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**JURNAL**  
**SOSIOLOGI REFLEKTIF**



Laboratorium Sosiologi  
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora  
Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

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Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif (JSR) adalah jurnal ilmiah berkala yang memfokuskan diri pada hasil penelitian terkait isu-isu sosial-keagamaan di masyarakat Muslim, khususnya yang berkenaan dengan upaya penguatan civil society dari berbagai aspeknya. Selain itu, JSR juga menerima artikel yang bersumber pada telaah pustaka terkait dengan upaya pengembangan teori-teori sosiologi yang terinspirasi dengan studi keislaman, seperti: pengembangan wacana tentang Ilmu Sosial Profetik, Islam Transformatif, atau pendekatan-pendekatan lainnya.

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# JURNAL SOSIOLOGI REFLEKTIF

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## DAFTAR ISI

<b>THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON INDONESIAN MUSLIM WOMEN'S CONSUMPTION OF ISLAMIC FASHION</b> <i>Durrotul Mas'udah</i> .....	179
<b>AKTIVISME, FILANTROPI SOSIAL DAN PEMBERDAYAAN PEREMPUAN DI YOGYAKARTA : Studi terhadap Dinamika Aktivisme Yayasan Sahabat Ibu dalam Pemberdayaan Perempuan di Yogyakarta</b> <i>Ahmad Arif Widiyanto</i> .....	193
<b>RADIKALISASI GERAKAN JAMAAH ANSHARUT TAUHID DAN PENGARUH ISIS DI INDONESIA</b> <i>Asman Abdullah</i> .....	213
<b>EKSISTENSI <i>PUBLIC SPHERE</i> DALAM MEDIA MAINSTREAM: Studi pada Rubrik <i>Citizen Journalism</i> Tribun Yogyakarta</b> <i>Yanti Dwi Astuti</i> .....	233
<b>KONFLIK SOSIAL EKONOMI MASYARAKAT PESISIR DI DESA SUNGSANG KECAMATAN BANYUASIN II KABUPATEN BANYUASIN SUMATERA SELATAN</b> <i>Yunindyawati<sup>1</sup>, Evalidya<sup>1</sup>, Yusnaini<sup>1</sup>, Rohim Pahrozi<sup>2</sup></i> .....	251
<b>PERAN AKTOR DALAM SOSIOLOGI PEMBANGUNAN: Analisis Pergub D.I. Yogyakarta No. 16 Tahun 2017 tentang Jaringan Trayek Perkotaan Trans Jogja</b> <i>Mohammad Wildan Azmi</i> .....	267

<b>STRATEGI BERJARINGAN RADIO KOMUNITAS ISLAM MADU FM TULUNGAGUNG</b>	
<i>Redi Panuju</i> .....	289
<b>MASYARAKAT BADUY DALAM PERGULATAN TIGA JARINGAN MAKNA</b>	
<i>Efa Ida Amaliyah</i> .....	313
<b>TRANSFORMASI KESETARAAN BURUH: Studi Kritis Teori Keadilan John Rawls</b>	
<i>Mohammad Takdir</i> .....	327
<b>MENETAS JALAN BARU PENGEMBANGAN MASYARAKAT: Sebuah Jawaban di Era Milenium</b>	
<i>Suraji, Muhammad Ali Embi</i> .....	353
<b>PEMBANGUNAN SEBAGAI KEBEBASAN DAN PENCAPAIAN PERUBAHAN SOSIAL</b>	
<i>Amril Maryolo Ar</i> .....	367
<b>PERGESERAN NORMA SOSIAL PADA REMAJA DI KOTA TANJUNGPINANG</b>	
<i>Endri Bagus Prastiyo</i> .....	381
<b>PARTISIPASI KOMUNITAS MUSLIM DESA DALAM USAHA PENGELOLAAN BADAN USAHA MILIK DESA DI INDONESIA</b>	
<i>Heru Dian</i> .....	395
<b>LITERATUR KEISLAMAN GENERASI MILENIAL</b>	
<i>Syafuddin Sholeh TS</i> .....	413

## PENGANTAR REDAKSI

Assalamualaikum wr. wb.

Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif Volume 12 Nomor 2, April 2018 ini mengkaji permasalahan sosial yang kompleks dalam perspektif sosiologis. Kajian yang diketengahkan mencakup persoalan konflik nelayan, eksistensi ruang publik dalam media massa, kajian perempuan dan problem masyarakat sehari-hari, termasuk nelayan, organisasi sosial dan keagamaan.

Durrotul menulis tentang *The Impact Of Social Media On Indonesian Muslim Women's Consumption Of Islamic Fashion*. Tulisan ini memaparkan analisis tentang media sosial sebagai sebuah alat konsumsi baru dan pengaruhnya terhadap pola konsumsi fashion Islami oleh wanita Muslim di Indonesia. Hasil analisis menyimpulkan bahwa media sosial, yang dapat dilihat sebagai sebuah alat konsumsi baru, mempengaruhi pola konsumsi fashion Islami oleh wanita Muslim di Indonesia dalam dua cara yang saling berhubungan: (1). media sosial menjadi sebuah ruang konstruksi berbagai macam standar yang dianggap ideal tentang penampilan wanita Muslim yang fashionable dan (2). media sosial mempengaruhi cara-cara wanita Muslim di Indonesia dalam mengkonstruksi dan mempresentasikan identitasnya sebagai wanita Muslim yang fashionable. Kedua hal ini membentuk pola konsumsi mereka terhadap fashion Islami.

Ahmad Arif Widiyanto menulis tentang *Aktivisme, Filantropi Sosial Dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Di Yogyakarta : Studi terhadap Dinamika Aktivisme Yayasan Sahabat Ibu dalam Pemberdayaan Perempuan di Yogyakarta*. Penulis menjelaskan artikel ini membahas dinamika aktivisme perempuan Yayasan Sahabat Ibu (YSI) dalam melakukan pemberdayaan perempuan di Yogyakarta. Awalnya YSI terbentuk dari perempuan-perempuan aktivis yang tergerak untuk melakukan *recovery* terhadap anak-anak dan perempuan pasca gempa bumi di Yogyakarta melalui kegiatan filantropis dan motivasi. Aktivisme mereka berlanjut seiring beruntunnya bencana alam di Yogyakarta dari tahun 2006-2012. Para aktivis tersebut kemudian mendeklarasikan diri sebagai Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (LSM).

Dalam tulisan ini, Dinamika YSI dibahas dalam tiga poin; *pertama*, potret aktivisme perempuan dan filantropi di Indonesia. *Kedua*, dinamika aktivisme YSI dari karitatif menuju pemberdayaan produktif. *Ketiga*, Upaya YSI untuk melepaskan diri dari ketergantungan bantuan filantropi atau *fundraising* dari lembaga donor melalui pengembangan ekonomi produktif dan pembentukan koperasi simpan pinjam.

Asman Abdullah menulis tentang Radikalisasi Gerakan Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid dan Pengaruh Isis di Indonesia. Penelitian ini merupakan studi kasus yang menyorot gerakan Jamaah Anshorut Tauhid. Gerakan JAT merupakan gerakan jihad dengan tujuan memperjuangkan Syariat Islam di Indonesia. Dua hal yang patut disorot dari gerakan JAT *pertama*, keterlibatan JAT dalam pelatihan militer Aceh tahun 2010. Pelatihan militer ini melibatkan lintas *tanzhim* jihad di Indonesia. Alumni dari pelatihan ini kelak membentuk jaringan radikal baru yang berafiliasi dengan ISIS. *Kedua*, pengaruh ISIS di Indonesia melahirkan perpecahan bagi JAT. Bagi jihadi JAT yang mendukung ISIS tetap bertahan dibawah pimpinan Abu Bakar Ba'asyir dan Aman Abdurrahman sedangkan yang menolak bergabung dengan ISIS harus keluar dari *tanzhim*. *Ketiga*, mereka yang keluar dari JAT membentuk jamaah baru dengan nama Jamaah Anshorut Syariah (JAS) dibawah pimpinan Muhammad Achwan.

Yanti Dwi Astuti menulis tentang Eksistensi *Public Sphere* dalam Media Mainstream: Studi pada Rubrik Citizen Journalism Tribun Yogyakarta. Fenomena *Citizen Journalism* menjadi trend dalam dunia jurnalisme dan menjadi ruang publik baru bagi masyarakat. Salah satu media mainstream yaitu koran Tribun Jogja mengadopsi tren tersebut ke dalam rubriknya yang dinamakan rubrik Citizen journalism. Namun dalam prakteknya, terdapat banyak sekali kecenderungan pemberitaan yang tidak sesuai dengan makna hakiki dari *citizen journalism* dan ruang publik itu sendiri. Dimana cenderung sangat datar dan deskriptif tidak menyentuh pada esensi dari makna ruang publik yaitu pada proses diskusi yang megedepankan debat rasional dan kritis serta masih diberlakukannya proses penseleksian dan editing oleh redaktornya. Hal ini sangat kontras dengan semangat hadirnya *citizen journalism* yang bersifat bebas dari intervensi siapapun, menyuarakan pendapat secara leluasa, interaktifitas, tidak terbatas oleh halaman (*unlimited space*), tidak ada persaingan antar penulis, dan tidak adanya penseleksian ketat terhadap konten beritanya.

Yunindyawati, Evalidya, Yusnaini dan Rohim Pahrozi menulis tentang Konflik Sosial Ekonomi Masyarakat Pesisir Di Desa Sungsang

Kecamatan Banyuasin II Kabupaten Banyuasin Sumatera Selatan. Dalam masyarakat pesisir, konflik adalah salah satu gejala sosial yang sering kita jumpai di sekitaran daerah mayoritas nelayan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa konflik sosial yang terjadi antara lain konflik karena penggunaan alat tangkap yang merugikan, tumpang tindih lokasi penangkapan, pengrusakan alat tangkap dan kenakalan remaja. Penyelesaian konflik melibatkan berbagai pihak. Jika secara musyawarah mufakat tidak bisa menyelesaikan masalah, maka akan dilanjutkan dengan mediasi oleh pihak pemerintah desa. Langkah selanjutnya yang ditempuh jika mediasi tidak berhasil maka berlanjut ke pihak berwenang seperti dinas terkait dan bahkan kepolisian.

Wildan Azmi menulis tentang Peran Aktor dalam Sosiologi Pembangunan: Analisis Pergub D.I. Yogyakarta No. 16 Tahun 2017 tentang Jaringan Trayek Perkotaan Trans Jogja. Artikel ini menjelaskan peran aktor kebijakan dalam sosiologi pembangunan sebagai upaya memenuhi kebutuhan hidup masyarakat dan meningkatkan kesejahteraan sosial. PERGUB D.I. Yogyakarta No. 16 Tahun 2017 tentang Jaringan Trayek Perkotaan Trans Jogja adalah upaya pemerintah sebagai aktor dalam meningkatkan pelayanan publik melalui sektor transportasi publik (Bus Trans Jogja). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pembangunan bukan sekedar dari sektor ekonomi dan politik saja, melainkan sektor sosial juga memiliki peran penting dalam pembangunan mewujudkan kesejahteraan sosial. Dengan demikian aktor kebijakan dalam sosiologi pembangunan dari sektor transportasi publik (Bus Trans Jogja) memiliki peran penting dalam mewujudkan kesejahteraan rakyat.

Redi Panuju menulis tentang Strategi Berjaringan Radio Komunitas Islam Madu Fm Tulungagung. Fenomena radio komunitas Madu FM sangat menarik untuk diteliti karena merupakan stasiun radio komunitas yang berhasil tumbuh di tengah penyiaran kontestasi. Radio komunitas mendapat pembatasan pembatasan (pembatasan) negara melalui Undang-Undang Penyiaran (UU No. 32 Tahun 2002 tentang Penyiaran). Selain itu, radio komunitas masih harus bersaing dengan radio swasta dan televisi swasta. Madu FM mampu beradaptasi dengan keadaan tanpa melanggar peraturan. Hasilnya adalah strategi penyiaran radio komunitas berhasil berinovasi inovasi sehingga menjadi ada. Pendekatan penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode observasi dan wawancara mendalam. Penelitian dilakukan selama periode dari bulan Maret sampai Agustus 2016.

Efa Ida Amaliyah menulis tentang Masyarakat Baduy dalam

Pergulatan Tiga Jaringan Makna. Tujuan tulisan ini mengeksplorasi tentang tiga jaringan makna yang menjadi teori Bernard Adeney-Risakotta, yaitu agama, modernitas, dan budaya nenek moyang pada masyarakat Baduy yang mempunyai pola sedikit berbeda. karena ada dua Baduy, yaitu Baduy Dalam dan Baduy Luar. Baduy Luar sudah terpengaruh pada modernitas, yaitu teknologi (televise dan transportasi), institusi dan gagasan (ide). Tidak ada konfrontasi dari luar Baduy, karena mengedepankan kebersamaan dan saling menghormati. Baduy Luar masih memegang teguh budaya nenek moyang dengan patuh pada puun sebagai kepala suku. Mereka tetap memakai identitas sebagai masyarakat Baduy, yaitu pakaian yang merupakan ciri khas Baduy. Baduy Dalam dalam menerima tiga jaringan di atas. Baduy Dalam merupakan masyarakat yang menonjolkan budaya nenek moyang.

Mohammad Takdir menulis tentang Transformasi Kesetaraan Buruh: Studi Kritis Teori Keadilan John Rawls. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengubah paradigma tentang buruh yang selalu dipandang sebagai sekelompok masyarakat yang terbelakang dan tertindas. Dalam memandang relasi buruh dan majikan, sebagian orang seringkali menggunakan paradigma perbudakan daripada paradigma kemanusiaan (*humanitarian paradigm*). Hasil Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa ketidakadilan dalam sebuah struktur sosial masyarakat lebih diakibatkan oleh hilangnya rasa empati yang mendalam terkait dengan argumen kesetaraan (*equality*) sebagai kata kunci dalam konsepsi keadilan. Rawls menawarkan konsep tentang *justice as fairness* yang harus menjadi pijakan utama dalam memperjuangkan kesetaraan buruh dalam berbagai aspek, terutama menyangkut pemenuhan hak, kewajiban dan kesejahteraan hidup.

Suraji, Muhammad Ali Embi menulis tentang Menetas Jalan Baru Pengembangan Masyarakat: Sebuah Jawaban di Era Mellineum. Pengembangan masyarakat proses bergerak ke arah suatu tahap atau kondisi di mana masyarakat menjadi semakin kompeten terhadap permasalahan dan kondisi komunitas maupun lingkungannya. Kompetensi masyarakat yang semakin meningkat ini diharapkan dapat menimbulkan aktivitas pembangunan atas prakarsa masyarakat (komunitas) sendiri. Pengembangan masyarakat juga sebagai gerakan, yang berusaha melakukan reformasi terhadap kondisi yang dianggap kurang menguntungkan. Dalam konteks saat ini tentu pengembangan masyarakat (community development) didasarkan pada nilai-nilai agama, budaya dan kearifan masyarakat lokal menuju kemajuan dan



kesempurnaan dalam menjawab permasalahan-permasalahan yang muncul di era globalisasi. Kajian yang relevan dalam community development adalah kajian pengembangan masyarakat yang sejalan dengan peran lembaga Perguruan Tinggi yaitu memfungsikan Tri Darma Perguruan Tinggi.

Amril Maryolo menulis tentang Pembangunan Sebagai Kebebasan dan Pencapaian Perubahan Sosial. Kajian sosial memiliki macam variasi karena masyarakat bukanlah objek yang tunggal. Perubahan sosial merupakan fenomena konstruksi masyarakat yang memiliki ragam yang bervariasi. Pembangunan merupakan suatu kata yang digunakan untuk menjelaskan proses dan usaha untuk meningkatkan kehidupan ekonomi, politik, budaya, sosial, dan sebagainya. Dengan pemahaman seperti itu “pembangunan” disejajarkan dengan kata “perubahan sosial”. Bersamaan dengan teori pembangunan terdapat teori-teori perubahan sosial lainnya seperti sosialisme, dependensia, ataupun teori lain.

Endri Bagus Prastiyo menulis tentang Pergeseran Norma Sosial Pada Remaja di Kota Tanjungpinang. Kota Tanjungpinang merupakan salah satu kota yang berada di Provinsi Kepulauan Riau yang saat ini sedang berkembang, namun memiliki berbagai masalah terkait dengan pergeseran nilai yang terjadi pada generasi mudanya. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa telah terjadi pergeseran norma sosial dikalangan remaja Kota Tanjungpinang dimana mereka telah banyak melakukan pelanggaran norma sosial yang ada di masyarakat, mulai dari adanya remaja yang mengkosumsi minuman berakohol, menggunakan narkoba, bahkan melakukan seks bebas. Perilaku ini terjadi karna ada faktor-faktor yang menyebabkan pergeseran norma itu terjadi, yaitu faktor secara internal dan eksternal, internal berasal dari dalam diri remaja itu sendiri, sementara eksternal merupakan faktor yang didapat dari luar diri remaja.

Heru Dian menulis tentang Partisipasi Komunitas Muslim Desa dalam Usaha Pengelolaan Badan Usaha Milik Desa di Indonesia. Terbentuknya BUMDes sebagaimana tertuang dalam UU No.6/2014 belum sepenuhnya mampu menanggulangi berbagai permasalahan ekonomi di pedesaan, karena hanya sekitar 9,09% desa yang dinilai mampu merealisasikan program BUMDes, bahkan dari jumlah prosentase tersebut hanya terdapat sekitar 21,68% BUMDes yang dinilai menguntungkan. Banyak faktor yang mempengaruhi ketidakberhasilan pembangunan program BUMDes. Satu faktor paling penting adalah kurangnya pengembangan modal sosial di pedesaan.

Demikian kajian Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif Edisi 12 Nomor 2. Semoga artikel yang penulis sajikan memberikan pengetahuan baru dan bermanfaat bagi pembaca yang budiman.

*Wallahu a'lam bi showab*

*Wassalamualaikum wr.wb*

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# THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON INDONESIAN MUSLIM WOMEN'S CONSUMPTION OF ISLAMIC FASHION

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## **Abstract**

*This paper concerns on analyzing social media as a new means of consumption and its impact on Indonesian Muslim women's consumption of Islamic fashion. Several analytical frameworks such as consumption, identity construction, and postmodern society are used to analyze the issue. The analysis is mostly based on literature resources. The analysis concludes that social media, considered as a new means of consumption, impact the Indonesia Muslim women's consumption of Islamic fashion in two interconnected ways: 1. it becomes a space for the construction of various idealized standards of how a fashionable Muslim woman can look like, and 2. it influences the way Indonesian Muslim women construct and present their identity as fashionable Muslim women. Both of these form their consumption on Islamic fashion items.*

**Keywords:** Indonesian Islamic fashion, social media, new means of consumption, identity

## **Intisari**

Tulisan ini memaparkan analisis tentang media sosial sebagai sebuah alat konsumsi baru dan pengaruhnya terhadap pola konsumsi fashion Islami oleh wanita Muslim di Indonesia. Beberapa kerangka teori seperti konsumsi, konstruksi identitas, and masyarakat post-modern digunakan untuk menganalisis isu ini. Analisis dalam tulisan ini sebagian besar didasarkan pada studi literatur. Hasil analisis menyimpulkan bahwa media sosial, yang dapat dilihat sebagai sebuah alat konsumsi baru, mempengaruhi pola konsumsi fashion Islami oleh wanita Muslim di Indonesia dalam dua cara yang saling

berhubungan: 1. media sosial menjadi sebuah ruang konstruksi berbagai macam standar yang dianggap ideal tentang penampilan wanita Muslim yang fashionable, dan 2. media sosial mempengaruhi cara-cara wanita Muslim di Indonesia dalam mengkonstruksi dan mempresentasikan identitasnya sebagai wanita Muslim yang fashionable. Kedua hal ini membentuk pola konsumsi mereka terhadap fashion Islami.

**Kata Kunci:** Fashion Muslim Indonesia, media sosial, alat konsumsi baru, identitas

## Introduction

Indonesia is renowned as the world's biggest Muslim country. This huge population of Muslim gives many influences to the society, in the sense of the implementation of Islamic values and traditions in everyday life. One of those values and traditions that is widely implemented by Indonesian Muslims is the way of dressing. Islamic religious rule strictly determines how a Muslim, especially woman, should be dressing. Muslim women are required to cover most of their body except their faces and hands. The standard Islamic dressing for Muslim women consists of long flare dress that covers the whole body and headscarf that covers head and hair. Besides as an implementation of the religious adherence, Islamic way of clothing is adopted by Indonesian Muslim women to distinguish themselves from other religious adherents in Indonesia, as this country officially acknowledges six religions: Islam, Christian, Catholic, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucian. Although not all Indonesian Muslim women implement this rule, Islamic way of dressing in Indonesia, nowadays is prevalent among Indonesian Muslim women and is adopted in various styles.

Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Islamic dressing in Indonesia has been growing vastly, as the number of headscarf wearers increases continuously. According to Euis Saidah, Director of the General Directorate of Middle - Small Industry of the Ministry of Industry, Republic of Indonesia, there are currently around 20 million Indonesian Muslim women who wear headscarfs.<sup>1</sup> Euis also confirmed that currently, 30% from 750 thousand of middle - small industry in Indonesia is Islamic clothing industry. According to Irfan Wahid, the Head of Working Group on Creative Industry of the National Committee for Economy and Industry, Islamic clothing industry gives

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1 [www.life.viva.co.id](http://www.life.viva.co.id)

the biggest contribution to the growth of the creative economy sector in the country.<sup>2</sup> It shows that the vast growing of Islamic dressing in Indonesia has triggered the growth of business on Islamic clothing, especially for women.

The growing business of Islamic clothing together with increasingly media portrayal of public figure dressing in Islamic way has transformed the Islamic clothing in Indonesia into a considerable style of fashion. This results in a growing number of Muslim boutiques and clothing stores in many cities in Indonesia, which obviously creates a new market as well as new consumers. It has been since 2000 that Islamic clothing in Indonesia growing immensely. Today, Islamic clothing in Indonesia has been considered as fashion. Jones suggested that Islamic fashion might offer a competition to the Paris - New York hegemony of fashion.<sup>3</sup> Rahayu argued that Islamic fashion in Indonesia has been dynamically developed as a kind of pop culture.<sup>4</sup> According to Rahayu, there are several reasons of why Islamic fashion in Indonesia can be considered as pop culture.

First, the dynamic growing of Islamic clothing, as well as the wearers, has triggered an increasingly Muslim fashion business and industry. Islamic clothing has been produced in massive quantity to fulfill the market demand, the more wearers, the more demands. Islamic fashion in Indonesia nowadays becomes a very promising and profitable business. This business has been raising more and more Islamic fashion designers with their each Islamic fashion brands and boutiques. An article on [www.thejakartapost.com](http://www.thejakartapost.com) lists six of currently popular Indonesian Islamic fashion designers. Names such as Dian Pelangi, Ria Miranda, Jenahara Nasution are very familiar among Indonesian Muslim women especially those who adore fashionable Islamic clothing. The works of Indonesian Islamic designers won praises not only at the national but also international level. An article on [www.aljazeera.com](http://www.aljazeera.com) portrays one Indonesian Islamic designer named Anniesa Hasibuan that drew international impression in 2016 New York Fashion Week with her sophisticated glamorous Islamic dress design. The price of their fashion products is relatively high, making it affordable only for women from highly financial background. A considerable number of department stores specified in Islamic fashion are also mushrooming in many cities in Indonesia, providing range style of Islamic clothing that is more affordable to consumers from

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2 [www.detik.com](http://www.detik.com)

3 Jones, 2007

4 Rahayu, 2016

middle to lower financial background. Islamic fashion in Indonesia then has its equal markets from high, middle, and lower financial background of consumers.

The advanced growing of information and communication technology, especially social media, also plays a significant role in the growth of business and pervasiveness of Muslim fashion among the Indonesian Muslim women. Social media are now increasingly utilized as a platform for business including the one on Muslim fashion. There can be found many accounts on Instagram, facebook, twitter, or another social media that specifically sell headscarf and other kinds of Islamic clothing. Besides that, a great number of videos performing tutorial of fashionable headscarf-wearing are massively posted and shared on social media. These online influences seem to induce Indonesian Muslim women to purchase more and more Islamic clothing.

Social media platforms such as facebook, twitter, and especially Instagram seem to encourage Indonesian Muslim women to perform what it means to be a fashionable Muslim woman. Uploading photos accompanied with captions and hashtags nowadays becomes very common and routine in our society. The frequency of Muslim fashion photos being uploaded on social media among the Indonesian Muslim women can be initially traced from the great number of hashtags being typed to caption the uploaded photos. Indonesian Muslim women commonly use hashtags such as #OOTD (outfit of the day), #HOTD (hijab of the day), #HOOTD (hijab outfit of the day), #hijabstyleindonesia, and #HOTDindonesia (hijab outfit of the day Indonesia) to caption their fashion photos on their social media accounts.

Clothing and the way of dressing are two of the most common determinants of identity in Indonesian society. Indonesians refer to branded, non-branded, and original or fake branded when it comes to evaluating the quality of clothing. To evaluate ones' way of clothing, they use terms such as *gaul*, *keren*, or *kekinian* to refer ones who adopt a relatively good or high standard, branded, and specifically the latest and most up-to-date style of dressing. On the other hand, they use terms such as *norak*, *lebay*, or *kamseupay* to refer those, whose ways of dressing are out-of-date, fake-branded or does not fit the standard of good dressing.

Today, dressing in Islamic way among Indonesian women is no longer as merely an implementation of the religious adherence or simply to distinguish themselves from other religious adherents, but is



a representation of fashionable dressing, as long as one can adopt the most up-to-date style of this fashion. The Islamic way of dressing among Indonesian women no longer represents merely an identity of Muslim women, but an identity of fashionable Muslim women. Any woman wearing long body covering cloth and headscarf can be identified as a Muslim woman but not always as a fashionable one until she dresses in a certain way that is referred as a fashionable Muslim style. Here, being fashionable obviously requires consumption of certain style of clothing, in this case, is Muslim clothing.

The massive frequency of Muslim fashion photos uploaded on social media indicates that there is a tendency of the Indonesian Muslim women to construct or reconstruct their identities as fashionable Muslim women. Typing hashtags on social media posts will lead them to a bigger online group of people who share similar issues or concerns represented by certain hashtags. This obviously requires consumption of certain items of Muslim clothing so that they can snap some captivating photos and upload it on their social media accounts.

It is interesting to view social media as more than a platform that merely enables people to upload their photos and express themselves in various ways. The massive and routine usage of social media by today's society make this one of the 21<sup>st</sup> century greatest technological inventions substantially as a means of consumption where people can, for instance, purchase some goods on social media-based online shops. It has a substantial similarity with the former real means of consumption such as supermarket and mega-malls in the sense of providing goods for people to purchase and consume. Furthermore, if buying goods or simply hanging out in mega-malls can be considered as enabling people to build certain identities, so can uploading photos with some hashtags has the same effects.

## Discussion

Bocock wrote in his book *Consumption* (1993: 101) that people actively desire to articulate their own sense of identity and of who they are through many ways including clothing or fashion.<sup>5</sup> Because identity is an entity contained with intangible conceptions about self, culture, ideology, and belief, that won't be seen and acknowledged by others until it is articulated through tangible materials. The desire of being acknowledged and accepted by others is the nature of every human being as a social creature. Fashion, in particular, becomes a visible

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5 Bocock, 1993: 101

or tangible material by which people can easily, or even instantly, construct an identity. It is because fashion is a part of peoples' daily lives, and most of the time, outside look will help others to build their perceptions about us, at least in initial encounters.

Islamic fashion, that initially was characterized by flare long-sleeved dress with headscarf, today has been adopted and elaborated into so many styles, ranging from *cadar*, the nearly black, Saudi-associated styles with face coverings, to very colorful, patterned, and often fitted styles less frequently associated with foreign origins, which might involve modest Western-style business-wear with a fitted headscarf. Indonesian Islamic fashion also increasingly adopts the local taste such as *batik and tenun*, which are the two most popular Indonesian clothing material crafts. As fashion, it has increasingly shorter half-lives, replaced after a few months with the next new preference in color, cut, or detailing.

Islamic fashion in Indonesia, besides as an expression of religious adherence, has developed with a distinct changing role in symbolizing the identity of Indonesian Muslim women. If in the past it has significantly changed the identity of Indonesian Muslim women from domestically submissive to men to be more modern and active in public arena, the contemporary development seems to merely classify whether a woman is fashionable or not, in the way she adopts the Islamic fashion.<sup>6</sup> In some cases, however, it is referred as a sign of piety; an attitude and or behavior of devotion towards the religious values. Until today, the decision of a woman to adopt Islamic way of dressing still generates a special appreciation among Indonesian Muslim society. Nevertheless, as argued by Jones, new department stores specialize in Islamic fashion and heavily advertised women's magazines have provided evidence that Islamic fashion in Indonesia has undergone a transformation of a religious identity into a mere lifestyle.<sup>7</sup> According to Tjahya Widayanti from the Ministry of Trade of The Republic of Indonesia, Indonesia is now among the world's 5 th largest consumers of Islamic clothing, with the consumption value of US\$ 12,69.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, the high rate consumption of Islamic fashion among Indonesian Muslim women is not affected only by a single cause, but several causes that are linked to each other. Especially today when the internet and social media has been taking an important part in many aspects of our everyday lives, Indonesian Muslim women's

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6 Sunesti, 2004

7 Jones, 2007: 4

8 [www.bisnis.liputan6.com](http://www.bisnis.liputan6.com)

consumption of Islamic fashion cannot be simply detached from impacts that are generated by social media. As what essentially conceptualized in this paper, here social media is seen as a new means of consumption. From that point of view, we are questioning how this technology-based new means of consumption can have impact on the Indonesian Muslim women's consumption of Islamic fashion. I argue that social media impact on how Indonesian Muslim women consuming Islamic fashion works in two different but interconnected ways: first, it significantly increases the rate of consumption of Islamic fashion among Indonesian Muslim women, and second, it can be seen as a 'supporting device' for Indonesian Muslim women to construct and represent their identity as fashionable Muslim women. We will see later that these two different things are affecting each other.

The growing youth market is one of the factors that influence the growth of the new means of consumption, including social media. This can also be considered as an influencing factor in the vast development of Islamic fashion in Indonesia. These huge numbers of Indonesian Muslim women who adopt Islamic fashion automatically become a huge market for Islamic fashion in Indonesia. We have discussed before that a range of factor such as the increasing number of Islamic fashion boutiques and department stores, media portrayal of Islamic fashion, Islamic fashion events, as well as the growing Islamic fashion communities, have transformed Islamic fashion into a popular culture which consequently results in a new lifestyle and consumption.

In this case, social media have an important role in pervading and strengthening the influences that are generated from those existing factors. Social media provides a chance to everyone and every company to make their virtual accounts on any social media platforms. As has been discussed before, social media are now utilized for business, including business on Islamic fashion. There can be found hundreds of Indonesian-based social media accounts that sell Islamic fashion items. From designers, boutiques, popular brands, fashion event organizers, to small business owners and personal sellers as well as the consumers, are all now on social media. It makes social media become a place for everyone and every interest. For small business owners and personal sellers, it is a place to market their products without necessarily spending high costs. For popular boutiques and brands, it is a place to increase their consumers' awareness to their products which eventually leads to increased purchasing on their products. For designers, it is a place to interact closer with their fans and loyal

customers who adore their works. For fashion event organizers, it is a place to publicize any information about their events so that they can attract more visitors. For consumers, it is a place to find products they want to buy and a place for expressing themselves with the product they buy. Mainstream media like television channels and magazines are now on social media too. Social media help them to broaden their coverage of audience or consumers. Consumers can also take advantage from the existence of those mainstream media on social media. For example, they do not have to spend money to buy a monthly fashion magazine since that magazine is on social media. Whenever they want to update news, information, or article from that magazine, they can just visit the magazine's social media account. They also do not need to be always at home to watch television because whenever they want to update any information or to watch their favorite programs, they can just visit the channel's social media account. In short, social media can help designers, boutiques owners, or media to be closer to their consumers and vice versa. As a result, they can spread information to the consumers in more frequent time. They can also gain more of consumers' responses since social media enables them to have two ways communication. By monitoring consumers' responds, they can then predict what consumers' perceptions about the information they shared on social media. It helps them to plan strategies to attract more consumers in the future. For consumers, they are benefited as they can update more information in more frequent and quicker time.

These social media accounts of different parties are likely to construct an idealized standard of how fashionable Muslim women can look like. This idealized standard is constructed through thousands of different photos, videos, and written information shared by those accounts. Here is not only accounts of designers, business owners, or media that can construct such standard, consumers can also construct an idealized standard and influence each other's' perceptions of how fashionable Muslim women can look like. Photos, videos, or information they shared on social media conveys various views of an ideal fashionable Muslim woman's appearance. This shared information is usually completed with hashtags that refer to the specific standard of fashionable Islamic style. As has been mentioned before, some of the most frequently used hashtags related to Islamic fashion is #hootd (hijab outfit of the day) and #hootdindonesia (hijab outfit of the day Indonesia). For example, recently on Instagram, there be found more than 2,5 million public posts with such hashtags. Information on social

media that contains these hashtags must be a photo of women dressing in fashionable Islamic style or a video of a woman performing how to style a headscarf. This idealized perception is potentially referred as a standard of how fashionable Islamic women look like and eventually will be massively adopted by many of Indonesian Muslim women who adore fashionable Islamic style. As a consequence, it will also lead to Indonesian Muslim women's consumption of the fashion items of that idealized standard. When the idealized standard changes as a result of trend changing, the fashion items will also change and consequently, will lead to consumption again. This is how social media as a new means of consumption can be seen as having an impact on Indonesian Muslim women's consumption of Islamic fashion. In addition to becoming a place for marketing and selling Islamic fashion items, it also becomes an arena for constructing an idealized standard of how fashionable Muslim women can look like.

A TV program named "Dua Hijab" (English: "Two Hijabs") is a good example to discuss. This TV program has also an account on Instagram with the same name and currently has 195 thousands followers. This is a lifestyle program broadcasted by one of private TV companies in Indonesia. This program features two popular Indonesian Islamic fashion designers namely Jenahara and Zaskia Sungkar. In accordance with the title, this program displays Islamic fashion-related things such as the latest trend of Islamic fashion, advice on how to mix and match Islamic fashion items, fashion battle, and also beauty tips. This program has also a special session that challenges its viewers to upload their HOTD photos on Instagram, completed with hashtag #HOOTDduahijab and also with mentioning Dua Hijab account so that their photos can be seen by Dua Hijab account. The Dua Hijab team will then select some of the best photos and repost those photos on Dua Hijab account. Those selected photos will also be presented in Dua Hijab TV program that is broadcasted every Sunday morning Indonesian time. While presented in the TV program, the fashion style which is seen in those photos will be reviewed by Jenahara and Zaskia Sungkar. Both of the designers will appreciate if the style looks good on them, and will give comments and advice if some changes can be made with the style.

This program shows us a good example of how a TV program, as it penetrates to social media and engages its viewers to actively join them by sending HOTD photos, can be considered as potentially having an impact on Indonesian Muslim women's perceptions of the

ideal fashionable Islamic styles. The presenters of the program, who are popular Islamic fashion designers, are undoubtedly trustworthy of giving tips and advice to the viewers on how to dress in fashionable Islamic styles. Their tips and advice will obviously create a perception in the mind of the viewers, of an idealized standard style. This again, will have an impact on Indonesian Muslim women's consumption of Islamic fashion, in the sense of what items to buy, what colors to choose, what cutting and detailing is best, and so on. Besides, the challenge of uploading HOTD photos on Instagram will potentially encourage the viewers to feature the most fashionable style in their photos so that they can join the challenge and be presented in the TV program. This eventually will also encourage the viewers to adopt the latest and most fashionable Islamic style. This again, requires consumption of the items of such styles.

This idealized standard of fashionable Islamic style constructed on social media, in a further degree, can also have an impact on how Indonesian Muslim women construct and express their identity as fashionable Muslim women. As has been explained before, the desire of constructing a sense of identity is influenced by cultural and social practices that surround people.<sup>9</sup> Culturally, Islamic dressing, although it is not originally Indonesian women's tradition, has been adopted by Indonesian women since a long time ago. It is Islamic religious value that particularly becomes the basic reason of adopting Islamic dressing. This value is taught from generation to generation based on the belief that dressing in Islamic way is a manifestation of piety. In Indonesian Muslim society, Muslim women who wear headscarf are until today, in some cases, more appreciated than those who do not. A woman who wears a headscarf is seen as one who is brave to take a big decision that consequently will change her life. By wearing a headscarf, she is seen as to be ready to keep herself away from any kind of bad attitude and behavior. She is expected to consistently pray five times in a day and also do other prayers that have been taught by the Prophet. It is seen as a big decision because not every Muslim woman is willing to or capable of praying five times in a day consistently. Particularly in the period before 2000, wearing a headscarf and adopting Islamic dressing were not so common among Indonesian society because it was seen as less fashionable compared to ordinary dressing without a headscarf. That is why, Indonesian Muslim women who decided to wear a headscarf in earlier periods were seen to have stronger and deeper reasons more

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9 Bocock, 1993

than merely to look fashionable.

Today in the period when Islamic dressing has transformed into fashion which is adored by the most of the Indonesian Muslim women, it is a bit difficult to determine the real reason of why a woman wears a headscarf. Many critics have been addressed saying that nowadays Indonesian Muslim women are encouraged more or even merely by fashion to wear a headscarf and adopt Islamic dressing. These critics are simultaneously encountered with the idea that fashionable Islamic dressing is indeed showing the moderate and modern face of Islam. Instead of degrading Islamic values, fashionable Islamic dressing is indeed seen as promoting an identity of Muslim women who are open to modernity and flexible with changes and differences. These ideas are also enhanced with a common opinion saying that becoming pious Muslim woman does not mean she cannot be fashionable. In fact, this fashionable Islamic dressing has indeed successfully influenced more Indonesian Muslim women to adopt Islamic dressing.

Social media, on which various idealized standards of fashionable Islamic dressing are constructed, seem to be encouraging, or in further extent, provoking Indonesian Muslim women to also construct and present their own identities as fashionable Muslim women. The great number of photos and hashtags of fashionable Islamic dressing posted on social media shows how they really want to express themselves to others. It can be seen as an effort of constructing and presenting a sense of identity. And to manage the constructed identity, one need to consistently perform any similar way that can support the identity one tries to construct and present. Here, consumption of Islamic fashion items seems to be the gateway to construct, present, as well as manage the identity of fashionable Muslim women.

Social media, just like a real social environment, is a space where people can meet and interact. In the context of constructing and presenting identity, social media can be said as offering more 'benefits', in the sense that people can more easily express themselves. It is because on social media people do not meet in a face-to-face encounter. For some people, this condition is perceived as more comforting for them to express themselves, since none will indirectly comment or judge them. Another thing that can be also considered as benefiting one who tries to construct and present an identity is the state that on social media, other people's responses are more easily monitored. The number of likes and comments that one gains after uploading, for example, her HOTD photos, may lead her to perceive how the identity that she tries

to construct and present through the photos that she uploads on social media are responded by other people on social media. If she gains more positive responses, she may continue to construct and present such identity. Consequently, it will require continuous consumption of items that symbolize the identity being constructed and presented.

## Conclusion

The development of Islamic fashion in Indonesia has proved to have a great impact on how contemporary Indonesian Muslim women perceive about dressing in an Islamic way as well as their consumption of the fashion. The future of this very fashion is positively seen by many people in Indonesia to have a bigger market either in the high fashion industry or small medium industry. As the trend and style change so rapidly, none can ever really predict what trend and style are coming next.

Social media, as it has been analyzed with the perspective of Marxian, Weberian, and Baudrillard post-modern theory on new means of consumption, can be considerably seen as a new means of consumption in the 21 st century post-modern society. This, in particular, contributes a powerful impact on the development of Islamic fashion in Indonesia as well as its proliferation among the contemporary Indonesian Muslim women. Its impact works at least in two different but interconnected ways: 1. it impacts the Indonesian Muslim consumption of Islamic fashion, in the way it is utilized as a platform for business, for designers to display their works, and for consumers to easily 'hunt' any item they want to buy. This utilization of social media for various interests and aims has led to a state in which social media become a place for constructing various idealized standards of how a fashionable Muslim woman can look like. 2. As it provides various idealized standards of how a fashionable Muslim woman can look like, it impacts the way Indonesian Muslim women construct and present their identity as fashionable Muslim women. In this context, social media is also seen as more beneficial for Indonesian Muslim women to construct and present their identities because, on social media, other people's responds to the identity that they try to construct and present are more easily monitored.



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