Examining Netizens’ Views on Indonesian Muslim Celebrities Wildlife Fashion on Social Media

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ABSTRACT

This study examines social media users' views on Indonesian Muslim celebrities' who use wild animal materials in fashion. Using a descriptive qualitative method, the researcher utilized Teun van Dijk's critical discourse analysis, which consists of three levels: text level (microstructure), social cognition (superstructure), and social context (macrostructure). The subject of this research was Instagram accounts and YouTube videos of Angel Lelga, Ola Ramlan, and Syahrini wearing wild-animal fashion items. The results found that in the microstructure level, the comments' word choices, emphasis, and details represent commenters' background, intention, and presumption, mostly influenced by halal-lifestyle. In the superstructure level, it can be concluded that most netizens do not understand animal welfare issues sufficiently. Meanwhile, in the macrostructure, the researcher underlines the notion of power and access, which enables Indonesian Muslims to create a discourse on the halal lifestyle without concerning animal welfare. However, the awareness of animal welfare is also noteworthy, although not significant.
INTRODUCTION

Modern communication technologies have increased the possibilities of how people send and receive information. Social media is one such technology that provides great opportunities for connecting with others, creating and being part of online communities that foster creativity, knowledge, and civic participation (Martin et al., 2018). People use social media not only to socialize but also to stay up-to-date with news and current events. Looking for information in general, not necessarily about friends, has been a growing trend among social media users (Bialy, 2017).

The Indonesians use social media not only to socialize and to look for information but also to be part of their lifestyles (Khansa & Putri, 2021). Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube are famous in Indonesia. Among those platforms, Instagram and YouTube are two of Indonesia’s most prominent social media. According to MediaTech Crunch, Instagram is approaching one billion users worldwide, and Indonesia was on the 3rd rank in terms of the number of users, comprising around 63 million in 2020 (Junawan & Laugu, 2020). According to DataReportal, it is inevitable that YouTube earned its title as the most-used social media in Indonesia, with 139 million users in 2022 (Rosadi et al., 2022). Recently, major social media like YouTube and Instagram have been enabling the formation of alternative spaces of identification and belonging for Muslim women (Warren, 2019).

How do Instagram and YouTube influence Indonesian netizens? According to Kompas.Com, the five most followed Instagram accounts in Indonesia belong to celebrities like Ayu Ting Ting, Syahrini and Laudya Cynthia Bella, Nagita Slavina and Prilly Latuconsina (Muskanan et al., 2019). All of them are Muslims. Those celebrities are public figures who have a major influence on how people think and behave. The construction of values built by those celebrities has significance in Indonesian society (Sadasri, 2017). Although they do not explicitly promote halal fashion through official statements, researchers say they have indeed promoted halal fashion. It could be observed through the following indicators: 1) They frequently wear Muslim fashion items like hijab, abaya, and kaftan on their social media. 2) The huge amount of news and publication that label them (especially Syahrini) with keywords like “Muslim fashion icons”, “role model of Muslim fashion,” and “Muslim idols”. Some news agencies that promote these keywords are Fimela, Stylo, Blibli, and Sindonews Lifestyle (Fimela.com, 2015).

Halal fashion has become increasingly popular among young women due to the fusion of fashion trends and religious beliefs. They can wear burqas and hijabs styled with blouses, pants, jackets, and gowns (Kamarulzaman & Shaari, 2020). Halal fashion is one of Indonesia’s biggest contributors to creative economic growth. Muslim celebrities are believed to be one of the main endorsers of this kind of fashion. (A. S. Hasan & Hamdi, 2022). It is important to highlight that the hijab they wear is a tool to represent their Muslim identity, which is in line with the reason for using social media to form someone’s identity (Muryanti, 2021). The hijab is also an item to maintain its authenticity in fashion since the ability to convey authenticity is one of the keys to the success of influencers (Goodwin et al., 2023). Since fashion is a mimetic
phenomenon, it thrives in the pleasures and desires of Indonesian Muslim women to imitate celebrities as their role models (Busch, 2018).

The halal fashion they promote, one unique problem intrigues the researcher. It is frequently seen that Muslim celebrities like Olla Ramlan and Angel Lelga wear high-end brands made from controversial materials such as alligator and ostrich skins. There has been a huge debate about using wild animals in fashion. The Hermes Birkin bag, considered a status symbol by worldwide celebrities, comes at a cost beyond its extraordinary price. The handbag segment always grows significantly due to factors such as the rise in the working women population and the increasing purchase of consumers (de Klerk et al., 2019).

DailyMail says thousands of crocodiles and alligators are slaughtered each year to supply the skins needed to produce high-end wallets, bags, and shoes (Tsou, 2017). People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) have long condemned this mistreatment. The fur industry has long been accused of its inhuman methods of trapping animals. Their method of killing animals is against the animal rights that have been paid attention by animal rights advocate groups (Wyatt, 2014). This abuse is even sometimes considered as wildlife crime.

Policymakers have been criticized for failing to address wildlife crime adequately (Anagnostou et al., 2021). Several wildlife product makers are facing criticism from animal welfare groups. When faced opposition from animal advocacy groups, many industries have traditionally been reactive and reluctant to take responsibility (Hampton & Teh-White, 2019). Talking about wild animal abuse, Islam also orders human beings to avoid these abuses. The Holy Quran (Al-Baqarah: 30) clearly states that human beings are designated to be khalifa (a successor or a ruler) who will maintain and save the world according to God’s Law (Sharia). It is written in Al-Baqarah 164: “Verily in the creation of the heavens and the earth are signs unto a people who understand.” God has created a brain for humans to think and understand God's signs through nature. This teaching on how humans treat nature is supported by the most well-known Hadith, which states, “The earth is green and beautiful, and Allah has appointed you his stewards over it” (H. Hasan, 2022).

The way humans view nature is consequential. The concept of human supremacy that allows people to use nature rigorously must be eradicated. The secular view argues that exploiting nature on a large scale is legal for economic growth and human welfare. Meanwhile, if we think from a religious view, which is usually called eco-theology, nature should not be exploited because it is a mandate from God (Rambe et al., 2021). The researcher believes that Indonesian female Muslim celebrities have prominent roles in promoting eco-theology. As we know, fashion is not just a style but a phenomenon containing an ideology (Berek, 2014). In other words, it can be hypothesized that if those Muslim celebrities promote the use of wild animal leather for their halal fashion, the Muslim women in Indonesia may perceive it as normal since they have the same ideology.

As mentioned before, luxurious fashion has drawn criticism for its animal abuse. However, the users of those fashion items in Indonesia, ranging from celebrities to ordinary people, remain mostly silent. Since
Indonesian Muslim celebrities are very active on Instagram and YouTube, the researcher observes Indonesian netizens’ comments on these platforms to understand how they perceive the use of wild animals as fashion items. The researcher utilized Teun Van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis theory, the Sociocognitive Approach (SCA), to answer this question. According to Van Dijk, analyzing discourse involves more than text analysis because the social cognition that produces the text must be considered (Susilo, 2021).

Some studies have been conducted to analyze the netizens’ comments on social media. A study by Hidayat et al. (2022) analyzed the form of social criticism delivered by netizens’ comments towards Indonesian politicians’ Instagram posts. It concluded that Instagram plays a significant role in promoting the image of a politician (Hidayat et al., 2022). Meanwhile, a study by Anggara et al. (2022) examined sentiments on public official statements on Instagram. Using an algorithm and information technology approach, this concluded that Instagram is a great tool for public information, and netizens’ opinions could be classified into various categories (Anggara et al., 2022).

Another study focusing on linguistic aspects written by Rahmansyah and Ardyansyah (2020) discovered the semantic expansion in the netizens’ comments on two celebrities, Anya Geraldine and Nikita Mirzani (Rahmansyah & Ardyansyah, 2021). A study by Novikova et al. (2021) provided functional and stylistic analysis of Instagram, Twitter, and Live Journal online in Russia. It concluded that along with the socialization function, Instagram performs the function of self-presentation (Novikova et al., 2021). A study by Zur and Hatuka (2023) emphasized that social media enables new modes of small-scale protest events (Zur & Hatuka, 2023). Regarding the ethical issue of environmental exploitation, Harahap (2015) disseminated the concept of eco-theology proposed by Al Gore, a contemporary environmental activist. He stated that economic and technological factors do not merely cause the environmental crisis, but they are a reflection of the deepest spiritual crisis of mankind. Therefore, the solution in dealing with the environmental crisis is to look back at the understanding of religion. This is to principles of human relation with nature that consist of respect, responsibility, solidarity, and caring towards nature (Harahap, 2015).

Based on the background above, this research offers novelty compared to the preceding research. Some previous research mainly focuses on content analysis and discourse of social media, while other research focuses only on ethical and religious aspects of environmental issues. This research aims to create a bridge that could integrate both domains. As far as the researcher knows, there has been no research analyzing netizens’ views toward the use of wild animals as fashion items by Indonesian Muslim celebrities. Therefore, the researcher believes that this research is significant to be conducted.

**METHODOLOGY**

Using a descriptive qualitative approach, this research analyzed some social media posts featuring photos and videos of top Muslim celebrities wearing wild-animal-made fashion items. In this research, three Muslim celebrities were chosen: Angel Lelga, Ola Ramlan, and Syahrini because of three factors: (1) They...
have the largest number of followers. (2) They are the best representation of muslim halal fashion since they always wear hijab 3) They are very active on social media.

The subjects of this research were the Instagram accounts of the three celebrities and three YouTube videos displaying interviews with them about their fancy handbags. The observation unit of this study consisted of comments given on those Instagram accounts and YouTube videos. Next, the researcher selected some commentators for the second-level research subjects. The technique of choosing the commentators was by purposive sampling. This technique was selected because it allows the researcher to determine the most appropriate, useful, and representative subjects (Sugiyono, 2013). Therefore, the researcher determined some criteria: the commentators were those who gave positive and negative comments.

This research applied the critical discourse analysis by Teun A. van Dijk, the Sociocognitive Approach (SCA). The researcher chooses this approach for its ability to uncover hidden concepts and whims of discourse producers (Nigatu, 2023). Van Dijk revealed that when a researcher researches discourse, it does not merely focus on text analysis because the text results from production practices that must be observed. Van Dijk’s SCA discourse analysis model consists of three levels. The first is text level, also called microstructure; a researcher identifies how the text or discourse strategy structure is used to convey a particular theme.

The second is social cognition; a researcher observes the text production process involving individual cognition of text makers, such as ideology, values, attitudes, and norms by conducting in-depth interviews. The third is social context; this last level is conducted to locate the construction of discourse that has been developing in the community regarding the context. A single discourse may be part of other societal discourses (Eriyanto, 2015).

Results and Discussion

This research is conducted by using the Van Dijk’s SCA discourse analysis theory, which consists of three levels; text level, social cognition, and social context. The researcher starts analyzing it by examining the text level. The term “text” in this study refers to netizens’ comments on social media that the researcher focuses on the muslim celebrities’ posts on Instagram and YouTube videos wearing fashion items made from wild animal leather, particularly Hermes Birkin bag.

1. Text Analysis

In this microstructure level, the researcher examines how the structure of the text or discourse is utilized to convey a particular idea. The structure consists of semantics, syntax, semiotics, and rhetorics. In this research, the researcher analyzes two: syntax and semiotics.
1.1 Semantics

Semantics is one of two critical meaning components revealed by Halliday before stepping into social construction (Wuryaningrum, 2020) four components of semantics could be used to analyze the comments. They are background, detail, intention, and presumption (Eriyanto, 2015).

Table 1. Semantics Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Findings</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>@LeeYun2012 said: “Cewek muslim cantik banget kalau pake hijab”</td>
<td><strong>Background</strong>: To justify ideas conveyed in a text, we have to see the background behind the text so that we can figure out what kind of ideology or belief behind the text. In finding no.1 and no.2, we can observe the background of the commenters. Both commenters (@LeeYun2012 and @IbrahimNurlaela) represent the population of Indonesian Muslims now. We can underline the word “MasaAlloh” in finding no.2, which is always said by obedient Muslims. By looking at finding no.1 and some similar comments, which say that “hijab makes you more beautiful”, we can interpret that hijab is now considered as the beauty norm of muslim women. This background brings the discourse of the halal fashion to the surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Translation: A muslim woman looks very beautiful when wearing hijab.</td>
<td><strong>Details</strong>: Details can be a guide to see what discourse is developing in society. We can see that the findings no.3 and no.4 point to an important detail: the hijab. It indicates a discourse that Muslims in Indonesia today tend to assume that the hijab is an inevitable symbol for muslim women. In addition, the way @AsirRohmah addressed the issue of the environment after complimenting the celebrity proves that awareness of environmental issues has started to emerge in society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>@IbrahimNurlaela said: “MasaAlloh kliatan lebih cantik Bunda Ola sama hijab”</td>
<td><strong>Intention</strong>: Sometimes communicators convey explicitly the meaning of their utterance to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Translation: MasaAlloh. Ma’am Olla looks more beautiful with Hijab!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>@NaGufran said: “Nama brand hijabnya apaan yak. Suka banget deh, Pengan pake juga”</td>
<td><strong>Intention</strong>: Sometimes communicators convey explicitly the meaning of their utterance to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Translation: What is the brand of your Hijab? Love it so much and want to wear it too!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>@AsirRohmah said: “Keren banget liat Angel pake hijab, tapi kita kudu perhatin lingkungan”</td>
<td><strong>Intention</strong>: Sometimes communicators convey explicitly the meaning of their utterance to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Translation: It is very cool to see Angel wearing Hijab, but we must save the environment!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>@umihani said: “cewek emang suka latah”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Instagram Posts of Angel Lelga (2020) and Olla Ramlan (2019)
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1.2 Syntax
The study of syntax focuses on how morphemes and words work together to create sentences and other longer units. Word order, grammatical relationships, and hierarchical sentence structure are among the main syntax issues (Müller, 2023). The sentences are arranged in such a manner that allows the goals and objectives to be achieved (Payuyasa, 2017). Syntax analysis in this research includes sentence format, coherence, and pronouns. The table below displays the findings and analysis about syntax of the netizens’ comments on the celebrities’ Instagram and YouTube post featuring muslim celebrities wearing wild animals as fashion items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Findings</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>@HertiAgustina said: “Ni orang tahu caranya atur duit”</td>
<td>Active: A sentence form is not only a technical matter of grammatical correctness but also its meaning formed by the sentence structure. In active sentence construction,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Findings

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 2 | @Lonelywolf said: “Inces tetep cettarrr menghempas dunia”  
Translation: The princess (Syahrini) never stops shaking the world. |
| 3 | @IntanSetiani said: “bunda Ola anggun banget cara bawain tasnya”  
Translation: Ma’am Olla wears the bag beautifully. |
| 4 | @BayuRama said: “setengah M cuman buat tas doang. Waras lu?”  
Translation: Half billion just for bag? Are you OK? |
| 5 | @Nyzaam said: “ga takut tuh buayanya idup lagee”  
Translation: Aren’t you afraid that the crocodile will come back to life? |
| 6 | @Innuendo said: “bayar utang woy!”  
Translation: Please pay your debt! |
| 7 | @Anung Dian Fitria said: “eit jangan seneng dulu, bayangin derita buayanya”  
Translation: Hey don’t be happy! Imagine how the crocodiles are suffering! |
| 8 | @Aul said: “Stop pake kulit buaya, gunakan kulit durian”  
Translation: Stop using crocodile leather, use durian skin! |
| 9 | @AlfanAziz said: “Tas yang cantik, saying prosesnya jahat”  
Translation: It’s beautiful bag, but its process is so cruel! |
| 10 | @Arcadian said: “Hak tiap orang sih untuk beli apa yang mereka mau, tapi kalau gue mending buat amal aja”  
Translation: It is everyone’s right to buy what they want, but for me I’d rather use it for charity! |

### Analysis

- **Interrogative:** These interrogative sentences indicate that the commentators in finding no.12 and no.13 want to communicate and get responses, whether from other netizens or the admins of the account.

- **Command:** In finding no.14, no.15, and no.16 the commenters use command sentences. These indicate that they demand actions to reduce the use of wild animals in fashion.

- **Coherence:** The element of coherence in this research is using conjunction, such as: but, while and so. In finding no.17, @AlfanAziz says: “It is beautiful bag, but its process is so cruel!” He uses the conjunction to emphasize the contrast/ irony between the beauty of the bag and the inhuman process of making it from crocodile leather. The conjunction is also found in finding no.18: “It is someone’s right to buy what he/she wants, but for me I’d rather use it for charity!” He seems to support the use of luxurious bags at first, but he continues giving better alternatives to use money wisely.

- **Pronouns:** Pronouns have a function as not only as a substitution but also as a cultural marker in some cases. For some people, pronouns enable them to be respected and validated by others, increase their confidence, and develop their self-worth (Huffman et al., 2021). Nowadays, some people love to use Arabic pronouns like ana and anta, although not in all occasions. The interesting point is that ana or anta come from Arabic words, and some assume the words are more syar’i.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Findings</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>@Rmaskur said: “Ane yakin di Pasar Baru harganya ga sampe 100 ribu” Translation: I am sure the bag cost is only 100 thousand in Pasar Baru.</td>
<td>(religious) than Saya. We can see in finding no.19 and 20, the commenters prefer to use ana instead of Saya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@AyuRahayu said: انا احبك Translation: I like you.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s analyses (2023)

2. Social Cognition Analysis

Social cognition is an important part of critical discourse analysis. This cognition monitors discourse, communication, and all forms of action and interaction. It has various forms, such as opinions, attitudes, ideologies, norms, and values, or in this study, it has the form of the logic of truth (Eriyanto, 2006). It is sometimes called a superstructure. It describes how humans conceptualize social rules and patterns. Information regarding societal roles and the expectations of various members within a community may be included in these representations (Kaneko et al., 2021). In order to know the social cognition of the netizens, it need to conduct simple interviews with them. Therefore, the researcher contacted some netizens whose comments are analyzed above.

The researcher used purposive sampling to determine the commenters who want to be...
contacted based on two criteria. They are the commentators who give positive comments and those who give negative comments. There are eight commenters who are chosen. They are @Rmaskur @AlfanAziz, @RitaWijiyanti, @LalaMhmn, @LonelyWolf, @Nyzaam @IntanSetani and @Aul.

From some commenters contacted through DM (direct message), only were 4 (four) netizens pleased to be interviewed, meanwhile, the rest were unresponsive. Those pleased to interview are @AlfanAziz, @RitaWijiyanti, @LalaMhmn, and @LonelyWolf. Since the platform is cyberspace, the interviews were conducted through direct messages feature in a non-formal way. The interview question is simple such as “Could you please tell me about yourself (gender, location, occupation)?” and “What is your opinion about the use of wild animals as fashion items by Indonesian muslim celebrities?” The interviews were conducted over three weeks in August 2022 with the following results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees’ Profile</th>
<th>Interviews’ Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>@AlfanAziz</td>
<td>Student, male, Muslim, activist. “As a muslim, we must avoid &quot;muhajir&quot; (wasting money). I don't like the way they show off. Imagine if poor people imitate their lifestyle, and they suddenly bankrupted hehe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@RitaWijiyanti</td>
<td>Entrepreneur, female, muslim. “It's OK as long as they treat the animal well. It is their own money. Why people don't mind their own business? It is just a matter of entertainment”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@LalaMhmn</td>
<td>Housewife, female, muslim. “Actually, I have no problem with the luxurious lifestyle of Princess Syahrini and her friends. Those celebrities are our inspiration. I like their hijab, the way they dress.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@LonelyWolf</td>
<td>Prefer not to mention. “I have no objections for Angel or Olla… Please stop making negative comments about those celebrities. Do they harm you?”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors’ analyses (2023)

From the results above, the researcher analyzes their social cognition by using the social scheme introduced by Van Dijk, which consists of Person Schemas, Self-Schemas, Role Schemas, and Event Schemas. The first scheme is person schemas; it describes how someone describes and views others. What @LalaMhmn said “Those celebrities are our inspiration” and what @AlfanAziz said “Imagine if poor people imitate them” indicate that some people view celebrities as inspiration but others are bad examples. The second one is self-schemas; this scheme describes how someone describes and views himself/herself. What @LalaMhmn stated “I like their hijab, the way they dress” and what @RitaWijiyanti expressed “It’s just a matter of entertainment” indicated that most
Netizens view themselves as people who need entertainment and role models for fashion, regardless of ethical issues of animal abuse.

The third one is role schemas, which relate to how someone views the role of other people in society. What @LalaMhmn mentioned, “Those celebrities are our inspiration” indicated the celebrities’ roles as public figures. Whatever they do or wear may influence society. The last one is event schemas; which points out how an event that occurs in a community affects one's social cognition. The rise of the halal industry trend in the last few decades has influenced people to admire celebrities who wear hijabs. Identifying the backgrounds of respondents who are Muslims and wearing hijab, the halal industry trend contributes to their social cognition as Muslims.

3. Context analysis

This last step is conducted to determine the construction of discourse regarding the context developing in the community. A single discourse may be part of other discourses developing in society. Intertextual analysis is also needed to examine a text. It is also called macrostructure. Van Dijk stated there are two important points, namely, power and access.

Power refers to domination which is reproduced by giving special access to one group compared to the other groups of race, religion, gender, social class, and others. Dominant groups usually have greater control over society (Hearn, 2023). Islam, as the major religion in Indonesia, plays an important role in society. The emerging trend of the halal industry makes Muslims as perfect target market, especially in fashion. Thus, it makes “shar’i-ness” the most dominant aspect of the halal industry by portraying celebrities wearing hijabs as models. The other aspects like ethical issues or nature sustainability get less attention.

We can find lots of hijrah groups, hijab communities, and halal societies, but it is hard to find Islamic organizations and communities focusing on nature conservation and animal rights in Indonesia. Moreover, most Muslims still view themselves as ahsani taqwim, a perfect creature who can dominate the world according to Qur’an Surah At-Tin: 04. In fact, in Islam we are obligated to treat nature in ethical ways.

The next point is access. Dominant groups usually have larger access than subordinate groups. This larger access can influence what subject, discourse, or idea should be delivered to the public. Since more than 200 million Indonesians are Muslims and more than 40 % are familiar with the Internet, this means that there are more than 80 million Muslim netizens who have access to the Internet. The halal industry trend drives Muslim influencers and celebrities to use social media to attract young Muslim netizens. Meanwhile, activists focusing on nature have tiny access to expand their propaganda. In social media posts featuring Muslim celebrities wearing wild-animal-made items, we hardly see comments focusing on animal abuse. Most of the comments are about beauty, luxury, and the shar’i-ness.

CONCLUSION

After analyzing the netizens’ comments on social media posts featuring Muslim celebrities wearing wild-animal-made items, by using Social Cognitive Approach (SCA) model, some conclusions can be drawn into three domains: microstructure, superstructure, and macrostructure. Firstly, in microstructure, the researcher analyzes the comments based on the semantic and syntax level. At the semantic level, it can be concluded that the word choices, emphasizes, and details in the comments represent the background,
intention, and presumption of the commenters, who are mostly Muslims and well-engaged in halal-lifestyle. In syntax, most sentences are written by using active, command and interrogative sentences which indicate demands of action. Secondly, In the superstructure (social cognition), based on the mini-interviews to reveal social cognition from the netizens, it is surprising that most of the netizens do not have sufficient understanding of animal welfare issues. Thirdly, at the level of macrostructure (social context), it can be highlighted that the notion of power and access enables Indonesian Muslims to create the discourse of a halal lifestyle without paying attention to animal welfare.

In other words, most of the netizens in Indonesia still perceive the use of wild animals in fashion items as something normal. However, the awareness of animal rights ethical issues has been rising, although not significant, referring to some comments that criticize the use of wild animal leather for luxury items. However, the researcher believes this conclusion may not reflect all netizen's perceptions in Indonesia comprehensively. Further studies are greatly encouraged to be conducted to enrich the discussion.

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