



## COMMODIFICATION OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS THROUGH THE PRACTICE OF ISLAMIC LIFESTYLE ON HIJABERS IN KEDIRI

Umi Hanik<sup>1</sup>, A Zahid<sup>2</sup>, Rista Aulia Sholikhah<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>IAIN Kediri

*Jl. Sultan Alauddin No.63, Kabupaten Gowa, Sulawesi Selatan 92113*

<sup>2</sup>UIN Sayyid Ali Rahmatullah Tulungagung

*Jl. Mayor Sujadi No.46, Kudus, Kabupaten Tulungagung, Jawa Timur 66221*

<sup>3</sup>Aktivis Lingkar Sosiologi Indonesia

*umihanik@iainkediri.ac.id*


### Keywords:

Religious Symbols,  
Islamic Lifestyle, Hijab;

### Abstract

Globalization not only affected the development of science and technology but also the socio-religious life of society. In this study, religious symbols are reproduced into a phenomenon in the form of a trend or Islamic lifestyle applied by Hijabers Kediri. This study was conducted with a qualitative descriptive method, with data collection carried out in 3 ways: observation, interviews, and documentation. The subjects of this study were the chairman and members who play an active role in the Hijabers Kediri community. Sources of data were in the form of primary and secondary data sources. This study was analyzed using the Theory of Consumption Society by Jean Baudrillard. So the results obtained are that the consumption community has been represented concretely by Hijabers Kediri through the Islamic Lifestyle that they applied, where hijab is a consumptive cultural lighter for Muslim women. It was no longer a religious symbol used to cover aurat as outlined in Islamic law. However, it is a fashionable need to use the hijab. The use of famous brands is carried out not based on need but an urge to do "updating" so that they are not alienated in their social groups.

Vol. 5, No. 01, 2022

 [10.20414/sangkep.v2i2](https://doi.org/10.20414/sangkep.v2i2).

Submitted: July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2022

Accepted: Aug 18<sup>th</sup>, 2022



## A. INTRODUCTION

In line with the development of the modern world, religion for Muslims is no longer a personal matter for its adherents in carrying out worship and social life. As a result, religious practice is currently undergoing changes where there is an expansion of perspective, appearance, and celebration, both materially and practically, which is then understood by the Indonesian Muslim community as Islamic value (Heryanto, 2015:40). Seeing the current reality, everything related to Islam is sensitive and deserves to be the subject of discussion. Moreover, Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world, and the government has a target to make Indonesia a Muslim Trend in 2020 (CNN Indonesia).

This has an impact on changing the function of religious symbols, which are mainly carried out by parties who do not have an established religious provision in the space of religious understanding, the existence of other factors such as politics, post-authoritarianism, expansion of global capitalism in goods and services, as well as the development of media technology. Increasingly rapidly, affecting the behaviour of Indonesian Muslims. Religion becomes fertile ground for business people interested in taking advantage of the existing social conditions in society based on the objectification of Muslims in a particular area. It is aimed to exploit the form of goods and services products to reap high economic benefits (Costa, 2007:98).

There are various religious symbols used in this case, for example, sharia tourism, halal products, and syar'i clothing, all of which are related to religious dogmatism as a basis for attracting consumerism in the Muslim community. The trend of consumption of Islamic goods has been going on since the 90s, when the emergence of banks with sharia concepts, until the development of other businesses that operate using religious symbols (Arief, 2015:54). Currently, the hijaber Islamic lifestyle trend that emerged around the 2010s is one of the causes of consumerism towards products with Islamic symbols becoming increasingly widespread and is loved by Indonesian Muslim women (Sayan, 2018:155).

Various products employing religious dogmatisms, such as cosmetic products, ranging from body care to textile goods, clothes, and headscarves, used halal standardization. Through products that represent symbols of specific religious attributes, someone assumes that the spiritual activities they do are sufficient through the consumption of the brand's products (Nasr, 1991). No doubt raises an assumption that Muslims follow the trend of It. Islamic lifestyles add to the value of religiosity that is in them (Peterson, 2016).

This is in line with a study entitled Capitalization of Identity Politics in Halal Products; Fashion and Cosmetic Industry (Muthmainnah, 2021). Explaining that fashion and cosmetics are part of Indonesian Muslim identity politics, religious symbols in the form of piety have campaigned in the social media space,

reinforced by religious elements called "halal products." Not only at the cosmetics and clothing level, the hijab, which initially functioned as a cover for genitalia, is now transforming into a hijab brand that carries syar'i hijab fashion. By using this brand, the Muslim community feels under religious dogmatism.

Another study entitled *Developments and Challenges of Indonesian Halal Fashion in Becoming a Major Producer of Global Halal Products* (Hasan, 2022). The results of this study are more about how to increase halal fashion in Indonesia by optimizing the development of halal industrial areas and improving BPJPH management in the issuance of halal certificates so that Indonesia becomes a mecca of fashion in the international arena. From the two studies above regarding the discourse of religious symbols as a basic form of Indonesian Muslim constructivism in using goods, it is interesting to study more precisely the commodification of religious symbols through lifestyle practices under religious dogmatism. This can be seen in Kediri.

Kediri is a city that has 38 Islamic boarding schools. This number is accumulated from 263 Islamic boarding schools in the Kediri area (covering the city and district areas) (Kemenag Jatim). This has more or less influenced the lifestyle of the Muslim community of Kediri, which is oriented towards the teachings of Islam. Including several religious-based communities in Kediri, such as Hijabers Kediri. Hijabers Kediri is a community of Muslim women living in Kediri.

To invite Muslim women to cover their genitals by wearing a hijab fashionably and stylishly but at a level under Islamic law. Through fashion, events, and charity activities, Hijabers Kediri represents Islamic lifestyle patterns through their consumption of goods and services that are Muslim commodities. Therefore, this study is interesting to study in looking at the reality of the Muslim community in the hijaber community, which has a strategy of encouraging Muslim communities to wear the hijab under current trends and fashion.

## **B. METHODS**

### **1. General background**

This study used a qualitative method based on field data from the hijabers community in Kediri (Pathak, 2013). This study was conducted with a phenomenological design to make it easier to identify a community phenomenon based on individual experiences in the hijabers community in Kediri (Willing, 2007). Therefore, researchers need to know more about the hijaber community in Kediri to understand the suggestion of veiling. Efforts to understand the experiences of research subjects need researchers to put aside personal experiences because one characteristic of phenomenological research is research

rooted in psychology and philosophy and focuses on the experience of the subject under study (Alase, 2017).

The data were obtained through in-depth interviews with every resource person involved in this study, which focused on the hijaber community in Kediri. The interview was conducted with a blended model (online and offline) considering the current Covid-19 pandemic (Craswell, 2016). This study aimed to determine the commodification of religious symbols through the practice of an Islamic lifestyle in our hijabers Kediri community. This study was conducted for six months, from August 2021 to January 2022.

## 2. Participant

The prominent resources in this study were the Hijaber Kediri community which was divided into categories, Structural Management 3 people, community members 10, and Muslim community, which in this case is more for people who see this community five people. Determination of the technique using purposive sampling according to predetermined criteria (Taylor, 2015). More details about the characteristics of the informants can be seen in table 1.

Table 1. Profile of The Participant

<b>Position</b>	<b>Tot al</b>
Structural Committee	3
Members	10
People	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>

## 3. Data analysis

The results of the data collected from observations, interviews and documentation were then classified according to the research focus (Miles, 1994). This is done by considering the focus and theme. There are three stages in data analysis, they are the stages of data restoration, data description, and data interpretation (Adi, 2021). The restatement is prepared regarding the answers to the questions posed. The data description shows the sources' points of view on the research topic. Meanwhile, the interpretation of the data is carried out by considering various aspects and contexts. The three stages of data analysis were carried out as the basis for making inferences.

## **C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **1. Theoretical Discussion of Consumptive Culture of the Hijabers Community in Kediri**

In this study, the theory used to analyze the focus of the problem is the Consumption Society proposed by Jean Baudrillard. According to Baudrillard, although the focus is on consumption in the early stages, he uses production (Baudrillard, 2016). The consumption of a product begins with the production of these products so that the object of consumption is something organized by the production order. In another sense, the consumption of a product is an organized expansion of the productive forces. Such consumption is not a small addition to the circulation of capital but the productive forces that have an essential capital share (Marx, 1957).

The consumer object system and communication system are the basis for forming a "significance code" that controls an individual object in society (Bakti, 2020). A code rule determines the sign object and its value. Genosko defines the code itself as a sign control system; this system has rules for incorporating stable terms in messages (Genosko, 2002).

When humans are consuming an object, what is consumed is something behind it, it is a sign. What is consumed is not the number of objects but the number of signs. Consumption itself is an active system of sign manipulation (Baudrillard, 1988). As an object of consumption, the object must be a sign. Consuming an object makes us the same as people who consume the object unconsciously. This is called code, which becomes its control over what is consumed or not by an individual (Jhally, 2014).

The world of consumption of an item for ordinary people is freedom, when in fact, in this consumption, humans are controlled by codes. Where indirectly controlled by what is called a need. Humans have daily needs to continue living, but the sign system limits these needs. While these needs often come from the division of false subjects and objects. So people sometimes don't buy what they need, but what the code tells them is related to what they should buy (Tiffin, 2001). Consumption has nothing to do with reality. Moreover, consumption is related to systemized ownership and has no upper limit on consumption-object signs, and code objects play an unrealistic role.

Human relations are transformed concerning consumption objects in a consumer society controlled by code. The object of consumption today has no meaning because of its use and necessity, but the result of the meaning of a sign in the form of sign value compared to use value or exchange value (Kosch, 2006). Products by the public are based on the style of expression, prestige, luxury, power and so on. As they see in advertisements for certain products, for example, there is prestige for someone who buys them. Therefore, this consumption is carried out based on the reversed sign value, not the use value of a product (Baudrillard, 2018).

Consumption is a system that guarantees the regulation of a sign that integrates a group. When the community continuously carries out the consumption of products, it gives rise to morality in the form of an ideological value system and a communication system (Kozinets, 2004). This ideological power stems from a basic understanding of happiness which does not come from the natural tendency of each individual to be realized for himself. This later turned into a myth accepted in modern society, that is equality of rights.

Furthermore, the myth of complementary needs and establishment has the power and function ideologically in the absorption, and elimination of objective, socio-historical and gap determination. All the political games of the welfare state that are carried out while increasing the number of consumer goods in the perspective of levelling automatically become total stability in the final equilibrium level. Therefore, when they consume an object, these individuals will communicate through a new ideology to others which he calls his group (Gouldner, 1976). This then becomes the difference between this group and other groups. This study will later analyze the Kediri Hijabers Community's lifestyle in line with the trend of Islamic consumption.

Consumer society is an atmosphere where everything that is a sign commodity can be sold. According to Baudrillard, objects, bodily services, sex, culture, science and so on are created and exchanged (Baudrillard, 1990). Very relevant to the phenomenon that is happening today, where all things can be used as a commodity ranging from food, beverages, insurance services, tourism, cosmetics, and so on, into things that can be sold. These commodities are then mass-produced to meet the needs of the consumer community, which is the producer's target market (Pine, 1993). The widening of human activities raises many things that have monetary value and are worthy of being traded, commodifying existing symbols.

Baudrillard said that currently, we are in the era of the reproduction level (fashion, media, publicity, information and communication networks), meaning that we are in a non-essential sector of capital that enters the realm of simulacra, codes, processes, global capital is found (Baudrillard, 1994). In the simulation itself, there is no difference between the sign and the reality in the real world. The simulation becomes a second reality that refers to oneself (simulacrum of simulacrum). The language or sign in the simulation seems to be a tangible reality even though it is an artificial reality (Baudrillard, 2016). This reality gives rise to a hyperreality that creates a reality other than the factual reality or what is called an imaginary reality (Baudrillard, 1983).

There is no re-imaging of reality in a simulation, and the simulation forms a camouflage of reality to be made as real-factual. In a simulation, there is a sign, which is everything that has meaning. The sign itself is divided into two elements: the signifier (form) and the signified (meaning). A signifier is a

mental image of something verbal or visual, such as sound, writing, or objects (Genosko, 2002).

The commodification caused by a simulacra situation through the causes of the meeting between the signified and the signified becomes consumptive to the hegemony developed by capitalist forces and considers the existing reality as something natural. They will then develop a radical consumerism culture, not satisfied with consuming the product. Culture industry (Baudrillard, 2016).

The consumption community becomes dissatisfied with the need, not only to find a justification for religious symbols that producers try to convey through product labelling and imagery in advertisements, for example, people try to get differences rather than benefits, in this difference they will find social status and social meaning (Baudrillard, 2016). So that human needs will be satisfied only incidentally, but the boundaries between reality and simulation become blurred considering some of the realities shaped by advertising, mass media and social media. The presence of the cultural industry shapes desires by moulding the awareness of false needs.

## 2. Islamic Lifestyle in Hijabers Kediri Community; Identity of Muslimah-style consumerism

Hijabers Kediri is one of the various communities in Kediri. It was founded in 2012 by five women from Kediri who are members of Hijabers Surabaya. One of them is named Siti Khoiriyah, who currently serves as the Head of Hijabers Kediri. At that time, the community was called Hijabers Kediri Branch because it came from Hijabers Surabaya, the first hijab community in Surabaya. Gradually many names changed to Hijabers Kediri. The promotional media they used at that time was still limited to using Facebook, with fewer users than today. Hijabers Kediri is active in its promotions through several social media pages such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter. But now, they are more focused on being active on Instagram. The social media platform is a means to publicize the various activities they organize.

After being officially established in Kediri, it did not take long to attract Muslim women with fashion backgrounds to become their members. However, there were not as many as now, only about a dozen people. According to Siti Khoiriyah as the chairman and founder of Hijabers, she has a goal with Hijabers Kediri. Khoiriyah Says:

"The wearing of Muslim clothing is not only an obligation for Muslims, but for Muslim women it becomes a fashion trend with the aim of always existing. The goal is to motivate Muslim women so that they don't hesitate to cover their bodies with hijab, besides the stylist also doesn't forget the shari'ah basis in Islam in covering the body".

Muslim women members of Hijabers Kediri come from various professional backgrounds such as students, students, online business managers, MUA (Makeup artists), celebrities, Wedding Planners, civil servants and so on. Most of them are natives of Kediri from district and city areas. Still, it is possible for residents from other cities to participate as members of the Hijabers Kediri as well as overseas students from various regions such as Banyuwangi, even from outside the island of Java such as Kalimantan. This is because Hijabers Kediri is a community that is open to everyone, especially Muslim women.

As Via said, one member of Hijabers Kediri said: "There are no special requirements to become a member of Hijabers Kediri, all Muslim women do not rule out the possibility to become our members, both those who wear hijab and those who will wear hijab."

Through their social media, Hijabers Kediri also conveyed the requirements for their membership: Muslim women with a minimum age of seventeen years (already having an ID card). They are domiciled in Kediri and surrounding areas. Registration is withdrawn for 35,000 rupiahs because you get a member card that can also function as an ATM, Hijabers Kediri, in collaboration with Bank Mandiri Syariah Kediri branch. In addition to getting a member card, there are other advantages when registering, it is getting a 10-15% discount if you shop at a place that cooperates with both Hijabers Surabaya and Hijabers Kediri.

The member card shows that Hijabers Kediri cooperates with various business sectors, including Islamic banks, in this case, Bank Mandiri Syariah Branch Kediri. The member card is also a differentiator between members/community members and the general public. The member card, apart from being an identity card, can also be used as an ATM card for shopping or business transactions.

The formation of Hijabers Kediri is inseparable from the underlying vision and mission. As stated by the chairman, Siti Khoiriyah, the Vision and Mission of Hijabers Kediri are as follows: Its vision and mission are to form Creative Muslim women, Smart, Fashionable and Achievement. Polite and friendly. If we make our mission, we want to invite Muslim women to cover their aurat by wearing a hijab that is fashionable, comfortable and stylish but still *syar'i*. Also, establish ties of friendship between Muslim women in broadcasting. Inviting Muslim women to look beautiful physically and mentally, intelligent and stylish and have global insight.

Unlike Hijabers Surabaya, which has formal equipment such as a secretariat office and complete administrative needs, Hijabers Kediri is more conditional and flexible so that any activities that require gatherings are usually carried out at members' homes or cafes in Kediri. This also applies to the structural composition of the members, which is also more flexible; there is



only a coordinator. In this case, Siti Khoiriyah acts as the chairman or commonly referred to as the President of Management Hijabers Kediri and other members have the same position and role in the community.

Each community usually has a symbol in the form of a symbol that symbolizes how the community's character is, not least with Hijabers Kediri. The symbol is still the same as Hijabers Surabaya because it was initially a branch. The symbol is a magenta purple flower with the words Hijabers Surabaya branch Kediri is in it. Why flowers? Because we usually interpret flowers as something visually beautiful. Sometimes in the park, there are only green trees without flowers. Now, if there are flowers, it looks more beautiful, and so do these hijabers who want to beautify and beautify the environment around them, not in a direct sense but want to bring helpful beauty to the people around them.

Hijabers Kediri is a community that is active in various formal and non-formal, with Modeling, Makeup, Beauty classes, Talkshows, and social activities such as social services during Ramadan. These activities in previous years were carried out routinely, only with the pandemic situation in 2020, they could not hold these activities. Through an explanation of Hijabers Kediri community, the Islamic lifestyle they represent is divided into several things, they are as follows:

*Characteristics of Muslim Dress*, Being part of Hijabers, Hijabers Kediri provides its colour for its members to express themselves through how to dress in a hijab that is constantly updated with fashion developments. Hijab and the clothes they wear also adjust to the character of each member. The selection of hijab models is unique for those who distinguish between members or not. Not only the clothes they buy with their own pockets, but several Muslim brands also support their appearance, as revealed by Via in an interview at her home.

"In HK itself, there are children who are basically models, ... the clothes sometimes wear endorsed designers." The Islamic Lifestyle trend significantly influences lifestyle changes in some Muslim communities. Hijabers Kediri is a place for followers to realize the trend of consumer lifestyle based on this modernity. The lifestyle they apply can be seen through how they mix and match clothes that match the latest fashion trends. The Hijabers community gives them a place to express themselves according to their interests.

Hijabers Kediri is a community with its characteristics to maintain its existence as a representation of modern Muslim women who still adhere to Islamic Shari'a while keeping abreast of the developments in the fashion world. Through their modified hijab styles and clothing, Hijabers Kediri shows that being beautiful for Muslim women doesn't have to be revealing. Being themselves with their respective characters can express this through the clothes they wear.

*Following Fashion Developments through Activities at Hijabers Kediri.* Adding insight and discussing fashion and hijab through social media, associations, and activities such as hijab classes and modelling classes will add value to them in the future. The existence of Muslimah designers and brands who support their activities provides a reference consistently to follow the fashion developments of members of the Hijabers Kediri community. Gathering activities in certain cafes are also one of the consumption practices carried out by Hijabers Kediri. Up-to-date fashion causes them to update their fashion and hijab collections continuously.

*Adding value and religiosity through social activities.* Collecting charity funds, used books, used clothes suitable for use, as well as food and drinks, both from voluntary contributions from members and collected through charity concerts which are distributed through several foundations that have collaborated with Hijabers Kediri into an activity that is carried out not only related to fashion but also related to socio-religious. Social service is carried out to increase the sense of humanity by sharing sustenance with others in need to increase the level of religiosity among its members. Through social service activities, they can understand that as a religious Muslim not only through appearance but also through actions.

*Dresscode Determined in Each Specific Event.* The existence of a dress code in certain activities held by the management of Hijabers Kediri is intended so that its members can explore their creativity in mixing and matching clothes according to the character of each individual. In certain events they collaborate with, Hijabers Kediri used products from designers with Muslim themes so that other Muslim women are interested in buying and wearing what they are already wearing. Through the image formed, fashionable Muslim women sometimes buying new clothes becomes an obligation to identify themselves with other members. On the other hand, this also makes them different from other Muslim women's clothing styles outside of Hijabers Kediri. Considering that every event held by Hijabers Kediri is also broadcast through their social media on Instagram, this is additional content about the event's theme.

*Social Media as a Means of Promotion and Publication.* Most of the promotions and publications carried out by Hijabers Kediri are through social media. The general public can easily access various activities through social media, Instagram, Twitter and Facebook. Although Facebook and Twitter were more active at the beginning of their establishment, Instagram has become the primary social media for publishing the Hijabers Kediri community.

*Hijabers Kediri as a Media to Develop Skills.* Hijabers Kediri is a place for its members to develop their interests and express themselves, especially in fashion, makeup and modelling. Hijabers Kediri provides training through Hijab Class or Makeup Class for members interested in honing their skills in

this field. In addition to adding knowledge, these fields can also be a side job for its members. Being part of Hijabers Kediri is also a stepping stone for its members to get jobs from certain photographers or Makeup Artists who are interested in them.

3. Commodification of Religious Symbols Through Islamic Lifestyle Practices in the Hijabers Kediri Community

Consumption activity has existed since the beginning of human existence. Humans need to do consumption activities to survive. However, in sociological studies, consumption activities are not merely oriented to survival. Consumption activities can give an impression that has an impact on social life. At that point, we will understand further and more reflectively about consumerism which has a broader meaning than consumption. As Bauman called it, consumerism is an "attribute of a society, " not just an activity of consuming goods and services. Sometimes, consumption activity is not oriented to completing what we need (Bauman, 2007).

A person's internalized consumerism will form an awareness of a wasteful lifestyle. It also can happen reflexively. So, the urge to shop sometimes pops up. However, some references have previously formed a person's awareness to determine what to buy. In Jean Baudrillard's view, consumption activity is always related to the marking process. Consumers are not just passive entities who simply receive what they buy. On the other hand, consumers in consumption activities play a role in creating and maintaining identity. In conclusion, consumers formulate who they are, primarily through the goods they buy (Indra, 2019).

From the arguments above, actually consumption activity shows a person's identity. This has implications for someone's desire always to buy branded goods. The goal is for them to gain recognition from others. On the other hand, a person's Islamic lifestyle is something that can show their consumption. In the context of this study, the lifestyle in question is the lifestyle of the Hijabers Kediri community. The author will elaborate on how their lifestyle represents a consumption society.

Baudrillard states that a consumption society is characterized by prioritizing wants rather than needs. In the Hijabers Kediri Community, the point of emphasis for goods that can reap consumptive desires is Muslim clothing, especially the hijab. Along with the times, the hijab does not only function to cover the aurat. More than that, the hijab has become the style of urban Muslim women. Thus, the hijab has become a commodity that can satisfy consumerism. Hijab is no longer helpful as outlined in Islamic law but has a fetish connotation. Hijab is used to add charm and allure to members of the Hijabers Kediri Community.

Hijab has become a lifestyle. According to Yasraf Amir Piliang, "lifestyle is a combination and totality of ways, procedures, habits, choices, and objects

that support it, in its implementation based on a certain value system or belief system (Piliang, 1998)". This means that the hijab chosen by members of the Hijaber Kediri Community shows their lifestyle. The more fashionable they are, the more they will be constructed as a trendy figures. In addition, wearing a hijab, according to trends, is assumed to affect the social status and prestige of the wearer. As if a privilege is obtained by someone who wears a hijab according to a developing trend.

The Hijaber Kediri Community mostly used hijab products from well-known brands such as Zoya, Elzatta, and Nobby. Thus, Hijabers Kediri members feel more comfortable, have confidence, and always feel trendy and stylish when using them. If we look at it critically, it is a form of consumerism behaviour, where the desire is camouflaged into a need. The choice of well-known brands further confirms what Baudrillard calls that we are actually buying symbols in our consumption activities. Although basically, every good has a use value and an exchange value, in the perspective of the consumption community, both are eroded and replaced by the attachment of symbols to the object of consumption. Consequently, priority is shifted by symbols that are invisible to the eye.

The value of a symbol is usually born and created by a community. In this case, Hijaber Kediri unconsciously is producing value for a brand. This value is abstract but indirectly gives identity to everyone who consumes it. Among the Muslim middle class, for example, the use of hijab brands such as Zoya, Elzatta, and Nobby will give different impressions to users compared to other hijab brands that are not too well known. If we talk about its functions and uses, they are all the same: a cover for genitalia.

Thus, if the Hijabers Kediri members do not use products from these well-known brands, they seem alienated from the group. Although, as external parties, we will see they are from the same group. However, in the reality that occurs in the group, there is a significant point of difference. This fact seems to force them always to use well-known brands. This means the consumption variable serves as an affirmation and determinant of identity.

An irony arises when the object of consumption becomes the determinant of inequality, especially in Hijabers Kediri. In fact, on the one hand, members of Hijabers Kediri also play a role in creating value for hijab brands. But, on the other hand, they end up falling for the value attached to the hijab brand. The value constructed by Hijaber Kediri members on the hijab brand has eroded the usefulness of the hijab itself. Consequently, they lose their rational power in determining what they need and want.

The Hijabers Kediri Community can be said as a community that displays a consumerist lifestyle. Although on the other hand, we cannot deny that it is a space for urban middle-class Muslim women to organize and actualize their talents. Social service activities are a form of seriousness in

managing the organization. However, what needs to be underlined is that their activities are not far from personal appearance and beauty, such as Muslimah Modeling School, Fashion Show, Beauty Class, Modeling Competition, Beauty Class, and so on. Their activities are usually sponsored by well-known brands in the hijab and halal cosmetics, such as Wardah, Purbasari Inez and Makeover.

The activities carried out by Hijabers Kediri can implicitly be seen as one of their ways to update the development of Islamic fashion. Hijabers Kediri members are competing to get new products. They competed quickly to get a new hijab style. Meanwhile, their activities are one way to find and disseminate contemporary hijab models and trendy Muslim lifestyles.

Updating about new hijab styles and models by Hijabers Kediri members has represented post-modernity life. Gianni Vattimo mentions that "The concept of progress has been secularized. It has only become a routine part of consumer society, which relies heavily on the continuous production of new consumer goods, whether clothes, cars, or ideas" (Gianni, 1988). But on the other hand, it's not just a novelty sought by Hijabers Kediri members, but rather 'differentiation' or 'difference'. The new hijab style will show a difference from the previous style. Thus, Baudrillard mentions that the concept of 'differentiation' is more focused on 'fascination', not on the meaning it contains, but only on outward appearance.

Baudrillard himself believes that the fashion system does not follow the laws of progress because the nature of fashion is always repetitive. This can be seen in the hijab style from year to year. Everything is almost the same, and the shape is just like that. However, every year there is a new style with a slight change from the previous style. Thus, Baudrillard emphasizes the concept of recycling so that the fashion cycle in postmodern society becomes a "need to renew themselves every year, month or season through their clothes, goods and cars. If they don't, they feel they can't be true members of the consumer society" (Baudrillard, 2018).

Baudrillard's opinion is confirmed by how Hijabers Kediri look. They will continually update their appearance according to the trend of hijab development. Otherwise, they will be considered less trendy. If some members do not follow and do not wear the hijab according to the latest developments, they may be considered not part of the Hijabers Kediri.

## E. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis above, the Islamic lifestyle of the Hijaber community in Kediri is their elaboration in representing the consumption community which aims to attract Muslim women to wear the hijab but still pay attention to contemporary fashion. In the Hijabers Kediri Community, the point of emphasis for goods that can spark consumer desires is Muslim clothing, especially the hijab. Hijab is no longer helpful as outlined in Islamic law, it is only covering the genitals. It has a fetish connotation but aims to attract beginners to the hijab. Hijab is used to increase the charm and allure of members of the Hijabers Kediri Community. Hijab has become a lifestyle so that the more fashionable they are, the more they will be constructed as a trendy figure and affect the social status and value of privilege for the wearer. This is realized by hijab products from well-known brands such as Zoya, Elzatta, and Nobby by Hijabers Kediri members. This is a consumerism behaviour, where desires are camouflaged into needs. Because they consume a symbol that is attached to the object of consumption which is identified with religious morality.

Ultimately, the researcher realized that this study is so short that it does not deserve to be called a perfect scientific thought. Therefore, the researcher hopes that the readers will be able to complete this short study work in writing and the incomplete analysis during this study. This study is a contribution to the realm of the problem of the sociology of religion because many social realities have a wedge with religion that needs to be seen in a space that is under study. The researcher is also grateful to the Hijaber Kediri community for permitting this study and for assisting in the data collection process by mapping the members of the Hijaber Kediri community.

## References

- Adi, R. (2021). *Metodologi penelitian sosial dan hukum*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Alase, A. (2017). The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA): A guide to a good qualitative research approach. *International Journal of Education and Literacy Studies*, 5(2), 9-19.
- Arief, Y., & Utomo, W. P. (Eds.). (2015). *Orde media: kajian televisi dan media di Indonesia pasca-Orde Baru*. Insist Press.
- Ariel Heryanto, *Identitas dan Kenikmatan Politik Budaya Layar Indonesia* (Jakarta : PT Gramedia, 2015), 40
- Bakti, I. S. (2020). Reification of the Signified and Consumerization of Wedding Receptions “Sintê Mungêrjê” in the Gayo Lôt Society in Central Aceh District. *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan*, 8(2), 15-35.

- Baudrillard, J. (1983). *Simulations*. New York, 24.
- ..... (1994). *Simulacra and simulation*. University of Michigan Press.
- ..... (2016). 13□ *The Evil Demon of Images and The Precession of Simulacra*. *Postmodernism: A reader*, 194.
- ..... (2016). *The consumer society: Myths and structures*. Sage.
- ..... (2018). *On consumer society*. In *Rethinking the Subject* (pp. 193-203). Routledge.
- ....., & Singer, B. (1990). *Seduction*. *New World Perspectives*.
- ....., (1988), *Customer Society* (Stanford: Stanford University)
- ....., (2018), *Masyarakat Konsumsi*, terj. Wahyunto, (Yogyakarta : Kreasi Wacana)
- Costa, K. *God at Work: Living Everyday with Purpose*. (United Kingdom: Continuum Books, 2007), 98.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage publications.
- Diakses melalui website Kemenag Jatim pada hari Senin, 24 Januari 2022 pukul 14.36 WIB
- Dikutip dari Berita CNN Indonesia. 27 January 2022, 20.24 W.I.B
- Genosko, G. (2002). *Baudrillard and signs: Signification ablaze*. Routledge.
- Gianni Vattimo, *The End Of Modernity : Nihilism and Hermeneutics in Postmodern Culture* (Cambridge : Polity Press, 1988), xix.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1976). *The dialectic of ideology and technology* (Vol. 976). London: Macmillan.
- Hasan, A. S., & Hamdi, B. (2022). *Perkembangan dan Tantangan Halal Fashion Indonesia Dalam Menjadi Produsen Utama Industri Halal Global*. *Al-Azhar Journal of Islamic Economics*, 4(2), 71-83.
- Indra Setia Bakti, Nirzalin, Alwi “Konsumerisme dalam Perspektif Jean Baudrillard”, *Jurnal Sosiologi USK*, 2 (November, 2019), 155-156
- Jhally, S. (2014). *The codes of advertising: Fetishism and the political economy of meaning in the consumer society*. Routledge.
- Koch, A. M., & Elmore, R. (2006). *Simulation and symbolic exchange: Jean Baudrillard’s augmentation of Marx’s theory of value*. *Politics & Policy*, 34(3), 556-575.

- Kozinets, R. V., & Handelman, J. M. (2004). Adversaries of consumption: Consumer movements, activism, and ideology. *Journal of consumer research*, 31(3), 691-704.
- Marx, K. (1957). *Wage labour and capital*. Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Sage.
- Muthmainnah, Y. (2021). Kapitalisasi Politik Identitas dalam Produk Halal; Industri Fashion dan Kosmetika. *PALASTREN Jurnal Studi Gender*, 14(1), 1-31.
- Nasr, S. V. R. (1991). Islamization of knowledge: A critical overview. *Islamic Studies*, 30(3), 387-400.
- Pathak, V., Jena, B., & Kalra, S. (2013). Qualitative research. *Perspectives in clinical research*, 4(3).
- Peterson, K. M. (2016). Beyond fashion tips and hijab tutorials: The aesthetic style of Islamic lifestyle videos. *Film Criticism*, 40(2).
- Pine, B. J., Victor, B., & Boynton, A. C. (1993). Making mass customization work. *Harvard business review*, 71(5), 108-11.
- Sayan-Cengiz, F. (2018). Eroding the symbolic significance of veiling? The Islamic fashion magazine *Âlâ*, consumerism, and the challenged boundaries of the "Islamic neighborhood". *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 58, 155-178.
- Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A guidebook and resource*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Tiffin, J., & Terashima, N. (Eds.). (2001). *Hyperreality: Paradigm for the third millennium*. Psychology Press.
- Willig, C. (2007). Reflections on the use of a phenomenological method. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 4(3), 209-225.
- Yasraf Amir Piliang, *Sebuah Dunia yang Dilipat : Realitas Kebudayaan Menjelang Milenium Ketiga dan Matinya Postmodernisme*, (Yogyakarta : Mizan Pustaka, 1998), 208.
- Zygmunt Bauman, *Consuming Life* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 28.