



**BETWEEN PIETY AND LIFESTYLE:
Hijab Shar'i on the Commodification Practices of the
Islamic Culture Industry**

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Abstract: The shar'i hijab has become a global fashion product targeting Muslim women. Nowadays, it is part of the cultural industry captured by capitalism in pursuit of profit. The shar'i hijab that displays a visualization of the discourse of piety and beauty makes consumption practices an effort to articulate the identity of Muslim women for religious observance. Massive distribution through the media or fashion show events is part of the visualization of the lifestyle of fashion fans which is echoed by the perpetuation of capitalism in the circulation of production, distribution, and consumption of hijab products which is reflected through the discourse of covering the genitals according to shar'i. Consumption of hijab product brands shows social class to differentiate themselves. This often leads to aesthetic violence in an effort to match the tastes of the lower class to force them to buy hijab products with the same brand as the figure they idolize. Consumption practices that show the articulation of Muslim women's identities in religious discourse are increasingly being captured by capitalism to create changes in hijab modes. The concept of obsolescence planning is part of production management for hijab product offerings that continue to grow, and capitalism is increasingly hidden behind the discourse of piety.

Keywords: Commodification, piety, fashion, consumption, shar'i hijab, obsolescence.

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Introduction

THE USE of the headscarf, which was initially a movement in the early 80s as a resistance movement against the restraint of expressive attitudes of Muslim women, has now turned into a

popular culture that is consumed en masse. Since the transition of the political winds of the New Order to Islamic groups,

regulations regarding the prohibition of wearing the hijab in state institutions have begun to be abolished. The Suharto regime began to show Islam to attract the sympathy of Islamic figures with the obedience it displayed. For example, Suharto's daughter (Tutut), who wore a headscarf, became a trend followed by the wives of government officials at that time to show their Islamic identity.¹

Since the Suharto government sought support by accommodating Islamic groups, Muslim women began to find freedom in expressing their dress style, one of which was the use of the hijab. Women with headscarves who in the previous year were considered radicals (1980-1990), then after 1991, the hijab was considered an ideal Muslim dress style in religious guidance.² Hijab, at that time, began to bloom as a fashion product that was caught by the industry to accommodate the expressive needs of Muslim women. And in the reform era after the fall of the Suharto regime, the hijab was booming as a product of capitalism, targeting Muslim women with various fashions that were echoed.

The shar'i hijab as a fashion product shifts the radical meaning of the use of the hijab or the accompanying Muslim clothing into the construction of Islamic identity as a lifestyle. Hijab shar'i does the practice of consuming Muslim clothing echoed by Muslim fashionistas (fashion fans) who call themselves hijabers, further confirming that the formation of identity through consumption practices is something that is contrary to values in Islam. The identity of Muslim women formed through the discourse of the shar'i hijab is more inclined to the consumptive type than the spiritual principle, asceticism.³

Piety is often associated with the level of faith and consistency in carrying out Islamic law. In the context of the hijrah community, community members quite often echo that the costumes they wear

¹ Heru Prasetya, 'Pakaian, Gaya, dan Identitas Perempuan Islam,' *Jurnal Srinthil*, no. 17 (2009): 6, accessed June 15, 2022, <https://heruyaheru.wordpress.com/2010/02/27/pakaian-gaya-dan-identitas-perempuan-islam/>.

² Nuraini Juliastuti, *Politik Pakaian Muslim*, 13rd ed. (Yogyakarta: KUNCI Cultural Studie Centre, 2003).

³ Abdul Rahim, *Runtuhnya Kezuhudan Beragama* (Mataram: Sanabil, 2020), 207–215.

seem more pious than others. The shar'i hijab community is no exception; they reflect the concept of dressing in an Islamic way that is in accordance with religious guidance. These shar'i hijab communities also often echo Islamic fashion with the novelty they design to attract more and more people who follow their dress style. This impacts the turnover obtained in the sale of hijab from their designs. Indirectly they echoed the recommendation to cover the genitals according to Islamic guidance, on the other hand, their sales were quite successful.

The concept of religion becomes a sale in the practice of commodifying the shar'i hijab, which is echoed by the hijrah community or the shar'i hijab communities. Maybe many do not accept that selling hijab is associated with the commodification of religion, but this is a kind of criticism that behind the booming phenomenon of hijab is also accompanied by offers of an Islamic lifestyle which are the economic motives captured by capitalism.

The Islamic identity that is echoed through the visualization of the shar'i hijab as a discourse on the ideal style of dress for Muslim women is the power of capitalism in fashion products. The shar'i hijab, which is also a visual construction of public figures who produce Islamic discourse through their style of dress, has become dominant over the rampant market production of this fashion. The modalities of these public figures are viewed from Bourdieu's perspective that the discourse that develops and becomes a massive consumption through the figures of these figures seems to be accepted as something ideal.⁴ And the relationship between those who produce discourse and those who receive lessons makes this figure a benchmark for the discourse that dominates. One of them is the shar'i hijab which is echoed through the figures of actors in Islamic films.⁵

With the circulation of the shar'i hijab discourse, capitalism from fashion producers began to penetrate the market share of the Muslim community. Sharia has again become a cover for

⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, Print 8th (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁵ Ariel Heryanto, *Identitas dan Kenikmatan: Politik Budaya Layar Indonesia* (Jakarta: KPG, 2015), 68.

domination over capitalism for fashion products, some of which can be said to be incompatible with dress styles according to Islamic law and lead to excessive behavior in ornamentation (*tabarruj*). For Examples, camel hump hijab products, ninja style hijabs, and some fashion products that, when used, accentuate the appearance of women's curves. Such massive sharia discourse has become the profit base for capitalists with an Islamic identity that is discoursed on their products. Massive commodification through hijab products is an effort to form individual piety through market standards that produce fashion⁶. As a result, the shar'i standards and whether or not Muslim women's dress style is dictated by the lifestyle (fashion) worn.

Hijab, when juxtaposed with a lifestyle, seems to be the only choice of an Islamic way of dressing. This is also an opportunity for them to further incorporate the doctrine that such a hijab is the most Islamic. The hijrah community feels that the Islam they understand in the context of lifestyle, especially in fashion, is a natural thing and must be followed. Their standard of dress style wants to be used as something ideal in the context of Muslim women. Muslim women with well-established economic capital may naturally regard it as a symbol of Islam, but the problem that arises then is that what they want to be used as the standard of Muslim women's dress style is the most appropriate in Islam.

In this paper, the author tries to explore how the identity of piety and beauty through the visualization of the shar'i hijab is a practice of consumerism in fashion products. Besides that, how the discourse of the consumed shar'i hijab becomes a visual standardization of shar'i or not Muslim women's dress style based on the circulating hijab fashion in terms of production, distribution, and consumption aspects. And how the discourse of piety over the practice of consuming hijab fashion which is a lifestyle as well as an effort to differentiate oneself, is even more perpetuating capitalism under the guise of Islam.

⁶ Yuswohadi et al., *Marketing to the middle class Muslim* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2014), 32.

The Concept of Commodification and Culture Industry

Before going into further discussion of the questions above, the author tries to explain some of the theoretical concepts that form the basis for reading the topics raised in this paper.

Commodification in the concept of cultural studies is a process that is closely related to capitalism in which objects, qualities, and signs are transformed into commodities. Commodities themselves are understood as goods whose primary purpose of existence is to be sold in the market. In the process that Marx called "commodity fetishism", the appearance of goods sold in the market hides the origin of the creation of these goods, which must go through a process of exploitation at the level of production.⁷

The shar'i hijab, which is discoursed as the standard of women's dress style, has now become popular culture. As revealed by John Fiske that popular culture is a culture that is created by its own people without profit interests.⁸ However, when the popular culture has penetrated into the mass-produced industrialization process, the commercialization process for the mass culture is no longer affiliated with social values or relies on the solidarity of the community, but what are the benefits of these commercialized products. Associated with social values in society, it cannot be separated from the public's receptiveness to the mass culture, which is trapped in the consumption of texts for the needs offered through the media, be it advertising, radio, television, and others.

This is also where it can be seen how the cultural industry testing society has collided with concepts such as the one introduced by Fiske about pseudo needs and actual needs. The two images can vaguely claim to each other that something is indeed a true need and can also be a pseudo need. The receptive foresight of the culture-loving community is needed to filter this out so that people are no longer trapped in consuming signs for the products offered by the industry.

⁷ Chris Barker, *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 46.

⁸ John Fiske, *Memahami Budaya Populer* (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011), 12.

In the concept of mass culture, people's needs are grayed out between pseudo needs and actual needs. The needs of the community seem to be captured by the industry, in this case, the capitalists, so that they freely offer products that are not actually a community need for use-value, but turn into the consumption of sign values and symbolically to grab attention and strengthen the social status of the user community.⁹

The practice of the cultural industry in the discourse of the shar'i hijab is an attempt to rationalize the logic of religion to control certain processes as part of the identity of the Muslim community. Consumption of shar'i Hijab products is not only a cover for identity but also forms new capitalism in Muslim society. The shar'i hijab that is echoed is the mode of capitalism that try the Muslim community for greater profits through visual consumption of religious discourses on these products.

Adorno, in *The Culture Industry*, explains that the widespread practice in the culture industry transfers profit motives into cultural forms.¹⁰ In this context, the statement describes the term commodification. Theoretically, Marx said that commodification explains the capitalist way of maintaining a goal of realizing value used to exchange value. He wants to clarify that the use-value of an object is in line with the exchange value so that the exact value of the thing automatically disappears.¹¹

Adorno's concept of the culture industry which he argues that uniformed and standardized commodities will foster the spirit of authoritarianism and conformism as the dominant face of Western capitalist culture¹². Another view is put forward by Habermas, who argues that the increasing commodification of the living world by giant corporations will transform people from rational citizens into irrational consumers in the same way that existential social questions have degenerated into purely money-making

⁹ Dominic Strinarti, *Popular Culture: Pengantar Menuju Teori Budaya Populer* (Yogyakarta: Ruzz Media, 2009), 36.

¹⁰ Theodor W. Adorno, *The Culture Industry* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 67.

¹¹ Anthony Brewer, *Kajian Kritis Das Kapital Karl Marx* (Yogyakarta: Narasi Pustaka, 2016), 47.

¹² Adorno, *The Culture Industry*, 68.

issues¹³. This can be seen in how the booming Islamic fashion products are increasingly profitable for the owners of capital.

Adorno and Horkheimer also write that commodification occurs as a result of the development of a culture industry. Adorno says that the culture industry has become a crucial economic and political factor in the late capitalism era, which distracts people from the problems they actually experience, offers false solutions that are projected into the "life" of fictional characters and encoded into sweet harmony¹⁴. In this regard, society seems to be consumed by popular culture, which it follows under the pretext of modernity. In fact, this culture erodes the noble values that have been inherited. This is also expressed by Benjamin that a new spirit can indeed be obtained, but the old aesthetic sensibility has disappeared.¹⁵

Sharia, if associated with the dialectic of enlightenment, Adorno-Horkheimer is analogous to rationality to return the mark of Muslim society to religious guidance, but in practice, it creates new capitalism in society itself¹⁶. The practices of sharia products claimed to be enlightenment gave rise to new oppression and social estrangement. Meanwhile, Sharia is viewed from the concept of the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA) proposed by Althusser, namely religious, cultural, and educational institutions, including the mass media, which contribute to shaping the ideology of society in order to accept the concept as discoursed by those in power as a form of obedience¹⁷. The way the ISA works is more about ideological aspects than; in the end it will be repressive too because it is intended to manipulate consciousness. Public awareness of adherence to religion accepts the concept of

¹³ Jurgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987).

¹⁴ Ben Agger, *Teori Sosial Kritis* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2014), 52.

¹⁵ Walter Benjamin, *Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008).

¹⁶ Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* (London: Verso, 1979).

¹⁷ Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)*, trans. Mohamad Zaki Hussen (Jakarta: IndoPROFRES, 2015).

sharia as a solution but hides the veil of religion as politics behind it.

In this regard, Althusser's thoughts also strengthen the thinking of the German theorist Antonio Gramsci regarding hegemony. Gramsci's theory of hegemony, like Althusser's theory of the Ideological State Apparatus, is also basically repression of power. The difference is that repression in hegemony is characterized by "subtle" relying on moral and intellectual leadership and is active¹⁸. Hegemony is not achieved through coercive power but through systemic discourse (language), directed, and sustainable to win voluntary public acceptance of an idea or regime.¹⁹

However, in the era of globalization with the capitalist system, there has been a cultural explosion in all aspects of life, so in this case, the industry has produced various cultural artifacts that seem to have become the needs of the masses, so that cultural objects that were previously filled with high values are authentic (authenticity), and truth, by the culture industry mass-produced into a commodity full of profit calculations.²⁰

On the other hand, a postmodern thinker, Jean Baudrillard, argues that sign-value has replaced the use value and exchange value of commodities in contemporary culture. In modern culture, value is determined by exchanging symbolic meanings rather than through their use. So the commodity is no longer an object with a use-value but a commodity sign. According to this view, all spheres of life are markedly affected by commodification so that something is considered authentic or inauthentic no longer determined by validation based on formal canons or socially formed cultural authorities.²¹

In exploring the practice of commodification of Islam in hijab products, the author uses a new ethnographic method based on

¹⁸ Nezar Patria, *Antonio Gramsci Negara & Hegemoni* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), 47.

¹⁹ Halimatusa'diah, 'Etnisitas dan Agama dalam Kontestasi Wacana Kekuasaan di Media Baru,' *Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya* 17, no. 2 (2015): 267.

²⁰ Valentina Tutu Paok, 'Komodifikasi dalam Program Pengembangan Seni Budaya di Jogja TV' (Thesis, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, 2012).

²¹ Jean Baudrillard, *Masyarakat Konsumsi* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2004).

the views of Paula Saukko which states that the involvement of researchers is directly in conducting dialogue or interviews, participating in the community being studied and interpreting the scope of the object under study based on the reflection of the researcher²². Specifically, the use of new ethnography in this case study becomes the basis for conducting a closer study of the practice of commodification in the consumption of hijab products which are a lifestyle and symbol of piety discourse.

The basis of Saukko's new ethnographic method of self-reflexivity is also used by the author in observing the practice of cultural commodification which is entered by the industrialization of fashion products. The product of industrialization in the practice of commodification is when Muslim women are more interested in consuming symbols in hijab products than in efforts to increase piety in religious practices.

The new ethnographic method is based on Saukko's review in this case study the author uses because it relates to the closeness of the author in the community studied, namely students who are the market share of hijab fashion both as producers, consumers, and distributors of hijab products. Likewise, the dialogical validity or self-reflection, which is the basis of the new ethnography, in revealing the voices of the object under study in the form of polyvocality, the author puts it in the form of participatory research on campuses in Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara.

Rise of Islamic Populism and Identity Construction

The rise of Islamic populism creates new market niches for industry, especially accessories and lifestyle. The target is not specific to Muslim women but to Muslims in general. We can see how the movement of the hashtag to replace the president was followed by the mass production of t-shirts that read #2019gantipresident. Not to mention the smaller accessories such as hats, scarves, stickers, etc. The same is true in the case of the alleged burning of the *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* flag some years ago. In a matter of hours and days, the market demand for knick-

²²Paula Saukko, *Doing Research in Cultural Studies, An Introduction to Classical and New Methodological Approaches* (London: Sage Publications, 2003), 54–65.

knacks bearing the sentence of monotheism (*tauhid*) increased. From flags to headbands. Some Muslims feel the need to wear accessories bearing the sentence of *tauhid* to show the articulation of their Islamic identity. The demand is increasing because, in some areas, there are active movements to defend tauhid (the Oneness of God).

There's nothing wrong with this kind of articulation. This is the same as a football fan buying accessories for his favorite club as proof of his love. But it can be a problem when he feels himself the most incredible team. Or when you think that other people who don't wear the same accessories as you are fake supporters.

Today we live in a society where identity beliefs are identified and measured by the use of signs. You will be considered a *kaffah* (total) Muslim if you buy a product that has the MUI logo on it. The identity markers of a group are continuously produced to draw a demarcation line between the self and the other. Giddens states that identity is a project. Identity is something that we create and is always in the process and is influenced by socio-cultural aspects. The existence of identity is closely related to lifestyles that arise through consumption choices.²³

This paper does not mean to lead Muslim women to not be fashion literate. Moreover, repress him, so he does not appear confident in public spaces. The main point to be conveyed is how women are aware of how the industry works, which makes them their target market under the claims and lure of sharia. Choosing clothes of any type is a right. It is ultimately part of the independence of the body. One thing that must be important note is that Muslim women cannot be reduced to one face. Those who choose to look "shar'i" do not have the authority to claim to be more Islamic and represent the identity of Muslim women. Islamic identity cannot be monopolized by groups with certain fashion sense markers. Islam does not teach to discriminate between people based on race, class, and lifestyle choices.²⁴

²³ B. Herry Priyono, *Anthony Giddens: Suatu Pengantar* (Jakarta: KPG, 2016).

²⁴ Mohamad Abdun Nasir, "The Veil at The Crossroads: Muhammad Sa'id Al-'Ashmawi' and the Discourse on the Hijab in Egypt," *Al Jami'ah : Journal of Islamic Studies* 42, no. 1 (2004): 121.

Muslim Women in the Circuit of Capitalism

In the beginning, Muslim women were not the focus of capitalism's specific target to become a segment of its market expansion, especially in the clothing sector. Muslim women are considered not to have the same taste and lifestyle as other urban groups. This is because Muslim women tend to be portrayed from the point of view of Western Orientalism. Muslim women are imaged as the antithesis of Western women, who are free and independent in articulating their tastes, lifestyles, and identities in public. Muslim women are considered the opposite. They are portrayed as conservative, have no good taste, and are very shackled in domestic affairs. Therefore, capitalism at first did not take into account that Muslim women became a strategic market segment to be capitalized through the various products and services that could be offered.

Along with the times, Muslim women began to appear in public as active participants in the industrial world, which men had dominated, whether it be a producer or a consumer. For example, many Muslim women are involved in the media industry by becoming editors, writers, producers, and so on. Many Muslim women are business owners, designers, architects, and others. The excess of this is that Muslim women need a strategy on how to represent themselves in the public sphere without being uprooted from their Islamic identity. At this point, there is a gap for capitalism to enter offering its various products and services. So, various offers of products and services began to appear targeting Muslim women, such as Muslim fashion magazines, Muslim talk shows, Muslim sports clubs, Muslim-only cosmetics, clothing labeled *shar'i*, and so on.²⁵

Muslim women are currently an extraordinary market segment of capitalism. Muslim women become producers as well as consumers in the circuit of capitalism. Various innovations

²⁵ Prima Mahanani and Risky Putri, 'Representation and Negotiation of Women Syar'i Hijab Shaff Hijrah Community Through Instagram,' in *NEW MEDIA AND THE CHANGING SOCIAL LANDSCAPE OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES: How Are New Media Reshaping the Whole Aspects of Life of Contemporary Societies?* (Presented at The 10th IGSSCI (International Graduate Students and Scholars' Conference in Indonesia), KnE Social Sciences, 2019), 298.

continue to be made to maintain the market and fulfill Muslim women's desire for accessories so that they are not outdated. The tastes and needs of Muslim women continue to be reproduced so that they are always relevant to the current context.

The promotion of the lifestyle of Muslim women is increasingly massive through various digital channels such as YouTube, online shopping sites, and so on. Various catalogs of the latest models of clothing and accessories are promoted. Of course, with the frills of the Shari'a behind it it will be easily accepted by the Muslim women segment²⁶. The variety of fashions and accessories offered varies according to the cultural and geographic context. Products for Muslim women in the Middle East, Europe, and Indonesia, for example, are not the same because they are tied to cultural values. This is where the foresight of capitalism works on the market segment of Muslim women across countries. In the new media era, the penetration of women's lifestyle campaigns is even more structured, systematic, and massive. One of them can be seen in the emergence of Muslim beauty YouTubers.

The fashion of clothing and accessories that wrap the body of Muslim women is not only covering the nakedness, but also political. Muslim women are constantly trying to come out against conservative stereotypes and have a common fashion sense. Muslim women want to convey the message that they can exist to articulate their tastes and lifestyles without having to give up their Islamic identity²⁷. Muslim women can also adapt to the context of the times in terms of taste and lifestyle. Even with the risk that they consciously or not become the object of the circuit of industrial capitalism. Either by being a producer or a consumer.

²⁶ Sririzki Ratu P. Kusumaningru and Anastasia Citra, "The Phenomenon of Hijab Syar'i Selebgram: Changing Your Appearance" (Presented at the 3rd International Conference on Transformation in Communications 2017 (IcoTiC 2017), Atlantis Press, 2017), 230–233, accessed June 15, 2022, <https://www.atlantispress.com/proceedings/icotic-17/25902397>.

²⁷ Mawi Khusni Albar, "Psikoanalisis Trend Hijab Syar'i," *Yinyang: Jurnal Studi Islam Gender dan Anak* 11, no. 1 (2016): 70.

The shift in the meaning of Covering the *Aurat*

This struggle about covering *aurat* emerged when style/fashion was growing, especially targeting Muslim women. Initially, the veil of *santri* or which is used by the wives of Nahdhatul Ulama clerics in Java, was also a reference for the use of the hijab, which was only in the form of a veil being draped. However, when the hijab-related fashion industry is increasingly loved by Muslim women, especially in Indonesia, which is related to choosing beauty or lifestyle over the function of the hijab itself, this is what then also shifts the use of the veil, which is considered no longer relevant to today's lifestyle. It is even possible that in Indonesia, wearing a headscarf by just draping it will be labeled as the style of the old man's hijab, because there are still more senior people in Lombok who only wear a headscarf when they go to recitations or the market. Meanwhile, Muslim women who are fashion literate will prefer the use of a complete hijab, even if it needs to be matched with clothes and subordinates.

This means that the shift in tastes related to the use of the hijab in the Indonesian context is more about the preferences of Muslim women who have begun to be filled with the concept of consumerism in their lifestyle. However, on the one hand, the development of the hijab, which is increasingly popular in various modes, at least also supports the efforts of the movement to cover the *aurat* for Muslim women. As one local hijab designer in Lombok said, "It's beautiful to be able to carry out the command to cover the *aurat* in Islam".²⁸

The shift in the meaning of the veil, which only covers the head, considered *shar'i* or not actually, is also related to the understandings pertaining to the argument for covering the *aurat* that are echoed by religious authorities. Through a digital platform that makes it easier for Muslim women to get preferences for religious knowledge through social media channels, it is also a cause when fashion choices to cover *aurat* want to be standardized. For example, the Salafi-Wahhabi movement, which defines covering the *aurat* as all body parts except the eyes and palms, is actually taken from the cultural context in Arabia, which

²⁸ Interview with Nindi Mediartika, 20 April 2018.

uses the veil. The problem is that when such an understanding point of view is used as a standard, there will be a contestation with Indonesian culture, which in fact, will find it complicated, making it difficult for them to wear the veil. However, for certain reasons, such as the use of such hijab fashion in the context of Indonesia in general, which is associated with efforts to maintain the views of men, or because their communities are already established with such hijab fashion, of course, that standardization does not apply in the other communities or societies.

At this level, the basis for the religious practice of the community that uses the veil or hijab *shar'i* is in the form of instant religious understanding. Instant spiritual understanding accessed from anonymous sources from social media shows that the practice of covering *aurat* with *shar'i* standards, such as the veiled veil, cannot be used as a tool for an established religious ideology.²⁹ On the one hand, they perceive a particular culture as a product of modernity; on the other hand, they also reject and are hostile to other products of modernity due to their possibility of absorbing instant religious teachings. So the veil or the *shar'i* hijab should be returned as a non-final understanding as an option to cover the *aurat*. The *shar'i* standards and the choice of how to cover the *aurat* should not be monopolized by certain groups because the preferences of each Muslim woman are different.

These choices of style to cover the *aurat* are then captured by the owners of capital by presenting a growing variety of hijab fashion and courses, sparking consumerism in the Muslim community, especially women. Likewise, the style of dress that covers the whole body by the Salafi-Wahhabi movement is often identified with radical Muslims who carry certain ideologies. At the same time, this can be positioned more moderately that all Muslim women, veiled and not equally, have the opportunity to portray a friendly face of Islam.³⁰ However, our reality today is

²⁹ Atun Wardatun, 'Bercadar: Agensi, Literasi, dan Narasi Kebangsaan,' *Alamtara Institute*, July 20, 2020, accessed March 23, 2022, <https://alamtara.co/2020/07/20/bercadar-agensi-literasi-dan-narasi-kebangsaan-2/>.

³⁰ Mayyadah, 'Sisi Lain di Balik Cadar yang Mungkin Kamu Belum Tahu,' *PanritaID*, April 16, 2022, accessed February 24, 2022,

that more Muslim women choose the hijab mode not to further show *zuhudan* but the value of symbols that show more self-identity in decorating and ushering a certain social class.³¹

The commodification in the shar'i hijab phenomenon is seen when efforts to carry out sacred religious orders are faced with a profane lifestyle by using religious arguments as legitimacy for selling hijab products that should prioritize function, but in fact, the value of the symbol is more dominant. For example, hijab presents various luxuries from well-known brands such as Nike for hijab for women who like to exercise or hijab brands owned by Indonesian celebrities. Likewise, the boom in the use of the shar'i hijab among female students in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) is not solely due to the movement of Islam, which is accompanied by massive efforts to cover the genitals, but rather to the effort to look beautiful by following lifestyle trends which are represented through the consumption of hijab.

As stated by Atun Wardatun in his writing that the use of the veil or the shar'i hijab is not almost without criticism, even the use of the veil has become an arena of contestation in the debate about women's dress styles that are absorbed from a particular culture (*alamtara.co*). It also cannot be seen from one side by assuming that they are only following trends and trapped in a consumerism lifestyle, but the stretch of Muslim women who are starting to become aware of their religious understanding can also be seen from the use of the shar'i hijab.

The author tries to map out that the standard of hijab that is considered shar'i and not more dominant is legitimized by the market, which crams their products as the best choice to cover the aurat. This indirectly shapes them as authoritative parties in terms of Islamic lifestyles that target Muslim women.

The context in Lombok that is happening to female students today also considers that the use of shar'i hijab is not directly identified as part of a particular group or carries a certain ideology, but on average, they follow fashion trends with which

<https://panrita.id/2022/04/16/sisi-lain-di-balik-cadar-yang-mungkin-kamu-belum-tahu/>.

³¹ Rahim, *Runtuhnya Kezuhudan Beragama*.

they try to look more beautiful as the primary goal. Some students from the University of Mataram and Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Mataram who were interviewed in an unstructured manner generally chose the shar'i hijab as a fashion choice because they felt more confident with a more beautiful and feminine appearance with their Muslimness. Still, there was also a cost to be paid with this choice. Meanwhile, students with a weak economy, of course, cannot afford the choice of the dressing style with shar'i hijab and prefers to cover their genitals properly without intervention from standard shar'i discourses or not carried out by the market. But they also have their point of view regarding shar'i and whether or not their style of dress. For example, by saying that wearing long pants, long-sleeved shirts, and a headscarf is sufficient as a standard to cover the genitals in a shar'i way without having to use a gamis or clothes brackets which have been considered as shar'i hijabs.

It is at this level that commodification is formed, when our society is trapped in a consumption pattern of a particular lifestyle which is considered a shar'i standard and whether it is a style of dress or not, while ignoring the Islamic aspects that actually require us to be more humble in decorating, including in our dress style this. When these expensive hijab brands are increasingly established as a lifestyle choice for middle-class Muslim women, that's where the Islamic culture industry finds its growth in the context of this style of dress. Like the hijab brands owned by Indonesian celebrities, the consumer segment is also certain classes that become their market. The Islamic culture industry they have built is inseparable from their efforts to make profits with the legitimacy of religious arguments that demand Muslim women to cover their genitals and the choice of style to cover their genitals that they want to serve as a standard for shar'i or not.

Sharia in Style of Fashion

With the circulation of the shar'i hijab discourse, capitalism from fashion producers began to penetrate the market share of the Muslim community. Sharia has again become a cover for domination over capitalism for fashion products, some of which can be said to be incompatible with a proper dress style according

to Islamic law and lead to excessive behavior in ornamentation (Tabarruj). For Example, camel hump hijab products, ninja style hijabs, and some fashion products that, when used, accentuate the appearance of women's curves. Such massive sharia discourse has become the profit base for capitalists with a sharia identity that is discoursed on their products.

Sharia in the context of shar'i hijab makes the practice of consumption of fashion products as their identity that shows piety, even though this practice is a construction of a discourse that undermines Muslim society into consumptive and further perpetuates capitalism³². Even though there are those, who argue that the design of shar'i hijab products is also direct from Muslim designers themselves, it is new capitalism that has emerged from the Muslim community itself then, with these products, it becomes legitimacy to discuss the ideal concept of dress style.

Muslim women in the 80's and early 90's still dominantly used the headscarf as a head covering, and the subordinates who used to cover their genitals were considered the standard of Muslim women's clothing. Even the wives of kyai wear hijab like that, even though various hijabs are also popular. The context of the times that continues to develop is increasingly shaping the perspective of Muslim women in responding to fashion trends, including in the context of the hijab. The forms of hijab that continue to follow fashion even make Muslim women increasingly become objects of stuffing the products of capitalism behind the logic of religion.

What then becomes the difference between the hijab that is said to be shar'i and not is the standard constructed by fashion designers and hijrah communities and the hijab shar'i itself, which seems to have authority over it. The style of dressing in an ordinary hijab, as long as it is polite and covered with aurat without highlighting the curves of a woman's body, is something that is normal without the need for a shar'i label or not. On the onehand, the shar'i label they echo becomes legitimate to attract more

³²Lies Marcoes-Natsir, „Symbol of Defiance or Symbol of Loyalty?,’ *Qantara.de - Dialogue with the Islamic World*, September 18, 2004, accessed April 15, 2022, http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-549/_nr-5/_p-1/i.html.

and more Muslim women under the veil of the logic of an Islamic lifestyle.

The hijrah community, which usually echoes the standard of Islamic dress, is increasingly emphasizing that the veil of dominance by making their community a trendsetter is a kind of strategy to popularize the brand or to make a profit through selling hijab. The Sufistic concept that occurs in the hijrah community and the shar'i hijab community is the logic of dialogue between the idea of piety and a luxurious lifestyle through these expensive shar'i hijab designs.

All Muslim women may be interested in looking beautiful with these luxurious designs of the shar'i hijab. The problem then is whether they can accommodate the need for fashion to show their existence as pious Muslim women while, on the one hand, their economic capital is low. Unlike the case with Muslim fashionistas, self-actualization is more important than others. Especially when a Muslim woman is a public figure, when she also echoes the concept of the shar'i hijab as an ideal concept in the Muslim women's dress style, of course, many will see her.

For example, Oki Setiana Dewi's hijab brands with luxurious designs, compared to the price that must be spent to get them. For some Muslim women, it is natural that they can also become business people, associated with Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, as a successful, rich merchant. When Oki Setiana Dewi, or other brands target the Muslim women's market for the promotion of their hijab designs, Muslim women with a well-established economic capital will regard it as part of the syi'ar religion by inviting more and more Muslim women to cover their genitals according to sharia. However, the shar'i standards that they make are things that are profitable to be dredged.

What has led to criticism of these luxurious hijab designs is also related to their length, which sometimes sweeps the ground. When Muslim women prioritize fashion and aesthetic values, matters related to the validity of being brought to prayer when the shape that sweeps the ground is not a concern. Even the large hijabs sometimes touch the tires of the motorcycle when the wearer uses a bike, which means that they will be exposed to uncleanness from the streets without realizing it.

Many of us also encounter luxurious hijab designs that prioritize aesthetics and fashion trends that actually seem to highlight the curves of Muslim women's bodies. Shar'i or not, the hijab design is then determined by the market, which appears to be the authority over these standards. Luxurious design coupled with Muslim women's make-up is an effort to decorate oneself (*tabarruj*) which takes precedence over its primary function as a genital covering.

Hijab Shar'i in Global Fashion Distribution

Hijab, from the production of capitalism, began to penetrate the Muslim community to accommodate their expressive need for piety. In addition, the discourse of beauty and femininity through hijab makes capitalism that seeks profit more lasting with the expression of Islamic identity, especially those targeting Muslim women.³³

Changes in the fashion of hijab products with various accompanying accessories are a form of visualization of beauty captured by the capitalists in targeting Muslim women. The aesthetic ideology in the hijab product lies in natural constructions, such as floral motifs or feminine colors that dominate the hijab products, such as pink, violet, purple, and blue.

Shar'i hijab at the production level carries a certain ideology based on the level of complexity in its design. For example, the shar'i hijab with layered headscarf worn by Muslim women, the hijab is a form of visual production with a discourse of close closure of Muslim women's genitals, as well as a discourse of elegance that is produced to capture the attractiveness of Muslim women.³⁴

The community's need for the actual shar'i hijab to cover the aurat has turned into a desire for pleasure to express oneself as a

³³ Banu Gökariksel and Ellen McLarney, 'Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and the Islamic Culture Industry,' *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 6, no. 3 (2010): 1–18.

³⁴ M. Muhammadun, M. Bedong, and H. Said, 'Hijab Syar'i: Religious Expression in the Phenomenon of Hijrah among the Muslim Female Students,' 2020, accessed April 15, 2022, <https://eudl.eu/doi/10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291754>.

fashionable Muslim through the shar'i hijab.³⁵ The designer's position in seeing the needs or desires of the audience in the production of the work is a collective activity mediated through their interactions in society.³⁶ Designers as those who have the expertise to channel expertise in the production of this shar'i hijab, which certainly aims at the profit and to fulfill the desires of hijab fashion fans who become consumers, even form a hijabers community, which is also part of social skills that are connected to institutions (eg schools, campus, work area).

In this case, the shar'i hijab becomes a work of art that requires collective activity in the relationship between designers, tailors, capital owners, and consumers, who are the target market for these products. Besides, global production modes are also part of the art world, influencing designers in producing their works. The shar'i hijab, which is the product designed for Muslim women, is based on religious ideology as a part that affects the mode of production.

This means that the shar'i hijab, a work of art by the designer, is a religious entity expressed through his work in shaping the visual beauty of the shar'i hijab. Although the designers are not subjects who use the shar'i hijab in their dress style but in their product design, at least the religious ideology in work is an external supporting part in creating the work.³⁷

Designers in producing their work depend on the accumulation of capital investment and sales of these products for the continuity of the production process. Even the authority of designers in the production process is limited to them as workers

³⁵ Elizabeth Raleigh, *Busana Muslim dan Kebudayaan Populer di Indonesia: Pengaruh dan Persepsi*, Studi Lapangan program ACICIS (Australian Consortium for In Country Indonesian Studies) (Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2004).

³⁶ L. Vera Zolberg, *Constructing a Sociology of the Arts* (British: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

³⁷ Zulinda Vidiatama, 'Propaganda Kelompok Hijab Syar'i Terhadap Kelompok Hijab Style dalam Buku 'Yuk Berhijab!'' (Thesis, Universitas Diponegoro, 2016).

who are asked by consumers to produce works that match the desires or needs of the owners of capital.³⁸

The material in the production of the shar'i hijab cannot be separated from the capitalist economic network that covers it. For example, some shar'i hijab products have the material used from Japanese cotton or drill material from Paris. The function and value of the product material have their meaning in shaping which social strata consumers are interested in the product. Even the material in the hijab shar'i product also carries luxury for its users as part of the lifestyle displayed by Muslim women.

Hijab product designs that attract Muslim women are part of the industrialization of religious commodification. The shar'i hijab that carries a fashionable or stylish design is actually not part of the demands in wearing the hijab, which is believed by Muslim women to be an adherence to religion. However, when stylish fashion becomes a trend, the interest in fashion changes the value of obedience, it becomes a desire to display one's beauty.³⁹

Hijab Shar'i is closely related to global fashion products targeting Muslim women, in its distribution is complex and involves many parties. The distribution process is also a vital part of producing works to arrive at consumers. Becker mentions distribution strongly affects artists' reputations, such as hijab designers.⁴⁰ In the realm of shar'i hijab fashion, the media plays a vital role in product distribution through the hegemony of marketing advertising. Advertising visualization in the mass media becomes a massive distribution arena for these fashion products. Advertisements in print media in the form of fashion magazines display the formation of Islamic hijab products as attractive as possible as a network of capitalists pursuing profit.

Distribution not only bridges production to consumption, but the distribution process also forms a network of capitalism in discussing a product with the hegemony of the capitalists. The distribution that is in line with the ideology of the shar'i hijab

³⁸ Interview with one of the local hijab designers in Lombok, Nindi Mediartika, 2019.

³⁹ Raleigh, *Busana Muslim*.

⁴⁰ Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

product is hegemonized through the role of intellectuals by utilizing the ease of media access in the process, also forming a popular culture for the shar'i hijab product. Popular culture, as revealed by Fiske, is about identity, pleasure, and meanings shown through consumption practices.⁴¹

The shar'i hijab, a fashion product, is distributed through television in various forms in the global realm, reaching domestic consumers (Indonesia) who are hegemonic with foreign brands as an attraction and carrying prestige. Products from capitalist countries that display fashion that is claimed to be shar'i hijabs also make the distribution of foreign brands increasingly dominate domestic products. The contestation between domestic and foreign products is not only limited to brands, but the shar'i hijab design mode as a product visualization is also interesting to explore further.

From foreign products, domestic products are more accommodating for the suitability of the Hijab of its essence as a genital covering. For example, when compared to domestic designer products that are accommodated through the shar'i hijab design is offered through Sophie Paris products or other foreign brands, the difference will be compared to domestic designer products that are accommodated through the Indonesian Fashion Entrepreneur Designers Association (APPMI), the difference will be noticeable in designs that are more stylish. However, it is undeniable that through this distribution process, any hijab design also wants to display a discourse of beauty wrapped in a religious nuance carried by capitalism through their products.⁴²

In addition, the distribution of a fairly massive shar'i hijab is also carried out through hijab fashion shows. Fashion show agendas are always successful in gaining big profits at their events with good management. Management in the distribution of fashion products is understood as matters relating to the effective use of resources (both human, natural, and money), or a group of

⁴¹ Fiske, *Memahami Budaya Populer*, 12.

⁴² QQ Presika Jati Putri, *Pengaruh Pemakaian Hijab Syar'I Terhadap Interaksi dengan Lawan Jenis* (Thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, 2017).

people/parties responsible for the management of an organization, the planning, and the realization of its movements.⁴³

For example, the Indonesia Hijab Festival, held in 2012 as a distribution venue for domestic designer hijab products, achieved a profit of up to 1.5 billion Rupiah. In 2013 the profit reached 3 billion Rupiah⁴⁴. Distribution through fashion shows reflects the lifestyle created by commodities that carry the ideology of capitalism. The capitalist lifestyle is the main lifestyle, and there is no alternative that can be enjoyed.

Hijab products in fashion shows, if they are associated as works of art, are a business strategy to market their products. Fashion shows, galleries and designers have become agents of truth in legitimizing the widening of the territory that forms the art institutions in product design⁴⁵. In this case the hijab product.

Likewise, distribution through gallery/boutique sales, hijab shar'i has become a product of mass culture and lost its sacred value as a characteristic of Muslim women's dress style with the inclusion of various hijab modes that claim each other as shar'i hijab. At the same time, the circulation of the hijab market that targets Muslim women is a contestation of capitalists who are looking for loopholes to compete in the distribution of their products as the best and claimed according to the Shari'a.

However, the visual manipulation of the hijab, which has become a trend in dressing and showing a lifestyle, as stated by Powell, is a media construction in the distribution process of the discourse of shar'i hijab as an Islamic lifestyle for Muslim women⁴⁶. The market mechanism in this distribution process is dominated by the role of the media as an arena for the speed and massive distribution of a product. This is meant as the

⁴³ David A. Statt, *Psychology and the World of Work* (London: MacMillan, 1994).

⁴⁴ kabarbisnis.com, 'Indonesia Hijab Fest 2013 Bidik Transaksi Rp 1 Miliar,' *Kabarbisnis.Com*, last modified 2013, accessed June 15, 2022, <http://www.kabarbisnis.com/read/2838654/indonesia-hijab-fest-2013-bidik-transaksi-rp1-miliar>.

⁴⁵ John A. Walker and Sarah Chaplin, *Visual Culture: An Introduction* (United Kingdom: Manchester University Press, 1997).

⁴⁶ Sian Powell, 'No Helmet, but Scarf Compulsory,' *The weekend Australian Magazine*, April 12, 2003, 45.

democratization of product distribution through various media lines, coupled with the enormous internet media.

Likewise, the substitution of domestic distribution of Hijab products and global fashion makes Hijab a fashion trend that still displays beauty. Even cosmetic products also participate as advertising media in hijab products which are a style of dress that is supported by beauty products that are commensurate with the hijab fashion. One of them is Sunsilk as a shampoo, which advertises hijab women to accommodate them in choosing shampoo products for Muslim women who wear hijab.

The Practice of Consuming Hijab Shar'i as Identity

Gokariksel and McCarney, in their article on Muslim Women, consumer capitalism, and the Islamic culture industry, state that consumption practices for commodities echoed through religious motifs are constructions of identity as an Islamic individual or community. In this case, Gokariksel also discussed the phenomenon of the hijab boom as a commodity that is developing globally.⁴⁷

The visualization of the shar'i hijab model through a massive distribution arena has a significant impact on consumption targeting middle-class Muslim women for identity articulation. Some production modes that prioritize the luxury of the hijab rather than the primary purpose of covering the genitals make fashion fans always interested in having new designs of these hijab products. At this level, the consumption of hijab products, which are bridged by distribution through the media, has turned into the consumption of signs attached to these hijab products.

The consumption model of hijab products globally is also heavily influenced by the practices of beauty and religious discourse supported by media visualization. The media, in this case, as a distribution umbrella, displays the diversity of hijab product models with their uniqueness, it is increasingly becoming an attraction for Muslim women consciously in consuming signs through it. Especially with the rise of hijab tutorials appearing on various social media, both visually moving (video) or visually

⁴⁷ Gökariksel and McLarney, 'Muslim Women,' 10.

static (images) in a certain order, contributing to the massive consumption of hijab products as part of the industrialization of Islamic culture.

Even shar'i hijab products on a global scale are displayed in fashion shows, making it seem as if industrialization is supported to continue to move with the type of consumption that is more symbolic than the actual need for the shar'i hijab. The visual design of the hijab from foreign production, which prioritizes fashion, branding, and displaying beauty rather than the need to cover aurat, has begun to target Muslim female consumers who want to look beautiful with an Islamic identity.⁴⁸

Consumer society, which used to be oriented towards production, is now turning to consumption. In addition, the practice of consumption of hijab product brands with guarantees in quality, besides the prestige obtained, is an effort to show social class⁴⁹. The choice of the upper class, in this case, the idolized public figure, affects the lower class in consumption practices. So not infrequently, there is aesthetic violence, which is forced to buy branded goods to equalize tastes, this is what is expressed as a distinction.⁵⁰

However, the identity shown by Muslim women who are fashion fans and Muslim women who are true to fulfill the need to cover their genitals, it is clear that the difference is in the type of consumption for the choice of hijab products. Product designs that attract fashion fans see fashion as part of the articulation of self-existence. Through the consumption of hijab, they claim that shar'i and stylish in hijab products are a combination that accommodates the need for Islamic fashion.

Likewise brands that are the consumption mark on shar'i hijab products. Here there is an overlap between hijab users as consumers of interest in hijab products, as well as visual production of what they use. The hijab they consume is part of the sustainability of the media visualization that offers these products

⁴⁸ Ahmad Bunyan Wahib, 'Being Pious Among Indonesian Salafists,' *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 1 (June 26, 2017): 1–26.

⁴⁹ Claudia Nef Saluz, 'Youth and Pop Culture in Indonesian Islam,' *Studia Islamika* 16, no. 2 (2009): 224.

⁵⁰ Bourdieu, *Distinction*.

as a necessity for Muslim women. The brand of hijab products becomes a marker of the user's social status rather than the need to use the hijab as a cover for genitalia.⁵¹

The shar'i hijab has become a necessity constructed by the media and captured by the fashion industry to make their products a standard for Muslim women's dress styles. The various fashions created and continue to change every month are obsolescence of product visualization to attract consumer interest. With continuous consumption, the circulation between production and distribution is also growing in the marketing of the hijab product.

Then the claim on the shar'i of hijab products is solely legitimized for the luxury that is visualized in the design and the comfort felt by the user. Thus, the consumption of hijab products becomes ambivalent between the need for articulation of Islamic identity and the desire to look beautiful, followed by consumption of other beauty products. The shar'i hijab is not merely the consumption of the real product, but the visual consumption of the presentation through the media precedes attracting consumers to appear as advertised.

Conclusion

The production of shar'i hijab, which is a fashion in the Islamic culture industry is also a visual construction of the discourse of piety and beauty that is consumed by the public, especially Muslim women. The visualization of the discourse of piety and beauty is distributed massively through the media, legitimizing the booming hijab products to pursue capitalist economic profits. Hijab design is a collective work in producing works as creative work, at the production level, the work shifts to pursuing profit based on capital accumulation. The creative value has turned into an artificial reification with a profit value that is taken into account in the mass production of the work in the hijab design.

Then the distribution through the media and fashion show events that display the visualization of the shar'i hijab as a product

⁵¹ Nurul Afifah, 'Pakaian Syar'i, Media, dan Konstruksi Kesalehan Perempuan,' *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 13, no. 1 (March 12, 2019): 52.

that is a Muslim women's dress style has its charm with the visualization of the model's body media that displays the compatibility of the consumption of the hijab product. The growing media with easy access to information makes hijab shar'i fashion products increasingly get space to be distributed massively through mainstream media or social media with broader subject capacity. For example, distribution through social media such as YouTube or Facebook displays a visualization of tutorials on how to wear the hijab, either videos or sequential images.

Visualizing the distribution of hijab products is part of a mediated circulation network between production and consumption. In addition to visual distribution through the media, the distribution of the ideology of piety and beauty that is discoursed through the hijab shar'i product is also part of the consumption practice accepted by the Muslim community as part of the articulation of identity. This massive distribution through the media becomes a plan to pursue profit on capital accumulation which is the basis of the capitalist economy in producing shar'i hijab.

Consumption practices that construct Islamic identity through shar'i hijab are increasingly distributed en masse through the visualization of public figures who become trendsetters of hijab styles followed by their fans. Fans, as an active audience, perceive visualization from the media to follow public figures as a form of ideological control within themselves in their dress style.

This makes the consumption practice of shar'i hijab products a complex network in displaying a visualization of the discourse of piety and beauty through shar'i hijab as part of an effort to show the identity and existence of women who carry stylish fashion, but still in the nuances of religious obedience.

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