

Consumption practices of women in the JN Surabaya *taklim* council

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How to Cite This Article: Srinarwati, D.R. (2022). Consumption practices of women in the JN Surabaya taklim council. *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, 6(2). doi: 10.25139/jsk.v6i2.4923

Received: 21-03-2022, Revision: 19-05-2022, Acceptance: 11-06-2022, Published online: 30-07-2022

Abstract Currently, in Indonesia, many religious institutions serve as a forum for women's empowerment, service, and advancement, in the form of educational institutions, Islamic boarding schools, Taklim Council, socio-religious organisations, and women's NGOs. All of them have a concern for improving women's standard of living. Therefore, the recitation is a religious institution deeply rooted in Islamic society, one of which is the JN Surabaya Taklim Council. This study aims to determine women's consumption practices in the JN Surabaya Taklim Council. The type of research chosen in this study is qualitative research with a form of qualitative descriptive research. In this study, the JN Surabaya recitation council members were research informants. The conclusion of this study shows that women's consumption practices in the Salafi Taklim Council are studied as objects or behaviours that appear, as values, and meanings, until they are continued as 'signs'. Consuming signs as a hyperreality and hyperreality occurs through a process preceded by simulacra, which becomes the simulation process's vehicle.

Keywords: consumption practices; woman; jn surabaya; organisational communication

INTRODUCTION

Most of the recitation activities are carried out by the *Taklim* Council, a non-formal Islamic educational institution with various programs. The program's preparation and implementation are carried out to develop and foster the community's religious life, which is currently a phenomenon towards a more religious life in the Indonesian Muslim community (Hary & Astren, 2021; Miichi, 2019). Therefore, the *Taklim* Council carries out a series of activities that are believed to be one way to emigrate, change, and transform to improve themselves by being closer to the Creator. Following the JN *Taklim* Council study, the congregation made a hijrah. The essence is to carry out a transformation (Srinarwati, Pratiwi, Arimbi, 2020).

According to Sukidi (2001), genetically, hijrah means 'migration', 'move', 'transformation', or in the extreme, it can be interpreted as 'reform'. This statement is related to the results of research by Alfisyah (2017) that the *Taklim* Council has a transformative function. In his

research on "Recitation and Socio-Cultural Transformation in the Muslim Traditionalist Banjar Community," it is explained that the continuity of the recitation in the traditionalist Muslim community of Banjar with the transformative function of the institution. The transformative function can be seen through the process of reproducing values and that is what the congregation means. Based on this explanation, the *Taklim* Council functions to bring the congregation to transform.

Based on the research results, the *Taklim* Council's emergence is a response to the rise of Islam and contemporary Indonesian women by prioritising aspects of religiosity. However, this Taklim Council is also a medium that connects old traditions by reading Arabic texts (*barzanji*) related to ancestors (Winn, 2012). Currently, in Indonesia, many religious institutions serve as a forum for women's empowerment, service, and advancement, in the form of educational institutions, Islamic boarding schools, Taklim Councils, socio-religious organisations, and women's NGOs. All of them have a concern for improving women's standard of living. Therefore, recitation is a religious institution deeply rooted in Islamic society (DeLong-Bas, 2010).

The recitation becomes a medium to remind the congregation of God's forgotten or unknown words. The recitation can be a vehicle for strengthening friendship, both between groups of congregations with different backgrounds and between congregations and scholars whom they admire and respect (Horikoshi, 1987). Therefore, recitation can also build social solidarity, foster militancy, build movements, and even entertain (Thohir, 2006). Recitation is related to both religious and economic, social, educational, and political aspects.

The phenomenon is also found in other countries, such as the Netherlands and Australia. Research in the Netherlands shows that women and the studies that were formed were movements to discuss gender, issues of the relationship between women and men taught by Islam, and so on. The Muslim forum platform changes behaviour and attitudes according to Islamic teachings and strengthens relations between the Muslim population in the Netherlands (Brouwer, 2004). Muslim women in Australia follow the development of modernity by forming an online community that empowers women in matters relating to the household, relationships between women and men and the crime of sexual harassment behaviour experienced by Muslim women in Australia. This movement was formed in a Muslim study forum through a virtual platform (online), Muslim Village (Marcotte, 2010). In Malaysia, the movement of women and Muslim activists through Islamic fundamental forum meetings has also changed the movement's discourse into a more Islamic way of life (Alamgir et al., 2014). In addition, women in Arab countries have transformed traditional Islamic culture and Islam after the Al-Ghazali era. Women who have the ability should be allowed to play a role in the social and political world and be empowered in various ways. The existing study forums use the perspective of modern scholars, who then form the paradigm of feminist

Muslim women. This movement also voiced a change in the Arab view of women (Sidani, 2005).

Thus, based on the results of these studies, we found the phenomenon of recitation, which functions to increase women's capacity, empower women, and become a symbol of women's awakening. In addition, recitation institutions, both in Indonesia and other countries, have undergone a transformation related to the development of the world community, especially the needs of the members of the congregation and the effects of globalisation (Lukens-Bull, R., & Woodward, M., 2021).

Another finding confirming that Indonesian people's lives have become significantly more religious is the result of a Gallup survey (2009) which shows that Indonesia is included in the ten most religious countries (Crabtree, 2010). Indonesia is said to be a paradox by Gallup. So far, Gallup's research results show that the higher the country's per capita income, the more secular the people in it will be. However, in Indonesia, this is not the case. The increase in per capita income has gone hand in hand with the 'hijab revolution' (Gani, 2015).

In this study, what is meant by consumption is all activities carried out by the recitation group in relation to recitation activities. Referring to Baudrillard's opinion, a consumption society is consuming signs, images, or messages conveyed by-products, whether goods or activities related to economics or non-economics, including religion. Therefore, in this study, consumption practices will be seen from what is consumed and how the congregation consumes signs in their activities at the Koran. The practice of consuming signs is seen in the Muslim fashion worn by the congregation, including expressions that indicate the consumption of signs and the consumption of Islamic signs/symbols in economic activities at the *Taklim* Council.

The JN *Taklim* Council is one of the *Taklim* Councils in the city of Surabaya whose congregation members come from the Muslim middle class. What is even more interesting is that the JN *Taklim* Council is the *Taklim* Council of the Salafi group. The life of a Salafi adherent is someone whose life is guided by the life of the Prophet and his companions, namely the *tabi'in* and *tabi'it tabi'in*. Salafis tend to live a back-to-basic life. Living life as exemplified, namely *al-salaf al-shalih* towards religious values. Therefore, the way the Salafis dress, behave in social life, and religion follows closely at the time of the Prophet Muhammad and during the time of the Prophet's companions, namely the *tabi'in* and *tabi'it tabi'in* who were seen as *khair Alqurun* or the best times (Assegaf, 2017). These teachings are *syar'i* in all aspects, including dress. According to Salafis, *syar'i* Muslim clothing is closed clothing with loose robes that are black or dark in colour to avoid *tabarujj* or excessive decoration so as "*not to attract the attention of others*" (Ikhsan, 2018).

Based on the performance of the congregation at the time of the initial observation of the research, it appears that the female

congregation looks fashionable, modern, cool, and luxurious with branded fashion, both clothes and bags. The essence of the hijab is simplicity, modesty, humility, and piety (El Guindi, 1999). In addition, wearing the hijab means Muslim attire according to the Salafi *syar'i* teachings in the form of loose closed clothes that are dark in colour, a long veil covering the chest with a long back, and not being attractive to others. When this essence is used as a benchmark to see the recitation community, the use of the hijab in the congregation does not show that meaning. As has been explained, the Salafi, the *Taklim* Council's ideology, directs the procedures for carrying out religious life that refer to life at the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions strictly (Wiktorowicz, 2006) or carry it out purely. However, the reality is different. This further shows a contrast.

Observing the condition of the congregation in the *Taklim* Council, on the one hand, shows that the physical body has turned into a consumption practice. On the other hand, the Salafi ideology that has become the congregation's belief since joining the Taklim Council also has provisions regulating Muslim clothing that should be worn. Therefore, the body – the congregation of the *Taklim* Council – becomes the 'battle ground' for various ideologies or interests.

A phenomenon can be considered a representation because of its potential to be a signed (Zoest, 1993). So this study aims to determine the practice of women's consumption in the JN Surabaya Taklim Council.

METHODOLOGY

The type of research chosen in this study is qualitative research with a qualitative-descriptive form of research. This qualitative research explains how the researcher captures the meaning of the *Taklim* Council activities and examines the activities (events) from various perspectives (Neuman, 2014). Therefore, researchers are an important part of understanding social phenomena and phenomena that occur in the research process on the recitation of the JN Surabaya Taklim Council. Next, the researcher conducted a series of practices of interpreting the material into representations that included various field notes, interviews, conversations, photos, recordings, and personal notes in this study.

By trying to capture the meaning of the actions/activities of the JN Surabaya Taklim recitation, this study's type of social reality is subjective reality or social definition. Therefore, subjective social reality can only be revealed through qualitative research with an interpretive approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Because this research is subjective, it emphasises the interpretation of the research subject. For this reason, researchers must empathise with the research subject. Furthermore, this study uncovers how the construction of the JN Taklim Council and how to give meaning to the congregation or how the congregation interprets it and looks at the consumption practices of the Salafi JN Surabaya JN Taklim women's consumption practices. Based on

Baudrillard's perspective, the consumption practice in a consumption society is sign consumption.

Surabaya became the location of choice in this study with various considerations. Surabaya, the second largest city in Indonesia, is a religious city with a growing Muslim middle class. Based on existing data, the majority Muslim population in this city reaches 87% (Jatim.bps.go.id, 2017). Various indicators that show Surabaya's religiosity include (1) historically, Surabaya has been one of the central cities for the development and spread of Islam in eastern Java with the main character Sunan Ampel. Until now, the Ampel Mosque has become a religious tourism destination for Surabaya. The religiosity of the Surabaya Muslim community can also be observed, for example, at the Al-Akbar National Mosque, the largest mosque in Surabaya, which is a means of developing religious understanding intended for the majority of middle-class Muslims in Surabaya. Al-Akbar National Mosque is also a religious tourism destination. (2) There are many recitation groups and mainly Muslim recitation groups (Andara, n.d.). (3) Data from the Office of the Ministry of Religion of the City of Surabaya shows that the number of Muslim residents who carry out worship in the Holy Land of Mecca, especially the Umrah pilgrimage, always increases from year to year.

In this study, members of the JN Surabaya Taklim recitation congregation are research informants who need to be listened to, understood, explored, and continuously exposed to the visible reality world and what is behind it. The condition of the JN Surabaya Taklim congregation is varied in terms of (1) age, (2) performance – mainly seen from Muslim clothing and (3) management positions. In terms of age, the congregation is in the age range of 23 – 68 years. If classified, more or less as follows: age 25 – 35 years (10%); age 35 – 50 years (60%); age 50 – 60 years (10%); 60 years and over (20%). The age grouping is indeed not based on accurate data based on the real data of the members of the congregation, but the grouping is carried out together with the 'core management' who have joined the JN Taklim Council since the beginning, so they are assumed to understand. In terms of the congregation's performance, based on the Muslim clothing worn by the congregation, they are grouped into non-veiled Islamic *syar'i* clothing and those who wear the veil. Furthermore, based on the management, there is 'core management, and there are ordinary congregations.

Based on these groupings, the congregation will be determined as informants. Informants were selected from each of these groups. Furthermore, the number of each group was not determined but was carried out based on snowball sampling. That is, when the data collected is sufficient and reaches a point where there is no additional new data, the interview is stopped. From the results of grouping the informants, it was found that there were five core administrators, twenty-three

congregations, two ustadz, and one observer or lecturer. Thus, the total number of informants was thirty-one people.

This study's main data collection techniques, namely in-depth and open interviews and participatory observation were carried out relatively short, not short, visits with a structured list of questions such as survey research. Furthermore, to support the acquisition of research data, researchers conducted a study of documentation and literature study. Therefore, starting from the perspective and nature of the data, this research is qualitative.

The analysis was based on data obtained from in-depth interviews, observations involving research informants, documentation, and literature studies. Based on the analysis results, it is hoped that researchers can explain clearly and systematically the JN Surabaya Taklim Council recitation as formulated in this research problem. Next, the steps taken are organising and sorting the data into patterns, categories, and units of description from the data collection results, which can be used as themes to be formulated into working hypotheses in this study (Moleong, 2017). The researcher begins this data analysis with Within case analysis by describing or describing in detail the data contained in this study. Researchers have carried out the analysis process since entering the field. This means that the analysis is carried out not only when the data is collected completely but since the research takes place until after the data collection ends.

After the data is completely transcribed, plus the data obtained from the notes during observation, the steps taken in the data analysis process consist of three related sub-processes, namely data reduction (data reduction), data display (data display), and conclusion drawing/verification, as presented (Huberman et al., 2014). These three components are involved in the analysis process and are interrelated and determine the final result of the analysis of the *taklim* recitation group.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The life of the Salafi group is a life that does not know capitalism. Generally, society in the era of global capitalism is considered a consumer society. This means that society has become a servant of its creation, namely global capitalism. The advancements offered in globalisation have brought people to a situation that is in line with global capitalism, an order that offers various conveniences, beauty, and the fulfilment of easy and practical needs. With its consumer culture, the consumer society is a creation of global capitalism (Kushendrawati, 2010).

The existence of a consumer society is needed in the development of capitalism to make full use of all capitalist products. A consumer society is a society whose existence is seen through the differences in the commodities consumed. Consumer society with a consumption culture sees the purpose and totality of life in the framework or logic of

consumption. This existence is carried out and maintained continuously by consuming various signs and the social status of a commodity. Commodity consumption is unwittingly entered the main consumer society, namely fashion. This can be seen from an interview with one of the informants, Suc (37 years), who gave the following statement.

"Alhamdulillah, I'm already syar'i... first time... I have not used the syar'i hijab... Since I joined this recitation, we follow for syar'i, adapt... there is no congregation here who is not syar'i' i... But... thank God... today's syar'i clothes are pretty good... Many brands produce syar'i... including branded ones. Friends, their hijabs are beautiful, Mrs Dwi... expensive... Well... I think it is okay because they are rich. Mrs Dwi can see... the clothes... and bag... the bags that friends use are really good. The important thing is Mrs Dwi... the clothes are loose, covering part of the upper body, not showing anybody curves...." (Interview with Suc (37 years), congregation member)

The consumption society assumes that people are obligated to take care of others. This form of concern is a form of concern that is forced, bureaucratized, and faked. The impact will be found in the environment, personal relationships and carefully stirred emotions. Many will be told to smile and told to tell others indirectly.

The fashion is mainly Muslim - *syar'i* Muslim clothing, which is then identified as a self-construct that every individual must own as part of a group. However, bags are also a concern because they are related to consumption. Consumption is a style of human thinking and acting in interpreting needs and adjustments to the surrounding environment. Problems arise after articulating the meaning of consumption itself, namely the construction of the ideology and practice of each individual and community group.

The JN Surabaya *taklim* congregation, consciously or not, displays things that are different from the pure Islamic values brought by the Salaf. In addition to the symbols of fashion, the JN Surabaya *taklim* congregation also seemed proud of the exclusivity of their group that came from the upper middle class. According to Mrs Lis, the JN Surabaya congregation has quite a reputation for being proud. The following are the contents of the full statement.

"I was doubtful... why did I go to the recitation... but because I wanted to study religion better, I was trying to be consistent, eh... it turned out that after meeting my friends here, how come it turns out that people are -popular people, yes, there is the ex-wife of the former regional police chief, the ustadz is also famous, and I have become more active, so proud to participate in this JN, so I am more confident that participating in the recitation can appear like this (popular)" (Interview with Mrs Lis, (59 years old) Early Retirement, Housewife).

This statement shows that the informant feels proud to be a member of the JN Surabaya group because many of these groups come from popular people and the upper middle class. This means that the symbolic meaning of the group itself is one factor in participating in the recitation at the JN Surabaya Taklim Council. Actualisation is formed due to symbols consumed by the group that forms a social status. That is, not only he who actualises himself through the act of consumption but other people will also be judged based on the standards he uses. The existence of other people will be judged and recognised based on their social status standards.

Radically, Baudrillard argues that consumption changes form into sign consumption. Consumer society is no longer bound to the morality and customs held so far. Today people live in a new culture. A culture that sees self-existence through the many signs it consumes. In a society with this new culture, consumption is no longer seen as an activity that consumes objects but based on the relationship between objects or as a systematic act of manipulating objects.

The culture of consumerism views consumption as no longer being interpreted as mere traffic of material culture, but as a social stage, which in the process grabs social meanings, then among the community members involved, there can be a war of positions. The growing consumerism culture is an arena because consumer products are a medium for forming different personalities, styles, images, lifestyles, and ways of differentiating social status (Piliang, 2011).

The development of the lifestyle and social status of the middle class is increasingly diverse, not only success in achievement but also a modern lifestyle; One of them is a consumerist lifestyle. Along with the times, consumer problems have increased. Looking closely, these problems occur because of consumer capitalism and various media. This means that consumer capitalism and the media (print and electronic) contribute to changing lifestyles and shaping a consumer society. This can be seen in free time, and the things the middle class consumes (Kushendrawati, 2010).

The various models of today's lifestyles make the model of pursuing the desire for material objects appear real in everyday life. This pursuit is motivated by commodity fetishism models often closed and usually not realised by the community. Baudrillard radicalised this concept of consumption by relating it to global capitalism and the mass media, which always create and propagate signs of consumption by the consumer society (Baudrillard, 1996). Baudrillard argues that the consumption lifestyle in a consumer society is created due to a change in the focus of attention within capitalism itself. That is, production management in classical capitalism has been replaced by consumption management in global capitalism, changing from "mode of production" to "mode of consumption" (Baudrillard, 1996).

Public awareness of consumers is fully controlled by marketing techniques as a consumptive lifestyle controller, especially about self-

differentiation. Based on this, the consumer society will see self-identity as the freedom to project the desire for industrial goods (Baudrillard, 1996). Consumption is seen as a community effort to seize social meaning or social position so that there is a relationship between humans and the object of consumption. Advertising (advertising) will be seen by the consumer community as an example, even as a 'teacher' to be followed. In this case, advertising serves as the spearhead of capitalism as an example of morality. The morality that develops in society is said to be hedonic morality (Baudrillard, 1996). According to Baudrillard, hedonic morality puts forward individualism associated with passive consumer society and bases its identity on the signs behind the commodities it consumes. This is, of course, possible because the production activities of global capitalism have shifted from creating consumer goods to making signs (Baudrillard, 2016).

Global capitalism focuses on 'consumption management. In the spread of capitalism, the mass media is still left behind to create and disseminate various signs without reference or meaning (Baudrillard, 2016). Consumption management of global capitalism focuses on efforts that affect individual consumers. Through the products offered by the media to individuals, producers promise various things directly related to the individual's personality, such as self-fulfilment, pleasure, abundance, and prestige that will be obtained if the individual consumes the commodities offered (Baudrillard, 2016).

Consumer society can be said to find meaning in life and self-identity by differentiating their consumption activities from others. Ironically, the meaning of the sign consumed by the consumer community is not obtained from the use value of the commodity goods they consume but from the sign system itself (Piliang, 2011). Consumer society is conditioned to this kind of catastrophic situation. The consumer society is a silent mass drugged by the mass media and is no longer a conscious society. Mass is more of a mass that lives in the unconscious. A consumer society is a society that lives in a consumer culture that focuses its life on consumption.

In a consumer culture, what is consumed is a sign whose meaning is associated with the individual's position in the social order that surrounds the subject. Consumption is no longer seen as a result of the desire of the subject itself, but consumption is seen as an individual's effort to place himself in the social environment in which the individual lives. In this case, the role of advertising that offers a product is very large. With all its attractiveness, advertising has the power to arbitrarily determine the signs and meanings that can and should be associated with certain commodities. Of course, the signs and meanings given by advertisements for commodities are related to consumers' position in their social environment when using these commodities (Baudrillard, 1996).

The phenomenon of the commodification of trends in Muslim attire and headscarves, which was booming in the 2000s era, is still a polemic

in society. Muslim clothing is only interpreted as a symbol of more Islamic life in dress as if it is more impressive in the elegance of its material form (Miichi, 2020).

The digital era that is endemic in a number of regions in various countries has changed the meaning of the production-consumption system. If production-consumption was more focused on primary needs, in the beginning, it has shifted to lifestyle consumption. This shift in meaning is realistic through advances in information technology and social digitisation. Self-image is a sign of being recognised as a modern individual.

Recitations existed before Indonesia's independence. In its development, the recitation has not only an impact on the religious life of its members but also on their lifestyle. This is in accordance with the statement by Wardiani (2019) that fashion trends in the recitation group began to be famous and covered by the media in the 2000s. At this time, it is undeniable that a person's higher economic growth and income have an impact on the needs of his life. Lifestyle is one appearance that must be met. During this period, recitation manifested into the lifestyle of a capitalist society that grew into a consumptive culture. The material object that becomes the benchmark for social class is the space for developing people's lifestyles. Recitation as a consumption practice is no longer seen only as a means to meet the needs of life both physically and mentally, but also to socialise, compete using the best, fashionable, latest and glamorous clothes, and affirm identity as a high social class and have different tastes. The current study is considered to be the right place for this. The following proves the practice of commodification and consumption at the JN Surabaya *Taklim* Council.

For sociologists, this phenomenon is consumption in the modern era that is formed as one of the important experiences of worship and culture. The concern here is that the commodification of religion does not have to be an act of commercialisation to make money. The commodification of recitation worship is related to the ideological ideology of commodities and religious commodities; selling ideology is like selling a product. The recitation becomes more memorable, modern, progressive, and inclusive through commodification. The recitation service is no longer a ritual based on the old doctrine of reward in the afterlife. Even though the commodification of recitation worship is no longer in accordance with the old doctrine, Muslims who incidentally do not like global cultural trends, do not feel that commodification can reduce the sacredness of recitation worship and threaten Islamic cultural values.

The development of women's recitations or Taklim Councils is no longer carried out by rural women alone. In its development, recitation is assessed as a concept regarding Indonesia's religious system and regulation. The *Taklim* Council has been seriously considered by the Indonesian government through the Ministry of Religion as an umbrella institution normatively. The current development of women's recitations

or Taklim Councils is more directed at the upper-middle class community who do it for sign consumerism. The more well-known *Taklim* Council will be able to increase the social identity of the congregation compared to the congregation that only attends the smaller Taklim Council. If the old recitation is only carried out in places of worship, such as mosques or prayer rooms, the new recitations choose places that are considered comfortable; for example, they must be held in malls, large and well-known buildings, in foreign countries. The clothes used are the latest fashion including the names of famous designers. Recitations are also often carried out with a dress code that requires each member to wear clothes that match the specified colour and theme.

Self-actualisation is formed due to symbols consumed by the group that embodies a social status. The practice of commodification that occurred at the JN Surabaya Taklim Council was shown by the presence of an arena that had economic value as a result of the consumerism of the JN congregation. The practice of commodification is seen in the JN Taklim Council. Several group members confirmed the exchange rate function performed by members of the Taklim Council. The commodification practice that occurs at JN Surabaya is the Taklim Council which should have a high value of holiness, sacredness, and divine value has now shifted to the exchange rate because it includes buying and selling practices.

In the past, women's recitations or Taklim Councils did not recognise a dress code. Only female recitations or Councils for women from the middle and upper classes use the dress code. The use of the dress code aims to make it look compact when photographed because it will be uploaded on social media or displayed on print media. In time, these details are important to see and show wealth so as not to be excluded from the community. Ultimately, all will agree to wear a dress code to remain part of the community. In addition, individually, it shows that they have been able to meet the demands of upper-middle class relationships. That symbol of exclusivity surfaced in the shift in the recitation or the women's Taklim Council then and now.

The women's recitation or *Taklim* Council cannot be separated from the existence of social groups. Social ties in the community in which each individual is intertwined form a *Taklim* Council. Turner (2011) explains that togetherness in a group as a social group can be viewed from two kinds of models. First social cohesion emphasises strengthening the sense of belonging to the group. Second social identification emphasises the assumption of psychological membership of self-grouping in which the group has a perceptual or cognitive basis.

The social situation in the post-industrial, postmodern, or advanced capitalism era is an era that raises new problems related to consumption and lifestyle. This is shaped by consumption and service factors now surrounding society. Humans will never be satisfied with their needs. The consumption community will 'buy' symbols attached to an object, so the use value and exchange value erode many consumption objects.

In the consumer society system, consumption's rationality has changed considerably. This is explained by Baudrillard, namely regarding consumption practices and lifestyle. Nowadays, people consume not as an effort to fulfil needs (needs) but as a fulfilment of desires (desire). Perhaps the need can be fulfilled by consuming the object. Otherwise, the desire will never be fulfilled (Baudrillard, 1996). According to Baudrillard, consumption is meaningful as a process of objectification or externalising and internalising oneself through objects as the medium. Thus, the way to understand and conceptualise oneself and the reality in the surrounding environment is carried out through material objects. Based on this, there is a process of creating values through objects which then provide recognition and internalisation of these values.

Piliang stated that the object of desire that appears in the subconscious imaginary is the only one that can fulfil the desire. The object of desire has disappeared and can only look for substitutes in the object world of the consumed symbols. In this case, Baudrillard knows that consumption is where important new issues and problems are found (Piliang, 2010).



Figure 1. Simulation Process
Source: Author (2022)

Based on this explanation, reality can be raised that the function of the women's *Taklim* Council at JN Surabaya has turned into a simulation room to create an image and value completely different from the religious goal to be achieved, namely to become a consumption society (See Figure 1). Although the purpose of religion is not completely lost, the simulation space that appears affects the meaning and symbols of the existing religion. This illustrates that the value of religious sanctity has been mixed up with economic exchange values, namely through the practice of consuming values and symbols, so that it is currently difficult to distinguish which one means as a women's Taklim Council to empower women as marginalised people who incidentally is a place to explore religious teachings and which means a shift in values.

CONCLUSION

According to Baudrillard, consumption practice in consumption society is consuming signs and consuming signs are hyperreality. The practice of consumption – consumption of signs – in the Salafi Taklim Council manifests in (1) the use of glamorous and branded Muslim fashion by the congregation; (2) the 'feel of pride' for being a member of a Salafi group; (3) 'a sense of pride' because the congregation comes from the

upper-middle class; (4) the layout/position of the congregation in the implementation of the study. The practice of women's consumption in the Salafist Taklim Council is studied as an object or behaviour that appears, as a value, meaning until it is continued as a 'sign'. Consuming signs as a hyperreality and hyperreality occurs through a process preceded by simulacra, which becomes a vehicle for the simulation process. The component of the *Taklim* Council acts as simulacra for the simulation process. Ustadz, teaching materials and methods, the media, and even the congregation become vehicles for the simulation process to take place according to their respective 'roles'.

Meanwhile, the hyperreality in the JN Taklim Council is that certain groups have their own goals to create economic value during recitation activities held by the council. The group of several congregants who have long attended the recitation at the JN Taklim Council is more oriented towards exchange values, namely buying and selling Muslim fashion, accessories, use values, namely using glamorous Muslim clothing and hijab styles which do not directly contribute to religious values, chastity, worship (rewards) in carrying out activities in the *Taklim* Council.

Among the Muslim women of the JN *Taklim* Council, the appearance of clothing and hijab styles is real action from the lifestyle section. Why is that? Because Muslim women are more focused on their style in the use of hijab and Islamic clothing. This phenomenon is already common in metropolitan urban areas. Meanwhile, among Muslim women, the hijab is a self-identity. Suppose you look at the phenomena within the scope of Muslim women, young people or the elderly. They have different characteristics. In addition, members of the JN Taklim Council were also seen wearing branded Muslim clothing such as *Syafira* and others.

Religious activities carried out by the JN Surabaya Taklim Council have developed into a space for soul pampering through various forms of image signs, styles, illusions of prestige, lifestyle and object charm (fetishism) in it. The recitation of the JN Taklim Council is also part of leisure, which is a way for a person to enjoy life by consuming free time. The time is spent on a pleasure that, according to them or the group, has its pleasure.

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