

The Concept of Beauty and Body Consciousness of Young Muslim Women at Higher Education in Surabaya, Indonesia

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Abstract

This research examines the concept of beauty and body consciousness among young Muslim women in the City of Surabaya using a phenomenology approach. Phenomenological reflection is done through the act of perceiving a new world; it is thinking using awareness and not with the beliefs about what is being perceived. This study applying a qualitative method using purposive sampling technique. The subject of the study are Muslim women who are studying at three Universities in Surabaya, there were State University of Surabaya, Airlangga University, and Sunan Ampel State Islamic University in the City of Surabaya. The data collection using indepth interview technique on 15 students (informants). The result of this study indicates that the concept of beauty of young Muslim women in Surabaya consists of three forms namely, spiritual beauty, physical beauty, and ethical beauty, which are a combination of the two. This concept of beauty was shown by the various practices of body treatments at beauty clinics. Muslim women saw that beauty is not for others and that is not for reasons outside of their bodies. The body of Muslim women has its own subjectivity. Muslim women have their own consciousness. The *consciousness of young Muslim women divided into body as subject body, body as a consciousness existence, and body as language acts*. Young Muslim women felt that they can release sensations without holding on to the values held by the surrounding community. This study reveals women's bodies are not always objects but that Muslim women's bodies have their own subjectivity.

Keywords: *beauty clinics, Muslim women, phenomenology, women body*

Introduction

The study of Muslim women and beauty is an interesting study. The body and beauty of women has always been seen from a critical perspective. Feminism sees women's bodies and beauty as objects of exploitation by capitalism in the view of Marx. Women are the targets and victims of the beauty industry (capitalism) and the use of beauty products by women is a lifestyle. It is always seen of as consumptive behaviour. Women must consume the beauty products offered by the beauty industry to meet the ideal beauty and body standards as explained by Naomi Wolf in reference to the male gaze (Wolf, 1991). This research uses different perspectives when looking at women's bodies. This research has been

undertaken to identify how the body treatments done in the beauty clinic are a form of consciousness of the Muslim women's body.

Research related to Muslim women has been conducted previously including studies on the eating disorders of Muslim women in the United Arab Emirates. The results of the study show there was a positive association between religiosity and eating disorder symptoms. The heightened religiosity among young Emirati women may represent a vulnerability factor concerning eating disorders (Thomas, O'Hara, Tahboub-Schulte, Grey, & Chowdhury, 2018).

Speaking of beauty, citing an article titled '*The Multicultural Evolution of Beauty in Facial Surgery* (2017)', there are four concepts of facial beauty including symmetry, averages, youthfulness, and sexual dimorphism. Today's typical facial plastic surgery practices are becoming increasingly multicultural. Globalised modern society has played a significant role in the perception of beauty. Economic mobility coupled with an increase in interracial couples has blurred the lines of ethnic identity and the resulting aesthetically unique and beautiful outcomes do not allow patients to be characterised as fitting a narrow mould with predictable desires (Cerrati & Thomas, 2017).

Study conducted by Glapka (2018) indicate that women's bodies can be regarded as literally hybrid in that they embody the Western 'normate' and defy it at the same time. On the one hand, the shapeless figure of a *hijabi* (veiled woman) woman is a stark point of departure from the Western imagery of female corporeality in which feminine assets are emphasized by corsets, push-up bras etc. On the other, the participants spoke about the ways in which they make their bodies align with the standards of 'normatised corporeity' and they also resents the ways in which they fail to do so. Their bodies materialise the subjectivities that the interviewees have established in their accounts. In the accounts, on the one hand, the women renounced the onus of making their physical appeal publically available. On the other hand, they positioned themselves as accountable for embodying the sleek and toned normate (Glapka, 2018).

An individuals' personal relationship with the male gaze is more complex than what appears to the eye, the veiled body, with no curves and cleavage etc., seems to reject the interpellating discourse of the male gaze but the individual behind the veil may in fact perceive her body precisely through the (internalised) male gaze. The veiled body may seem to embody submission to the patriarchal discourse that holds women responsible for the sexual violence inflicted on them yet, the woman donning hijab may be found to understand her demeanour other than in terms of her moral accountability for it (Glapka, 2018).

Beauty clinics value a culture that is truly new to beauty care. Previously, there were other types of cultural industries which also moved to medical science, such as the cosmetics industry and beauty salons. Successful beauty clinics bear the title of beauty care that is considered to be the healthiest. Beauty clinics are fast becoming a part of everyday life in the consumer community. It starts with how it is created as a creative production, how it is promoted in the textual moment, how it is interpreted by the public at the moment of consumption and how it is used by the consumers at the moment of the live culture (Murlianti, 2014).

Table 1. Transformation from a beauty salon into a beauty clinic

Old ritual	Cosmetic industry	Salon	Beauty clinic
Washing face	Facial foam, cleanser, toner, peeling mask	Facial (traditional/modern)	Organic facials, herbal facials, chemical peels, jet peels, laser peels, detoxification, microdermabrasion, mesotherapy, electrocauter
Shampooing	Shampoo, hair conditioner, hair tonic	Cream bath	Hair spa, hair massage
Bath	Body wash, body lotion, body peeling, body scrub	Body scrub, milk bath, flower bath, <i>ratus</i>	Body injection, body detox, Body wrapping, bio shape
Massage	Massage tools	Body spa	Modern body spa
Diet/fasting	Herbs and slimming drugs	Plump full-blooded, slim full-blooded	Slimming injections, body slimming, bio breast, osmolipolysis.

Source: (Murlianti, 2014)

In a social reality, “beauty” is constructed through certain standards to produce a common beauty standard. Capitalists, through advertising, do not propose beauty as a natural and relative thing but it is made to a common standard according to the measures made by the marketing of their products. Through advertising, capitalists are also targeting the Muslim women community as it is very large in Indonesia. They use religious symbols as seen in the beauty product advertisements; they feature many hijab-wearing models. The synergistic consumption of Muslim women starts with beauty vitamins and then continues on to body lotion, face cream, and face toner (Prasetyo & Asiyah, 2018).

Muslim women have also been studied in the context of media studies as written by Mohamed (2017) based on the study in Malaysia. By blogging and sharing their life experiences in the name of *Dakwah* (serves to invite all people, both Muslims and non-Muslims, to understand how the worship of Allah (God) is described in the Quran and practiced in Islam) and the desire for God’s blessings, the Muslim women bloggers investigated in this study not only made public their private experiences but they politicised them by creating discourses and mobilising public interest and collective actions. By finding self-direction and creating community discourses, these women found it possible to participate in and challenge the exclusive and gendered character of Malaysian politics. In doing so, they diffused the notion of the political by making all aspects of everyday life potentially open for political action. What is unique about these Malaysian women’s acts of agency is that it was an action grounded more in religious submission rather than political emancipation (Mohamed, 2017).

For women, the practices were linked to their sense of self, of womanhood and of

cultural belonging. These practices were the main factors in terms of achieving and maintaining one's social standing as a woman and as a potential/actual wife. There are real and increasing health risks involved in the common beauty practices described. The participants were – to differing extents – aware of these risks but continued to use them. This shows that consciousness alone is not enough; knowing the health risk is, it seems, not a forceful preventive against these practices. It is also evident that the socio-cultural context of how health is understood and improved remains a pressing consideration. These factors are of importance to any behavioural change approaches seeking to address the health related problems associated with beauty practices (Ahmed, 2015).

Using television advertising as a medium to encourage other people to behave as Islam teachings ask could be possible because the commercialisation in this industry makes it easy to attract the target audience back into every facet of social existence in keeping with the idea of Islam as a way of life. Islamic values are an element of culture that affects the consumers in many ways because it prescribes proper behaviour, eating habit, work habits and also their way of life. Thus, this element (Islamic representations) does have an effect on the consumers' behaviour (modern Malay Muslim women) which cannot be underestimated by the marketers (Hussin, Yusoff, & Yusof, 2015).

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. Qualitative research is research that prioritizes problems process and meaning or perception, where this research is expected to reveal various qualitative information with careful and meaningful description analysis. Phenomenology comes from the thought of Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) which was then continued by Heidegger, Sartre and Merleau-Ponty and used as a rationale for conducting research in the fields of social sciences and human behaviour, especially sociology, psychology, nursing and health sciences, and education. The phenomenological approach seeks to explain the meaning of the life experiences of some people about a concept or phenomenon, including their own self-concept or outlook on life (Bogdan R., 1982; Creswell, 1998; Moleong, 2007; Pole, Christopher J and Burgess, 2000; Sokolowski, n.d.).

The subject of the study are Muslim women who are studying at three Universities in Surabaya, there were State University of Surabaya, Airlangga University, and Sunan Ampel State Islamic University in the City of Surabaya. The data collection using indepth interview technique on 15 students (informants). The determination of the subject of the research was carried out using purposive sampling technique by using the criteria determined by the researcher in accordance with the needs of the researcher. They were active and routinely performed body treatments in the beauty clinics in Surabaya. The data analysis technique used in this study consisted of data analysis techniques in accordance with the phenomenology approach (Berry, 2018; Merleau-ponty, Scheler, Stein, Hildebrand, & Levinas, 2007).

The steps of phenomenological data analysis are (Moustakas, 1994): First, all of the data taken by the researchers was organised by transcribing the results of the interviews that

the researchers got in the field. The transcripts of the interviews were then sorted and made horizontal. Horizontalisation is the activity of completing data from various sources and other points of view. To complete the existing data, the researcher completed it with notes from the results of the interviews with the doctors, administration and customer service who were in the beauty clinics in the city of Surabaya. Second, the researcher conducted the decoding process which is to mark the results of the interview. In the notes, the researcher then sorted the data needed. Third, the researcher must read the results of the interview repeatedly. Repeated reading is important because written language and oral language have different meanings.

Fourth, after being read carefully, the researcher reduced the data by cutting things out that were not related to the research problem. To be able to reduce data, the researcher used horizontalisation, which involves grouping the statements that have the same value and the statements that are not relevant to the topic of the research problem. Fifth, the statements were then collected into units of meaning and written into an overview of how the experience occurs using easy-to-understand language. The experience written here is the experience of Muslim women when doing body treatment and how the body treatment is related to the consciousness of Muslim women's bodies. From what has been explained by Muslim women, a meaning will emerge which will then be described by the researchers in an easy-to-understand language. Sixth, the use of clear language aims to make the deepest meaning of the statement easily known. Seventh, the deepest meaning from the statements of Muslim women is then integrated into a meaning-based harmony. Eighth, the deepest meaning in this form of harmony will be the focus of research as well as the results of the research itself.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Muslim women and beauty

To understand the concept of 'women' which is more specific in the context of Muslim groups, the concept offered by Miriam Cooke (2008) regarding the identity of Muslim women will be used. Cooke emphasized the amount of attention given to Muslim women which emerged from the circulating discourses within various Muslim groups about what is right and wrong for Muslim women (Cooke, 2007; Scruton, 2018; Wolf, 1991).

This discussion has become very intense, so Muslim women are no longer regarded as individuals but as a collective identity that Cooke referred to as *Muslimwoman* - a concept borrowed by Cooke from Sherman Jackson (2005) who used the words 'Blackamerican' and Joan Martin (2000) who used 'Blackwoman' - these expresses one identity. This discussion was carried out by 'outsiders' to the Muslim women, namely non-Muslims and Muslim men. *Muslimwoman's* identity depends on what is perceived by outsiders (Cooke, 2007).

The concept of *Muslimwoman* is a form of cosmopolitan consciousness that provides relations between all Muslim women in the world with similarities in their religious and gender identity. Through this consciousness, there is an attachment between gender and religion. A number of Muslim women make use of the *Muslimwoman* concept identification for the purpose of change and they make *Muslimwoman* their 'primary identity' (primary

identity). This concept is very useful for understanding the construction of a Muslim women's identity in virtual space. This is because according to them, "new media... fosters connectivity a new kind of cosmopolitanism marked by religion". This is because in virtual space (the Internet), the production of meaning is managed based on 'primary identity'. Religion or religious identity provides a concept of collectivity in the process of identification with various values and norms that are considered to be sourced from God (Cooke, 2007)

In the present, Muslims are marked no longer by men but by Muslim women as well, with the following logic: "*The religious and gendered exemplar confirms and highlights the morality of a God-fearing patriarchy where men protect and women are protected. In such a moral economy, women define the border between pure and polluted. The logic of the argument is that women are the potential outside whom insiders must keep pure or purify in order to save the purity of the inside. To uphold this moral regime, insiders must cooperate in maintaining and monitoring the Muslimwoman's appearance and behaviour*" (Cooke, 2007)

From the quotation above, the concept of the *Muslimwoman* identity offered by Cooke states that: (1) Muslim women remain in a patriarchal system that has an interest in keeping their women holy under the best religious norms, (2) Muslim women are always "between two poles". Muslim women always have the potential to be 'holy' and 'dirty', to become 'part of a Muslim group' or to become 'liyan' and (3) the patriarchal system builds the consciousness that all people, especially those who feel that they are in a Muslim group, must maintain the dignity of this group by maintaining and supervising the appearance and behaviour of Muslim women (Aquil, 2011; Cooke, 2007; Galal, 2010)

As women who prioritise their religious identity as 'identity primary', Muslim women, as in the *Muslimwoman* concept offered by Cooke, make Arabic references the birthplace of Islam. They are representatives of Muslim groups who are considered to be 'good'. Ideal Muslim women remain from the 'Middle East' whose concepts and limits are problematic, with progressive and moderate interpretations by Southeast Asian Muslim women. Miriam Cooke argues about the functions of virtual space that are available on the internet for Muslim women, namely "*the virtual space of the Internet is allowing for an anonymous anonymity of the challenges and voices of the former namelessness and voicelessness of many Muslim women*" (Cooke, 2007)

Nowadays what is considered to be beautiful by the industry are those who are tall and slim, with straight hair, who are white and with a beautiful body. In the Roman Empire, beautiful women were those who had a fat and fertile body. It is no wonder that Julius Caesar was infatuated with the fertile Cleopatra. In medieval Europe, women's beauty was measured by their fertility and reproductive abilities. Women were considered to be beautiful and sexy if she had a large belly and pelvis and plump chest, which are the body parts that are related to reproductive function. In the early 20th century, female beauty was identical to having large buttocks and slim thighs. In Africa and India, women are considered to be beautiful if they are plump, especially after marriage, because they symbolise the prosperity in their lives. Then the Twiggy era appeared in 1965, when the British model struck the world with her thin body who then became loved by other women. Furthermore, in the development of

an increasingly modern world, advertising becomes a new medium in interpreting the beauty of women (Blaszczyk, 2012; Jha, 2016)

This is inseparable from the atmosphere of capitalism, starting from the time that Indonesia joined in the structure of the global economy. Women, including Muslim women, have new means of defining themselves. The developing beauty industry is a patron for women who want to redefine their function and position. This means that women actively and consciously have positioned themselves as the consumers of this industry. Traditional values emphasise that women must maintain their body image which are again presented and provided through this new industrial presence (Frith, 2014; Luo, 2013; Murlianti, 2014)

According to Wolf, the myth of beauty is an attempt by patriarchal society to control women through their beauty. The myth of beauty is the golden child that is proud of patriarchal society. This beauty myth is constructed by socio-cultural norms and values, so what this beauty myth says is the absolute truth. Not infrequently, women always try to be considered beautiful, such as dressing up by following the fashion trends, getting facial and body treatments and then using make-up to beautify their appearance, as well as the more extreme ones such as using surgery to change the shape of their face and body as they feel is necessary (Wolf, 1991).

Tabel 2. Young Muslim women's concept of beauty

Spiritual beauty	Physical beauty	Ethical beauty
pray	have a healthy body and healthy skin	feminine beauty
use hijab	body treatment in beauty clinics	'free' beauty
	use branded make up	respectable beauty
	use fashionable outfit	

Source: *Analysis data results*

For Indonesian Muslim women, the feeling of beauty is associated with the goal of feeling confident and smart and the desire to feel authentic (for yourself, others, and your beliefs). Although these goals are often contradictory, they also represent different individual beauty personas related to different times, places and social situations. There are three forms of beauty in Muslim women perception, namely spiritual beauty, physical beauty, and ethical beauty which are a combination of the two.

Body Subjectivity of Young Muslim Women in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's Perspective

The nature of the body has a conscious potential for humans to realize its existence in the world. Beauty is the highest assessment of women. Beauty myths in human culture directly confront beauty related to the condition of the female body. Beauty myths provide interpretations of women as physical conditions that are imprinted on the body.

Merleau-Ponty shows there to be a connection between perception and the body. This connection can be understood because the occurrence of perception cannot be released from

the body. Perception occurs in and through the body. Merleau-Ponty said that a body that knows more than ourselves. The perception that is formed from a relationship between the subjects and the world makes the body the subject. In other words, the body is subject to a perception. The bodily position of Merleau-Ponty is not a tool. The body knows how to move in the world. Through this idea, Merleau-Ponty was convinced that he could overcome the dualism created by Descartes. The body is the body of the subject used to perceive or to be in the world, as continued Merleau-Ponty (Barrett, 2010; Merleau-Ponty, Toadvine, & Lawlor, 2007).

Table 3. Young Muslim women’s body perceptions

Type of body treatment	Muslim women’s body perception
Weight loss treatment	Women are obliged to have body treatments because it is a gift from God
Body Sliming	Women are free to determine what actions are needed by their body
Skin firming	Body treatments are a choice
Body whitening	Body treatments as a need related to self-satisfaction
Waxing	Body treatments are a form of existence
Facial rejuvenation	
Body massage	
Vaginal rejuvenation	

Source: Analysis data results

Because it emphasises actual experience, Merleau-Ponty gives a special place to the human body. For Merleau-Ponty, the consciousness of human pre-reflection can only be obtained through appreciation of their actual experience. This appreciation is only possible with an understanding of the relationship between the individual and the world through the body. Human consciousness is always a mindful consciousness. The body is often considered to be inferior to Western philosophy because the body is considered to be a machine that is driven by something higher, namely the soul and mind. For Merleau-Ponty, without the body, the human consciousness will wander (Baldwin, 2007; Marshall, n.d.).

This is Merleau-Ponty's criticism of the reduction in Husserl's thinking in order to obtain an original reality. In Husserl's thinking, reduction means attracting the subject of the external world, giving up all assumptions and confining the subject in a region that is transcendent. For Merleau-Ponty, the purpose of the phenomenology project is to make people aware of the limits of our perception. Transcend boundaries or experiences do not mean attracting subjects from the external world and making them creatures without perspective. Instead, this puts humans in the middle of the world. Humans must realise their existence in the middle of the world. The human existential condition is their whole relationship with the external world. Humans must be present in order to get live through every experience. The form of human presence in this world cannot be but through the body. This presence is transformed into a relationship between the body and the world or the

interworld. For this reason, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology is more directed towards existentialist phenomenology than epistemological phenomenology (Barrett, 2010; Merleau-Ponty et al., 2007).

Table 4. Body Subjectivity of Young Muslim Women

Muslim Women's Body as Subject	Muslim Women's Body as a Consciousness Existence	Muslim Women's Body as Language Acts
Shy expression Expression of guilt Expression of suffering Expression of pain Expression of fear	Consciousness of shame before body treatment Consciousness of suffering and guilt if not doing body treatment Consciousness of pain and fear when body treatment Consciousness of satisfaction with body treatment results	Non-white skin is interpreted as unhealthy skin An unhealthy body is interpreted as a body that is not sexy The body that is not sexy requires body treatment

Source: Analysis data results

The body according to Merleau-Ponty is actually the basis of the meaning of humans who existed before humans had language and thought. The body according to Merleau-Ponty knows more about the world than humans themselves. In arguing that his thesis is related to body categorisation as a source of pre-subject material, Merleau-Ponty then connects the body to the problem of perception. The body position in Merleau-Ponty's philosophy occupies a very important position. The position of the body is a potential consciousness for humans to use to believe in the world. Meanwhile, the function of the body is closer to the nature of the body itself, namely as a form that adheres to all existing structures (Baldwin, 2007; Barrett, 2010; Marshall, n.d.; Merleau-Ponty et al., 2007).

Body treatment as a body consciousness of young Muslim women at Higher Education in Surabaya, Indonesia

Contemporary changes in the lives of women began when modernism became the ideology of society, which is when the value and size of being a woman began to be defined by the state and through capital. The inclusion of a variety of beauty industries has succeeded in defining women's bodies as a new economic base. Tukiman explained that one of the reasons why women beautify their bodies is to provide added value to the body which can enhance the body's selling value (Tukiman, 1998: 71). This means that a higher economic exchange rate is obtained. Through the addition of this economic value, women hope that their position in the structure of social stratification can change, so the status of subordination and inferiority can be replaced. Therefore, accessing these added values slowly turns into habits and lifestyles. It appears that now the wells, kitchens and mattresses are starting to change as women add "body care" to their routine. In this modern society, any individual who lives in it will use ideas about lifestyle to describe their own actions and those of others

(Mahetasari, 2008: 8). As Lury explains, beauty clinics can focus on women's fantasies and entertainment venues provide an escape and alternatives free from the confines of the femininity of the household (Lury, 1998).

The beauty industry trend is growing rapidly in the world, including in Indonesia. The Indonesian state is generally recognised as one of the fastest growing regions in the "cosmetic and toiletries" market category. At present, Indonesia is one of the contributors to economic power in Asia. The beauty industry in Indonesia is very broad and promising (Britton, 2012; Kirkwood, 2005).

The beauty industry is a large and rapidly growing industry. The magazine Forbes estimates that at least 40 beauty start-ups are spearheaded by women, making women not only the main users but also the main actor of an industry that is valued at \$445 billion US dollars globally in 2016. The beauty industry is expected to continue to grow in 2023, the market value of the beauty industry is estimated to be \$699.45 billion US dollars. The beauty industry market offers a variety of beauty products such as hair care, skin care, oral care, make-up, perfumes and deodorants, soaps, liquid bath soaps, sunscreens and other beauty products ("Global Beauty and Personal Care Products Market Forecast 2017-2023," 2017).

Based on a research report conducted by Abbas with Euromonitor International in 2017, products such as skin care, hair care, and cosmetic equipment are products that contribute the greatest value to the global beauty market. The biggest market of the beauty industry comes from the Asia Pacific region, with a value of \$141 Billion of US dollars and growth of 5 percent compared to 2016. This is followed by Europe with a value of \$114 billion US dollars with a growth of 4 percent, North America at \$93 billion US dollars with a growth of 4 percent, Latin America at \$59 billion US dollars with a growth of 9 percent and Africa and the Middle East for \$30 billion US dollars with a growth of 9 Percent (Abbas, 2017).

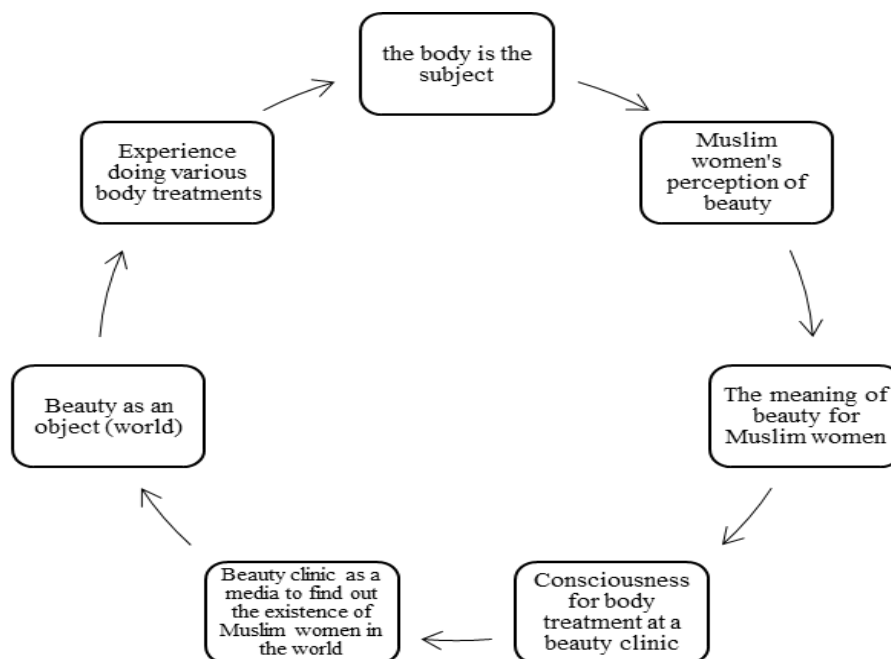


Figure. 1. Body treatment as the body consciousness of young Muslim women at Higher Education in Surabaya, Indonesia

The beauty care centre is a place that provides services for the purpose of body care. The main target consumers are women. The Beauty Care Centre is a beauty centre consisting of facilities used to enhance the appearance of women. The beauty care centre serves as a place to care for one's beauty and to provide solutions to the problems surrounding women's beauty. Inside it offers a variety of facilities ranging from and including facial care, body care, and hair care. In general, beauty care centres or beauty clinics have their own beauty care products, so they need their own laboratory. This is what distinguishes one beauty centre from another.

Some of the biggest beauty clinics and the most sought after young Muslim women in Surabaya include the JBC which is one of the oldest beauty outlets in Surabaya as it has been running since 1984. Second, the MAC already has 4 clinical branches in Surabaya, namely in MH Thamrin, Tunjungan Plaza, Kertajaya Indonesia, and Citraland. Third, there is EC, which is one of the largest beauty clinics that has many branches spread throughout the various cities throughout Indonesia. In Surabaya, some of its branches are located in Jemursari, Tegalsari and in several malls like Ciputra World, Pakuwon Mall, Tunjungan Plaza and Galaxy Mall. Based on the location where the beauty clinic opened its branches, we can see that the location is considered as high classes area, namely residential areas and luxury malls. This shows that Muslim women have their own perceptions in determining a beauty clinic where they will carry out various body treatments. This perception arises from the knowledge and awareness of Muslim women as subjectivity of the Muslim women's body.

CONCLUSIONS

So far, the use of beauty products has always been seen of as a life style, as a part of women's consumptive behaviour and as an object of the beauty industry. This is different from the phenomenon that we observe in Surabaya. Young women undergo body treatments in beauty clinics not because they follow trends as they are not the victims of the marketing and advertising of beauty products in various media, and not because of the demands of patriarchal culture. As revealed by one of the research subjects we have interviewed, *“in Islam indeed as Muslims must use and consume halal products. now there are many choices of beauty clinics and various brands of makeup labeled halal. Sometimes I am tempted to try or buy it, but I just entrust my body to be treated in this beauty clinic with doctors, tools, and treatment products that in my opinion are needed by my body”*.

Through their perception, young Muslim women can release sensations without holding on to the values held by the surrounding community. Some of the previous studies concluded that women are busy going in and out of beauty clinics and consuming various beauties to meet the male gaze demands. This research shows differently. Young Muslim women in Surabaya practice various body treatments at beauty clinics not for others and not for reasons outside their bodies. The body of young Muslim women has its own subjectivity. Young Muslim women have their own consciousness. As the results of our interview with one of the subjects, *“I once tried to do treatment at a shar'i beauty clinic for women with all products labeled as halal, but I felt I did not get maximum results. I knew what my body*

needed, so I went back to the beauty clinic where I used to take care of my body, even though this clinic did not have a shar'i label." This is shown when Young Muslim women determine that beauty clinics do not always have to be *shar'i* or specifically for Muslim women. This is as well as the selection and use of beauty products that do not only have to be labelled *halal*.

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