

The role of social media for the movement of modest fashion in Indonesia

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Abstract

Islamic Modest Fashion has become one of the emerging industries. It is said that social media has making a role in its development. From designers, hijabi bloggers and then instagrammers, they are often seen posting their everyday outfits. They want to combine their faith with cutting-edge fashion trend. Muslim consumers has become a potential targeted market due to the increasing of people wearing hijab. Muslim consumers are projected to spend \$327 bilion on clothing by 2020 (Thomson Reuter and Dinar Standard, 2015). Indonesia, as the biggest Muslim majority country, has targeted to be The World's Center for Muslim Fashion in the world as its national branding by 2020. This study will examine how social media especially Blog and Instagram can lead the movement of Islamic Modest Fashion in Indonesia, how it also brings consumer culture to hijabi and as the result it triggers Indonesia to brand itself and how all the elements in Indonesia including the designers, bloggers or instagrammers and also Indonesian Agency for Creative Economy together work to make its dream come true. This research will be conducted through interviews with several elements mentioned, fieldtrips to few boutiques, and internet or instagram analysis on the Islamic Modest Fashion trend. This research also contains a literature review of a diverse group of works on topics related to the study. This research will be examined through several theoretical framework including the study of social media especially Instagram because its focus mainly on Instagram's role, fashion studies and consumer culture. Fashion and consumer culture are also two main topics because fashion furthermore leads to consumer culture. The possible benefit of this research is to be a reference literature of Islamic Modest Fashion especially in an Indonesian context.

Keywords

Social media, blog, instagram, muslim consumer, muslim, hijaber, modest fashion, new media, consumer culture, Indonesia

Introduction and Literature Review

This world has changed. People interact and communicate through social media. Social media is growing at an explosive rate, with millions of people all over the world generating and sharing content on a scale barely imaginable a few years ago (Latif, 2013). Each person can have smartphone and download social media very easily via Apple Store and Google Play. Instagram has recently been a new platform for sharing about everything including fashion, travel, culinary, art, handcraft, etc. As the result, people who actively make and post interesting feeds on their timeline can become “celebrity”.

It also happens with people who are wearing *hijab*. *Hijab* is a headscarf worn by Muslim women; conceals the hair and neck usually has a face veil that covers the face except for the eyes (Latif, 2013). *Hijabi*, refers to the people who wear hijab, also crowded instagram timeline with their fashionable style. The development of Islamic modest fashion has risen so fast since then. The movement emerged firstly because of the hashtag of #OOTD (Outfit Of The Day) on Instagram. #OOTD has become a worldwide trend, people tend to capture their outfit everyday and everywhere. The #OOTD mostly refers to the normal fashion means fashion for all class and religion. Then there comes the *hijabi* as a part of modest fashion movement with new hashtag #HOOTD (Hijab Outfit Of The Day), #hijabfashion, #hijabfashion, #hijabstyle, #hijabi, etc.

From Muslim society in United Kingdom, United States of America, Europe, Middle East, Turkey, Malaysia, Indonesia to Australia compete to show their interpretation of modest fashion. Some may call them, ‘Modest Fashionista’ or ‘*Hijabista*’. A ‘*hijabista*’ is a Muslim woman who dresses ‘stylishly’ while still adhering to an array of ‘modest’ apparel that coincides with Islamic dress codes. The *hijabista* is a woman who blends her taste and style to create a name for herself, branding the veil in a way that seems ‘natural’ to Islamic lifestyle (Kelsey, 2015).

The booming of Islamic modest fashion is triggered by 9/11 event. *Hijabi* wants to represent themselves as like the others that they also like fashion, shopping and branded stuffs. They do not want to be regarded as terrorist with black veil and abaya. They want to introduce Islam via fashion. That of can also wear colorful outfits and also branded bags. It is also what Sandikci and Ger (2007) stated that the case of Islam and fashion where conventional images of the veiled Muslim woman almost always take the form of the oppressed, the non-modern, the politically threatening or the exotic Other.

In Indonesia, a term for a fashionable *hijabi* is called ***Hijaber***. It was started when several young Muslim women, who later on became Muslim fashion designer, created a community named Hijabers Community. In the past 5 years, the *hijabers* had made the movement emerged rapidly as this situation also made so many modest fashion online shops built by businessmen and women. Modest fashion also became one of the emerging economic sectors in Indonesia. As stated by Gokarikel and McLarney

(2010), in the newly emergent “Islamic” culture industry, a series of images, practices, knowledges, and commodities are marketed specifically to “Muslim women”. Muslim women have been active participants in this industry as both consumers and producers (writers, editors, models, designers, business owner, etc).

While before modest fashion was dominated by conventional fashion, now even beauty product, cosmetics, toiletries and even milk has targeted hijabi as their market by making the hijabi-friendly product. I believe this phenomena happens because of the articulation of consumer culture. There are many new modest fashion designers and stores which rised the consumer culture because they share what they wore on their social media platform such as Instagram. Instagram has triggered this articulation and made it visible to the public who then follow this path and making a new trend of fashion, that is modest fashion.

Instagram for the past 3 years has been used only by middle-up class of Indonesia which the use of Instagram depends on the smartphone that they can afford, in this case Apple and Samsung are the most favorite choices. The price of those two phones are not cheap so only rich people can buy them. But, as the expansion of Android program to the affordable smartphone has made Instagram more usable to every class by now.

The middle-up class people which tend to be consumerist has been provided a more accessible online shopping experience by the business owner. *Hijab* online store has become popular nowadays. However, it also rises the new consumption patterns (Kilicbay and Binark, 2002) which also have negative and positive sides. The positive side is that it can help supporting the national economy but the negative side is that we are influenced to buy a new thing we do not really need which is not a good thing in Islam.

Apart from Instagram, Internet has also been a source to update fashion trend. It has been used to make an online webstore. The Internet is also a very powerful and useful platform for one to express their faith and exchange ideas of self-representation and share their experiences regarding specific consumer products and services (Mahera, 2013). We cannot also ignore the role of blog. Blogs has become a platform of fashion trend instead of magazine. Fashion bloggers (Titton, 2015) produce fashion media partly based on the enactment of self-identity in conjunction with dress practices and on the incorporation of knowledge of fashion media and pop culture imagery. Thus, Instagram and Internet are like three best friends in constructing a new modest fashion trend.

In this research, I want to know how social media including blog and instagram take a role and impact in the development of modest fashion movement in Indonesia. I also want to know how social media

lead to consumer culture of *hijaber*. I want to know deeper about what they have done until they can make modest fashion being more famous in Indonesia and how government finally decided to make Indonesia as The World's center for Muslim fashion in the world. As the results of the movement, it can build consumption culture in the industry. This assimilation into consumption culture should not be taken only as the consumption of the exchange value of commodities or purchase of commodities sold in the market but also how it creates a consumer culture.

Theoretical Framework and Research Methodology

With the rise of 'new' Muslim bourgeoisie in the past years in regards to consumer culture as a response to fashion lines, social media and brands which marketed specifically to Muslim market, religion and consumer practices become increasingly linked, especially in relation to fashion (Kelsey, 2015). The purpose of this reseach to gain a broader perspective on how Muslim women have used Instagram in influencing others to combine their faith with fashionable style.

The *hijab* has become part of fashion and style (Woldesemait, 2012). Fashion is a form of self-expression and growing number of Muslim women leads to the experimentation of blending modesty and attraction into their looks (Hanzaee and Chitsaz, 2011). What I want to examine is how Instagram creates Muslim women love fashion and become consumerist. That of modest fashion becoming trends and making businesswomen create Muslim-friendly events such as talkshow, fashion show, bazaar, etc which pull the trigger to make Indonesia government branding itself as a center of modest fashion. From those aspects in which I am interested about, I am pulling from three different bodies of literature to frame my analysis: the study of social media especially blog and instagram, fashion studies and consumer culture.

In order to evaluate and critically understand the *hijaber* scenario in Indonesia, this research employs a qualitative approach. This research will conduct in-depth interview and instagram analysis especially from the people whom I have interviewed and agreed to be featured in this research. Instagram analysis will examine which hashtags are more popular in Indonesia and which hashtag are effective to popularize the hijab fashion scene.

The research has been conducted for 2 months and succeeded to interview several elements targeted such as Head of Indonesia Creative Economy Agency (Bekraf). Bekraf is Indonesian Agency Creative Economy focuses on escalating a new power in Indonesia's economy through creative sectors such as architecture, digital apps and games, interior design, visual communication design, product design, film and animation, fashion, craft, arts, performing arts, music, literature, animation, television and radio, advertising as well as cullinary. The development of creative economy sector cannot be separated from the fashion industry and one of its focus now is making Indonesia as The World's Center for Muslim

Fashion. I was honored to be able to have an interview with Mr. Triawan Munaf as Head of Indonesian Agency for Creative Economy.

The biggest and the first modest fashion e-commerce has been built about 5 years ago. Its name is HijUp.com. HijUp has been the biggest market that every *hijaber* refers to, it cooperates with so many top designers and bloggers to make modest fashion movement. Consequently, its business also grows. Recently, it supported several designers to have International Fashion Showcase during London Fashion Week in London. It also collaborated with Indonesia Creative Economy Agency and the British Council to fast forward in making a dream-come-true for Indonesia as The World's Center for Muslim Fashion. I met Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of HijUp.com, Diajeng Lestari, and Chief Community Officer (CCO) of HijUp.com, Hanna Faridl whom was a prominent blogger and a mover of hijab in Indonesia.

I also got access to several top Indonesian Modest Fashion Designers such as Irna Mutiara, Zaskia Sungkar, Anniesa Hasibuan, Vivi Zubedi, Ayu Dyah Andari, Hannie Hananto, and also with top designers, bloggers, and instagrammers who are also Hijabers Community founders such as Ria Miranda, Jenahara, Ghaida Tsuraya and Rimma Bawazier. Those designers mentioned above have also many followers in Instagram and also digital influencers. Finally a famous instagrammers such as Mega Iskanti. She is known as a instagram influencer, which various online shops made her as a model and influencer to promote their products.

This research will also conduct interview with several *hijab* users who also consume *hijab* fashion for their daily lifestyles. This research will not be complete if there is no second opinion from the consumer side. This study will not examine the debates between Islamic principle and fashionable style. As I am more interested to explore how social media triggers the modest fashion movement. How its figures introduce and represent Islam in the fashion world which is new in a fashion scene. This research will describe a prediction of Indonesia as The World's Center for Muslim Fashion which hopefully can be a further advisory tool for improving the situation of modest fashion scene in Indonesia.

The Interpretation and History of *Hijab* in Indonesia

Generally, in popular Islamic culture, *hijab* is understood in two specific forms: 1) concealment donned by women as a religious obligation mentioned in the holy Qur'an with its various stylistic interpretations, and 2) as practiced or understood by Muslim women in various Islamic societies (Shirazi, 2000).

Hijab is a symbol of Islam that a young woman are required to cover her hair and body after puberty. It is not a choice but an obligatory but some prefer to still uncovered. For the young women who had chosen to wear *hijab* they still want to look young, stylish and modern. Instead of wearing long black abaya, they style themselves with a contemporary and fashionable outfits following the trend without neglecting their faith. *Hijab* can be said as manifestation of *habitus* as what the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) formulated. It is the routine cultural practices embodied in everyday life of young muslim women. The *hijab* is part of habitus; what they accustomed to wearing on daily basis (Kaiser, 2012).

There are four (4) types of people wearing hijab in Indonesia, they are:

1. Rationalist that has percentage of 29%, this type are the ones who search for products based on functional benefit. This is what young Muslim wears nowadays, it does not have to be very long hijab but they want to be fashionable.
2. Apathetic that has percentage of 27%, this type is the one who does not concern on the purpose of neither functional nor spiritual benefit. The most important is that they can buy something they can afford.
3. Universalist that has percentage of 23%, this type is the one who thinks that at least it looks religious. It does not have to be very strict but as long as it is based on Sharia they still want to wear it, this type is the one who are saving their money in Sharia-based bank too.
4. Conformist that has percentage of 21%, this type is the one who is very strict to Sharia Law. They do concern on what they are wearing must be based on the Islamic rules. (Based on the interview with Irna Mutiara on 09/08/2016).

Vivi Zubedi has a very strong character in her design which elaborates abaya and ethnic pattern in one style. Recently, she just had Trunk Show sponsored by HijUp in London and also had a showcase at Swarovski Launch in Singapore. Vivi always tries to make her design based on Sharia law with loose-fitting and long cut.

As a Moslem, we can still be fashionable with hijab but we cannot maximize our outfit. I sell my product with Swarovski design but I put in the tag that this dress contains tabaruj meaning that they have to wear this for proper occasion such as to a party because we also need formal dress for that.

First Generation of Muslim fashion designer in Indonesia was Ida Royani who built her own label in 1980. There was no Muslim designer at that time and she was the pioneer. It was not easy to change the paradigm of the people who still do not really understand about the meaning of wearing hijab so it was a very hard task for her. Second Generation was designers such as Irna Mutiara who built her business in 1996 and followed by her friends Hannie Hananto, Monika Jufry and Najua Yanti who later on

founded Hijabers Mom Community in 2011. Third Generation were the ones who were helped by technology such as blog and Instagram, Ria Miranda and Jenahara and others are from this third generation who also built Hijabers Community in 2010. From this third generation, the movement is very strong enough and the trend is still happening until now.

The Study of Social Media : Blog or Instagram?

In the last 50 years the media influence has grown exponentially with the advance of technology, first there was the telegraph, then the radio, the newspaper, magazines, television and now the internet. We live in a society that depends on information and communication to keep moving in the right direction and do our daily activities like work, entertainment, health care, education, personal relationships, traveling and anything else that we have to do. (Rayuso, 2008). Media is a communication tool to share the ideas and knowledge which then will influence other people to understand what message that one wants to convey. Social media has tremendously made fashion and shopping can be accessed from only one single click. Study, from Islamic Fashion Design Council (IFDC, 2014), said that Social Media personalities are the first movers in the development of modest fashion.

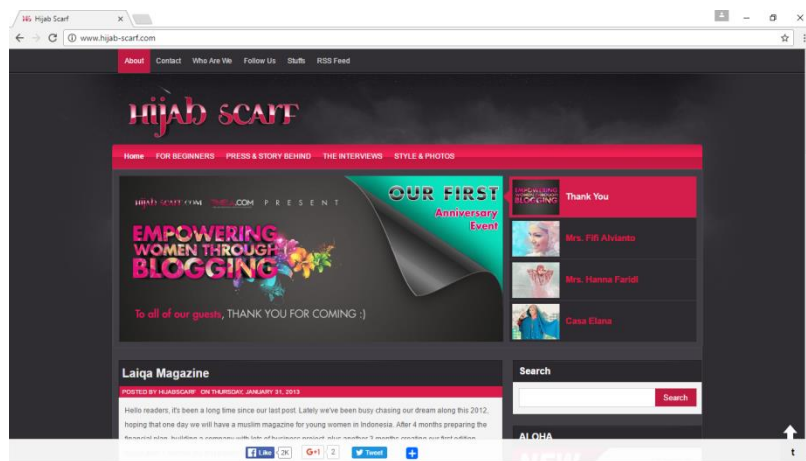
These people create their unique and stylish outfits and share on their social media platforms. Some designed their own clothes that suited their needs because the mainstream market could not provide it. In no time, these personalities on Instagram and several blogging sites started getting attention and they did not understand why (IFDC, 2014). What they had not known was that they had given modest fashion wearers what they were looking for all along. They became the icons people looked up to for fashion inspiration (IFDC, 2014).

Social media has become the new tool in place of the conventional word of mouth strategy (Mahera, 2013). The Social Media influence people to imitate what they see on their daily life. People is exposed to beautiful photos from their smartphone everyday. No matter how, it made Muslim women also want to feel beautiful and stylish with their *hijab*. This is also related to the advertisement that some online shops promote through social media figures. We buy what we are told to be good, after seeing thousands of advertisings we make our buying decisions based on what we saw on television, newspapers or magazines to be a product we can trust and also based on what everyone else that we know is buying and their decision are also based on the media (Ryuso, 2008). This is also the same case in which happens on Instagram.

Reina Lewis' book *Muslim Fashion: Contemporary Style Cultures* (2015) focuses on how digital information communication technologies have been used by *hiijabi* bloggers and designers to create new forms and understandings of modest fashion. She concluded by arguing that in the mode of everyday religion the blending between comerce and commentary seen in online modest fashion

discourse creates new forms of religious knowledge production and transmission through which are developed new forms of religious authority for women. From this framework, I have examined that Instagram is a new platform for showing and sharing a Muslim lifestyle.

Hijab has never been so fashionable without new generation movement. Once, young *hijab*-wearing women was perceived as old, out-of-date, only-stay-at-home women. Young *hijab*-wearing women who still love fashion got inspired by fashion blog. They were triggered to show their style on the blog. Before Instagram, the movement was initiated by a blog named www.hijab-scarf.com, Hanna Faridl and Fifi Alvianto run this blog together.



Picture 1. www.hijab-scarf.com blog

Through social media (blog and Facebook at that time), she invited young women with *hijab* to gather together and she was surprised that the antusiasam was overwhelming. 50 young women came and felt the same emotion. They had found new friends with the same idea, wearing *hijab* in modern and fashionable way. Another meeting of 30 young women has resulted to make a committee to build a community named Hijabers Community (HC). This community was considered to start modest fashion movement by inviting young women to cover the *aurah* (body that cannot be seen by others) which is obligatory for women after puberty. For some women, this is what Tarlo noted (2010) looking Muslim is a subtle process, involving the layering if fashionable garments so as not to reveal too much flesh or body shape.

What this community had done was making a lot of event such as *pengajian* or reciting Quran and *hijab* or make up tutorial. Its yearly event is Hijab Day, a bazaar that customer can buy products from designers and completed with talkshow and fashion show. This kind of activity attracted young Muslim women thus more and more people were wearing *hijab* because they felt that wearing *hijab* can be fashionable and fun. That by wearing *hijab* it also represents themselves as part of the popular

community. Individuals are driven into self-presentation and self-promotion in order to present what is considered by the group to be an appropriate expression of identity (Arthur, 2000).

Rahmat Ramadan, husband of designer Restu Anggraini who serves as Business Development said in the interview (03/08/2016),

Instead of using muslim fashion term, we prefer to use modest fashion term so that we can bring it to the global market. Once, there were Itang Yunasz and Irna Mutiara but the booming of hijab fashion was because of Hijabers Community in 2009. This community was started by fashion bloggers and it was getting attention and modest fashion becomes a trend since then.

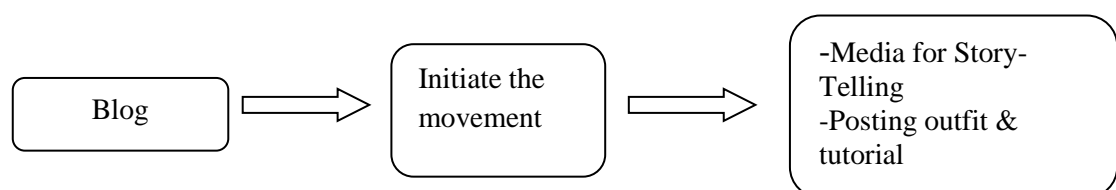


Picture 2. Hijabers Community Committee (HC)

Jenahara Nasution, who served as the first President of HC, said at the interview (15/9/2016),

This community also wanted to empower young women that by wearing hijab, women still could do anything they want. Before, we were stigmatized that wearing hijab was old, silly, religious and only stay-at-home woman. My friends always felt that I was too young to wear hijab and I always felt that I was different from others. But now you can see that there are a lot of people wearing hijab in a fashionable way.

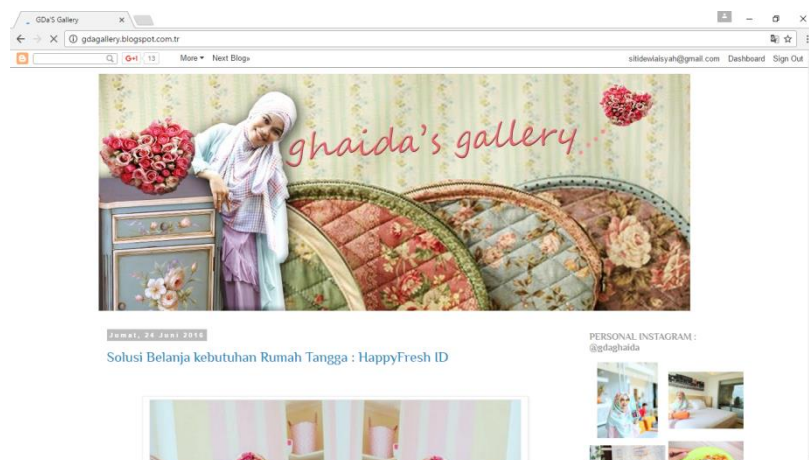
If we discuss about the role of Blog, it can be seen in this chart below :



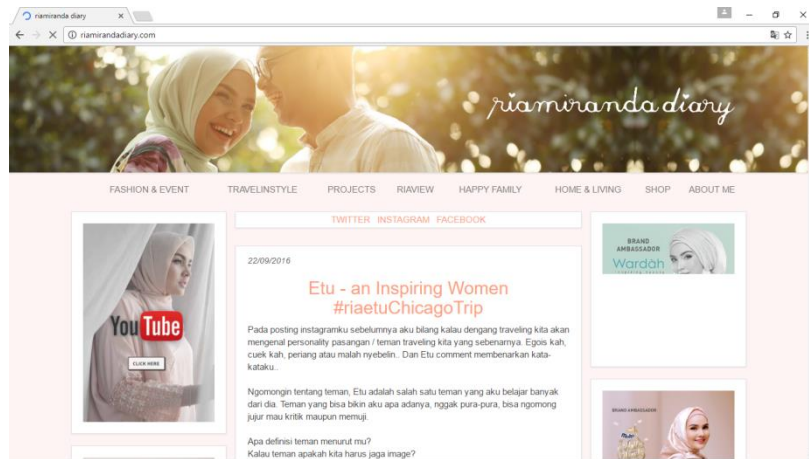
Graphic1. The Role of Blog

Blog was found as a tool to initiate the movement by making a gathering for young *hijabi* women. It was in 2010 when Hijabers Community was established because they gathered and got to know each other from blog. Blog was a media for sharing a story, some of them dedicate their blogs for posting outfit, what brand they wear and made *hijab* or make up tutorial. Fashion bloggers produce her platform as fashion media based on their own self-identity related to dress practice and their knowledge of fashion (Titton, 2015)

Even though, blog has also an important role in the movement but many of designers did not have blog and some of them who had it did not write or post on the blog anymore, only a few of them who still use the blog such as Ria Miranda and Jenahara who are actively linked her blog to her Instagram profile. Ghaida Tsuraya is also still actively blogging, she is also influencer on instagram and also designs her clothing line, Gda, which has a characteristic in pastel colors. She has endorsed many brands to be promoted. She said that for now instagram has been very effective for branding, for promotion and for selling. She had to make a good content by posting a good photography because it has become a platform for her business.

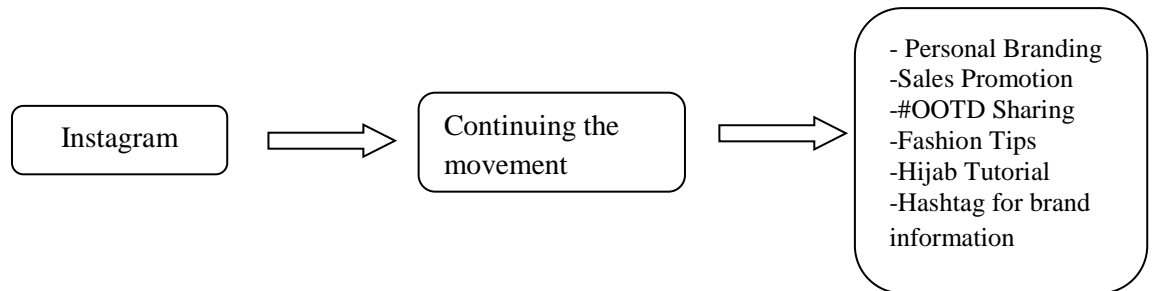


Picture 3. Ghaida Tsuraya's Blog



Picture 4. Ria Miranda's blog

On the other side, Instagram was continuing the movement since around 2012. Instagram is more friendly because we can share photos everyday with a small story and put the hashtag on our feeds. For now, instagram is still a platform for selling which shares a quite high percentage as well as from the selling in the designer's boutique. As seen on the chart below about the role of instagram in nowadays life.



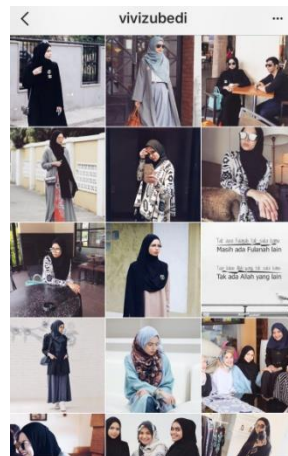
Graphic 2. The Role of Instagram

Globally, Instagram has reached 500 million users and Indonesia is ranked as the third countries with most users after Japan and Brazil. 89% of instagram users are between 18 – 34 years old and dominated by women with a portion of 63% (Edwin, 2016). Instagram helps designers to show their product freely and got global exposure as long as they can provide a good quality of photos. Fashion and technology are the most popular products among Indonesian instagram users and they have ever made a shopping experience from their brands they follow. Indonesians use instagram to find inspiration, share their travel experience and to find information about new trends (Edwin, 2016).

As the fashion anthropologist Emma Tarlo (2010) notes in her book, *Visibly Muslim*, the production, distribution, and consumption of Muslim women clothing is a complex business and community that involves a complete of communication networks tool such as blog and email interactions, as well as marketing. Some designers iniated their brand and do their marketing via blogging but as the time goes

by they are shifting to Instagram as promotional tool and platform. Blog was important part of the movement back then in 2010. Stylish *hijabers* also invaded Facebook and Twitter at that time. They keep following social media trend and most of them used Instagram since around 2012. They firstly used it as sharing their daily lives but after they have big number of followers, they started to pay attention to what they want to share in Instagram. It also becomes a very effective media for promotion, some even also sells only in Instagram meaning they do not have any boutique or webstore. The percentage of online purchase (via Instagram or e-commerce) is sometimes higher than the purchase in their boutiques or stores.

Most people that I have interviewed agreed that Instagram has a powerful role to make Muslim fashion becomes a trend nowadays and it is an effective promotion tool for purchase. Vivi Zubedi focuses in Abaya and always associated with Black said that Instagram nowadays is a very good platform to sell the product. Instagram helps designers got global exposure freely. She got customers from other countries from her Instagram spread. She uses her Instagram to share fashion her outfit and promote her brands.



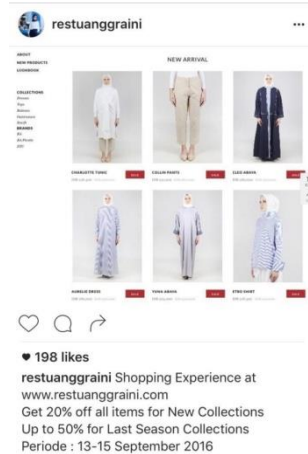
Picture 5. Vivi Zubedi's Instagram

These are Indonesian designers who become influencers in *hijab* fashion style. Indonesian designers have more followers compare to other personalities on Instagram.

Name of Designers	Followers
Zaskia Sungkar	8.300.000
Dian Pelangi	4.300.000
Ria Miranda	505.000
Ghaida Tsurayya	356.000
Jenahara	330.000
Anniesa Hasibuan	115.000
Rimma Bawazier	112.000
Restu Anggraini	102.000
Vivi Zubedi	100.000

Ayu Dyah Andari	91.600
Irna Mutiara	60.900
Hannie Hananto	19.700

Table 3. Amount of Designer's Followers



Picture 6. Restu Anggraini's Instagram

Restu Anggraini established her brand in 2011 having two different labels Restu Anggraini for the mass market and ETU which targets more to international market. ETU's brand DNA is innovative, young and modern. This is how she promotes her brand in instagram. Another designer, Jenahara, uses her instagram to share information about her achievement in the fashion industry. Here is seen Jenahara posted a photo of her works for International Fashion Showcase during London Fashion Week 2016.



Picture 7. Jenahara Black Label's Instagram

Some of *hijabers* who are still actively blogging and also have quite huge instagram followers are seen below. They have inspired other young Muslim women how to wear *hijab* in a fashionable way, they sometimes share how to wear *hijab* and mix-match tips.

Name of Hijab Bloggers	Instagram Followers
Indah Nada Puspita	443.000

Dian Safira	287.000
Puteri Hasanah Karunia	253.000
Dwi Handayani	207.000
Dhatu Rembulan	99.700
Suci Utami	79.500
Siti Juwariyah	75.900
Noni Zakiah	57.500
Chacha Thaib	54.500
Fifi Alvianto	54.500
Tina Asmara	48.300
Nadiyah Fatimah	39.900
Irna Dewi	33.000
Hanna Faridl	21.100

Table 2. Hijab Bloggers and Instagrammers

The role of instagrammers is keeping *hijab* as a trend, sometimes they promote designer's clothes and spread to their followers and that is what becomes a trend. This early adoption of digital communications by most young women has provided a multitude of new platforms on discussion about modest dress (Lewis, 2013). Here are the names that most young Muslim women look up for inspiration to:

Name of Instagrammer	Followers
Joyagh	502.000
Zahratul Jannah	477.000
Amelia Elle	292.000
Aghnia Punjabi	250.000
Mega Iskanti	245.000
Alia Queen	243.000
Dini Djoemiko	228.000
Helmi Nursifah	219.000
Nisa Cookie	210.000
Ellend Muzakky	206.000
Nabilazirus	199.000
Sonyasams	196.000
Intan Khasanah	188.000
Bellmirs	144.000
Barbie Ima	127.000
Ayu Aryuli	121.000
Zsalsadil	123.000
Hamidah Rachmayanti	116.000
Nina Septiani	108.000
Firrr	101.000
Diajeng Lestari	86.500

Table 3. Amount of Instagrammers' Followes

The use of hashtag is making a search experience easier. These hashtag that is worldwide used seen as below:

Hashtag	Amount
#hijab	16.075.809
#hijabfashion	6.686.904
#hijabstyle	5.439.551
#hijabi	1.389.619
#hijabootd	1.245.629
#hijabista	1.134.732
#hijabchic	943.648
#hijaboftheday	497.466
#hijabmodern	465.560
#chichijab	304.650
#hijabhigh	242.864
#hijabfashionista	79.890

Table 3. Worldwide's hashtags

Hashtag that is mostly used by Indonesian mostly in conjunction with the cities that they are living in such as Bandung, Jakarta, Jogja, Surabaya, Malang, Medan, Kalimantan and Banjarmasin which are the name of the cities and provinces in Indonesia, those are as follows:

Hashtag Indonesia	Amount
#hijabers	7.704.694
#hijabindonesia	991.493
#hijabsolo	805.901
#hijabootdindo	688.487
#hijabindo	480.657
#hijabersindonesia	462.403
#hijabbandung	400.346
#hijaberscommunity	368.301
#hijabjakarta	304.158
#hijabstyleindonesia	299.059
#hijabjogja	298.482
#hijabsurabaya	296.516
#hijabmalang	230.150
#hijabmodis	196.685
#hijaberindonesia	118.263
#hijabmedan	77.436
#hijabkalimantan	63.067
#hijabbanjarmasin	55.671
#riamirandastyle	58.513
#hootdduahijab	35.295
#hootdindo	34.923

Table 4. Indonesian's hashtags

Some of the people that I have interviewed did not predict that modest fashion will become booming but they believe that social media has become a tool for boosting this trend. As stated by Reina Lewis (2013) in her book *Modest Fashion*, the increase in forms of fashion mediation creates a parallel world of fashion activity for groups of dressers usually ignored by the fashion media and extends discourse about modesty into arenas beyond conventional religious organisations or authorities.

Fashion Studies

Hijab is a manifestation of fashion. Fashion is a link between style and faith. Fashion studies is a field that is constantly evolving, but the discipline primarily engages with fashion as a theory in which trends and objects and images become intertwined with cultural waves (Kelsey, 2015). Looking to further examine this connection, Susan Kaiser's *Fashion and Cultural Studies* (2012) bridges theory and practice, examining fashion from both a cultural studies and a fashion framework.

Kaiser (2012) addresses the continuous interaction between fashion studies and cultural studies in the research field and she expands in her chapters to explore intersectional and transnational fashion subjects, the class, gender, race, and sexuality aspects of fashion, as well as fashion's role in "popular culture". With fashion being one of the predominant visual components to following the constant stream of change within popular culture and society, hyper-visibility around bodies in the fashion industry, including fashion bloggers, becomes over-looked as problematic and instead creates new grounds for policing females' bodies, particularly women of color. The fashion studies examined how fashion became a culture and addiction to women so that women including Muslim also interested in spending their money at buying fashionable items.

Even though *hijab* is worn because of religion this describes as a *style-fashion-dress* system. Tulloch (2010 cited in Kaiser, 2012) articulates *style-fashion-dress* as a system of concepts. Style as "part of the process of self-telling, that is, to expound an aspect of autobiography of oneself through the clothing choices an individual makes". *Hijab* as a style can define that someone is a Muslim and part of Muslim community from their headscarf. While *fashion* is a social process that is part of what it means to be "in flux with time". Fashion encompasses more than clothing style. Fashionable *hijaber* becomes a habit because even though they wear *hijab* they still pay attention to fashion. All women love fashion, fashion matters in everyday life it becomes embodied (Kaiser, 2012). It reaches to the option of many dimensions of preferences such as the choice of designer's brand, colors and shops. Dress, like style and in conjunction with fashion, begins with the body. Joanne Eicher (Kaiser, 2012) defines dress as "body modifications and body supplements", from everything she is wearing, including her scarf.

The representation of Muslim women wrapped in black often give the impression that Islamic dress is about sombre uniformity and conformity to type (Tarlo and Moors, 2010). However, Indonesians do not always wear black instead of wearing colorful color and combine it with the latest fashion trends, only the headscarf is seen as the identity of Muslim. Clothing, as one of the most visible forms of consumption, performs major role in the social construction of identity because clothing was perceived as principal means for identifying oneself in public spaces (Crane, 2012). The headscarf itself then becomes a new form of Muslim personal statement. As Tarlo (2010) furthermore noted that ‘Islamic fashion’ is combining the latest hijabi trends and the new ranged of garments. Therefore many young Muslim women adopt fashionable styles and combinations of Islamic dress as a means of presenting themselves as contemporary and modern, taking distance from habitual cultural forms of dress favoured by older generations and making their engagement both with Islam and with contemporary style trends (Tarlo and Moors, 2013). Fashion as a belief is manifested through clothing. Fashion plays no role in the oppression of women. Baudrillard emphasizes fashion as a modern phenomenon and it exists in the framework of modernity such as technology (Kawamura, 2005). Social media is a platform to make a link to *hijab* fashion trend.

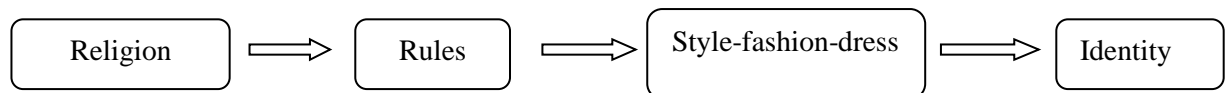


Diagram 3. Religion-Based on Style-Fashion-Dress

Some may argue that fashion cannot be united with religion while fashion matters in everyday life, it becomes embodied (Kaiser, 2012). Fashion facilitates ones to cover their body to obey the religion’s rule. Fashion is also about how to make a pattern and then become a clothing. If there is no fashion, we cannot have a clothing that can cover our body. Religion makes a rule and Muslim women articulates it to the concept of *style-fashion-dress*. They have their own style with the headscarf that create an identity as a Muslim because there is a close connection between appearance and identity (Campbell, 2013) and clothing revealed someone’s religious affiliation (Crane, 2012). Getting dressed is an everyday corporeal practice that relates to the multiple subject positions a person inhabits and includes aesthetic and stylistic choices may result in highly conspicuous and eye-catching ensembles that some Muslims would consider immodest (Tarlo and Moors, 2013).

Consumer Culture

Of all the literature that I have read, the fashion industry must lead to consumer culture. Consumer culture is a system in which consumption, a set of behaviours found in all times and places, is dominated by the consumption of commercial products. It is also a system in which the transmission of existing

cultural values, norms and customary ways of doing things from generation to generation “is largely understood to be carried out through the exercise of free personal choice in the private sphere of everyday life.” (Singh, 2011)

In the *European Journal of Communication* titled “Consumer Culture, Islam and the Politics of Lifestyle” by Baris Kilicbay and Mutlu Binark, the development of the Islamist media made the rise of new consumption pattern (2002). Furthermore discussed, Muslim women are at the core of all the alterations, because of the shifting meaning of the practice of veiling. Fashion shows and new designs for veiling which targets the urban middle-class Muslim women are indicators of a new meaning, a consumption context to the practice of veiling, which promotes the habits of purchasing.

Another essay titled “Muslim Women, Consumer Capitalism, and the Islamic Culture Industry” by Banu Gokariksel and Ellen McLarney, begins by outlining what the Islamic culture industry is, how it works within the context of consumer capitalism, and how Muslim women become consumers within a neoliberal Western market. Muslim identities are increasingly constructed through consumption practices that lead to transregional and transnational “Muslim networks” (Gokariksel; McLarney, 2010).

From the book of Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, there are three main perspectives on consumer culture.

First is the view that consumer culture is premised upon the expansion of capitalist commodity production which has given rise to a vast accumulation of material culture in the form of consumer goods and sites for purchase and consumption. Second, there is the more strictly sociological view, that the satisfaction derived from goods relates to their socially structured access in a zero-sum game in which satisfaction and status depend upon displaying and sustaining differences within conditions of inflation. Third, there is the question of the emotional pleasures of consumption, the dreams and desires which become celebrated in consumer cultural imagery and particular sites of consumption which variously generate direct bodily excitement and aesthetic pleasures (Featherstone, 2007).

The third perspective is most suitable to the consumer culture in modest fashion industry. They are bombarded by beautiful photos and images of people wearing *hijab* on Instagram. That wearing *hijab* can make one more beautiful and still can keep up with the fashion trend. Thus, there are more and more people wearing *hijab* because they can combine religious rule with fashion which once was regarded as out-of-fashion, old, and oppressed.

On the journal of Arnould et al (2005), “Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Researching”, examined that CCT research on popular culture explores how with marketer derived

resources consumers produce feelings of social solidarity and create distinctive, self-selected, and sometimes transient cultural worlds through the pursuit of shared consumption interests. In this work, consumers are conceived as social actors who participate in multiple cultural worlds, enacting subculturally specific identities and values in each. In modest fashion, they create a community which builds solidarity among those of wearing *hijab* and in advance they make a modest fashion movement like nowadays.

The way of people covering themselves is not a matter of only religion but depends on national and ethnic belonging, class and generation, consumer culture, aesthetic preference, fashion and style (Moors and Tarlo 2007, Tarlo 2010). It is also can be seen in Indonesia that *hijabers* tend to combine their traditional garment in their dressing such as *batik*, *tenun*, *saroong*, and *songket*. Those traditional garments offer very colourful and vibrant colors so that it can be seen that Indonesian *hijabers* are wearing colourful colors instead of only black color. However, some of Indonesian are also following the recent trend by wearing monochrome colors such as black, grey, and white. Others commit to wear clothes in pastel colors or earth-tone colors.

In a larger context, we are talking about a popular culture whose raw materials are the products of commercial activity, practices of mass-produced culture, and what the society makes out of these products and practices.

Such a conceptualization of consumer or popular culture differs from the view of French philosopher Baudrillard, who describes the masses as a black hole which absorbs all messages with equal indifference, because it does not reduce the audience of popular culture to the mass of consumers who passively consume the commercialized culture. Nevertheless, refutation of the very negative view of the culture of consumption and popular culture should not bring about a populist celebration of consumer experiences which constituted by desire, pleasure, and the emotional and aesthetic satisfaction because consumer experiences are practiced within the established parameters of a social order without a concern toward social transformation although they may include elements of resistance against the social order or dominant culture. (Bastürk, 1995)

Popular culture is a created culture and designers can create a trend for their customers. Customers often imitate what designers wear. The product that is worn by designer can be easily sold out in minutes. Customers see the figure in the designer, it is sometimes created by personal branding. One of the designers who got a good engagement with her customers is Ria Miranda. She often holds Private Preview Collection and Trunk Show by inviting her customers to see her designs before selling it to the public. One of the customers said that she had only Ria Miranda's clothes in her wardrobe and she always bought every design and every color that she created. Another customers said that it was not only her design that attracted her but also her personality. She never positioned herself as the designer

but friends meaning she made friends with all of her loyal customers who became a community named RMLC, Ria Miranda Loyal Customer. Pandu Rosadi, her husband who served as Business Development, said in the interview that actually Ria did not like to show up but their team has decided to make her personal branding.

What Ria Miranda has done leads to consumer culture. What she wears instantly becomes a trend and people want to wear it too. Others are influenced because their friends in the RMLC community wear it so they think that it is also good on them. Ria Miranda's product will be sold out in only minutes after it is launched. Her customers are very loyal, they even compete to have her new products. I saw with my own eyes in Private Preview Collection event in Yogyakarta, Indonesia that they run for getting new products. They did not even think which color and which model they got but the most important thing they had the products faster than other people. All the products that were brought directly from Jakarta were all sold out. One of the customers felt very grateful that she could get one of the products. Consumer thinking, about "who I am in my appearance style" is often more difficult to put into words than is "who I am not" or "who I don't want to look like" (Freitas et al 1997 cited in Kaiser 2012).



Picture 8. Ria Miranda's Private Preview Collection

Indonesia as The World's Center of Modest Fashion

Based on the 'State of the Global Islamic Economy Report 2015-2016', the world's Muslim fashion market was valued at USD \$230 billion in 2014 and is estimated to be worth USD \$327 billion before 2020, implying that Muslim fashion is among the fastest growing industries worldwide (Thomson Reuter and Dinar Standard, 2015).

The Indonesian government wants to have turned Indonesia into Asia's center for Muslim fashion by 2018 and the world's The World's Center for Muslim Fashion by 2020 (Indonesia Investments, 2016). Indonesian government is confidence to achieve this target because as the largest Muslim population in the world with more than 210 million Muslims (nearly 90 percent of the total population), implying the

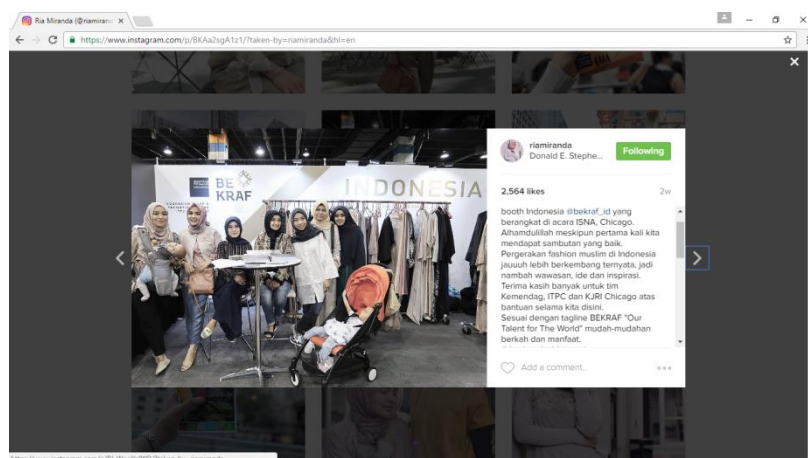
market is huge. In one of the districts in Jakarta, there is a mall which dedicate itself for modest fashion boutique. There are a lot of designers who make a concept store (one store with several designers products inside).



Picture 9. Indonesian mall flooded by modest fashion products

However, the Muslim fashion industry is increasingly facing criticism for its seeming overcommercialization of a religious mandate. There needs to be a concerted branding effort by industry players to redefine “modest/Muslim/Islamic fashion”. Inherent in this effort is the need to adopt a wider perspective in incorporating Islamic values throughout the whole modest fashion value chain — from raw materials to retail (Thomson Reuter and Dinar Standard, 2015).

Mr. Triawan Munaf, Head of Badan Ekonomi Kreatif (Bekraf) is very sure that Indonesia will achieve its target because the government will support every designers who want to compete in an international event. It has supported some designers associated with Hijabers Mom such as Hannie Hananto and Irna Mutiara to attend Istanbul Modest Fashion Week on May 2016. Recently it also sent some of designers such as Ria Miranda, Restu Anggraini and Rimma Bawazier to hold an exhibition in Chicago, USA to introduce Indonesian modest fashion product and to get to know the American market.



Picture 10. Indonesian Designers in Chicago supported by Bekraf.

There are also a lot of achievements of Indonesian Modest Fashion Designers. Earlier this year, HijUp, a modest fashion e-commerce, brought 5 designers to have a showcase during London Fashion Week. They are Jenahara, Zaskia Sungkar, Restu Anggraini and Dian Pelangi. HijUp also made International Meet Up and Trunk Show by Vivi Zubedi to introduce Indonesian designers to British public. Restu Anggraini and Jenahara were also invited to become the representative of Muslim fashion designer in Fimela Fest event which was mostly showing conventional fashion.



Picture 11. Restu Anggraini's design on Fimela Fest

One that has to mention is Anniesa Hasibuan, an Indonesian new designer, but her accomplishment in fashion industry is very amazing. She had first fashion show debut in London then in New York and after that she just joined Jakarta Fashion Week and Indonesia Fashion Week. Recently, she also joined Istanbul Modest Fashion Week and Cannes Red Carpet which made her known as International Muslim Fashion Designer. She, who started her career as a designer in 2015, has just made a history in New York Fashion Week. She is the first Muslim Fashion Designer showing her design in NYFW in full *hijab*. This achievement is a win for modest fashion movement. She did not only make it for Indonesia but for global modest fashion movement. Her accomplishment has got international media coverage such as Harper's Bazaar, Teen Vogue, Elle, The Upcoming UK, The Daily Mail and The Huffttington Post.



Picture 12. Anniesa Hasibuan at NYFW: The Shows

Zaskia Sungkar, was starting her career as an actresses, singer and presenter who now chooses to become a fashion designer, has ever performed in Couture New York Fashion Week and Oxford Fashion Week, said that Indonesia not only had good designers but also good material and low-cost production. Although Indonesia had a competitor such as Turkey and UAE, she believed that it will achieve its target being The World's Center for Muslim Fashion.

Indonesia has a complete package to become The World's center of Muslim Fashion. From ready-to-wear clothes to formal clothes, it has the designers who focus on it. Indonesia also has modest fashion designers who focus on bridal such as Irna Mutiara and Ayu Dyah Andari. Ayu Dyah Andari is focusing on Muslim bridal with European style gown.

Irna Mutiara is a senior Muslim fashion designer focusing on wedding gown and also a founder of Islamic Fashion Institute. Irna Mutiara made Irna La Perle because she saw that *hijab*-wearing women have to wear Muslim dress in their wedding. She also has a dream for Indonesia being The World's Center for Muslim Fashion that is why she initiates to build Islamic Fashion Institute (IFI) to build a generation of Muslim Fashion Designers who can create Muslim Fashion based on Sharia Law. IFI becomes the first Islamic Fashion school in Indonesia and is located in Bandung, the fashion city of Indonesia. IFI was built to share her knowledge about Muslim fashion. Muslim fashion is a part of culture that has been worn and becomes a habit in Indonesia especially in Muslim community. It also influences the economy growth. Education is important for making this culture becomes sustainable growth so that it does not stop here to shape new generation of Muslim fashion designer. Muslim fashion has to be based on on Sharia Law, she said in the interview.



Picture 13. A Seminar at Islamic Fashion Institute

As stated by Bartlett et al (2013) in *Fashion Media Past and Present*, fashion takes on a role as a vehicle of communication as in Marshall McLuhan's theorization of medium, Indonesian government takes modest fashion as a medium to leverage creative economy of Indonesia and takes it as a vehicle to make Indonesia as The World's Center for Muslim Fashion.

Hannie Hananto has an eclectic style in monochromatic color tone and often seen combining hijab with fashionable hat. She ever had mini fashion show in Paris and recently joined Istanbul Modest Fashion week. She said in the interview,

Indonesia can achieve this target but we have so many homeworks such as making a Muslim fashion designer association, making events regulations because there are too many events in every months and the big problem is our customers have also become producers now by imitating what designers have created (18/08/2016).

That is why innovation is very important, this is one of the key that designer has to do. Restu Anggraini, who is known for clean-cut, modern and simple design, concerns to always have an innovation. She always improves her design with different kind of material such as ultra-suede, bamboo, and crinkle cloth. She also combines her design with scientific approach such as putting fibonacci numbers as her design inspiration. This designer has shown her design in Mercedes-Benz Tokyo Fashion Week and Virgin Australia Melbourne Fashion Week.

Amalina Aman, Australian first Muslim designer said in the interview, Indonesia is fast growing market for modest fashion. By 2017, it will be one of the most fashion district in the world. It is already happening. Every season, there is always something different, there are a lot of designers there that are creative.

The global expansion of the fashion industries is supported by the acceleration of fashion production processes, including image production, through the rise of new media and communication technologies, and the faster circulation of fashionable goods through the so-called “democratization” of fashion consumption at the cost of cheap and outsourced production labor (Jenss, 2016).

Indonesia has all the elements to become The World’s Center for Muslim Fashion. In the digital space, Instagram and YouTube are increasingly outpacing other online channels to become the go-to source for Muslim/modest fashion inspiration. Indonesia Fashion Forward (IFF), Indonesia. IFF is a collaborative project between Jakarta Fashion Week, The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy Indonesia, The British Council, and Center for Fashion Enterprise (CFE) London. This curative and intensive program serves as a capacity building course for designers to enable them to compete at regional and global level. Indonesian modest fashion designers who are graduates of this program are Dian Pelangi, Jenahara and NurZahra (Thomson Reuter and Dinar Standard, 2015). Internet and Social Media are the prominent factors leading the change of Islamic fashion from an ethnic clothing to a global mainstream fashion. This diagram can best explain how Indonesia can get the target and what the result it wants to achieve.

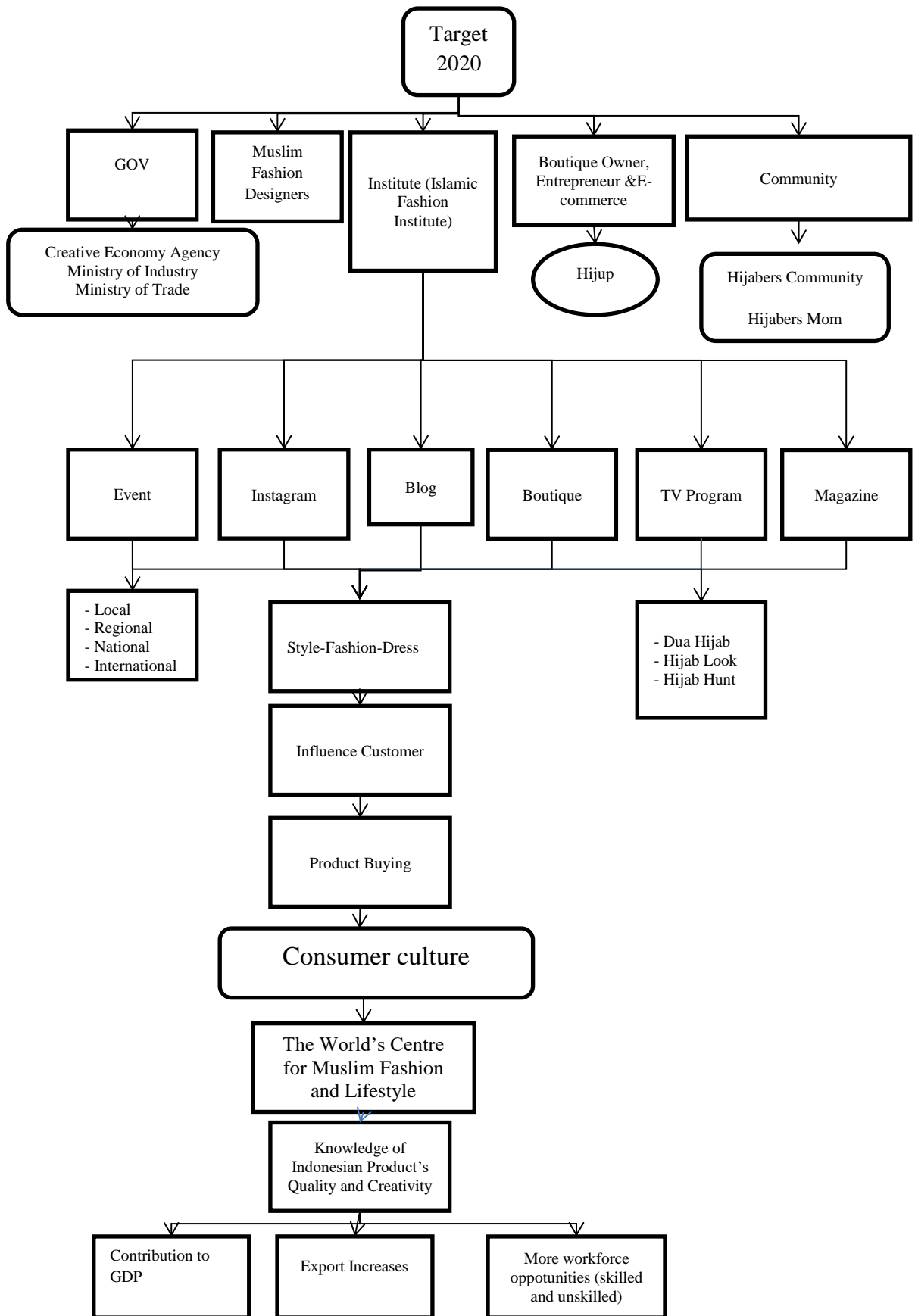


Diagram 4. Diagram of Elements for Indonesian Target (Based on discussion with Bekraf)

Conclusion

Dina Tokio (Telegraph, 2016), UK-based famous blogger, said that social media has a huge impact on the modesty movement. All the Indonesian designers, bloggers and instagrammers that I have interviewed also agree that social media such as blog and instagram takes role in making a modest fashion movement in Indonesia. Social media also helps them to promote their brand by posting their style-fashion-dress concept on social media which then influence the customers to buy the products. Most of them said that they will keep following new development of social media to keep up with new trend and continuing the movement via social media because now is the era of digital. This potential got paid attention by the government to make Muslim fashion as its national branding (Lewis, 2015).

Indonesia can be The World's Center for Muslim Fashion as long as all the elements are working together to achieve this. It is not only government and designer task but also all the people in the fashion industry system. The government should increase and make it easier to export the products from Muslim designers to the global market. It is better if government support Indonesian Muslim fashion designer to compete in prestigious international events such as in New York Fashion Week, London Fashion Week, Milan Fashion Week or Paris Fashion Week to introduce Indonesian Muslim fashion. In order to become The World's Center for Muslim Fashion, Indonesia has made an event called Muslim Fashion Festival (Muffest) but I think it is better to name it Indonesia Modest Fashion Week and invite designers, bloggers and instagrammers from all over the world. In Indonesia, there are too many events every month, it should be arranged in such a way so that all the events will be concentrated on three main seasons such as Fall/Winter, Ramadhan Collection and Spring Summer Collection.

Most people are sure that Indonesia can achieve its target because Indonesia has all it needs to become The World's Center for Muslim Fashion but there are also some obstacles that Indonesia is facing. Indonesia has to compete with other countries such as Turkey and UAE who are also projected as Center of Modest Fashion. However, it is possible to make all the cities (Jakarta, Istanbul and Dubai) like the Big 4 Fashion Cities such as Paris, Milan, New York and London. Other obstacle is that famous conventional fashion brand such as Uniqlo, Mango, H&M, Tommy Hilfiger, DKNY and Dolce & Gabbana have produced Muslim-friendly attire to Muslim market which make it harder for Indonesian product to compete in the international market.

Notes:

1. Interview with Amalina Aman, Australian Designer on 15 May 2016 at Istanbul Modest Fashion Week, Turkey.
2. Interview with Rahmat Ramadhan, Business Development of Restu Anggraini on 3 August 2016 at MocaFest, Jakarta, Indonesia.

3. Interview with Yushie, Ria Miranda Loyal Customer on 6 August 2016 at Ria Miranda Private Preview Collection, Yogyakarta, DIY, Indonesia.
4. Interview with Pandu Rosadi, Business Development of Ria Miranda on 6 August 2016 at Ria Miranda Private Preview Collection, Yogyakarta, DIY, Indonesia.
5. Interview with Bubu Ninid, Ria Miranda Loyal Customer on 6 August 2016 at Ria Miranda Private Preview Collection, Yogyakarta, DIY, Indonesia.
6. Interview with Mega Iskanti, Instagrammer on 8 August 2016 in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia.
7. Interview with Irna Mutiara, designer and founder Islamic Fashion Institute on 9 August 2016 in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia.
8. Interview with Ghaida Tsurayya, blogger, designer and instagrammer on 10 August 2016 in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia.
9. Interview with Vivi Zubedi, designer and instagrammer on 15 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
10. Interview with Hanna Hananto, designer and founder of Hijabers Mom Community on 18 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
11. Interview with Rimma Bawazier, designer, instagrammer and founder of Hijabers Community on 22 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
12. Interview with Mrs. Betty, Marketing division of Indonesian Agency of Creative Economy (Bekraf) on 23 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
13. Interview with Habsya, copywriter HijUp.com on 25 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
14. Interview with Hanna Faridl, blogger and CCO HijUp.com on 25 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
15. Interview with Diajeng Lestari, CEO HijUp.com on 25 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
16. Interview with Afida Sukma, photographer and instagrammer on 29 August 2016 at New York Fashion Week Press Conference in Jakarta, Indonesia.
17. Interview with Anniesa Hasibuan, designer on 29 August 2016 at New York Fashion Week Press Conference in Jakarta, Indonesia.
18. Interview with Mr. Triawan Munaf, Head of Indonesian Agency of Creative Economy (Bekraf) on 29 August 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.
19. Interview with Zaskia Sungkar, instagrammer and designer on 10 September 2016 at Meet & Greet with Zaskia Sungkar in Purwokerto, Central Java, Indonesia.
20. Interview with Jenahara Nasution, blogger, instagrammer and designer on 15 September 2016 in Jakarta, Indonesia.

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