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The Masculinity of Muslim Students in Yogyakarta

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study to describes ideal masculine norms perceived by male Muslim students in the university of Yogyakarta. There are five dakwah movement activist students interviewed in this study. This research uses a qualitative study to find regularity and a certain pattern of social phenomena. There are four students dakwah movement activists interviewed in this study. The major finding of this study is all of the interviewees has the similar concept of ideal masculinity which is associated with restraint and maturity, not those related with muscularity and virility. This is influenced by the contemplative and the receptive dimension of Islam, as well as the paternalistic culture of Indonesian societies. It could be argued that restraint is an important feature of Indonesian masculinities.

Keywords: Culture, hegemonic masculinity, Indonesia, Islam, masculinity.

Introduction

The construction of masculinity formed among Muslim students is includes the masculinity issues that still have not received much attention. This is ironic, considering the student is one of the elements of society that was instrumental in the process of social change in a society. Students are one of the motors of social change in the community. They are young people who have great power, and the effort to reach them is worthwhile. Shifting gender concepts, including the concept of masculinity, can be called as one element of social change. The social change in this context is the shift in the concept of gender, including the concept of masculinity. This is because the concept of masculinity is a social construct which can be changed depending on social and cultural conditions where the development of the concept of masculinity.

In the international academic discourse, the study of masculinity is still many centered on the concept of masculinity west. Masculinity non-Western, including masculinity Indonesia, is still not widely discussed. Therefore, an understanding of masculinity is still a lot of rests on the understanding of Western masculinity. An academic who examined many issues of masculinity, Michael Kimmel, confirmed that the practice of gender in Western societies shows norms of femininity and masculinity are different from non-Western societies (Kimmel 2000).

Muslim students selected as research subjects in this article because the Muslim group is one social group is quite influential in social change in Indonesia. One example, the movement of Indonesian Muslim students joined in KAMMI is one of the motors fall of the New Order regime and the fall of Suharto in 1998. The Indonesian Muslim Student Movement active in the socio-cultural changes in Indonesia started in 1980 when the expression of Islam in politics and territory other public castrated by the New Order regime. Through the movement of Muslim students on campus mosques in Indonesia, the movement increasingly solid with the mission to provide color Islamic dakwah in social and political life in Indonesia. With the establishment of political parties based on student missionary

movement, the Justice Party, which later became the Social Welfare Party, the Muslim student movement increasingly plays a role in the socio-political map of post-New Order Indonesia.

Literature Review

Many studies have been conducted to understand the construction of masculinity in non-Western societies indicated constructions of masculinity that is different from the perception that many developing concepts of maleness. During this time, men have always been identified with the physical strength, toughness, the use of ratios, and things other stereotypes associated with the identity of the male ideal. The conception of maleness more developed in Western society.

In academic discourse, studies that have been done on the construction of masculinity Indonesia is very limited in number and scope of the studies. Boellstorff (2005), Oetomo (2000), Nilan, Donaldson, and Howson (2007), and Hasyim (2014) showed that in fact there are many aspects of the concept of masculinity Indonesia that could be explored more deeply and the dynamic of dakwah movement of Indonesia student.

Studies conducted by Boellstorff and Oetomo shows that the concept of masculinity is also related to sexual orientation and efforts to negotiate a normative sexual orientation in many cases the people of Indonesia. The study also shows that the homosexual identity formation in Indonesia very closely linked to social class, age, and the uneven distribution of power (Boellstorff 2005; Oetomo 2000).

Meanwhile, Nilan, Donaldson, and Howson (2007) suggest that the perception of Indonesian people living in Australia about the concept of ideal masculinity they indicate a similarity with the concept of masculinity Java. Local masculinity may be similar to the concept of masculinity *wen* in China that do not promote physical strength. The study revealed that the construction of masculinity Indonesia is formed through the interaction of three important concepts of culture, namely self-regulation, collectivism and sexuality.

Masculinity hegemonic in Indonesia is related to the concept of maleness in associated with emotional maturity (which usually refers to men aged mature) and behavior that is not confrontational (less adventurous and do not like to take risks because of the type of men like this are usually more like an order than the dynamic situation). According to Donaldson (Donaldson 1993), hegemonic masculinity is a pattern norm that is culturally idealized masculinity. Therefore, this hegemonic masculinity is usually found in many public figures to be a role model for the community. In Indonesia, the shape of this hegemonic masculinity can be found in the figure of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Suharto. Both figures are the representation of male aristocracy, which is the norm in accordance with the norms of ideal masculinity perceived by the male respondents, the emotional maturity and behavior are controlled and non-confrontational (Nilan, Donaldson and Howson 2007).

Hasyim (2014) explained an overview of Indonesian student activism in Berlin, Germany. Based on documents, interviews, and conversations with former and current student activists, the paper scrutinizes the trajectory of activism of Indonesian students in the capital of Germany since the 1960s and asks about the evolution of specific student organizations, the issues, and topics they tackled, and their media and networking strategies. The article illustrates the activities of the PPI (Indonesian Student Association) Berlin as a dominant example of Indonesian student political activism abroad and the activities of Indonesian Muslim students as a prominent example of religious-based activism which has gained significance since the fall of Suharto. Indonesian student activists understand dynamic engagement with (political) activism as part of their way in paving the way to the future.

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Therefore, although they know that their activism may produce unpleasant consequences for themselves, they continue their informed and active engagement and concern. These examples indicate the diversity of Indonesian student activists in Berlin that are nevertheless united in their aspirations to challenge politics back home.

Method

This research uses a qualitative study to find regularity and a certain pattern of social phenomena. This can be found by doing a synthesis of data obtained through in-depth interviews (in-depth interviews) and secondary data (books, journals, newspapers, magazines) that could result in more comprehensive analysis. There are four students interviewed in this study. The research subject is male Muslim students at the university of Yogyakarta as dakwah movement activists. Students who were interviewed have been selected according to their willingness to be the respondent. This election does not consider other matters, such as social class students because of social class variables are not taken into consideration. This is done because the scale of research is small and limited in terms of time and funds. Then, in-depth interviews conducted with respondents. Interviews will be conducted mostly around how they construct the concept of ideal masculinity. Interviews and other information about gender and masculinity are analyzed and synthesized to determine the norms of masculinity that is considered ideal for five students.

Result and Discussions

Muslim students who affiliated to the missionary movement are students who are actively involved in the movement of Islamic spirituality on campus. The author calls the activity of their spirituality as a dakwah movement as the forerunner of Islamic spirituality in campus organizations in Indonesia is a movement inspired by the global Islamic movement in Egypt.

The main objective of the Islamic movement spearheaded by Hasan al-Bana is the formation of the Muslim community kafah. As explained earlier in this paper, the movement began in the 1980s at the Salman Mosque ITB before eventually expanded to mosques campus in most areas in Indonesia. The author argues this movement is an Islamic movement cannot be underestimated in determining the social and cultural life map changes in the post-New Order Indonesia. This is seen, for example on the progress of students and campus spiritual movement activists who joined KAMMI, which has a very active participation in the student movement as a whole to topple Indonesia's New Order regime in 1998. Other evidence of the active participation of the missionary movement is the formation of the Justice Party as the party of Islam can reap significant voice in the elections held in 1999 and 2003. This party later changed its name to Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (Prosperous Justice Party).

On its development, the MCC Islamic orientation can be said to experience a bit of a shift. The party initially quite a bit militant seems more pragmatic in order to expand its constituent segments are more diverse, not just activists campus missionary movement. The most recent example can be seen from current events one cabinet minister who is also the PKS cadres, Tifatul Sembiring, shaking hands with the United States first lady, Michelle Obama, who accompanied her husband during a visit to Indonesia in 2011 ago. This handshake event had caused controversy because of a missionary movement activists are generally reluctant to shake hands and make eye contact with the opposite sex.

Although to determine whether the campus missionary movement is now also experiencing a shift requires more in-depth study, this small study can at least reveal that the concept of masculinity that developed among the students of the missionary movement is

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also more fluid and progressive. In general, the Muslim student activist campus missionary movement involved as respondents said that Islam is the main value that is role models in their daily lives. This is understandable because most of them educated in Islamic boarding schools or *pesantren*.

The growth of Islamic secondary school, which gave a fairly large portion of the teaching of Islam appears to be rising since the 1990s. This begins in line with the policy of the New Order government to make friends with Islam. This contrasts with the policy of the New Order in 1980 which tends to limit the development of the forces of political Islam in Indonesia. The clearest example that shows this trend is the tragedy of Tanjung Priok in 1985 that illustrate how countries have shown repressive efforts to limit the development of political Islam in Indonesia.

The rapidly growing of Islamic schools is a factor that affects the dissemination of the growing strength of Islamic values in the socio-political life and culture in Indonesia. Growing passion to show the identity of Islam is especially true in large cities and among the middle class. This spirit is seen, for example, the increasing number of the Muslim woman wearing Muslim headscarves and clothes. Dissemination of Islamic identity would also not released from the forces of capitalism that utilize this passion to the commoditization of the products relating to the identity of Islam. This commodification has penetrated many fields, from fashion, beauty products, to banking products.

Students affiliated with the missionary movement, in general, stated that being a real man means to be able to be the head of the family who gave shelter and protection to women, wives, and family. This statement can be said to be still based on the normative assumption that placing men as the main breadwinners in the family. Nevertheless, we cannot automatically assume that they have the perception of gender conservatives who put the concept of masculinity as opposed to the concept of womanhood. No statement from those who can give the impression that they consider women inferior to men. This example can be seen from their statements revealed that they generally are used to perform domestic work is usually perceived as a woman's job. They also stated that they like the type of independent women, although it still did not leave the tenderness of a woman. They generally also assume that mother as an admirable figure.

They felt that the ideal man is the protector of the family shows how the concept of family is a very powerful in Indonesian society. The principle of family is one of the main basic principles underlying everyday life and even political and social life and culture of Indonesia. This is reflected in the basic principles of the 1945 Constitution of Republic Indonesia and Pancasila as the basic ideology of the Indonesian nation. The principle of this family later also influenced the construction of gender that developed in Indonesia. Formation of the concept of the masculine and the ideal feminine was also referred to an evolving concept of the family entity.

There is ambiguity shown by the statement of respondents who admired the independent and strong woman but did not leave their feminine nature. This could indicate two things. First, respondents were looking at the concept of masculinity is not in a position diametrically with the concept of femininity. The ideal woman, according to their gender can also show the attributes often associated with men, and these attributes even desirable is not considered a taboo for women-owned. Secondly, the respondents have not fully adopted the concept of gender that is progressive, because they think that there are certain limitations that gender should not be bypassed by women.

All respondents were affiliated with the missionary movement said that the Prophet Muhammad is a male figure idol who became their role model. This is in line with the concept of masculinity that they think is most ideal. According to them, men are supposed to

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be patient, kind, and respectful of women. As exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad, the man who should be the role model and a good head of household, as well as understanding and kind. According to them, men do not have to demonstrate their virility by having a stocky body and macho appearance. In other words, these respondents put forward the advantages of generosity rather than masculine attributes are visible from the outside, for example, physical form.

The concept of masculinity that emphasizes the depth of the heart it features one side of Islam that promotes contemplative and passive receptive behavior. This is the area of Islamic mysticism who are trying to show the feminine side of human consciousness to the exclusion of the properties of the active and assertive are generally perceived as an element of normative masculinity, for example, like to control others and physical activity. Ahmed (2006) explains further that the Islamic dimension and accentuates the feminine side of the inside is also apparent from the word "Islam" means submission. In fact, the main qualities of God in Islam, the Al-Rahim and Al-Rahman has a feminine connotation and is derived from the same Arabic root, which means womb.

Conclusion

The concept of masculinity that is owned by the respondent is a concept that puts the ability to resist. This is one proof that the concept of masculinity Indonesia may be different from the Western concept of masculinity, which further highlights the individual skills and emphasis on physical aspects to strengthen the attributes of maleness. In Indonesia, the strength of cultural norms that highlight the ability to refrain arise due to several factors. Such factors as feudal traditions preserved in the Dutch colonial times and still characterizes the lives of several people in Indonesia.

The culture which is heavily influenced Javanese values has manifested itself in various forms under the socio-political context of modern Indonesian history changing. This culture has also been adjusted in order to justify and strengthen the political forces that demanded obedience and loyalty from those who governed. Just like how the concept of Javanese culture used by the Dutch authorities to maintain order and security in the colony, the Javanese culture that emphasizes the concept of restraint proved to be a powerful ideological tool used by the government in power after independence. Under the form of cultural domination that demanded obedience majority, it is understandable that the masculine form is associated with independence and risk-taking attitudes is not a form of masculinity exalted.

This study is one small example that reminds us to acknowledge the cultural diversity in the construction of the concept of masculinity. Academic discourse on masculinity is still struggling with the concept of Western masculinity that emphasizes the concept of maleness active and assertive. The concept of masculinity is constructed of Muslim students who have respondents of this study indicated that the concept of masculinity, as well as concepts of femininity, should be seen as a cultural construction that is flexible, plural, and depends on many variables.

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