Examining The Expression Of Globalization And Commodification Of Islam In Indonesia

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ABSTRACT: After the collapse of New Order regime one side, Indonesian Islam showed an interesting discourse another one. This situation gave opportunity to manage of Islamic expressions in public sphere. At the same time, Indonesian faced the globalization and commodification that affected the social relation and religious life as well. The encounter of Islam, globalization and commodification have been creating Islamization symbols in any forms, such as sacred business labels, Islamic self-help industries even effected the shifting of religious authority. This article examined the expression of Indonesian society after the reformation era. This research method used the critical cultural studies of the Frankfurt School. I argued that the expression of Islamic society after the reformation era was not only to understand in terms of increase of personal piety. But, the influencing of globalization and commodification elements were more dominant factors. In doing so, both the globalization and commodification of Islam have been leading of Indonesia Muslim society to moderate side, but they have scraped the Islamic values and spirituality itself.

Key Words: Islam, Commodification and Globalization

1. Introduction
The development of Islam in Indonesia is unique, especially when compared with the Middle East region. As the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia does not make sharia as a positive law, but Pancasila as the basis of the state. However, in many aspects of Indonesian society life, Islam remains the most dominant element. In the international world, especially in the era of the 1990s, the image of Indonesian Islam tend to be positive. Media and western researchers often refer to Indonesian Islam as moderate, tolerant and pluralist. Imagery is not entirely wrong, although it does not represent the real condition. This moderate, tolerant and pluralist image actually emerges from overpowering state domination, leaving no room for civil society to explore its ideas. Islam is one of the civil forces forced to be on the fringe during the New Order regime in power. After the end of the repressive New Order, Indonesian Islam developed much more dynamically than previously imagined. In the New Order era, the civilian power of Islam tended not to gain access to color the public sphere. On the other hand, post-1998 reforms there is no public space free from the influence of Islamic symbols and expressions. The 1998 Reformation marks the beginning of an era of freedom for the Indonesian people, ranging from press freedom, freedom of expression to open access to public spaces free from state intervention. At the same time, the wave of globalization is also sweeping across Indonesia. The globalization that is the entrance to capitalism, liberal democracy, free market systems and popular Western culture has significantly influenced the way in which society expresses itself. Globalization also greatly influences the shifting and way of Indoneisa Muslims in expressing their faith and piety. Globalization has led to the birth of more varied, complex, complex and unique Islamic expressions than ever before.
answer a number of questions. First, how does globalization and commodification change the way Indonesian Muslims in Islam and give rise to varied Islamic expressions? Second, how does the globalization and commodification of Islam affect the values of Islamic spirituality? Thirdly, does globalization and commodification of Islam shaped the pattern of Indonesian Islam toward the liberals or otherwise, radical-conservative? This study adopts the cultural studies style with a critical approach as popularized by the Frankfurt School. Cultural studies in the perspective of critical theory seek to transcend the tendency of traditional theories that seek only to explain social phenomena, without the need to disassemble the hegemonic structure within them. Critical cultural studies assume that culture is always created by the upper classes to create hegemony and dominance of the lower classes. Culture, in the perspective of critical theory, is a human effort to identify itself to ideal types that match their projected identity and social status.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Globalization and Commodification

Globalization in general can be interpreted as a process of spreading practices, relationships, awareness and organization of social life at the world level. Jan Art Scholte defines globalization into four classifications. First globalization as internationalization, a condition in which the countries of the world depend on each other, while still maintaining their respective identity. Second, globalization as liberalization is characterized by the emergence of free markets, migration, foreign exchange traffic, interstate commerce and the emergence of transnational corporations. Third, globalization as universalization, namely the spread of goods, services, technology, ideas, culture and value to the whole world that allows the whole world to have the same experience. Fourth, globalization as part of westernization, the process of disseminating Western products, thought, values and culture throughout the world. Globalization takes place in all spheres of life, from economics, politics to culture. In the realm of culture, globalization manifests itself in the interaction process involving two forces, namely local and global forces that lead to the creation of cultural transplants. Globalization backed by the development of communication and information technology has ultimately succeeded in trimming the concept of space and time that previously tended to be rigid, to a liquid, even in the most extreme of being blurred altogether. In the era of globalization, space and time become imaginary. Every event, event, finding or idea makes it possible to transcend the boundaries of locality and to influence mankind all over the world. Social scientists differ in their views on globalization. Martin Wolf for example tends to be adaptive to globalization with the belief that globalization is the path to economic prosperity and political freedom. Wolf's conviction is backed by statistics figuring out that the more prosperous, healthier, more educated and more civilized world citizens are rising significantly after the wave of globalization hit third-world countries. In contrast, theorists such as Anthony Giddens and Zygmunt Bauman tend to be critical of globalization. Giddens, describes the era of globalization as a juggernaut, a hopper traveling at high speed and without control. The term is used to describe a situation that is risky and dangerous. In line with Giddens, Bauman sees globalization as a process that leads the world toward uncertainty. In the political and economic system for example, Bauman worries about the absence of the state and the increasingly strong private domination in regulating the economic course resulting in the emergence of social inequality. The term commodification is derived from the word commodity which means goods or services of economic value and modifications which means a change in function or form. Simply put, commodification can be defined as the process of turning things into goods or services that are worth exchanging for the goals of financial gain. Commodification is closely related to the capitalist system which believes that the ultimate goal of the exchange of goods and services is the economic advantage. Commodification becomes natural in the modern-capitalistic system of society, because of the opening of a market system that allows consumer demand. For example the sacred Balinese dance and only played at certain moments, such as worship services and the like, can now easily be seen as entertainment for tourists. Commodification can also occur because there are efforts from the manufacturer to make a good or service has a sale value. Commodification, as well as globalization, can have a negative and positive impact. Commodification will have a positive impact if it impacts on improving the welfare of society in general. However, commodification will have a negative impact if the process of changing a good or service is done by ignoring the basic values of life such as humanity or culture. In practice, commodification often ignores the values of humanity and culture because of overly dominant financial interests.

3. Research Methods

This research uses qualitative research. Creswell (2014) in Muhammad Syaifullah (2017) is a process of inquiry to understand social problems, based on the creation of a complete holistic picture formed in words, reporting informant views in detail, and arranged in a natural setting. The research approach used is case study. Case study research is a qualitative approach that researchers explore real life, single cases or multicases and multicases, both within single sites or appisites, through the collection of profound details of Idan detail involving various sources of information. (report sources descriptions and case themes (Creswel, 2014) in Muhammad Syaifullah (2017).

4. Discussion

4.1. Commodification of Islam: Business of Religion and Lifestyle

Referring to Greg Fealy, Islamic commodification is the activity of trading Islam, where faith and worship activities are positioned as something that can be traded for economic gain. In this interpretation, commodification can be equated with commercialization. Fealy acknowledges that the phrase "trafficking Islam", however, is debateable. The parties who are active in the area would be called as the person who made Islam as the object to seek financial gain. They certainly claim what they do as part of fulfilling orders or preaching religion and as much as possible hiding the other motives behind it. However, it can not be denied that behind the activities of religious worship and
symbolization of Islam that have been commodified in such a way, flowing economic benefits are not small amount. The term Islamic commodification is used to refer to phenomena when symbols of faith and worship activities in Islam is used as a marketing of products that are often linked with Islam or as a whole is aimed at achieving financial gain. Fealy mentions that one measure in the consumption of Islam is the growth of Islamic economics. In the context of Indonesia the growth of Islamic economics can be traced from the growth of Islamic financial services, ranging from banking, insurance to syariah stock exchange. Bank Muamalat, as the first syariah bank in Indonesia, was established in 1991, followed by the emergence of Bank Mandiri Syariah in 1999. The concept of anti-riba and Islamic image that became the selling material of sharia banks seems to be responded positively by the Muslim middle class society of Indonesia. This can be seen from the rapid in the Islamic banking sector. Recorded not less than 38 percent of national banking assets are currently owned by Islamic sharia-based banks. The positive direction of the development of Islamic banking has created a "sharia boom" in the world of banking and national financial services. This is evident from the number of conventional banks that open sharia-based service units. The growth of BMT (baitul mal wa ta'mil) targeting the middle to lower class (micro-economy) also increasingly not counted. Similar conditions occur in insurance and sharia stock exchange. Both have experienced significant growth over the past decade. It can not be denied that the success of the Islamic economic sector depends more on the Islamic image embedded as its brand commodity rather than the quality of the banking product. Bank Muamalat for example, in every advertising propaganda always use the language of religion. Terminology "anti riba" is suspected to be one tagline that managed to lead consumers to switch from conventional banks to Islamic banks. This fact shows that consumer interest in Islamic banks is more due to the strong Islamic symbols, not because of product, service quality or ease of access. People tend to believe that sharia is always synonymous with a positive image, in the sense that according to Islamic teachings. Such identification often obscures the fact that not all sharia banks are not always more Islamic than conventional banks. Outside of the banking sector, the phenomenon of Islamic commodification occurs also in the motivation industry (self-help). ESQ Leadership Training Center, a provider of management training services, leadership and Islamic teaching-based motives is the most representative example to see how dynamic the growth of this new sector is. ESQ way initiated by Ary Ginanjar seeks to integrate successful recipes of Western-style secular motivators with spiritual values unearthed from Islamic teachings. Ary Ginanjar and his ESQ are hailed as trademarks in management and leadership training targeting urban middle-class executives and Muslims. The training model developed by ESQ in many ways has similarities to popular motivational practices in the West (America and Europe). One of them appears in the use of the stage with multimedia tools including sound and sophisticated light and combined with the style of speech that evoke emotions of the soul. The purpose of ESQ training is to explore the spiritual values of Islam in order to positively correlate to human productivity in everyday life. That is, Islam is not merely meaningful as a personal mistake that is vertical, but also positively impact on profane matters. For example, in ESQ training it is said that work productivity can be improved by training the sincere and patient nature as taught by Islam. The claim that personal piety will be directly proportional to productivity is what attracts business and bureaucrats to hold ESQ training for their employees. Many companies and government offices are willing to budget funds that are not small to hold ESQ training in order to increase employee productivity. Increased productivity certainly interpreted simply as an increase in financial benefits. It can be concluded that basically the purpose of ESQ service user companies is to print employees who are ready to generate as much financial profit as possible. Ary Ginanjar's success with his ESQ model inspired the birth of similar methods, but with slightly different packaging. One to mention among the many is Ippho Santosa. Beginning his career as a successful young entrepreneur to build business lines in a number of fields, Ippho Santosa immediately stated himself as a business consultant as well as a moral advisor. As Ary Ginanjar, Ippho Santosa initiates business-management seminars and training courses that integrate the principles of principles of conventional business with Islamic values. Entrance ticket seminar was priced hundreds of thousands and allegedly always sold out. He also wrote at least eight self-help books that sold well in the market. The material of selling is not much different from other Islamic motivators, that is how to be personally personal, working hard and financially successful. Successful life formula is often wrapped with exposes of Islamic symbols are often excessive. For example in a book, it contains an endorsement testimony of the reader who says that after buying dozens of copies of the book, then distributing it to his employees, the next day he gets an unexpected fortune that is a car. Of course sincere goodwill is required as well as a suspension of common sense to believe the story. The future of the Islamic self-help industry does not seem to be dim, otherwise it is more promising financially. In a society that is fond of consumptive culture, business advice advice such as motivational training and self-help type books seem to be a commodity the market receives. It can be seen from the enthusiasm of the community to attend training or training self-motivation. The best-seller list of books in bookstores is almost certainly inhabited by self-help genre books. Movies with themes of Islamic motive are almost always box-office in theaters and last for weeks. In short, today's Islam is a mild, popular, modern Islam and warrants the prosperity of life in the world. Another sector that also attracts attention is the commodification of Islamic lifestyles that from day to day show tremendous passion. This phenomenon is particularly developed among the urban middle class who are generally highly educated and work in public spaces. This group is sociologically in the middle of two interests of identity, namely the identity of Islam on the one hand and the identity of the middle-urban class on the lian side. They need a religious model that fits their lifestyle. As Muslims they need to implement full Islamic teachings (kaffah) namu at the same time they also have an interest to accentuate their identity as an open, dynamic, and adaptive middle class towards modern lifestyles. The urban middle-class Muslims' intention to negotiate their identity has been met by the market and
capital owners by providing products and services that exploit Islamic symbols. The Islamic commodity industry is now expanding from fashion, beauty care, housing, hotels, travel bureau to hajj and umrah to the absurd such as sharia laundry and sharia car salon.

4.2. New Media and the Shifting of the Islamic Authority
Borrowing the metaphor of Thomas L. Freidman, today's world has become a flat world. The development of information and communication technology allows people around the world to connect in an unlimited communication network. The birth of new media, especially the internet has spawned a new community community which later called the netizen community. However, the development of mass communication networks, especially those based on internet networks, does not necessarily obscure or erase real social networks formed from direct or face-to-face contact activities. Communities connected in this mass communication network that Manuel Castells calls cybersociety. Although it does not remove the existence of society in the real world, in fact the network society has different social and character mechanisms. As part of the dynamics of globalization, Indonesian Islam seems unable to avoid the influence of new media penetration in every development activity. Referring to Kemenkominfo data in 2016, Indonesia is listed as the sixth largest internet user in the world after China, United States, India, Brazil and Japan. Currently, 82 million or equivalent to 15% of Indonesia's population use the internet. In it, Muslims certainly occupy the largest portion. The presence of new media among Indonesian Muslims has a lot of influence on the pattern of Islam that has been established, especially on the issue of who owns and exercises authority in the field of Islam. The diverse Indonesian Muslim community is generally represented by at least three religious institutions that are believed to have the authority to decide on issues, whether social, political, economic, cultural or religious. The three institutions are NU, Muhammadiyah and MUI. Over 70 years the three agencies have sought to respond to every social issue through fatwas or just legal advice. In addition to these institutions, individual scholars or kiai also become a kind of referral for Muslims who need enlightenment. Individuals (kiai or ulama) generally gain the trust of the people as well as get their authority because of their religious knowledge, especially in terms of mastery of Islamic law and Arabic. The combination of charisma and the level of spirituality (often supernatural-mystical ability) in certain contexts also affects one's religious authority. As new-media waves began to hit Indonesia in the era of the early 1990s and continue to this day, the patterns and trends are changing drastically. Although NU with its mass bahsul, Muhammadiyah with its Majlis Tarjih and MUI with its fatwa commission is still recognized as a legitimate Islamic authority, the Indonesian Muslim community, primarily familiar with new-media, is now faced with various institutions and individuals who also claim to have authority to issue a fatwa. As mentioned earlier, the character of the network society tends to be different from the character of the real society. The difference also seems to occur on religious issues. In a network society, where new media is not only a means of connecting individuals, but also the arena of discourse battles, religious authorities seem to be no longer dominated by the background of formal Islamic education, such as pesantren and having adequate Islamic knowledge. The holders of Islamic authority in the context of the network society basically do not necessarily have the criteria as the traditional kiai or ulama. Generation of new santri who study Islam in this virtual world generally find it difficult if must learn Islam traditionally. The new santri who are generally middle-class urban, have high mobility and no background of formal Islamic education is looking for a practical and easy to understand Islamic model. Conditions that cause the shift of Islamic authority. Islamic studies that are now available on many social media platforms on the internet allow urban santris to find answers to Islamic problems through smartphones, instead of having to struggle to become santri in pesantren for years.

4.3. Globalization and Commodification: The Impact for Indonesian Islam
Indonesian Muslim passion to reveal his Islamic identity leaves two possibilities; hope as well as anxiety. The hope of increasing acceptance of Islam in the Indonesian public sphere means that Islam succeeds in becoming part of a democratic-pluralist society. On the other hand, it also means that there is no such islamophobia from the state, as it emerged in the New Order era. But on the other hand, this phenomenon also leaves anxiety. Anxiety because there is such a concern that the phenomenon of commodification and globalization of Islam will lead to fundamentalism-radicilism on the one hand and denial of the values of religious spirituality on the other. In many ways, the anxiety seems reasonable. Commodification of Islam, viewed from many sides is a necessity when Islam as a religion in contact with the ideology of late capitalism that gave birth to a culture of consumerism. The culture of consumerism is known to be inclusive. That means it will be open to all things, no religion, as far as it can make a profit. In the discourse of consumerism, man is judged not from the role he plays in the production process, but from what and how much he consumes. The touch of Islam with this consumer culture necessitates the birth of Islamic commodification. As a commodity, Islam or any religion is basically nothing more than an exploited object for financial gain. In the face of the law of the market, religion (apart from its teachings and spiritual value) will be positioned just as with other commodities. It is not surprising when in terms of marketing, offering an umrah worship package will look the same as offering a tour package in general. The types of aircraft, facilities, hotels and the like are the first things to be highlighted. The same is true in sharia business. Almost all sharia business is not completely different from conventional business. Three powerful moments in conventional marketing strategies, namely branding, positioning and differentiating are also used in sharia-based businesses. At its most extreme point, consumerism that has so dominantly dominated the development of Islam then no longer heed the spiritual values of Islam. In fact, the essence of every religion is in the esoteric region, namely the area of spirituality full of depth of meaning. In the framework of consumerism, the boundaries between the sacred-profane, the spiritual-artificial, become blurred, even absent. All that remains is a blank image and almost no meaning. Jean Baudrillard termed it as a fake simulacrum or imitation. In a critical tone, Syafii Maarif as quoted Fealy
mentions that Indonesian Muslims today tend to compete to be 'seen' Muslims, consider 'to be' Muslim. Another worry that globalization and commodification of Islam will direct the pattern of Indonesian Islam to be puritanical-fundamentalist. In the Indonesian context, this tendency seems not very strong, at least not in the near future. Commodification of Islam that occurs in Indonesia in many ways just enrich the variety of Islamic expression in Indonesia. A real example is in the development of Islamic fashion. The designs, hues and colors of Indonesian Muslim clothes take on another style with Arabic fashion that tends to monochrome. The designs of Muslim women's clothing by Indonesian designers are generally varied, colorful and rich in international cultural blending. Groups that have been aggressively campaigning for Islamic purification and tend not to be adaptive to local wisdom now more use the Internet as a propaganda media. Sites that provide content fundamentalism-Islamic radicalism scattered in cyberspace. They actively produce prejudice and hatred against other groups who disagree. Social media accounts openly campaign for ideas that lead to conservativeism, fundamentalism and even radicalism. Ironically, the radical tendency of thought is precisely popular among young people. In the end, it must be admitted that the expression of Islamic Islam in Indonesia in the last two decades is increasingly diverse, even tend to be complex. It is impossible to conduct a comprehensive reading of the phenomenon. A conclusion drawn from one study is a partial conclusion that does not represent the whole of reality. Nevertheless, the signals that indicate a denial of spirituality on the one hand and the increasing tendency of fundamentalism-radicalism on the other as a result of Islamic contact with globalization and commodification remain worthy of scrutiny.

5. Conclusions
The varied phenomenon of Muslim Indonesian expression is so varied lately it seems that it can not be summarized into simple phrases. The commodification-globalization phrase is just one of several attempts to accurately map Islamic expressions in Indonesia. In essence, the phenomenon of Indonesian Islam that arose after the reformation needs a new analysis framework. The friendly, tolerant, moderate image that is repeated as an Indonesian Islamic trademark has been refuted by a series of cases of violence in the name of religion occurring in some areas. In the period 1998 to the present, cases of violence in the name of religion rather than diminishing, rather than increasing. Luckily, the escalation did not extend to a prolonged conflict like what happened in Middle Eastern countries. The Islamization Agenda must be recognized no longer popular these days. The party-bearers of the idea of Islamic shari'ah formalization are now openly abandoning the political agenda. They rolled around declaring themselves as open and friendly parties to the differences. This is done because the public does tend to be adaptive to moderate Islamic style. The same conditions have occurred in the Middle East region termed Asef Bayat as post-Islamism. The difference is that post-Islamism in the Middle East arose out of disillusionment with an authoritarian and incompetent Islamist regime. While in Indonesia, post-Islamism was a response to the New Order's secularist regime which ironically also failed to bring prosperity and justice. The recent expression of Islamic Islam in the public sphere is part of the wave of post-Islamism. It is problematic and often invites controversy when globalization and commodification come into contact with the region that has been considered sacred namely religion. The traditional view places religion as sacred and should be free of the worldly elements disturbing the value of his sanctity. However, the penetration of modernity in human life seems incapable of being totally denied by religion. Especially when globalization becomes an almost unstoppable force, religion is inevitably dragged into practices that tend to be commoditative. The touch of religion and modernity, which manifests itself in the phenomenon of globalization and commodification, is not necessarily negative. In many ways, modernity has also proved itself as an important elan for the existence and development of religion. Nevertheless, turning a blind eye to the negative excesses caused by globalization and commodification on religion is also not tolerable. Various expressions of Muslim piety of Indonesia in many respects also enrich the Islamic treasures itself. Today, the global public should know that Islam is not only synonymous with the culture of Arab society alone. Beyond that tradition, the Islamic style is much richer and more varied. Nevertheless, the eroding of sacred-spirituality values by the emergence of the expression of Islam underlying commodification and globalization seems to still need to be given more attention. Maintaining the value of Islamic sacredness and spirituality is a non-negotiable agenda.

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