existence. This could be the same feeling that clothing does not really protect against traffic accidents or other people's malicious intent, but it does protect a person. As we are aware, various problems arise related to basic human needs so that they become a cultural response. One of the problems is cultural differences that give rise to different responses to these needs. The multiplicity of cultures that exist in each region makes it difficult to acknowledge that it is a response to one of the basic needs for protection.

Society is an objective reality as well as a subjective reality (Syam, 2005: 36). As an objective reality, society is outside of human beings and dealing with them. For example, the selection of large clothing with colors that trend to be dark or calm on veiled female students when leaving the house. If this habitual activity has taken place, there will be precipitation and tradition. All

human experiences are stored in consciousness, settle and finally understand themselves and their actions in the context of social life. Meanwhile, as a subjective reality, the individual is in the community as an inseparable part. In other words, the individual is the shaper of society and society is the shaper of the individual. When individuals see existing phenomena, individuals then interpret through their ideas which are then actualized into reality.

For example, Sukorejo students who wear the veil see and understand the conditions of the surrounding environment such as how students who wear the veil should interact with others in accordance with the Syariah. Then they will try to be able to actualize it in their daily lives. The theory developed by Berger departs from the constructivist paradigm which views social reality as a social construction created by individuals. The term social construction of reality (social construction of reality) is defined as a social process through actions and interactions in which individuals create a reality that is experienced together subjectively.

Over all, student's veils today are more daring in interacting with the community. Even with closed attributes and feeling nothing hinders the moment communicate. The concept of mind in veiled Muslim women is formed after the occurrence of self-conservation, which is of the view that interest and understanding of self-preservation by perfecting clothes is a form of obedience to religious orders. Mead's second concept of "self", Muslim women wearing the veil concludes that different societal responses arise from the negative stigma that is generalized to the wife of the bomber. This departs from the mind when activities in daily life, they feel foreign, shunned, and considered strange. That being a veiled Muslim woman must maintain a distance and be polite. This arises from thoughts that think about veiled Muslim women who are generally good in religion, have good morals, and tend to hang out with other veiled people.

Cultural identity can also be interpreted as a characteristic in the form of culture that distinguishes an individual or group of people from other groups. Every individual or community group must have its own culture that is different from the others. The students in the Sukorejo Islamic boarding school certainly have a variety of different cultures from one another. The culture possessed by each student certainly has its own characteristics or uniqueness, for example, a student's veil. What can be seen from the outside, their characteristics or uniqueness lies in the large clothes, the headscarf that is worn hanging down accompanied by the use of the veil, although there are very few of them in Sukorejo Islamic boarding school.

So, cultural identity is the details of the characteristics of a culture that is owned by a group of people whose boundaries are known when compared to the characteristics of other cultures. For Orrin Klapp, cultural identity includes a person who can state legally and reliably about himself, his status, name, personality, and past. Other people must interpret the signs of one's identity correctly because an identity is understood and validated as national identity is integrally linked with symbols, flags, and other signs. As Wernwe Enniger points out, clothing varies by geography and topography. Types of clothing with different climates and variations of clothing worn along with changing conditions show its function as protection. However, as with all man-made systems, clothing will always acquire a connotative meaning in a social setting. This connotation builds on various dress codes that tell people how they should dress in various social situations.

Desmond Morris claims that a handshake forms in the West to show that neither side is holding a gun. Shaking hands becomes a sign of binding that is deliberately created. A person can shake hands, pat on the back or hug, lean forward or stand up straight, these are signs of friendship. Other forms of touch such as patting someone on the arm, shoulder or back to indicate approval or to compliment; Alternate arms to indicate familiarity; embracing the shoulder with one arm to indicate friendship or closeness and so on. A person's inability to speak often results in the breakdown of a relationship. Besides as a communication tool as well as a guide in seeing social reality, language also as the main communication tool in expressing values, culture and norms.. So, language can influence perception, channel and shape thoughts.

Indeed, the veil experienced a dilemma because they saw that the silent response could be misunderstood as apathy towards society, but the response was open to answer extreme accusations. Meanwhile, the feeling of surrender as a choice over disbelief can change the way people view them. The various experiences about stigma that have been told by the participants above have given rise to their own way of dealing with the stigma, the ways taken by the participants are classified into two approaches, namely the cognitive approach and the social approach. The cognitive approach focuses on how participants process their mindset in dealing with the stigma that is directed at them. Some of them ignore the stigma and others with a resigned attitude. Second, the soaia approach, namely, by providing a direct explanation. In fact, student's veils who attend university at Ibrahimy University must remove their veils for two reasons. First, it interferes with the learning process on time paper presentation, the voice is not clear. Second, the lecturer had a deep feeling as if he was a bad person because he had not previously worn a veil.

However, the other way is to involve you in activities with the people around. The first method was used to clarify their motivation for wearing the veil, while the second method was used to show that veil users do not close themselves off and are actively involved in social relationships to avoid social stigma, as this experience was carried out by one of the study participants, Sari et al. who uses an active strategy by conducting reasonable interactions in relationships with the opposite sex, and actively participating in association with the community where they live.

Although Veiled Islam student s (Santri) in Sukorejo wear the veil, it has nothing to do with the phenomenon of hijrah that is rife from fundamentalist groups, both in the real world and in the virtual world. Because the increasing on migration (Hijrah) phenomenon in society very dynamic and become a part of the community lifestyle. The community's religious awareness has begun to grow, as evidenced by various events with the theme of hijrah which are often carried out by organizations that have social concerns for the community, especially in the religious field. The hijrah motive is the spirit of the community who wants to change

behavior patterns for the better. So, the quality of Muslims can be better, both in terms of knowledge, interact, and faith. There must be a belief that there is nothing bad in religious teachings. All of them teach goodness, both vertical and horizontal relationship patterns. The effect of religious observance will appear social order, so that social deviations will naturally decrease and even disappear along with the level of public awareness in religion.

The student's veil is a process of social action in making a decision to wear the veil. A German sociologist Max Weber said, social action is a process of actors involved in making subjective decisions about the means and ways to achieve certain goals, these actions include all types of human behavior, now and in the future. Social action is an action that has a subjective meaning from the perpetrator either openly or closed with certain patterns and structures and certain goals as well.

In practice, wearing the veil is not only an encouragement of religious spirit, but also technical factors. The veil is a strategy to cover up "something" identity. For example, students of Ma'hadul Qur'an and Ma'had Aly veils can have many functions and purposes, ranging from mere fashion or trends, religious expressions that become a form of faith, to forced circumstances. Islamic Boarding School in Sukorejo with the behavior of its citizens who are very busy and tend to be individualistic, as well as indifferent, are prone to criminal behavior, especially women. In conditions like this the veil has many functions and benefits.

The veil can be a means to cover up the identity of comfort women or cheating partners when they are invited to a hotel or to an apartment, this is just a story of friends, but this reason is quite reasonable. If you look at the practice, the reasons, functions and purposes of wearing the veil cannot be interpreted singly, whether it is related to expression in orthodox religion in religion, or even just for technical reasons, such as efforts to hide identity. The interpretation that the veil is a product of patriarchal culture that shackles women in expressing themselves and tends to appear closed and asocial is not entirely acceptable. For those who think that it is part of submission to God's rules and a form of freedom as a choice. The reason that the veil is identical with intolerant and even radical sects in religion is also completely difficult to justify before there is reverse and precedent proof. Especially if we look at the perpetrators of the radical movement, almost all of them are men.

Whatever the arguments, arguments and reasons for supporting them, both in terms of human rights, culture and religion, this polemic will never end, let alone end. The veil is the same as polygamy or smoking which is a matter of khilafiyah and the law cannot be decided unilaterally and immediately the same, with consensus, is it forbidden, allowable or permissible because the Ulama do not agree on this case. Similar to the laws of polygamy and smoking, the veiling cannot be generalized and distanced from the original law, which is permissible. So it is no longer important to debate the law of the veil from the fiqh point of view with the explanation above, it is interesting to see that the use of the veil is no longer a matter of whether or not it is obligatory for Muslim women to wear it, but to what extent the motive, function, purpose and why and how the veil is worn and how it affects social relations in society.

On several official Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization) websites or those affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization), support for the ban on the veil is easy to find. In fact, Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization) has openly participated in underpinning or campaigning so that Muslims in Indonesia do not wear the veil. As an organization that has established itself as representing the Islamic civilization of the archipelago, it seems logical for Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization) to do so. The argument that is often put forward is that the veil is not part of Indonesian cultural traditions. Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization)'s resistance to symbols of other Islamization groups can be found in many ways, for example in matters of black foreheads, beards and so on. Wearing the burka along with the veil can be a good example of how the process of Islamization or even arabization which Nahdlatul Ulama (Islamic Organization) has not liked for a long time.

The Veiled Islam student (Santri) is a choice regardless of any motive, either religion or culture and technical factors. Even another study by Eva Nisa (2012: 366-381) found that parents were very heavy-hearted when their daughters decided to wear the veil. They worry about their daughter's future, mate, and relationship because the veil is identical to radical and terrorist groups. Often parents ask their children to remove the veil when returning home. Niqab in its home country, Saudi Arabia tends to be plain dark and not colorful. The function of the niqab is to "guard" the beauty of women so that they are protected from the evil intentions and behavior of men around women. For this reason, the niqab is made in colors that are not eye catching. A ban on conservative Muslim women attracts men's attention on purpose. In this case, the Sukorejo students wear the veil as an effort to show that they are different from radical groups that not all women who wear the veil are radical groups. This is very unique that the veil is a form of resistance to fight them where the veil is their identity or characteristic. Although in practice, veiling is not only a religious expression but also a part of the fashion industry, it can even be a means to cover up something positive and negative.

CONCLUSION

This research finds that the social construction of the veiled Islam student (Santri) is an internalization process of the socialization process with two dimensions. First, it is the process of socializing the authority (policy) of the caretaker of the Salafiyah Syafiiyah Sukorejo Islamic boarding school. Second, the process of socializing is the quality of peer influence. With the consequence that the student's veils do not influence and are influenced by the understanding of radical Islam, for the reasons of two aspects, namely students are trained through an understanding of Islamic moderate, second, students do not have access to social media with radical groups. The symbolic meaning of the veiled Islam student (Santri) is as resistance to radical Islamic groups who claim that

the veil is only the identity of radical Islamic groups. This shows that not all women who wear the veil are radicals. This is because behind the veil there has been a struggle for ideology and identity from radical Islamic groups.

REFERENCES

- ‘Umar ‘Ubayid Husnah, 1998, “*Taqdīm*”, dalam *Nūr al-Dīn bin Mukhtār Mukhtār al-Khādīmī, al-Ijtihād al-Maqâsidi Hujjiyatuhu, Dhawâbithuhu, Majâlâtuhu*, Qathar: Wizârah al-Awqâf wa al-Shuûna al-Islâmīyah.
- Amiruddin, dan Zainal Asikin, 2004, *Pengantar Metode Penelitian Hukum*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Anwar, Yesmil dan Adang, 2023, *Sosiologi Untuk Universitas*, Bandung: PT. Refika Aditama.
- Appleby, Gabriel A Almond, R. Scott dan Emma Nahdlatul ulama (islamic organization)el Sivan, 2003, *Strong Religious: The Rise of Fundamentalism around the World*, London: The University of Chicago Press. Hal 33-37
- Ata Ujan, 2001, *Keadilan dan Demokrasi: Telaah Filsafat Politik John Rawls*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- az-Zuhaili, Wahbah, 1986, *Usul al-Fiqh al-Islami*, Beirut: dar al-Fikr.
- Babbie, Earl, 1998, *The Practice of sosial Research*, Westford: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Badarussiyamsi, 2015, *Fundamentalisme Islam Kritik Atas Barat*, Yogyakarta: PT.LkiS Pelangi Aksara.
- Baltajiy, Muhammad, 2000, *Makanat al-Mar’ah fi al-Quran al-Karim wa al-Sunnah al-Shahihah fi al-Mujtama’ al-Islamiy*. Cet. I; al-Qahirah: Dar al-Salam.
- Barnard, Malcolm, 1996, *Fashion Sebagai Komunikasi*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Barthes, Roland, 2007, *Membedah Mitos-Mitos Budaya Massa*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra
- Berger dan Thomas Luckmann, 1990, *Tafsir Sosial Atas Kenyataan: Risalah Tentang Sosiologi Pengetahuan*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Berger, Arthur Asa, 2000, *Tanda-tanda Dalam Kebudayaan Kontemporer*, Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Berger, Peter L., 1968, *The Sacred Canopy*, New York: Anchor Books.
- Bogdan, R.C. dan S.K. Biklen, 1982, *Qualitative Reseach for Education: In an Introduction to Theory and Methods*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc.
- Bryman, Alan, 2004, *sosial Research Methods*, Second Edition, Oxford University Press USA.
- Burhan, Bungin, 2001, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada
- Campbell, Tom, 1994, *Tujuh Teori Sosial, Sketsa, Penilaian, dan Perbandingan*, terj. Kanisius, Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Coulson, Noel J., 1969, *Conflicts and Tensions in Islamic Jurisprudence*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Danesi, Marcel, 2012, *Pesan, Tanda dan Makna*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Effendi, Satria, 2004, *Ushul fiqh*, Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Elly M. Setiadi dan Usman Kolip 2004, *Pengantar Sosiologi*, Jakarta: Prenada Media Group.
- Hadi, Sutrisno, 2000, *Metodologi Reseach*, Yogyakarta: Andi Offset.
- Hafid, J.O.S. 2001, *Perlawanan Petani, Kasus Tanah Jenggawah*. Bogor: Pustaka Latin
- Ichsan W. Saputro, Kemunculan Islamic Homeschooling & Korelasinya dengan Kebangkitan Kelas Menengah Muslim di Indonesia. *Journbal of el-Tarbawi* Volume XI nomor 1 year of 2018. Hal 103-114
- Iskandar, 2009, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Aplikasi untuk Penelitian Pendidikan, Hukum, Ekonomi & Manajemen, Sosial, Humaniora, Politik, Agama dan Filsafat*, Jakarta: Gaung Persada (GP Press).
- Koentjaraningrat, 1981, *Metode Penelitian Masyarakat*, Jakarta: PT Gramedia.
- Kontowijoyo, 1994, *Metodologi Sejarah*, Yogyakarta: Tiara wacana.
- Liliweri, Alo, 2002, *Makna Budaya dalam Komunikasi Antarbudaya*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Major, B. & O'Brien, L.T. (2005) The sosial Psychology of Stigma. *AnNahdlatul ulama (islamic organization)al Review of Psychology*, 56, 393-421.
- Mannheim, Karl, 1936, *Ideology and Utopia: an Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, New York: A Harvest Books
- Moleong, Lexy J., 2004, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*, Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Mubarak, Jaih dan Atang Abd. Hakim, 2001, *Metodologi Studi Islam*, Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Muhadjir, Noeng, 1996, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, Yogyakarta: Rake Sarasin.
- Muhammad, Abdul Kadir, 2004, *Hukum dan Penelitian Hukum*, Bandung: Citra Aditya Bakti.
- Mulyana, Deddy dan Jalaluddin Rakhmat, 2006, *Komunikasi Antarbudaya: Panduan Berkomunikasi dengan Orang-Orang Berbeda Budaya*, Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Mulyana, Dedy, 2004, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif: Paradigma Baru Ilmu Komunikasi dan Ilmu Sosial Lainnya*, Bandung: PT. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Mustain. 2007. *Petani VS Negara, Gerakan Sosial Petani Melawan*, Jogjakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media.
- Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Hamit, S., Leon, J., Tobio, M., & Rivera, D. P. (2012). Subtle and overt forms of Islamophobia: Microaggressions toward Muslim Americans. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, 6 (2), 15– 37. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3998/jmmh.10381607.0006.203>
- Nasution, Khoiruddin, 2010, *Pengantar Studi Islam*, Yogyakarta: ACAdemia dan TAZZAFa.

- Nazir, Moh., 2005, *Metode Penelitian*, Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia.
- Nisa, Eva F, 2012, *Embodied Faith: Agency & Obedience among Face Veiled University Students in Indonesia*, The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology.
- Novri, Mutiara Sukma, 2016, Konstruksi Makna Cadar Oleh Wanita Bercadar Jamaah Pengajian Masjid Umar Bin Khattab Kelurahan Delima Kecamatan Tampan Pekanbaru. JOM FISIP Vol 3 No. 1 February 2016. Retrieved from <https://jom.unri.ac.id/index.php/JOMFSIP/article/view/8369/8038> on 06 September 2017
- Poloma, Margaret M., 2010, *Sosiologi Kontemporer*, trans. Yasogama, Jakarta: Rajawali.
- Ratri, Lintang. 2011. Cadar, Media dan Identitas Perempuan Muslim. Journal of Diponegoro University. Volume 39 no 02. Retrieved from <http://Ejournal.undip.ac.id> on 18 December 2017.
- Razak, Yusran, (ed), 2008, *Sosiologi sebuah Pengantar: Tinjauan Pemikiran Sosiologi Perspektif Islam*. Jakarta: Islamic Sociology Laboratory
- Ritzer, George, 2004, *Teori Sosiologi Modern*. Jakarta: Prenada Media.
- Sabiq, Sayyid, 1968, *Fiqh as-Sunnah*, Kuwait: Dar al-Bayan.
- Sattar, Abdullah, 2013, *Fenomena Sosial Fundamentalisme Islam*, Jurnal Sosiologi, 3(1).
- Sayis, 'Ali, 1984, *Tarikh al-Fiqh al-Islami*, Kairo: Isa al-Babi al-Halabi.
- Schacht, Joseph, 1965, *Introduction to Islamic law*, London: Oxford University Press.
- Scheid, T. L., & Brown, T. N, 2010, *A Handbook for Study of Mental Health: sosial Contexts, Theories, and System*. 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Setiadi, Elly M. dan Usman Kolip, 2011, *Pengantar Sosiologi Pemahaman Fakta dan Gejala Permasalahan Sosial: Teori, Aplikasi, Dan Pemecahannya*, Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Grup.
- Sihabudin, Ahmad, 2013, *Komunikasi Antarbudaya: Suatu Perspektif Multidimensi*, (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- Soekanto, Soerjono, 1981, *Teori Sosiologi Tentang Pribadi Dalam Masyarakat*, Jakarta: Ghalia Indonesia.
- Strauss, Anselm dan Juliet Corbin, 2007, *Basic of Qualitative Research*, Terj. Muhammad Shodiq dan Imam Muttaqin, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Sugiyono, 2014, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R dan D*. Bandung : Alfabeta
- Suprayogo, Imam dan Tobrani, 2001, *Metodologi Penelitian Sosial-Agama*, Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Suyanto, Dwi Narwoko dan Bagong, 2004, *Sosiologi Teks Pengantar dan Terapan*, Jakarta: Prenada Media Group.
- Terry, 1989, Faktor-faktor persepsi, (online) ([http://hendriansdiamond.blogspot.com/2012/01/choice-meNahdlatul-ulama-\(islamic-organization\)rut-terry-1989-faktor-faktor.html](http://hendriansdiamond.blogspot.com/2012/01/choice-meNahdlatul-ulama-(islamic-organization)rut-terry-1989-faktor-faktor.html)), Diakses pada tanggal 25 Maret 2020.
- Zetlin, Irving, 2001, *Memahami Kembali Sosiologi Kritik Terhadap Teori Sosiologi Kontemporer*.