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Modernization of the Hijab in Amman, Jordan: A Symbol of Islam and Modernity

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Modernization of the Hijab in Amman, Jordan

A symbol of Islam and Modernity

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Abstract

This goal of this research is to obtain data that describes how modernization has affected the practice of women wearing the hijab in Jordan. The intention of this project is also to refute the commonly held notion that the Islamic veiling practice is a backwards, oppressive act that is hinders women from becoming modernized in current society. This study collected data through distribution of surveys to 38 subjects and by conducting six in-depth interviews with respondents (44 respondents in total). The survey consisted of question that aimed to capture beliefs on the mandates of wearing the hijab in Islam, views on woman and hijab, participation in modern technological society, free choice, etc. The interviews consisted of related questions but were accompanied by some open-ended questions on personal experiences and interpretations of the modern hijab. This study argues that modernization will (1) push some women to wear the hijab for less religious reasons but more so for fashion or cultural reasons and/or (2) allow women to choose to wear the hijab for purely religious reasons to symbolize their faith despite pressure from a traditionally secularizing notion of modernity. This study has found that many women in Jordan are choosing freely to wear the hijab as a symbol of their faith in submission to Allah. While respondents claim that modernization is indeed changing the hijab into a less favorable, more fashionable, “1/2 hijab” and a “wrong hijab” women are still very much aware of its meaning and purpose. While these results are interesting, due to the small sample size and other study limitations, these findings must be view as simply speculative.

ISP Topic Codes:

507 Gender Studies

521 Regional Studies: Middle East

403 Religion

504 Cultural Anthropology

Keywords: Hijab, Jordanian woman, veiling, modernization, Islamic tradition

Table of Contents

Copy Right Page	2
Abstract	3
Introduction	
<i>Hijab Attack</i>	5
<i>The Hijab Safe Haven</i>	6
<i>The Study</i>	7
Literature Review	
<i>Islam and Modernity</i>	10
<i>To Veil or Not to Veil: The Hijab in Islamic Tradition</i>	13
<i>Veiling in Modern Jordan</i>	16
Methodology	18
Findings	
<i>What is the Modern Hijab in Jordan</i>	24
<i>Hijab Decisions</i>	26
<i>The Modern Jordanian View on the Hijab</i>	30
<i>Modernization and Hijab</i>	32
Conclusion	33
Limitations of the Study	36
Recommendations for Further Study	37
Works Cited	38
Appendix A, B, C	
<i>Graphs</i>	40
<i>Consent Form</i>	42
<i>Male Survey</i>	43
<i>Female Survey</i>	45

Introduction

A Hijab Attack

I never realized the complexity of the veiling issue in the Middle East until I was sitting in a circle of Turkish visitors for a discussion about Middle Eastern politics in Atlanta, Georgia. I always knew that a handful of people had their negative views about the hijab but I never thought I would hear criticisms from Muslims themselves. During this circle discussion, a Turkish woman argued fervently against the hijab as it was “a political symbol of radical Islam and the oppression of women.” After this statement hands of students flew into the air at an astonishing rate showing desire to retort the previous comment, as one of our peers was wearing the hijab. The discussion escalated to a new level in which another Turkish woman claimed that “women who wear the hijab are sending the message that they reject modernization and our government for trying to be secular like the West. They are one of the hindrances to Turkey’s entry into the European Union.” At the time I knew little about the hijab but I knew enough from friends in high school who wore the hijab to know that some of what the Turkish people were saying seemed to be completely absurd and had nothing to do with politics. As the other Turkish men and women nodded in accord, my eyes opened to a whole new layer of the international hijab issue.

My friend Kafia was among one of the people in the circle, she is a Somali Muslim who wears the hijab. My fellow classmates and I were stunned at how insensitive the Turkish people had been considering there was a Muslim woman in hijab among us. Kafia and several girls I know who wear the hijab were complete opposites of what the Turkish people were claiming defined a woman in hijab. I knew from spending time with Kafia that the hijab was a religious

practice which, she explained, is a personal choice to show one's submission to Allah, the meaning of Islam. I always thought it to simply be a sign that a woman was Muslim and wanted to be humble and modest. On the contrary, what I thought to be a small matter in the global community, mostly of those concerning ignorant Westerners, revealed itself as a predicament even in the Middle East. It was clear that over the course of time an extremely symbolic and political meaning has developed around this simple piece of cloth. The Turkish woman's statement about the tie between veiling and its hindrance to secularism, as a result of modernization, proved to me that the hijab has become a symbol of a struggle between the concept of modernization and Islam. Was I an anomaly in the Western view of the hijab being a harmless symbol of the Muslim identity? Or, was I just lucky to be exposed to a variety of women who wear hijab and are nothing at all like the backwards, oppressed, radical women that the Turkish people described? It was after this incident that I was motivated to learn more about the hijab and the reality of how women in hijab see themselves, but more importantly, how modernization is affecting the hijab.

The Hijab Safe Haven

When I arrived in Jordan I realized that my interest in the hijab was incredibly relevant in Jordan, especially given Jordan's strong support of the U.S and the country's branded symbolism of modernization in the Middle East. Jordan is a fairly conservative Muslim country yet it holds leading position in the modernizing region of the Middle East. Additionally, I observed that a majority of women wear a veil of some sort, along with a significant amount that do not veil at all. This immediately struck me as an illustration that could set an example of compatibility between the East vs. West, secularism vs. non-secular, modern vs. "backwards". I was

encouraged by SIT's program theme of modernization and social change in Jordan because I knew that I could look at the hijab at an angle that was directly reflected in the conversation with the Turkish people. The program's theme was a perfect fit for my interest in the hijab's place in the battle between Islam and modernity.

Because the hijab is an international symbol of Islam, a study on the hijab and modernization is crucial because, as Queen Rania Al Abdullah of Jordan argues, terrorism has caused an increasing amount of superstition and mistrust of Islam. In turn, the traditional and religious significance of the hijab has been subjected to the same criticism which has contributed to negative views about the hijab and the women that wear it (Al Abdullah). I feel that the best way to resolve the hijab issue is to create intercultural and inter-religious dialogues in order to reveal the essence of the hijab. There are many case studies about the hijab in countries such as France, Turkey, Afghanistan, and Saudi Arabia, all of which are extreme scenarios of Islam and modernity. However, Jordan offers a less extreme and more inclusive setting which can expose a middle ground or, in other words, a harmony between modernity, Islam, and the hijab, as veiling here is seen as a person's choice. This is also shown in the Queen's choice to not wear the hijab, a woman who has incredible national and international legitimacy.

The Study

This study explores how modernization has affected the hijab in Amman. The research seeks to find out what the modern hijab in Amman is and how Jordanians view the hijab in modern society. There are arguments held by the west and others which claim that veiling is a backwards practice that oppresses women. This research aims to refute this idea, upheld by Muslim scholar Nazira Zein-ed-Din. Zein-ed-Din claims that countries which engage in the

veiling practice are hindering themselves from being modernized (Zein-ed-Din 102). The first of two hypotheses surrounding this study contests this and suggests that Jordanian women, despite the pressure of modernization to marginalize religion, will choose to wear the hijab purely out of submission to Allah. Secondly, the researcher hypothesizes that modernization's tendency to push religion out of everyday social life, formally known as secularization, will cause the religious significance in wearing the hijab to fade away to some degree. In other words, "westernization" element of modernization, as presented by Riffat Hassan, will manifest into a veiling rationale that lacks the intended religious significance but more so one based on a fashion trend. In summation, I project that although the hijab is losing its religious significance in practice because of modernization, it has also become a vehicle for some modernized women to retain outward signs of religious devotion. I believe that Jordanian women who wear the hijab are not at all hindered in becoming modernized but are, in fact, very modern. Many women have simply chosen to combine religion and modernity in a manner that challenges the more secular, Western view of modernity.

Due to complexity and sensitive nature of this topic, the parameters of this study are confined to the findings of small samples of data collected from a total of 6 interviews and 38 surveys. The goal of the research in no way aims to stretch the findings to generalize about the entire city of Amman, and certainly not all of Jordan or the Middle East. The scope of the project also only seeks to gain information for knowledge's sake. Thus, the findings can only reveal the truth about a small number of a random population of people. Also, it is important to bear in mind that this study was conducted in a short period of time with beginner research skills. Thus the amount of data and in-depth analysis is limited in skill and quantity. However, the responses,

although at times incomplete and limited by language barriers, were candid and the study was accepted openly.

Many terms used in this study such as modernization, westernization, veiling, hijab, *jilbab*, and *niqab* are complex to define but for the purpose of this study the operational definitions are given as the following: Modernization is easily one of the most complex terms even among scholars in academia. However, in this study, Modernization has two characteristics defined by Riffat Hassan “(a) as a process of modernization which is associated with science, technology and material progress; and (b) as Westernization which is associated with promiscuity and all kinds of social problems” (Hassan 190). This definition of modernization will serve as an operational definition for current research purposes. Veiling is referred to the general physical practice of covering the body modestly ranging from the entire body, including the face and hands, to just the hair. The hijab is the commonly used word for veiling that will refer to the actual cloth or clothing which constitutes as veiling in Jordan. The *jilbab* is the popular, long, loose jacket that accompanies the headscarf in Jordan. The *niqab* is the Arabic word in Jordan that refers to the specific hijab which covers the face, revealing just a woman’s eyes. Lastly, *muhajeba* refers to women that veil and non-*muhajeba* refer to women that do not veil. With these definitions in mind, the study will remain consistent and devoid of any ambiguity that results from other outside theories about the meaning of the aforementioned terms.

Literature Review

Islam and Modernity

The debate about Islam and modernity is a topic in which hundreds of books have addressed and have attempted to summarize to no avail. Islam and modernity is far more complicated than the topic of the hijab, but the hijab is a physical manifestation of this complex issue. Thus, to not explain the basis of the conflict of Islam and modernity would do a disservice to the topic of the hijab because the veiling practice is directly affected by the conflict between Islam and modernization. However, an in-depth investigation of this topic is beyond the scope of this literature review. Therefore, the review will provide the basic elements of the topic of Islam and modernization as they pertain to and are relevant to the elements surrounding the hijab.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Islam has been forced to balance both the increasing exposure of the West in, often inseparable, forms of new technological advancement and a very different cultural, moral behavior and traditional Islam (Brown 1). This exposure, often referred to as modernization, has been the biggest challenge for Islam and its scholars (Hassan 189). Modernization, heavy with western cultural elements, has imposed a change to the way of life dictated by the way of Islam to almost all Muslim countries. Thus, modernization's impetus towards altering a religious way of life towards a culture that separates religion from everyday life would understandably cause a negative reaction due to such a stark division. The two very different world views of the East and West, especially through their relationship with religion, is what has caused the conflict of how each side views the concept of modernization. Thus, this also effects how each side, East and West, go about becoming "modern" in their own terms (Woodward 111-112). Thus, modernization, initiated and lead by the West, is based upon a

lifestyle in which religion is easily separated from daily life while Islam, in the East, is the core dictator of how one should live their daily life. Riffat Hassan's essay entitled "Is Islam a Help or Hindrance to Women's Development?" very eloquently summarizes that "Muslims, in general, tend to think of modernization in two ways: (a) as a process of modernization which is associated with science, technology and material progress; and (b) as Westernization which is associated with promiscuity and all kinds of social problems" (Hassan 189-190). Hassan further explains that while the latter is highly unfavorable, the former is very much accepted and embraced (190).

Muslims also face the challenge of trying to fit into the framework of modernization in the Western traditional sense, because one of the most important Islamic religious authorities, the *sunna*, is based on traditional prophetic times. Islam mandates that its followers obey Allah and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). The *sunna* is an account of the life and sayings of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Therefore, the *sunna* has acted as an ethical code of conduct and a standard of how an acceptable Islamic society should live. However, modernization, and its effects, have created conditions that make it difficult for people to live according to what the *sunna* dictates. This forces Islamic scholars to rethink hundreds of years of Islamic practice (Brown 1). The question of the *sunna*'s authority in Islam is one of many new challenges that Islam is facing due to modernization, along with the more general idea of questioning Qur'anic interpretation. It is in this predicament that highlights the very blurred line in which tradition and religion must be drawn and where the hijab becomes relevant. Due to modernization forcing the Islamic community to reevaluate various aspects of Islamic practice, the notion of the hijab as a mandate of Islam and not simply an outdated Arab tradition is questioned.

Is Islam's very specific dictation of society something that can be abandoned due to different, western, or "modern" circumstances? This question reveals the premise of the struggle between Islam and modernity. On the other hand, Dale F. Eickelman's article entitled "Islam and the Languages of Modernity" explores many theories and definitions of modernization in which he concludes that Islam and modernity are indeed compatible. Eickelman draws on many important concepts and debates about why Islam and modernity clash but yet they still are managing to grow in and among each other as two different core elements of the East and West. While one definition may not allow for Islam and modernity to be compatible in principle, another definition, in a more Islamic context, could allow a Muslim country to flourish and experience its "own form modernity" while still meeting global standards (Eickelman 2-3).

Many scholars would agree that the definition of modernity and who creates the standard of what makes a state "modern," is a widely addressed idea in the topic of Islam and modernity. I agree that the clash of East and West makes the Western ideal of modernization infeasible. However, if measured by a different standard, there is indeed much modernization going on in the Middle East, aside from slow Islamic-rooted social practices. The mere fact that the hijab is not worn by all Muslims in Jordan, a modernized constitutional monarchy significantly influenced by Islamic Sharia law, is proof that modernization has influenced but has not at all erased or marginalized Islam. In fact, the freedom that the Jordanian government grants women in this decision making process, while still yielding a majority of Muslim women wearing the hijab, shows that Islam and modernization are indeed compatible.

To Veil or not to Veil: The Hijab in Islamic Tradition

The hijab, according to many Muslims, has multiple uses and meanings that are still understood and accepted today. The hijab's symbolism is one of modesty and morality. According to Islam, the hijab functions as a shield for a woman against the lustful gaze of men. The hijab also serves as a cover to preserve the modesty and piety of the woman, as that is her main role as stated in the Qur'an. Not only is this her role in her faith, but in society as well. The Qur'an also states that the woman is the family's main preserver of honor, piety, and modesty. Thus, the hijab is an aid in which the woman can successfully carry out this function as demanded by Allah through the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) (Kulenovic 714-715).

Amr Khalad, a popular Islamic scholar, layman, and highly influential Muslim speaker, has had a strong influence on Muslim youth in on the issue of the hijab, especially in Jordan (Stratton 98). According to Amr Khalad's lecture "Al-Hijab," the hijab also serves the purpose of forcing men to not sexually objectify women but to see her as a vessel of intelligence and high moral values. Khalad says that the hijab reinforces the fact that

"Islam... made the beauty of women of a higher value in men's eyes by providing protection [in the form of hijab] to that beauty from uncontrolled lusts and desires, and instead ordering men to respect greater the inner beauty of her soul. Thus, the real value of women is associated with the degree of her bashfulness and her abidance by it" (Khalad "Al-Hijab").

This is the tradition Islamic rational for the hijab and why it is important in Islam (Khalad "Al-Hijab").

The Qur'an states the following about the hijab and Muslim women. "O you Prophet, say to your spouses and your daughters and the women of believers, that they draw their outer garments (*jalabibhun* (*plural of the Arabic word: jilbab*) closer to them; that will (make) it likelier that they will be recognized and so will not be hurt. And Allah has been Ever-Forgiving, Ever-Merciful" (TMQ, 33:59)". For comparative purposes, here is an example of the same verse in a different translation from the same lecture: "O Prophet! Tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks (veils) all over their bodies. That will be better, that they should be known (as free respectable women) so as not to be annoyed. And - ALLAH - is Ever Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful. (33:59). Both translations clearly indicate that Allah is calling out to Muslim women to cover up their bodies to be better identified as Muslims or "believers." It is important to note that nowhere in this Qur'anic verse is it specified how or what to cover, with what, to what extent. Additionally, I challenge the idea that women can feel that they fulfill this role without the hijab. I also question how it is that women feel about the idea that they should be the ones responsible for the weakness of men or their lack of self control. However, it is because covering is mentioned in the Qur'an that many Islamic scholars and many Muslims in general believe that the hijab is a mandate of Islam, more importantly of Allah. The Qur'an is also seen as the word of Allah, verbatim, as it was given to the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) by the angel of Gabriel. Thus, many Muslims believe there is no room for interpreting what Allah has clearly stated. This is the basis for arguments that advocate, and even mandate, for Muslim women to wear the hijab (Khalad "Al-Hijab).

The opposite school of the thought is represented here by Nazira Zein-ed-Din, a Lebanese Muslim feminist scholar, who strongly opposes the practice of veiling. Zein-ed-Din argues that

the veil is oppressive to women, insulting to men and women alike, and is a clear indicator that countries that still practice veiling are not advancing in the world's rapidly changing society. Though I disagree with Zein-ed-Din's claim that nations in which the veil is still prevalent are not advanced, I agree with her idea that the Islamic justification for why women should wear the hijab is flawed. I also agree that the fact that men have been the individuals interpreting the Qur'an and their assumptions that they know the needs and views of women has had a negative impact on women in society. However, Nazira Zein-ed-Din does not account for countries that have made significant advances in technology and social settings while women within that country are indeed veiled and/or wear the hijab. Jordan is a country that is considered one of the most modernized countries in the Middle East, yet a majority of women in Jordan wear the hijab. Although Zein-ed-Din's work is somewhat dated, there are still scholars who share her sentiment regarding the hijab and veiling (Zein-ed-Din 101-106). Yet, it is clear from observation and knowing Muslim women in Jordan that this theory does not apply entirely to Amman, Jordan. Many women here choose to wear the hijab on their own and the government gives them the freedom to make this choice.

Finally, a study about hijab in the West also provides another theory that I believe can also be applied in Jordan because it is a country that is very heavily influenced by the West. The idea of the hijab as a symbol of resistance is explored by Tarik Kulenovic but not necessarily one that is strictly political. Tarik Kulenovic's theory suggests that the hijab in the West is a matter of identity, a physical symbol of a woman's Muslim identity. This symbol also carries a message of religiosity in a modernizing society which encourages a secular life style and scorns tradition. Essentially, Kulenovic asserts that "the modern identity of Muslim women, which includes the

wearing of the veil, is primarily the identity of resistance to the values than individuals find foreign to them and as such imposed on them” (717). Thus, in modern society, the hijab can be thought of as a means of retaining a religious life style while assimilating to the demands of the modern world.

Veiling in Modern Jordan

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan does not require that Jordanian women wear the hijab, nor do they ban the hijab in any public or private institutions. Women in Jordan, as implied by the government, have the freedom to decide for themselves if they wear the hijab or not. Literature about veiling in Jordan, although there is little, suggests that modernization has created a new rationale for wearing the hijab which is devoid of religious motivation. Evidence of this was captured in the novel Muhajebabes by Allegra Stratton.

Stratton, a young English woman and researcher, traveled to a variety of Middle Eastern countries, including Jordan, to find and document the issues of Arab youth. During her visit to Amman, Stratton conversed with young Jordanian girls (teenagers) and discovered that, for Jordanian youth, wearing the hijab was becoming more of a fashion trend that did not necessarily come from religious motivations. Stratton spoke of this as there being “another category” of muhjebas. The girls explained that the hijab usually meant that the hijab (here referring to just the scarf) also had to be accompanied by “baggy clothes everywhere else” (Stratton 97). However, according to the Jordanian girls, young Jordanians “that are veiling are doing it because the tight headscarf and a tight outfit is a good look, they think” (Stratton 98). Thus, Stratton’s findings suggest that the new hijab, which is popular today, is a tight hijab with a fashionable tight outfit to compliment. However, the novel further suggest that the hijab still

retains its religious significance because the Jordanian girls talk about being convinced to wear the hijab from listening to Amr Khalad's TV programs, lectures, etc which encourage Muslim women to wear the hijab (Stratton 98). From her interaction with these Jordanian teenagers Allegra Stratton also realized that the girls seemed think of the hijab as an added on accessory to their already confirmed "tight outfit" as to assume, as Stratton said, that "I'd thought the veil came first and the tight outfit second. But maybe the veil was the recent thing. Something these women and girls had decided latterly" (Stratton 98). The evidence in this novel supports my theory that modernization has brought about more of a free choice when it come to girls wearing the hijab. More importantly, it supports my theory that modernization is changing the reasons why Jordanian women wear the hijab and that a less religious motivation is driving them.

A piece about the hijab in Jordan is broadcasted on Market Place from American Public Media by Alisa Roth. This content of this article also contends that some women in Jordan wear the hijab "more as a fashion statement than as part of religious practice" (Roth). Comments from women in a hijab shop and the hijab store owner include statements that explain that women wear hijab for reasons that range from not liking their curly hair to feeling that they just want to fit in because it is part of the culture. Other reasons include feeling that if they did not wear the hijab they would be accused of being shameful in the very traditional Jordanian society. However, the woman who had this reason takes off her hijab when she is not in Jordan and admits that if she lived outside of Jordan she would not wear the hijab at all. The hijab store owner claims that hijab stores are very popular and numerous in Jordan today not because Jordanians are more religious, but because the hijab is simply more stylish. Finally, the article finds an example of a woman who did wear the hijab for the religious purpose of preserving

piety but this woman claims that her hijab is “a religious belief, but I don't have to look like an old lady if I wear hijab” (Roth). This article further supports my theory that modernization has formed a new hijab with a new rational, one that is not entirely religious.

The hijab also has taken a political symbolism. Due to policy banning veiling in Turkey and France the hijab has contributed to the political symbolism. Thus, when one wears the hijab they are seen as sending messages of resistance and extreme Islamism, causing negative attention and controversy about the hijab. In an interview with Queen Rania's for “Correia Della Sera” magazine, an interviewer asks the queen about this political view on the hijab. In her response, the Queen Rania explains the significance and meaning of Islam and claims that the hijab should never “be viewed as something that can be divisive between communities.” Queen Rania also says that “we shouldn't judge women by what is on their heads but by what is in their heads...” and that the hijab “is a relationship between a woman and God and I think at the end of the day societies have to accept that in today's world we will be different, outwardly and inwardly, but the idea is to try to create harmony nonetheless” (Al Abdullah).

Methodology

The target group for this study includes Jordanian Muslim women and men between the ages of 18 and 40. This age group is the target of this study because they are the current generation and are experiencing modern Jordan in a time when it seems there is an ever increasing influx of Western culture and technology spreading across borders. This age group is also in the process of their education or have recently graduated. The age group is also likely to include married men and women who might be inclined to think differently about the hijab as their marriage

might have changed the way each looks at the hijab. My study includes all Jordanians except for one woman who grew up in America; however, she has spent a significant time in Jordan in an effort to obtain her Master's Degree from the University of Jordan, she is a Muslim convert, and she wears the hijab. My intention was to get a group of people all from Amman, but due to the fact that I went to the University to hand out my surveys I randomly got some people who lived outside of Amman, but I feel their opinion is valid as they spend significant time at the University which is in Amman.

In conducting this research, I chose four different methods of data collection survey: interviews, content analysis of the surveys and interviews, and my own observations. The first data collection method I chose was a simple survey, a sample of which is attached in the appendix. After many different drafts of the survey I went to the University of Jordan to distribute the final version. My survey included the opinions of both young women who wear the hijab and those that do not. I also distributed surveys to men as well. My sample group came from one of my advisor's class rooms, and then a friend of mine from the university offered to hand surveys out to more people in one of his classes. I also distributed some myself to other students and some willing women I met throughout the time of my research. At first I created one survey for all of my target groups (men, women who wear the hijab, and women who do not wear the hijab) however, it seemed more eco-friendly and less confusing to make a separate survey for men and another for women. I translated only the male survey into Arabic because of time constraints and assurance from my advisor that women in the University speak very good English. The survey for woman was four pages, which is quite long for a simple survey, but I wanted to collect as much data as possible. The male survey was only 2 pages as their opinion is

desired but is not as relevant to this study as that of Jordanian women. I did not ask for names in any section of the survey to ensure the anonymity of all my human subjects. In the end I collected 38 surveys in total. Twenty one surveys were from women that wear the hijab, eight from women who do not wear the hijab, and nine from men. After gathering the surveys, I analyzed the results manually.

As my second method of data collection, I conducted six interviews, each having an approximate duration of between 45 minutes to an hour and a half. I interviewed three women who wear the hijab, two women who do not wear the hijab, and one man who teaches at the University of Jordan in the Sharia (Islamic Law) department. This man is also a non-Jordanian but his situation, marriage to a woman who wears the hijab, lengthy time in Jordan, and specialty in studying Islam makes him a very relevant perspective in this study. I met with my interviewees either at the University of Jordan or in their homes. The interviewees I met in their homes were trusted acquaintances or family members of SIT students. I did not use a recording device in any of my interviews except for one, which was with my male subject. I have heard from other students and staff that it is not always welcomed and considering the sensitivity of my topic I wanted to avoid as much discomfort as possible. I also do not own a recorder, so I borrowed one for the interview. Unfortunately, the one time I used it, it died 15 minutes into the interview and I did not trust it again after that. The best way to document my data was to take notes, very thorough notes. However, during the interview where I had the recording device I did not have a notepad, which made it impossible to take notes after the recorder died. I simply had to listen very carefully and then write as much down as I could remember when I got to a place where I could get a pen and note pad.

In the effort to adhere to all ethical standards regarding confidentiality of human subjects, and as a means to achieve as honest responses as possible, I made it a point to get signed consent from all of my interviewees (consent form attached in appendix). I gathered the names of some suitable interview subjects from my advisor and others I contacted through the SIT network. Due to researcher/respondent confidentiality agreements, some names given below are pseudonymous and only meant to convey gender, occupation, and whether or not they wear the hijab:

1. Ayya Abu Shaikha, female, under-graduate student, muhajeba
2. Rania Hussein, female, undergraduate student, muhajeba
3. Zain E Al- Fayeze, female, unemployed, non-muhajeba
4. Ann Smith, female, graduate student in University of Jordan, muhajeba
5. Untha Al Amadi, female, house wife, non-muhajeba
6. Sadique Tathan, male, graduate student in University of Jordan

I discovered that I prefer the interviewing method as one is able to ask more complex, open-ended questions. Also, if the subjects do not understand what you are asking, you can clarify and re-word the questions, unlike in the survey. I also found that the interviews gave me more data. Overall, the interviews are more enjoyable and produce better, more in-depth, data. The majority of my interviewees spoke very good English except for Untha. To make the interview more effective, her sister translated. I also changed the wording of the questions to make sure I was clear about what I wanted to know.

Obstacles in my methodology arose mostly in the survey form of data collection. Aside from the failing recording device, the interviews ran very smoothly. The only other obstacle from interviewing was when I could not get my respondents to elaborate on statements they made.

Even after asking them to elaborate, or asking follow-up and clarification questions, they often just repeated what they said and followed with “khalas!” (finished or that’s it in Arabic). An example of this is when I asked Uthna “Why did you choose to not wear the hijab?” she responded “Because I don’t like it!” It took about 5 minutes to get a suitable reason from her. Another important thing to mention is that due to limited time during the interviews, some questions were omitted. However, many questions did not have to be asked because they were answered in explanations of other responses.

The most difficult aspect of this project was the surveys. I had difficulty figuring out how to ask the right questions. Then, I had to go through many drafts because I found that some questions were asking the same things, some were irrelevant, and some I had to eliminate because the survey was getting too long. I realized, in the end, that the survey was still too long. However, conflicting advice from advisors left me to decide for myself. It would have served me and this research better if I made the survey shorter. Translating both male and female surveys would have also done my data justice as well. Additionally, my goal was to capture the opinions of Jordanians. However, some of my surveys were completed by non-Jordanians. Due to the lack of specific detailed information about citizenship vs. residency, I have decided to include the very few (four in total out of 38 total subjects) non-Jordanian surveys. I believe that this is appropriate because the survey was filled out by Muslim students in the University of Jordan, which still qualifies them to have a legitimate view on the hijab. Their extended time in Jordan, in my opinion, makes them, in a way, still part of the Jordanian society.

The main obstacle of my surveying, and a flaw, was that many of the surveys were not completed, some questions skipped, and some results seemed contradictory. My theory is that

this was all due to the subjects' lack of understanding the question because of a language barrier. It is also possible that the questions were not clear or ambiguous to some degree. I know that this had a significant huge effect on my findings and skewed the data significantly, however, due to time constraints I was not able to get enough surveys to replace the incomplete ones in order to have a manage sample group. Thus, my conclusions and inferences can only be taken with a smaller percentage of certainty.

The changes that occurred in my research happened in the very early stages of this project. I originally was going to simply find out why women in Jordan chose to wear the hijab, but in order to better tie this topic into the theme of the SIT program; I decided to talk about how modernization effects women's decisions to wear the hijab. Throughout the course of this research there were issues raised such as style of the hijab and how that has changed along with a growing emphasis on how men view the hijab. In other words, I had never considered investigating what the hijab actually was, physically, in Jordan which I found was very important to the study. As such, I dedicated a small section to addressing what the hijab is to women. In the beginning of the research I did not intend to get a large amount of feedback from men, but they seemed to be a very vocal group when it came to voicing their opinions. I also found that the one man I interviewed said a lot of very interesting things. I could have explored, more in-depth, many other angles of modernization's effect on the style of the hijab and how it effects the behavior of women. I did indeed explore these in my study but much more could have been covered and ideas born from interviews explored in much more detail.

Findings

This research investigates how modernization has affected, if at all, the hijab in Jordan. In the attempt to answer this question, the research has presented two hypotheses suggesting that: (1) modernization causes some women to choose to wear the hijab for less religious reasons or abandon it all together, while (2) some others choose to wear the hijab for purely religious reasons. The other main idea of this thesis is to refute the widely shared notion in the West that the hijab prevents women from becoming modern. After data collection in the form of 38 surveys and 6 in-person interviews, this research revealed that my two hypotheses were corroborated in a majority of this small sample of subjects. Furthermore, many more trends manifested themselves that are important to note in the findings which go beyond but add significantly to the research objectives. The outcomes of this research will be explored in a thematic way in which the interview and survey results will be intertwined. The data collected represents the opinions and beliefs of a total of 44 human subjects which is a minute percentage of the total intended target group. Thus, the data collected must only be interpreted as speculative and cannot be assumed applicable to all of Jordan, or all Muslims.

What is the Modern Hijab in Jordan?

A perspective unknown to me before starting my research was the prevailing idea of what the hijab is physically. In fact, the research shows that there is a concept of a correct hijab and a wrong hijab. Before in-depth research commenced, the purpose of the research did not intend to investigate the physical nature of the hijab as something that should be discussed. However, during an interview with Rania Hussein, an undergraduate student in Jordan University, an inquiry was made about what kind of hijab I was referring to when I asked the first question of

the interview “when did you start to wear the hijab?” Rania explained that there are 2 kinds of hijab. The first was just the headscarf and the other was the headscarf and the *jilbab* (long loose jacket). Further into the discussion, Rania admits that there is a right and wrong when it comes to wearing the hijab which my advisors also affirmed (Hussein). Rania along with all other female interviewees claimed that the “correct” hijab is a head scarf and long loose fitting clothing that revealed nothing of body shape and covered everything but the face and hands. Untha and Rania both claimed that they do not like to see girls who wear “the half” hijab where girls wear tight jeans and a tight shirt with a tight headscarf that may show hair and/or neck. Untha passionately exclaimed “if you want to wear hijab do it right! I want to tell girls who wear ½ hijab to take it off because that is not hijab” (Al Amadi).

The survey results given to men and muhajebe posed the question of what they believed was “an acceptable hijab” and then the muhajebe survey asked; what is “the style of your hijab?” The data collected from the male survey shows that 8 out of the 9 men believed that “acceptable hijab” included wearing, not only a headscarf, but both a “head scarf and any modest clothing.” Given similar options, muhajebe survey results found that although only 17 out of the 21 muhajebe survey chose to answer this question, 10 out of the 17 (about 59%) of the women believed that same as the men, that a hijab was “covering your hair and wearing loose clothing.” Interesting to note is that five of the 17 answered that all forms of wearing hijab including: a. just covering your hair b. covering your face and hair c. covering your hair and wearing loose clothing are acceptable. When asked what style of hijab the muhajebe wear, only 16 answered but 50% wear “a loose, simple hijab with an *abaya*” (long shapeless button up dress, usually black). This hijab style is consistent to what the muhajebe believe is an acceptable hijab. Three

women wore the *nicab* which is the hijab which covers the hair and face showing only the eyes. Five muhajeba wear a fashionable colored hijab. Four of those wear this style of hijab with an *abaya* and one with jeans and a blouse. I find these results interesting because my observations put that are tight, colorful hijab accompanied by jeans and a blouse are the most popular hijab style worn by girls that I have seen at the University and in the streets of Amman, not the small 6% of what was revealed in the survey group. However, the fact that my survey was done in a religion class in the Sharia Department of University of Jordan may have resulted in a more religious woman who would be more likely to wear a more “modest” and more “Islamicly correct” hijab.

Hijab Decisions

The rational for why women do or do not wear the hijab in this study is very interesting indeed. 100% of my interview respondents decided to wear the hijab by choice for 100% purely religious reasons. By just this interview survey, my hypothesis would be deemed disproved, but the surveys along with statements made by interviewees corroborate my hypothesis. The muhajeba that I interviewed (Ann, Rania, and Ayya) all made well informed decisions to wear the hijab because they wanted to submit to Allah. After being raised atheist, like her father, and having significant exposure to the Bible, the Qur'an, and the Torah, Rania decided to research all three Abrahamic religions. After years of study Rania decided that Islam was most fitting for her and at 15 she decided that she would submit to Allah's will and wear the hijab and the jilbab. At first, Rania wore both the hijab but Rania explains that later she only wore the head scarf. It was not until this year that she returned to wearing both the Hijab and the jilbab. She removed the jilbab before because her father “wanted just scarf because the jilbab is for old women but he

accepted it (both jilbab and head scarf).” Rania’s mother says “it’s ok for woman to take off the hijab to work but what’s in your heart should be reflected in your physical appearance” (Hussein).

Ayya’s decision to wear the hijab came about after she turned 14. Ayya studied at a religion center where she attended a lecture about the hijab and after that she was convinced that she also wanted to submit to Allah and wear the hijab. Conversely, even though Ayya claims that her decision was religious, when I posed the question “what does the hijab mean to you?” Ayya responded “more beautiful and more confidence and I don’t like myself without the hijab because of my curly hair.” Although this may be due to restricted English skills, I question whether beauty and confidence had anything to do with a religious reference (Abu Shaikha). I believe that there may be a dual rationale for her decision to wear the hijab and she just never considered this in her first explanation as to why she decided to wear the hijab. Ayya wears a tight colorful hijab with jeans and a blouse all of the times that I have seen her. Her family supports her decision and some members of her family wear the hijab and some do not. Ayya implied that her older brother Muhammad is the only family member who does not approve of Ayya’s decision to wear the hijab for reasons that were undisclosed to me. She simply stated “Muhammad and I don’t talk about my hijab” (Abu Shaikha).

Ann Smith provides a very interesting perspective on the hijab as an American born Muslim convert. Ann converted to Islam in 1983 in the United States and decided to wear the hijab three years later because “it is part of [her] adapting to [her] identity and [she] wanted to live the modesty that is prescribed in the Qur’an and [she wanted] to be humbled” (Smith). Ann talked a lot about the hijab as a symbol of the Muslim identity in our interview. To her the hijab

is identity, a regulator of social interaction between men and women, a means to uphold modesty. Her family in America rejected her when she came home from college on spring break wearing the hijab and modest clothes. Her mother told her that she did not want her to wear the hijab around her or out in public with her. This was hard for Ann but she managed to find a way to be able to see her family while still remaining true to her Islamic beliefs. For example, Ann would go home at two am so no one would see her hair when she went from the car to her house, and would stay in the house all day to help her mother (Smith).

The two women I interviewed who were non-muhajeba had two starkly different explanations for why they did not wear the hijab. As ironic as it seems, Zain's decision to not wear the hijab was also religious. Zain explained that she is not ready to wear the hijab because to her, the hijab is a very powerful religious commitment and is not a decision that should be made with haste. Zain believes that in order to wear the hijab your actions as a Muslim have to match your hijab. Thus, Zain says "I want to [wear hijab] but I want to be a fully good Muslim first so that I can be a good example to others and for Allah" (Al Fayez). Zain practices wearing the hijab in her home and feels uncomfortable in society as a Muslim woman who does not wear the hijab. She anxiously awaits the day when she knows in her heart that she will be ready to wear the hijab. On the other hand, Untha immediately and confidently explained that she is a non-muhajeba because she "doesn't like hijab!" Untha does not like the hijab because when she wears it she "feels restricted" (Al Amadi). Untha wore the hijab from age 14-19 and hated every minute of it. She did not like that she had to constantly worry about who would see her hair, she did not like the loose clothes that she had to wear with it, and she claims that she could not do activities that she wanted like "running, swimming, and stuff like that" (Al Amadi). When I

asked Untha if she would ever wear the hijab again she simply answered “Insha’ Allah” and promptly asked me if I had any more questions (Al Amadi). The honesty and candid responses during these interviews provided a very realistic sense of some Jordanian women’s thought processes about their decision to wear or not wear the hijab.

Muhajeba survey respondents were given four questions that captured reasons for wearing the hijab being either: (1) religious, (2) security, (3) fashion, or (4) culture. All 21 muhajeba respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with wearing the hijab for religious reasons (18 strongly agree and 3 agree). 17 respondents strongly agree with security reasons of wearing the hijab while 3 agree. 8 muhajeba strongly agree to wearing the hijab for fashion while 9 agree and 2 have no opinion. When asked if they wear hijab for cultural reasons, while only 15 of the 21 chose to respond, 8 strongly agreed and 7 agree. Thus, 100% of those who responded agree to some degree or higher that they wear the hijab for mainly religious and cultural reasons. Many women indicated that they wore the hijab for all 4 reasons. The survey given to muhajeba also reveals that 100% of the respondents (17 total responded) who chose to answer the question “does a majority of your family wear the hijab?” answered yes. The results for the same question posed to the non-muhajeba (7 of 8 total chose to respond) revealed that 58% (4 out of 7) of their families were majority muhajeba. When asked about the amount of influence on a scale of 1-10 (10 being no choice and 1 being a free choice) their families had in their decision to wear or not wear the hijab, only one person in each group (muhajeba and non-muhajeba) had revealed that they had no choice. Of the muhajeba respondents who chose to answer this question (17 out of 21), 88% marked that their family’s influence did not exceed a 5 on the scale of influence. 47% (8 respondents) said their family had absolutely no influence. Of the non-muhajeba who chose to

respond to this question (6 total out of 8) no one indicated that their family's influence exceeded a 6 on the scale and three respondents marked no higher than a 3 on the scale. While Ann, Ayya, and Rania's decisions were made strictly of their own accord, all three women along with all my other interviewees, and a few survey respondents claim that even today some women still do not get the choice to wear the hijab due to family and tradition forcing it upon them. While all interview respondents have chosen to wear the hijab for religious purposes, all respondents agree that a significant number of women wear it just for culture or family desire does exist. (*See Appendix A figures 1 and 2*)

Modern Jordanian View on the Hijab

From the data collected from observations, interviews, and surveys there seems to be a more favorable view on the hijab than negative. All of my interviewees, even Untha, had very positive views of the hijab and associated women who wear the hijab "correct" hijab with words like: respect, freedom, strong, beautiful, confident, and true. Zain even went as far as to admit that she looked at them with the same admiration as one would a superstar (Al Fayez). Ayya even believed that "the hijab is good men and women love it in Jordan" (Abu Shaikha). My male interviewee, Sadique Tathan asserted that the hijab is becoming somewhat of a symbol of a new kind of feminist movement (Tathan). After saying this Sadique explained that the hijab gives Muslim women the power to control their ability to not be sexually objectified by men (Tathan). Additionally, none of my interviewees looked negatively on women who do not wear the hijab. Every respondent said, in some form or another, that they do not judge women who do not wear the hijab, they accept it and they all had friends that did not wear the hijab. My survey also revealed that the hijab is looked highly upon. When asked if women who do not wear the hijab

can still be good Muslims, a majority of muhajeba, non-muhajeba, and male respondents all agreed to some degree to this statement. They also admitted in a majority that not all women who wear the hijab are good Muslims. Thus, there is an overall more positive than negative view of the hijab and a very strong sentiment that the hijab is a respected outward observation of a woman's faith.

The majority believe that the hijab is indeed a mandate of Islam. Only five of the total 38 respondents to my survey believed that the hijab is not a mandate of Islam (4 non-muhajeba and 1 male). Interestingly enough, everyone else, even if they did not wear the hijab agreed that the hijab is a mandate of Islam. Even all of my interviewees, including the two non-muhajeba, agree the hijab is mandatory in Islam. This was a surprising outcome because all but 7 out of my entire sample group had admitted to learning about different interpretations of the hijab. (*See Appendix A figure 3*)

However, the overwhelming majority of human subjects who participated in this study respects the hijab as a woman's choice and believes that it is about her individual relationship with Allah. Sadique Tathan asserts that "it's a choice." This was a common phrase in all of the interviews I conducted. Thus, my hypothesis about women having more of a choice is corroborated. Modernization's role in expanding education about Islam has created an opportunity for women to choose about the way they practice their faith. According to Sadique Tathan, on modernization's effect on the hijab, what "is making people surprised is that women are wearing the hijab by choice in great numbers, in droves, and they are driven by women" (Tathan). Even with increased education and exposure to different interpretations and modern Islamic thought, the data collected shows that women from this small sample group are choosing

to wear the hijab. According to Ayya, many of her friends who did not wear the hijab before because they were “so modern,” later started to wear the hijab because they “saw a sheikh (tribal leader in religious and social affairs) and/or lecture and they listen to what is said and they become convinced so they wear hijab” (Abu Abu Shaikha). From this, it can be inferred that even those that choose to be non-muhajeba may, later in life, choose to wear the hijab for religious conviction. However, my respondents believe that choosing to wear the hijab in submission to Allah is common throughout Jordan.

Modernization and the Hijab

According to Rania “the meaning of the hijab has not changed and it will never change, the hijab is always the hijab, the meaning doesn’t change” (Hussein). Zain and Ayya made similar statements but Untha believes differently. Untha claims “modernization, yes it has changed the hijab physically and in meaning because the fashion makes it not the hijab” (Al Amadi). Untha is referring to the tight hijab headscarves that show women’s neck and/or hair which are accompanied by tight jeans and a tight shirt. Untha believes that this is the most common hijab and it is not correct. Rania also admitted that she did not care for this “modern hijab” style because it defeats the purpose of the hijab, which is modesty (Hussein). However, all respondents know what the hijab is “supposed” to be and its purpose. However, Ayya, who sports this modern “1/2 hijab” with religious intentions, states “I think it is not changing (the hijab) the meaning because no matter the style it is still hijab” (Abu Shaikha). This findings show a trend that everyone wants to please Allah, but how they do it completely depends on the individual. Thus, while the hijab may take different forms and some may wear it better than others, the meaning and what it stands for will never change.

Findings also suggest that the modern hijab style is shifting towards women simply wearing a head scarf. While many women appear to be aware of the modest clothing that is supposed to accompany the headscarf, Ann Smith says “today, in many cases, the only evidence of a muhajebe is the fact that she is wearing a headscarf” (Ann Smith). This is evident when walks the streets of Amman, observes the hijab in cafes, and even when one searches images on the web. If one were to search “modern hijab” on Google images, results would depict what many Jordanians would deem the “wrong hijab” or “1/2 hijab.”

Surveys respondents and interviewees who wear the hijab showed no sign of being held back from modernization because of their hijab. Important to note about Islam in regards to modernizations was mentioned by my male interviewee Sadique Tathan: “One of the marvels of this religion is that it’s not meant to be observed or practiced in a way that freezes time. It’s a religion that is very flexible very free but again the virtues and principles don’t change” (Tathan). The following findings suggest that this Islam does indeed allow for such modern participation for Muslim women. Every single interviewee answered a definite no when asked if they believed that the hijab hinders women from being modern in thought and social participation. The survey given to both muhajebe and non-muhajebe asked a variety of questions about their participation in activities commonly associated with modernization such as driving cars, attending the university, having a job, having a computer, internet, traveling, riding on an airplane, etc. The data shows that 55% of the muhajebe have traveled outside of Jordan and 42% have been on an airplane. 95% of the muhajebe have computers or laptops and 85% also have internet access. However, many more non-muhajebe (71%) drive a car while only 17% of the muhajebe drive a car. Also, in both surveys only 3 respondents were employed while also

attending the university. However, cultural differences may explain the lack of employment during college. 95% of the muhajeba also attend the University. Interesting to note, is the amount of muhajeba women that attended the University or Jordan. I found, from observation, that the overwhelming majority of women were muhajeba. Granted, I only was in one part of the university, but I find that what I observed in the University is also reflected in the streets of Amman. Sadique claims that “This University (University of Jordan) is probably 80% women also in universities in Iran and Cairo too. These places have the highest percentage of women than probably than in all of N. America in terms of in the University. So there is defiantly something going on and I think the force (of modernization) is actually proof that modernity or “the force” is not in contradiction to Islam in fact Islam simply moves with the times” (Tathan). Thus, the data implies that wearing the hijab does not hinder women from participating in the modern world in term of modern technology and thought. When exploring how the hijab engages with the battle of Islam and modernity, Sadique Tathan raises a very interesting point. Sadique believes that the hijab is a direct symbol of how Islam can indeed be a representation to the West as a new, adapted form of modernity for Muslim women (Tathan). The researcher cannot find a better way to sum up the findings better than when Sadique Tathan asserts “the modern hijab is Muslim women’s way of saying (to the West in regards to the traditional idea of modernity) ‘we accept modernization, but on our own terms’” (Tathan). (*See Appendix A Figures 4 and 5*)

Conclusion

After thorough analysis of the data collected from a small sample of participants (44 respondents total), the researcher can conclude that modernization has indeed had an effect on

the hijab in Jordan. However, the affect is more so on the physical style of the hijab but less so on the meaning. Respondents feel that the meaning and purpose of the hijab will never change. Although some women wear tight “western” clothes with hijab, deemed as the “incorrect” way by many women, the religious consciousness in choosing to wear the hijab is ever present. While a majority of women choose freely to wear the hijab, others are still forced by culture and family tradition. These findings affirm the researcher’s hypothesis that women will still choose to wear the hijab as a symbol of their Islamic faith in the face of modernization. However, the idea that the hijab is becoming less religious due to modernization did not seem to be all the case. In this study, the only evidence of this theory is based on hearsay and general stories about girls that only wear the hijab for fashion, culture, or force from family. Thus, the data collected can only deem this hypothesis as speculative, at best, and in need to further research. On the other hand, the data collected provides strong evidence that the hijab does not hinder Muslim women from being modern. Findings indicate that the hijab is only one small part of a modernized Muslim woman, one that is not backwards or oppressive in any way. In fact, Jordanian Muslim men and women alike look very favorably and respectfully upon women who wear the hijab. Although much information was gather from this sample group, it is of the utmost importance to bear in mind that this group is only a small representation of some Jordanian perspectives. Therefore, these findings can be regarded as interesting, but not at all conclusive evidence of a wide spread phenomenon in Jordan or the Middle East in general.

These findings are important because they prove, even if only for a small group of people, that women are choosing freely to wear the hijab and believe whole-heartedly that it is not what the West makes it appear to be. These findings can show other scholars that oppose the

hijab that there are Muslim women that wear the hijab for reasons that have nothing to do with political resistance. After researching this topic it is clear, from this small sample group at least, that there does not have to be a battle between Islam and modernity. However, the findings lead one to ask why so many people believe that the two cannot co-exist. The research also begs the question of how Muslim women can convince the West that their modernity should not be measured by their clothing. How can Jordanian women advocate for their own definition of modernity that makes the hijab a free choice devoid of any speculation of oppression? How can the hijab become a choice for everyone, as opposed to a force of tradition? These are some questions that still require further investigation. However, the fact that a small amount of Jordanian women have proved that the hijab is not oppressive and a result of a willing, religious commitment is enough to disprove a negative generalization held by people like the Turkish visitors I met in Atlanta.

Limitations of the Study

This study was conducted in a very short period of time with a very small sample group which is an obvious limitation to this study. A more sizable sample within the target group would have provided a larger and more conclusive amount of data. It was also conducted mainly within the University of Jordan, save for the couple of interviews outside. This can have a bias that favors the educated and the youth of Jordan. Also, the data cannot be considered completely reliable because, as mentioned before in the methodology section, many surveys were not filled out to completion and some opinions are those were of non-Jordanians. I also question the complete honesty of some of the interview question responses. As a non-Muslim American

woman, I fear that the women feel the need to glorify the hijab and Islam. In other words, it is possible that the respondents felt the need to put their decisions to wear the hijab, and the practice of veiling itself in the best light possible because of my status as a Westerner (a culture known for often having negative views about Muslims in general and the hijab). Another limitation of my study, brought to light by Ann Smith, is the problem with gathering data from university students. University students may be at a stage in their lives where they are in a rebellious stage and/or have dual and conflicting opinions about modernization and Islam be it conscious or subconscious. Ann Smith suggested that this “identity crisis” in the young Jordanian mind set may have resulted in conflicting responses or false ideas. The researcher acknowledges this a strong possibility. The survey was also a limitation to this study. If both surveys were translated into Arabic, shorter in length, and more clearly laid out, the data would be more reliable and clearer.

Recommendations for Further Study

There is an array of further research needed in the topic of the hijab and modernization. An entire study could be conducted on how older Jordanian muhajeba view younger Jordanian muhajeba. Another angle of this research project could be taken on how the hijab effects public behavior based on modernization. Also, the way the hijab affects the interaction of men and women in current Jordanian society would be a very interesting topic. As far as the topic of Islam and modernity is concerned, a study could be done about finding out if Jordanians believe that Islam and Modernity are compatible or, better yet, if Islam and the West are compatible. There are many subtopics within the more general topic of the Hijab. As the hijab is a topic of international concern, it can even be used as a comparative study involving two or three different

countries. For example, a student in SIT could do a comparative study between Egyptian woman's hijab and Jordanian women's hijab. Also even within the country of Jordan there seems to be a significant difference between the style and view of the hijab in the Badia and in Amman. Another possible study could be to see if there is public or national effort in the form of campaigns in the media or in education to encourage women to wear the hijab. In the process of doing research I noticed that campaigns occurred in Egypt to encourage women to wear the hijab but I have not noticed anything here, however, I have not put forth much effort to look. There are numerous opportunities for study on the hijab in Jordan. There equally as many questions that arise pertaining to the hijab which indicates that there is much more research needed on this topic.

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Appendix A

Graphs

Figure 1

Reasons for Wearing the Hijab

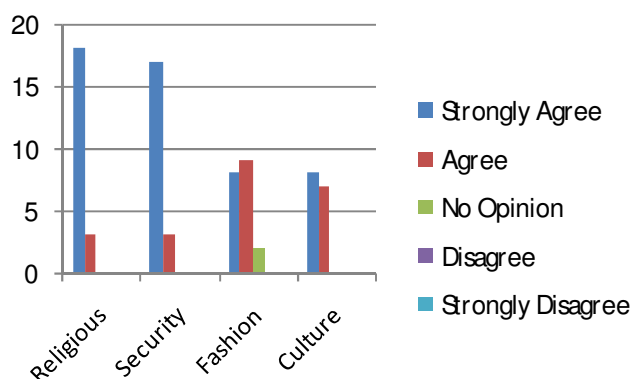
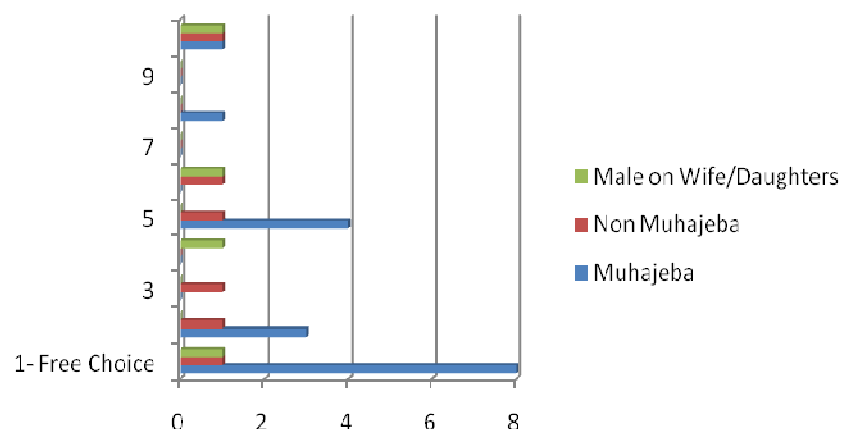
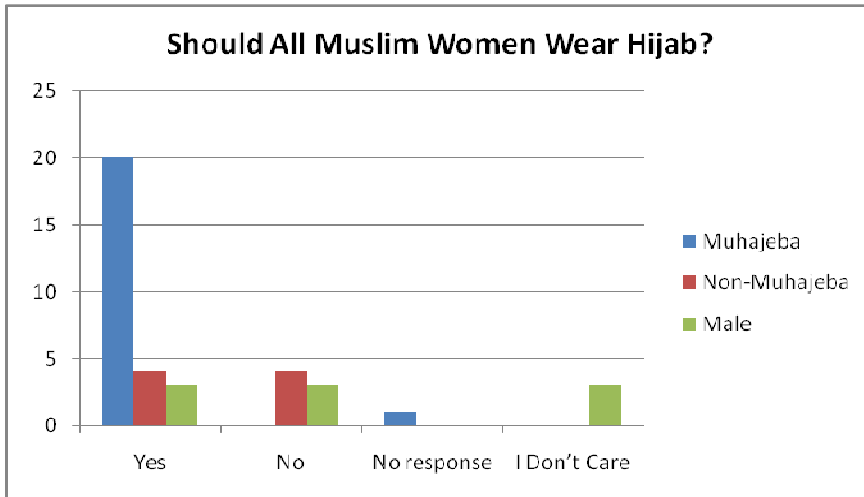


Figure 2

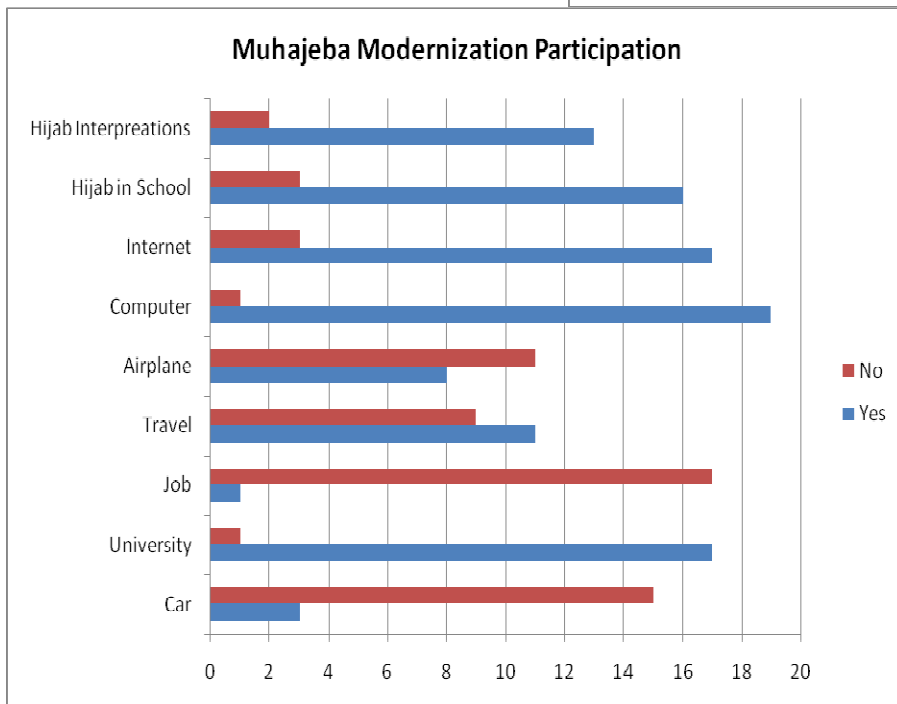
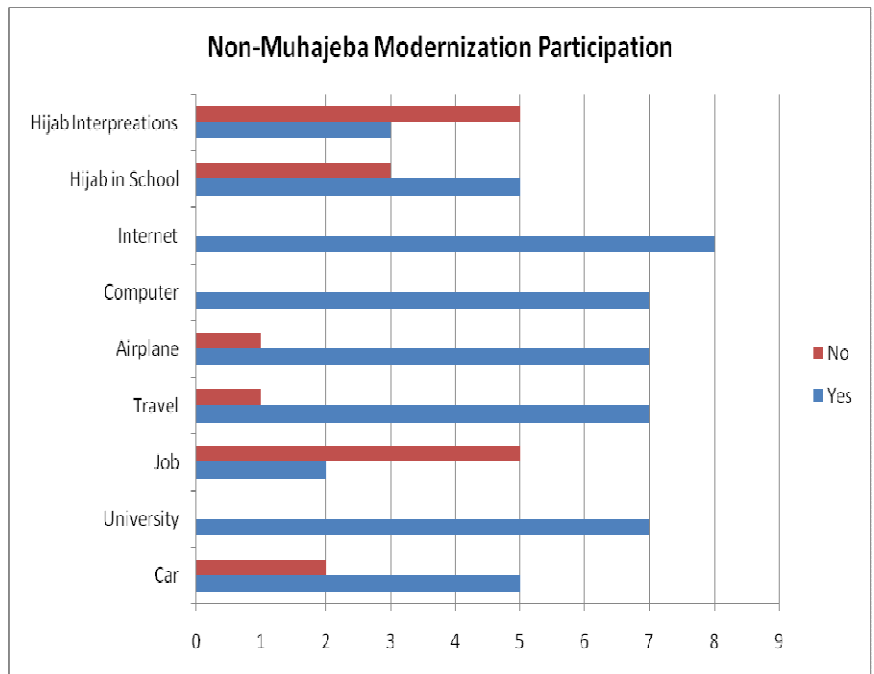
Family Influence on Veiling Decision





← Figure 3

Figure 4 →



← Figure 5

Appendix B

Consent Form**Modernization of the Hijab in Amman: A Symbol of Islam and Modernity**

Nicole J. McDermott, Arcadia University, Glenside, Pennsylvania, United States

School for International Training—Jordan: Modernization and Social Change

Instructions:

Please read the following statements carefully and mark your preferences where indicated. Signing below indicates your agreement with all statements and your voluntary participation in the study. Signing below while failing to mark a preference where indicated will be interpreted as an affirmative preference. Please ask the researcher if you have any questions regarding this consent form.

I am aware that this interview is conducted by an independent undergraduate researcher with the goal of producing a descriptive case study on the effect of Modernization on the hijab.

I am aware that the information I provide is for research purposes only. I understand that my responses will be confidential and that my name will not be associated with any results of this study.

I am aware that I have the right to full anonymity upon request, and that upon request the researcher will omit all identifying information from both notes and drafts.

I am aware that I have the right to refuse to answer any question and to terminate my participation at any time, and that the researcher will answer any questions I have about the study.

I am aware of and take full responsibility for any risk, physical, psychological, legal, or social, associated with participation in this study.

I am aware that I will not receive monetary compensation for participation in this study, but a copy of the final study will be made available to me upon request.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use my name and position in the final study.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use my organizational affiliation in the final study.

I [do / do not] give the researcher permission to use data collected in this interview in a later study.

Date:

Participant's Signature:

Participant's Printed Name:

Researcher's Signature:

Thank you for participating!*Questions, comments, complaints, and requests for the final written study can be directed to:*

Dr. Raed Al-Tabini, SIT Jordan Academic Director

Telephone (962) 077 7176318 Email: raed.altabini@sit.edu

Appendix C

Surveys**English Male Survey****Male View on Hijab**

1. Do your sisters wear the hijab?
YES NO
1. Does your mother wear hijab?
YES NO
2. Do you think all Muslim women should wear hijab?
YES NO I DO NOT CARE
3. Do you think that the Hijab is mandatory in Islam?
YES NO I DO NOT KNOW

(please check the box which applies to the degree of your belief in the following statements)

4. Muslim women who do not wear the hijab are NOT good Muslims
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
5. Women who wear the hijab are good Muslims
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
6. When I see a woman without the hijab I think she is not a Muslim
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
7. What is the correct hijab to you?
 - a. Nicab
 - b. Jilbab
 - c. Headscarf with long skirt
 - d. Headscarf with pants
 - e. Any modest clothes with headscarf
 - f. Any modest clothes without head covered

If you are married please skip to section 3 (III)

Unmarried men and the hijab

1. Would you like to marry a muhajebe?
YES NO I DO NOT CARE
- If yes, if your wife wanted to remove the hijab would you reject this?
YES NO I DON'T KNOW
- If No, would you ask your wife to wear the hijab?
YES NO MAYBE

2. Would you want your daughters to wear the hijab?
YES NO I DON'T KNOW

If you are NOT married please skip to section 4 (IV)

Married men and the hijab

1. Does your wife wear the hijab?
YES NO

What is her hijab style?

- a. Nicab
- b. Jilbab
- c. Headscarf with long skirt
- d. Headscarf with pants
- e. Any modest clothes with headscarf
- f. Any modest clothes without head covered
2. Did she wear the hijab prior to your marriage?
YES NO
If yes, did she change her hijab style?
YES NO
3. Do you have a daughter/ daughters?
YES NO
4. Do your daughters wear the hijab?
YES NO

If yes, What is their hijab style?

- a. Nicab
- b. Jilbab
- c. Headscarf with long skirt
- d. Headscarf with pants
- e. Any modest clothes with headscarf
- f. Any modest clothes without head covered
5. How much influence did you have on her/ their decisions on a scale of 0-10? (0= they decided completely on their own 10= I made them wear/ not wear the hijab) Please circle the appropriate number
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
6. If your wife and/or daughters decided to stop wearing hijab what would be your reaction?

Female Survey**Modernization of the Hijab in Amman: A Symbol of Islam and Modernity**

Researcher: Nicole J. McDermott, Arcadia University, Glenside, Pennsylvania, United States
 Institution: School for International Training (SIT) —Jordan: Modernization and Social Change

Thank you for your participation in this study. The following is a survey which aims to obtain knowledge on how the young Jordanian women view themselves in current society with regards to the hijab. This research seeks understand how modernization is affecting the decision of young women to wear the hijab or not. The larger goal of this study is to see how modernization affects the issue of veiling in Jordan and its influence on Jordanian women's lives. This survey is completely confidential and will be used for research purposes only. The survey takes approximately 5 minutes. Again, thank you for your participation.

Please circle the appropriate answer

Sex: MALE FEMALE

My age is: 18-20 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40

I live: Amman Outside of Amman

I am: Jordanian Non-Jordanian

Occupation: Student Employee Unemployed

Marital Status: Married Not Married

Do you wear the hijab?

☐ YES ☐ NO

If you do NOT wear the hijab please skip to section 2 (II).

I Reasons: Why do you wear the hijab?

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please check the appropriate box

1. When I wear the hijab I feel closer to God.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
2. When I wear the hijab I feel protected and safe.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
3. When I wear the hijab I feel stylish.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
4. When I wear the hijab I feel like I fit in with my peers.
☐ ☐

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| | YES | NO |
| 2. Are you in the University? | YES | NO |
| 3. Do you have a job? | YES | NO |
| 4. Have you ever felt like you were not hired for a job because you wear the hijab? | YES | NO |
| 5. Have you ever felt like you were not hired for a job because you do NOT wear the hijab? | YES | NO |
| 6. Have you ever traveled outside of Jordan? | YES | NO |
| 7. Have you ever been on an airplane? | YES | NO |
| 8. Do you have a computer/ laptop? | YES | NO |
| 9. Do you have access to the internet? | YES | NO |
| 10. Have you ever been taught about the hijab in school? | YES | NO |
| 11. Have you ever read or heard lectures about different interpretations of hijab in school, university, etc? | YES | NO |
| 12. Have you ever listened or read anything by Amr Khalad? | YES | NO |
| 13. Has Amr Khalad influenced your view on the hijab? | YES | NO |

VI My Hijab style: What is a hijab to you?

If you do NOT wear the hijab please skip to questions 3 and 4

1. In your opinion, what is an acceptable hijab?
 - a. Just covering your hair
 - b. Covering you hair and face
 - c. Covering your hair and wearing loose clothing
 - d. All forms are acceptable
2. How would you describe the style of your hijab?
 - a. I wear a tight, colorful hijab with an abaya
 - b. I wear a tight, colorful hijab with a blouse and jeans
 - c. I wear a loose hijab with a blouse and jeans
 - d. I wear a loose, simple hijab with an abaya
 - e. I wear a loose, black, nicab with an all black abaya
3. I have friends who wear the hijab

- YES NO
4. I have friends who do NOT wear the hijab.
YES NO

VII Jordanian Women's view on issue/view of hijab in the west

1. I believe the West (Europe and America) have a negative view about the hijab.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
2. The West should not encourage women to wear the hijab.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
3. The West should make more of an effort to understand the hijab and why Muslim women wear it.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
4. The issue of the hijab is not important and should be left alone by the West.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree

VIII Jordanian view on the west

1. Do you have friends from the West?
YES NO
2. I think the West and the Arab/Muslim world are compatible.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ No Opinion ☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree
3. Please write down the first three words that come to mind when you think of AMERICA:
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____
4. Please write down the first three words that come to mind when you hear BARAK OBAMA:
1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

This is the end of the survey thank you for your time and participation!