

AGNIESZKA KURIATA



HIJAB – MUSLIM RESPONSE TO GLOBALISATION?

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Young Muslim women are coming under an increasing influence of globalisation processes and follow global trends, which also includes fashion. This entails a certain balancing act between being modern and being religious. The author of the present paper attempts to address the question whether the hijab may be considered a Muslim answer to globalisation through its presence within the so-called “hijab fashion,” or that perhaps, to the contrary, it constitutes a symbol of a growing isolation and separation of Muslim minorities inhabiting the countries of western Europe.

Agnieszka Kuriata, University of Wrocław, Faculty of Law, Administration and Economics, Centre of Oriental Law Research, ul. Uniwersytecka 22/26, 50-137 Wrocław, Poland, e-mail: agnieszka.kuriata@uwr.edu.pl

Hijab – the symbol of Islam

Hijab is a theological term. However, it seems that the contemporary approach reduces it to a concept from the domain of needlework, while at the same time confusing its meaning. In order to understand what hijab is, one must clearly distinguish it from the niqab¹ and the burqa.² Academic

¹ A black veil with a space for the eyes, which appeared in Europe with Salafist. Research demonstrates that almost all women wearing it have been born in France; over a half comes from French families, which had previously nothing to do with Islam, while the families of the rest come from Maghreb, yet, they were born and raised in France.

² A veil with semi-transparent cloth covering the eyes, which was used by the Pashtun tribes in Afghanistan in the past, and was imposed on women by the Taliban; in previous

sources clearly point out that hijab has a historical meaning, which allows women a certain ease of interpretation.³ At the same time, remembering the words of Benazir Bhutto that “hijab is not on the head, but in the head,”⁴ one should not perceive it as a “problem” set in contradistinction to the “niqab.” Neither is it a symbol of Islam, although – as it has been pointed out by Robert Spencer – hijab is a certain symbol of the place of women in Islam.⁵ It is an element of a garment that clearly points to the belonging of a Muslim woman. The element is as visible as it is controversial, given especially that the Muslim theologians do not agree whether the command to veil the body stems directly from the Quran, and even if so then they would argue whether there are any particular verses⁶ specifically enumerating the parts of the body that should be veiled. It is certainly in the Sunna where more specific guidelines can be found.

In the Quran, hijab is mentioned seven times in highly diverse contexts. Interpreting those verses in accordance with the Muslim methodology one should not only take into consideration the linguistic context. The word “hijab” can mean a “veil,” but also “something that separates,” such as for instance a wall, and in the broader sense, a set of rules specifying what dress is proper for a Muslim woman. The veil is not a product of Islam, and thus, one should also account for the cultural context – after all, Muslims took over the veil from those Assyrian and Babylonian peoples whose territories they conquered – as well as for the historical context – often such verses are pointed to which were not directed to women at large, but exclusively to the wives of the Prophet, such as for instance the one covering the command to veil the face.⁷

centuries it used to be characteristic of isolated, backward and rural societies (populated by the Wahhabis) on the Arabian Peninsula.

³ D. Bouzar, L. Bouzar, *La République ou la burqa: les services publics face à l'islam manipulé*, Albin Michel, Paris 2010, quote after: B. Pasamonik, *Dlaczego muzułmańskie chusty nie muszą oznaczać odmowy integracji?*, http://www.tokfm.pl/blogi/socjologia/2013/12/dlaczego_muzulmanskie_chusty_nie_musza_oznaczac_odmowy_integracji/1 [access: 27.12.2015].

⁴ T. Borejza, *Beata Kowalska: w Koranie pojawia się wizerunek kobiety niezależnej [wywiad]*, <http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/religia/beata-kowalska-w-Quranie-pojawia-sie-wizerunek-kobiety-niezaleznej-wywiad/d89rqz> [access: 29.12.2015].

⁵ R. Spencer, *Niepoprawny politycznie przewodnik po islamie i krucjatach*, Fronda, Warszawa 2014, p. 106.

⁶ The Quran is divided into 114 chapters (surah), which are then divided into verses (ayat).

⁷ Cf. A. Kuriata, *Źródła prawa muzułmańskiego wobec stroju kobiety muzułmanki*, “Acta Erasmiana” 7/2014, vol. 7: Z badań nad prawem i administracją”.

Depending on the geographical latitude, the demands put on the appearance of Muslim women in the public space vary in terms of their restrictiveness. Among the Muslim countries the most restrictive rules have been put in place in Iran as well as in Saudi Arabia. Other countries with Muslim majorities put forward diverse approaches, which tend to be largely dependent on tradition and cultural borrowing. When it comes to European countries, only France, Belgium and Bulgaria have so far introduced a general legislative ban on covering the face in public spaces. However, after the ruling of the European Tribunal for Human Rights from July 1st, 2014, which deemed those prohibitions not to contravene the freedom of religion specified by the Convention, further countries are also preparing changes to their laws.⁸

Hijab as a manifestation of belonging

Muslim veils, present on the streets of European cities, constitute a clear and visible element of a garment through which the female members of the Muslim minority distinguish themselves from others. One should consider, however, whether this aims at manifesting their original roots – given that the countries differ when it comes to the kinds of veils and ways of their wearing – or does the true aim consist in the religious manifestation of being an element of the universal message of Islam.⁹ Such distinctions are not easy to determine, especially in the light of the fact that the veils did occur in pre-Islamic times, being products of local cultures, and only gained a religious justification after their Islamic incorporation.

Analysis of multiple posts on various Internet fora, as well as of media appearances of young Muslim women living in the European countries, uncovers a clear message. The current third or fourth generations of immigrants demand equal treatment on a par with all the other citizens of the country where they were born, where they work, and which they treat as their own country – often to a much greater extent than the countries of their forefathers. These persons exhibit religiosity in their own peculiar way, while at the same time demanding access to equality under the law, without them being evaluated through the prism of religion, which also includes the

⁸ Cf. A. Kuriata, *Wolność uzewnętrzniania wyznania poprzez ubiór w odniesieniu do muzułmanów w orzecznictwie Europejskiego Trybunału Praw Człowieka*, “Studenckie Prace Prawnicze, Administratywistyczne i Ekonomiczne” 17/2015.

⁹ B. Pasamonik, *Dlaczego muzułmańskie chusty...*

clothes they wear. Being a Muslim compliant with the Sharia law, as well as a citizen of the European country compelled to comply with laws contradicting their own lifestyle, generates an understandable resistance on their part. While Christians distinguish between the sacred and profane spheres and can thus find their place in countries with a secular heritage, Islam does not distinguish between law and religion and additionally strictly regulates multiple matters of everyday life – allowing therefore for no compromises in this respect.

Hijab as a product category of Muslim mass culture

As it has been pointed out by Daniel Boćkowski, the globalized western world (*dar al-kufr*) constitutes as serious threat to Muslim morality. Through its sheer attractiveness, it can entice Muslims to break with the rules stemming from the Quran.¹⁰ However, globalization is a fact whose influence is inescapable, which can be readily attested by the range of products of Muslim popular culture. The Muslim market does not resist fashion or global trends, yet, it is following them in a way implying a different understanding of modernity – one that does not require abandoning one's religious or cultural identity.

Products using this broadly understood hijab can be divided into three categories:

1. Products constituting a Muslim alternative to the artefacts of popular culture;
2. Products enabling Muslims to function in a globalised society in compliance with their own religious values;
3. Products emphasising faithfulness to Muslim values.

Products constituting a Muslim alternative to the artefacts of popular culture

Products conceived as an alternative to those of western popular culture constitute a specific category as they are purposefully meant not to be devoid

¹⁰ S.W. Murden, *Islam, the Middle East and the New Global Hegemony*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London 2002, p. 123, quote after: D. Boćkowski, *Od Cordony do Tora Bora: globalizacja w świecie islamu. Świat islamu wobec globalizacji*, "Kultura – Historia – Globalizacja" 6/2010, p. 2.

of a religious character.¹¹ As emphasised by Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska, these products assume a westernized form, but are filled by Muslim content. They serve their function by diverting the audience from Western products.¹²

One of the most popular of these products is Fulla – a “Barbie doll” in a hijab. This toy was created in Saudi Arabia in 1999, but its popularity only started to grow due to the ban put on Barbie in Middle Eastern countries on the basis of its lack of compliance with Muslim values. Accessories are available for purchase, including various abayas, hijabs (over 80 types) as well as niqabs, and the doll was designed in such a way so as not to be naked even if undressed. The catalogues also include various kinds of dresses representing the particular country-traditions – the variety of abayas: Saudi black, red in the United Arab Emirates, Egyptian orange, Moroccan brown, as well as the Hindu sari. The selection includes a Fula dressed all-white – praying.¹³

Items signed with the Fulla logo sell very well and are adorned by both the children and their parents. Thanks to its influence, girls make swifter decisions to start wearing a hijab, and are more likely to take part in daily prayers – as they want to be just like their favourite doll. Fulla is a brand in itself, as well as the projection of a certain image. Therefore, Fulla shall never be complemented by a Muslim “Ken,” as this would run afoul of Muslim morality. In spite of being primarily a toy, it is also used to engender moral patterns among the youngest Muslims, by way of TV-commercials which present Fulla as a devout Muslim focused on taking care of the household.

Towards the end of 2014, a British designer introduced Deeni Dolls to the market – a toy for Muslim children which is supposed to adhere to the strict demands of the Sharia. The doll named Romeisa (after one of Mohamed’s spouses) does not have any facial features – including eyes, nose and mouth – while its head is covered by a dark hijab. The project is implementing one of the tenets of Islam prohibiting the depiction of the facial features of humans and animals in whatever form, including pictures and sculptures. Additionally, it is connected with the traditional beliefs that

¹¹ M. Dmochowska, *Wpływ globalizacji na tożsamość kulturową młodych muzułmanów w Europie i na świecie*, “Dialog Międzykulturowy” 2013, wydanie specjalne; <http://dialogmiędzykulturowy.org/wpływ-globalizacji-na-tożsamość-kulturową-młodych-muzułmanów-w-europie-i-na-swiecie> [access: 25.12.2015].

¹² K. Górak-Sosnowska, *Jihadi cool: popkultura w służbie dżihadyzmu*, “Kultura – Historia – Globalizacja” 17/2015, p. 57.

¹³ A. Lakner, *Barbie po arabsku, czyli Fulla – kobieta perfekcyjna*, <http://etnosystem.pl/magazyn/7476-fulla-arabska-barbie> [access: 4.05.2014].

a child's bedroom should not include any other open eyes – including those of dolls. Critics emphasise, however, that the toy seems to give credence to the idea of Muslims being ill-adapted to modern culture,¹⁴ and shall not find many buyers among the diaspora.

Top popularity has been enjoyed by the Pakistani animated series “Burqa Avenger,”¹⁵ whose main heroine – Jiya – fights for women's access to education against antagonists, whose persona are based on the Taliban. She does not use force, however, but rather the might of books and of the ball-point pen. Her garments have nevertheless given rise to controversy. While they seem a variant more of the niqab than of the burqa, this was enough to give rise to critical voices that the veil constitutes a “symbol of oppression and subjugation of women, which cannot be a symbol of empowerment at the same time.” The creator of the series rebuffs these challenges by claiming that “she does not wear the burqa due to religious oppression but in order to conceal her identity, as almost all superheroes would.”¹⁶ It has been suggested that the cartoon is meant not only to have entertainment value, but mostly to focus attention on the problem of the lack of access of women to education. The inspiration for the screenplay came from the figure of Malala Yousafzai, who was shot by the Taliban on her way to school in retribution for her blogposts concerned with the right to education. Time Magazine subsequently named her one of the top-hundred most influential persons in the world.¹⁷

One other product of Muslim mass culture which constitutes an alternative to a similar western institution comes in the form of beauty contests organized even in the most orthodox countries such as, for instance, Saudi Arabia. Selecting the most beautiful woman (the key goal of analogous competitions in the West) is not, however, what these events are mainly about; what they are aiming at is to choose those who most ardently follow the rules and values of Islam. Often, the jury would also consider other criteria, such as, for instance, the contestant's decorative skills or knowledge of

¹⁴ *New 'Islamic doll' launched in Britain has no facial features*, http://www.lancashiretelegraph.co.uk/news/11663826.New_Islamic_doll_launched_in_Britain_has_no_facial_features/ [access: 28.12.2015].

¹⁵ <http://www.burkaavenger.com/about> [access: 28.12.2015].

¹⁶ “*Burka Avenger.*” *Superbohaterka z zasłoniętą twarzą walczy z talibami*, <http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-ze-swiata,2/burka-avenger-superbohaterka-z-zaslonie-ta-twarza-walczy-z-talibami,344904.html> [access: 4.05.2014].

¹⁷ J. Suchecka, *Mścicielka w burce walczy o szkoły dla Pakistanek*, http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,14417683,Mscicielka_w_burce_walczy_o_szkoly_dla_Pakistanek.html [access: 10.06.2014].

natural ways of caring for the body. From 2006, Miss Arab World contests are also organized, which allow for the participation of women veiling their bodies. Sheer good looks are seen to be of less than primary importance. Other factors are treated as more vital, e.g., personality or civic involvement of the candidate.¹⁸

Among the available garments one can also find such that serve the purpose of providing an alternative to standard bathing suits. These include the burqini – a project combining the burqa and the bikini – invented and marketed by a Lebanese living in Australia in 2003.¹⁹

Products enabling Muslims to function in a globalised society in compliance with their own religious values

Contrary to superficial appearances, fashion does constitute an important element of the Muslim culture. However, our understanding of fashion as a means of creating one's own image in order to boost one's attractiveness and attract attention, strongly diverts from the categories of modesty and piety proscribed for the followers of Islam. The "new veiling movement," or hijab fashion, seems to constitute an attempt to accommodate Western trends with the canon of Muslim values. Most frequently this would simply come down to combining the Muslim headscarf with western clothing, thereby superficially complying with the prescriptions of Islam.

The strength of market demand can be attested by the increasing number of designers rolling out loose-fitting clothes and dresses (Mango, DKN, H&M Fall 2015 Muslim Collection) or clothing-series especially designed for the period of Ramadan.²⁰

Nevertheless, Sharia law does stand in opposition to global fashion. The message of the Quran – an expectation of modesty and plainness – is a general command both for women and for men. Hijab, understood as a set of rules governing the looks of a Muslim woman, aims at hiding the woman's beauty as well as at emphasising it. By choosing the western style, fashionable Muslim women break multiple rules derived from hadith, which

¹⁸ A. Kandicha, *Miss Pięknych Obyczajów 2009 beauty rituals from around the world bliski wschód 14 stycznia 2014 Miss W Nikabie? O Arabskich Konkursach Piękności*, <http://multicultclub.com/miss-w-nikabie-o-arabskich-konkursach-piekności/> [access: 29.12.2015].

¹⁹ <http://burqini.com> [access: 31.12.2015].

²⁰ F. Molvi, *Is Islam's Holiest Month Turning Into a Shopping Holiday?*, <http://www.racked.com/2015/6/17/8796083/ramadan-fashion> [access: 31.12.2015].

do not allow for any far-fetched freedom of choice. One example comes in the form of jeans trousers – a symbol of the mass commodification of popular culture – which stand in contradiction to the prohibition on wearing close-fitting clothing emphasizing the feminine shape, as well as to the ban on resembling the looks of men or infidels.²¹

Superficial obedience with respect to religious proscriptions through wearing an elaborately formed headscarf instead of a hairstyle is often seen as decoration by an imitation of awrah, i.e., an area that should be covered. One of the most often quoted hadith condemns not only improper clothing but also wearing the “camel hump” hairstyle:

Narrated by Ahmad and Muslim in al-Saheeh: “There are two types of the people of Hell that I have not seen yet: men with whips like the tails of cattle, with which they strike the people, and women who are clothed yet naked, walking with an enticing gait, with something on their heads that looks like the humps of camels, leaning to one side. They will never enter Paradise or even smell its fragrance, although its fragrance can be detected from such and such a distance.”

Muslim theologians point out that the expression used in hadith “clothed yet naked” refers to such Muslim women that may cover their body, yet their garments are too thin and tightly-fitting or do not fully cover the area of awrah. The expression “their heads are like the heads of camels” is supposed to mean a form of hairstyle that involves its covering by a headscarf but whose shape invokes the look of the back of the camel whose humps protrude in two different directions.²² In light of the above argument it would seem that a fashionable Muslim cannot be a pious Muslim at the same time, as she would never abide by all the rules set in the laws.

When it comes to the phenomenon of Muslim fashion, we are dealing with a kind of creolization, i.e., a mixing of local and foreign elements. A fashionable Muslim woman relies on two sources – the local and the global.²³ This introduces two contradictory codes, which seem irreconcilable. On the one hand, there is modernity and sexual attractiveness, and on the other – piety and modesty. This entails a push for some compromise, searching for a new way which does not force Muslim women to choose, as it

²¹ Cf. A. Kuriata, *Źródła prawa muzułmańskiego...*

²² *The Camel Hump Hijab is Haram!*, <https://qalaallah.wordpress.com/2014/08/01/the-camel-hump-hijab-is-haram/> [access: 29.12.2015].

²³ K. Górak-Sosnowska, *Muzułmańska kultura konsumpcyjna*, Warszawa 2011, quote after: B. Pasamonik, *Dlaczego muzułmańskie chusty...*

constitutes a form of emancipation through religion. Taking this into account, one should be not surprised at the examples of young Muslim women who wear headscarves against the will of their families – especially mothers who may have been “emancipated” earlier on in the course of westernization. At the same time, as a result of the borrowing and intermingling of cultural elements from one to the other culture, the phenomenon has arisen which Edward Burnett Tylor called cultural diffusion – leading to an increase of similarity between cultures.²⁴ What remains important, however, is that the effect to which this diffusion leads stands in contradiction to the primary aim of wearing the scarves and the specific, characteristically Muslim, forms of garment – as the primary assumption was supposed to make a distinction between Muslim women and the representatives of all the other cultures or religions. This is also indicated by a verse in the Quran:

O Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to bring down over themselves [part] of their outer garments. That is more suitable that they will be known and not be abused. And ever is Allah Forgiving and Merciful.²⁵

The contemporary phenomenon of the hijab fashion, also constituting an example of the balancing act between being fashionable and pious, can be seen in the Mipster subculture,²⁶ which encompasses young Muslims whose lifestyle and clothing follow the western style, while they do not give up on their religion and the identity associated with it. Of special interest seems to be a music video published on the Facebook profile of the group,²⁷ which features fashionably clad Muslim women wearing hijabs, skateboarding, and taking smartphone selfies to the background of Jay Z’s song “Somewhere in America.”

It is through fashion that we are often familiarized with the Muslim culture. Nzingha Knight, who presented a Muslim-directed collection during Fashion Week 2012, stated that fashion has the power to make the unknown become familiar.²⁸ Models now appear on catwalks wearing scarves, which

²⁴ M. Dmochowska, *Wpływ globalizacji na tożsamość kulturową...*

²⁵ All quotations from the Quran come from the Quranic Arabic Corpus. The descriptions of the quotations include the number of the surah (Roman numeral), and subsequently of the *ayah*, i.e., verse (Arabic numeral); Quran, XXXIII, 59.

²⁶ The name is derived from a combination of the English words “Muslim” and “Hipster,” where the first part denotes the religion and the second the subculture.

²⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/Mipsterz> [access: 29.12.2015].

²⁸ M. Dmochowska, *Wpływ globalizacji na tożsamość kulturową...*

do not serve as markers of any belonging, but are merely stylistic elements.²⁹ Shaz Kaiseruddin, initiator of the “American Hijab Design Contest,” created the style known as “covered chic,” which aims to turn headscarf-wearing into a trend expanding outside of the religious and cultural aspects by enticing women coming from different countries and following different religions to wear headscarves as elements of fashionable clothing.³⁰ One step in this direction was also taken by the management of the Polish edition of the “Top Model” contest, where one contestant took part in a photo-shoot of a Turkish designer wearing modest Muslim abayas and a hijab.³¹

Even for those who are not knowledgeable about fashion, it seems possible to notice that forms of behaviour which used to be initially seen as expressive of extravagance and nonconformity – such as, for instance, wearing dresses over trousers or Aladdin trousers – would initially be restricted to some self-confident women daring to wear them only to become more commonplace, so as to blur the boundaries of innovation in a way that was making the resisters of trends seem unfashionable and, paradoxically, strange.

Products emphasising faithfulness to Muslim values

While some become increasingly turned to the West, by way of manifesting modernity through garments, others are staunchly returning back to tradition, externalising this in the public space in a variety of ways.

Princes Hijab is an anonymous artist superimposing drawings of black hijabs on exposed bodies of women on street posters. Using the method of visual shock, in contradistinction to many other artists of this kind, after finishing her work she stays put in order to observe the reactions of passers-by. She refers to her art as “hijabism.” By stripping the scarf of its religious meaning, she uses it – among other things – in order to express social liberty and equality. In turn BR1 (Bruno), creator of the cut-out method, produces posters inspired by Muslim women from different regions of the world. As he emphasises, his mission is to demonstrate that they are exactly the same

²⁹ During the show by designers Karen Walker, Vivien Westwood and Lie Sang in 2012 models wore Muslim headscarves inspired by the ‘60s style, resembling the style of Audrey Hepburn or Jackie Kennedy.

³⁰ M. Dmochowska, *Wpływ globalizacji na tożsamość kulturową...*

³¹ *Misha znowu zaskakuje. Zobaczcie jej nową sesję!*, <http://topmodel.tvn.pl/aktualnosc,2099,n/misha-znowu-zaskakuje-zobaczcie-jej-nowa-sesje,189344.html> [access: 28. 12.2015].

as those living in Western countries, and that they have their own needs and nature.³² In this form, the hijab may constitute a form of alterglobalist resistance, a rejection of the commercialised image of women in the West.³³

Among the products of mass culture one should also distinguish those that are destined not to be alternatives for the western ones, but rather specifically more Muslim products. For example, one might point to such an answer from the Islamic world in the form of a growing offering of airlines assuming a total compliance with Sharia law – one example comes in the form of Rayani Air. Prohibition and halal menus were imposed on-board, and take-off was preceded by traditional prayer. Not only the female personnel, but also all the female Muslim passengers were obliged to wear a hijab.³⁴ Similar restrictions are put in place by Iran Air, Saudi Arabian Airlines, as well as Royal Brunei Airlines.

Radicalism and focus on distinctiveness as a Muslim answer to globalisation

Among the disparate Muslim communities, a range of different answers to globalisation can be observed, generally aimed more at isolation and separation than integration with the societal mainstream. Those groups which are dismissed as strange,³⁵ and hence worse, and whose representatives are not accepted, suffer marginalisation, are pushed to the outskirts of cities and marginalised, and the feeling of unfairness generates strong emotions and growing manifestations of discontent. The disillusionment fosters further radicalisation and a stronger emphasis on one's own distinctiveness, a fortification of ethnic boundaries, as well as the restriction of contacts to

³² A. Kandicha, *Hijab Street Art. Na Podstawie Princess Hijab I BR1*, <http://multiculturalclub.com/hijab-i-street-art-princess-hijab-i-br1/> [access: 29.12.2015].

³³ T. Borejza, *Beata Kowalska: w Quranie...*

³⁴ C. McGuire, *Female staff in hijabs, prayers before take-off and no alcohol: Muslims climb aboard Malaysia's first Shariah-compliant airline*, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel_news/article-3368634/Female-staff-hijabs-prayers-no-alcohol-Muslims-climb-aboard-Malaysia-s-Shariah-compliant-airline.html [access: 28.12.2015]. *Islamic Airline Rayani Air was banned in June 2016 (Why Malaysia's islamic airline Rayani Air was banned*, <https://airwaysmag.com/airlines/rayani-air-banned/> [access: 10.07.2016]).

³⁵ The situation is different when it comes to such communities whose presence is treated as a fact rather than a threat. Nobody is offended by their presence, as they constitute an element of culture (e.g. the Tatars who have lived in Poland for over 600 years); Cf. *Tatarzy na naszych ziemiach*, http://www.tatarzy.pl/historia/tatarzy_na_ziemiach.html [access: 29.12.2015].

within-diaspora circles only. Women are especially prone to these phenomena, as they constitute a “doubly excluded” category – on the one hand by the receiving society, and on the other hand by their own community, which defines their role as inferior to those of men. Social exclusion stimulates the creation of defensive identities, which explains the high degree of popularity of the orthodox Muslim dress, including the hijab.³⁶ What seems to be of equal importance is the feeling of belonging to a group – the abstract Umma,³⁷ which became visible after the WTC attacks on 9/11, 2001, when many Muslim women would start to wear scarves as a sign of solidarity and in reaction to the growing Islamophobia.³⁸

As the history of the Muslim world demonstrates, changes introduced at a quick pace and enforced modernisation have often produced a defensive reaction as well as a distinct turn towards tradition and orthodoxy. Such were, for instance, the motivations behind the formation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, i.e., opposition against secular traditions and the western influence.³⁹

A special kind of protest against globalisation, taking the form of a revitalisation of Islam, took place in the 1970s. It was reinforced by the growing frustration of Muslim states, which did not receive the desired solutions to their problems from the West, and especially from the United States.⁴⁰ Similar reactions were induced by the policies of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the last Shah of Iran, whose ambitions aimed at modernizing Iran and were among the chief reasons for the Islamic revolution of 1979, as a result of which the Islamic Republic of Iran was created. In addition, the stronger was the pressure on the part of the authorities to wear specific kinds of dress, the more determined the defensive reaction would be – on some occasions Muslim women were bound to wear and at other times prohibited from wearing hijabs. Both situations created great resistance and a reaction to the reverse of what was expected by the authorities.⁴¹

Nowadays, the quick pace of modernisation is answered by an Internet community through derisive memes or pictures published on-line or on

³⁶ K. Andrejuk, *Od osłony do demonstracji. Hidżab z perspektywy muzułmanek europejskich*, “Kultura – Historia – Globalizacja” 9/2011.

³⁷ The entire muslim community.

³⁸ T. Borejza, *Beata Kowalska: w Quranie...*

³⁹ J. Zdanowski, *Historia Bliskiego Wschodu w XX w.*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 2010.

⁴⁰ D. Boćkowski, *Od Cordoby do Tora Bora: globalizacja w świecie islamu. Świat islamu wobec globalizacji*, “Kultura – Historia – Globalizacja” 6/2010, p. 5.

⁴¹ Cf. A. Kuriata, *Regulacje prawne dotyczące hidżabu we współczesnym Iranie*, “Wrocławskie Studia Erazmiańskie” 2015, t. 9: *Kobieta w prawie i polityce*, Wrocław.

social media. These can be found by searching for such phrases as “hijab point of view” or “shame hijab.” Their diversity allows for distinguishing a number of categories.

Pictures of the first category aim predominantly at shaming women who do not wear a hijab, and thus to force them to start using the veil. Authors do not delve into an interpretation of the Sharia sources, assuming that there is only one proper way of understanding the rule of hijab. The second category includes memes attacking and offending women through comparing them to animals, e.g., the depiction of the pattern of human evolution (Photo 1) which presents the women in a burqa as less developed, than one in a hijab, through western style, up to the chimpanzee with an inscription: “If Half Naked is to be modern Then Animal Are the most modern creatures on Earth” or a piece of meat (Photo 2) (“Whoever sees you as meat without a hijab, also sees you as meat under a hijab. I’m not meat. Stop making excuses for the harassers”). This picture suggests that by their clothing western women present not attractive bodies, but meat.⁴² Yet another kind of pictures (Photo 3) involves accusations that improperly clothed women only have themselves to blame when they become victims of sexual attacks.⁴³ Those wearing proper clothing are compared to a wrapped lollipop, and those without it to an unwrapped one to which a swarm of flies stick, which in turn translates into a simple analogy between men and insects. These illustrations have different subtitles such as “You can’t stop them but you can protect yourself” and “A veil to protect or eyes will molest.”⁴⁴

Hijab – a Muslim answer to globalisation?

Even though the phenomenon of “hijab fashion” may point to tendencies of cosmopolitanism and of opening up to global trends,⁴⁵ in my view “Muslim fashion” constitutes in itself an oxymoron. The Muslim world will never accept complete modernisation or integration with the Western world – in

⁴² *Under That Skirt, You’re Just A Piece Of Meat!*, <http://drewfordski.blogspot.com/2012/07/under-that-skirt-youre-just-piece-of.html> [access: 29.12.2015].

⁴³ However, this is not supported by evidence. As it was established by the research of the Egyptian Centre for Women Rights, of the 83% of Egyptian women who admitted to having been publicly molested on the streets with sexual innuendo, as many as 75% were wearing a full hijab (*The veil, the street, and lollipop advertisements*, <https://sarahstil.wordpress.com/tag/hijab/> [access: 29.12.2015].

⁴⁴ *Shame on You: Shame Cartoons*, <http://www.patheos.com/blogs/mmw/2008/09/shame-cartoons/> [access: 28.12.2015].

⁴⁵ M. Dmochowska, *Wpływ globalizacji na tożsamość kulturową...*

a Western understanding of these words – because it is touched by the concept of following and recreating the conditions of life which held under the prophet Mohamed in the first centuries of Islam. The Prophet himself was supposed to have claimed that “Every innovation is heresy, every heresy is error, and every error leads to hell⁴⁶ [Buchari, Muslim].”

⁴⁶ *Przykłady współczesnych innowacji*, <https://sites.google.com/site/oislamie/ksiega-monoteizmu/5-przyk%C5%82ady-wsp%C3%B3%C5%82czesnych-innowacji> [access: 29.12.2015].

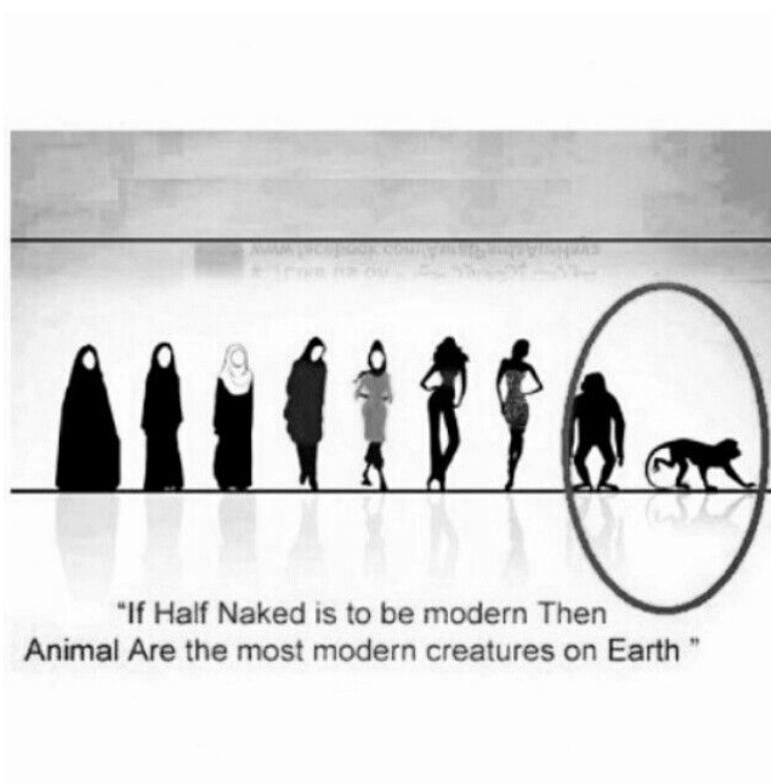


Photo 1

Source: http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-Jy86hpki2yA/T_q61CDLwbI/AAAAAAAAAHs/-8Rw-FPnREto/s1600/480416_409050839130425_1956300092_n.jpg [access: 30.12.2015].



Photo 2

Source: <https://sarahstil.files.wordpress.com/2008/08/hijab2wp1.jpg> [access: 30.12.2015].



Photo 3

Source: <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/2d/d3/09/2dd309f7d916952b7c-6c20347be390e0.jpg> [access: 30.12.2015].

