

## Millennial Muslim Women's Fashion Harmony: Exploration of Fashion Trends from Conservative to Fashionable through a Religious Lens in Indonesia

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### **Abstract:**

*This article aims to analyze the fashion trends of millennial Muslim women from conservative to fashionable perspective through the lens of religion in Indonesia. The clash of perspective between groups advocating for Muslim women fashion to adhere to Islamic sharia/law and those advocating for fashion to be stylish to represent Islamic identity to the general public sets the background problem for this research. The research employs Systematic Literature Review (SLR) indexed by Scopus with the assistance of tools such as the Watase Uake, Publish or Perish, international journal publications such as Springer and Taylor and Francis, as well as the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) technique, narrowing down 281 articles to 16 selected ones as research data. Millennial Muslim fashion in Indonesia has experienced an evolution from introduction to innovation. Initially met with hierarchy and prohibition, it has now become a fashionable style that reflects piety, innovation and global trends. This transformation was influenced by the conflict structure paradigm of right Islam and left Islam, leading to moderate Islam. The new identity of millennial Muslim fashion emerged through the phenomenon of hijabers, hijra groups, and pop culture by creating styles that combine Islamic values with the present.*

**Keywords:** Fashion Trends, Millennial Muslimah, Conservative, Fashionable.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Muslim Women fashion has become a phenomenon with a provocative presence within the Islamic world (Mas'udah, 2018, pp. 181–182). Several studies have examined this phenomenon, such as analysis of contemporary fashion towards modernity (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1710; Mossière, 2012, p. 115), new modes of Islamic clothing (Akou, 2015, p. 403), between fashion and faith (Jones, 2007, p. 211), and its segmentation within

lifestyle (Kartajaya et al., 2019, p. 306). Previous researchers have not thoroughly explained the reasons behind the emergence of the new phenomenon of millennial Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia from a religious perspective as a view for the millennial generation in making choices in fashion and policy direction in designing Muslim women's clothing. This research will describe the spatial contestation related to the history and contributors to Muslim women's fashion, as well as the struggle between traditionalist and modernist groups.

Indonesia, as the country with the largest number of Muslim populations in the world, tends to have problems with religious tension. According to the World Population Review in 2021, approximately 231 million Indonesians are Muslims (Putri, 2023). A Muslim is often initially perceived in relation to their religious identity and everything else (ethnicity, age and occupation) (Beta, 2014, p. 377). Given the large number of Muslim inhabitants, this influences various attitudes and behavior in their everyday lives. Many attitudes and behavior of the Indonesian Muslim population demonstrate westernization and modernity with forms of moral decline, such as adopting Western-style fashion (Amail, 2016, p. 740).

Over time, millennial Muslim women's clothing continues to be a subject of debate in relation to morality and the national identity (Jones, 2007). Recently, the creativity of stylish Muslim women's fashion has become an issue for some time. For instance, many social observers note that the fashionable hijab are worn too tightly and short, sometimes revealing hair or minimal skin, paired with tight tops or skinny jeans (Beta, 2014, p. 378). Apart from that, the phenomenon of modern Muslim women wearing headscarves that are wrapped around the neck and not stretched over the chest, wearing tight or even transparent clothes and pants has raised debate from religious observers. It appears that someone who wears the hijab becomes the center of attention and the target of other people's eyes because of perceived violations committed by women in their clothing (Hamzah & Nasution, 2022, p. 190). There is a plurality of issues and circumstances that inform Islamic cultural practices in a global sense (Amail, 2016, p. 743).

Carla Jones, as quoted by Bucar, argues that in the Indonesian context, concerns about fashion are linked to images that express anxiety or the possibility that appearances can be misleading. For example, the hijab-fashionista phenomenon, when not worn sacredly, can pose a dangerous impact on the image of Islam that is constructed (Bucar, 2016, p. 69). Shifting fashion trends also have other panic impacts. For example, many Muslim women wear a wide and long hijab accompanied by a niqab (face covering). This is not due to understanding the value of religious sharia, but the need for fashion style (Addini, 2019, p. 114).

In general, this background explores the description of millennial Muslim women's fashion in terms of analysis using literature study. The researcher poses three research questions as follows: (1) How is the contestation of Muslim women's fashion space in Indonesia?; (2) How is the struggle for millennial Muslim women's fashion identity?; (3) What is the new direction for millennial Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia? The spatial contest in the form of the history of Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia is used as a source of knowledge to explore facts and events that occurred in the past, as well as contributors who explain the active role in strengthening Muslim women's fashion trends in Indonesia; conservative to fashionable direction to reconcile observers; and see the direction of millennial Muslim women's fashion from various points of view. There are several differences between this research and previous research by adding insight into

millennial Muslim women regarding spatial contestation, identity battles, and new directions for millennial Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia. It is hoped that the results of this research can provide insight for the Millennial Generation to make choices in fashion and policy directions that can humanize millennial Muslim women regarding Muslim fashion.

This research uses literature study. It was conducted by examining and collecting information from various reputable book references, journals, and articles. After collecting information and studies from thought processes, concepts, and facts about millennial Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia, it is then integrated into a scope of discussion that answers the research questions. The literature data used comes from books that have an ISBN (International Standard Book Number) and reputable journals (Q1, Q2, S1) with ISSN (International Standard Serial Number) published via the internet. Data collection was carried out by surfing the internet from Google Books and iPusnas, as well as reputable Scopus journals, namely Springer, Taylor and Francis, and Google Scholar. Apart from that, the research also used tools in the form of Watase Uake and Publish or Perish. There are several stages in this research, include identification, screening, eligibility assessment, and inclusion according to predetermined topics.

First, identify. At this stage, articles were searched for on the topic of millennial Muslim fashion through the Watase Uake tool, Publish or Perish and international journal publications such as Springer and Taylor and Francis. Watase Uake is used as the main tool that provides features in identifying Scopus indexed articles (Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4) and year of publication between 2015-2023.

**Table 1.** Article Identification

No.	Keyword	Quantity	
		Watase Uake	Other Method
1	Islamic Fashion	15 Articles	-
2	Muslimah	18 Article	-
3	Fashion Muslimah	1 Articles	-
4	Fashion Millennial	21 Articles	4 Articles
5	Islamic Fashion Woman	1 Articles	-
6	Islamic Fashion	15 Articles	-
7	Fashion Muslim	33 Articles	-
8	Muslim Style	15 Articles	-
9	Hijab Indonesia	158 Articles	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>277 Articles</b>	<b>4 Articles</b>

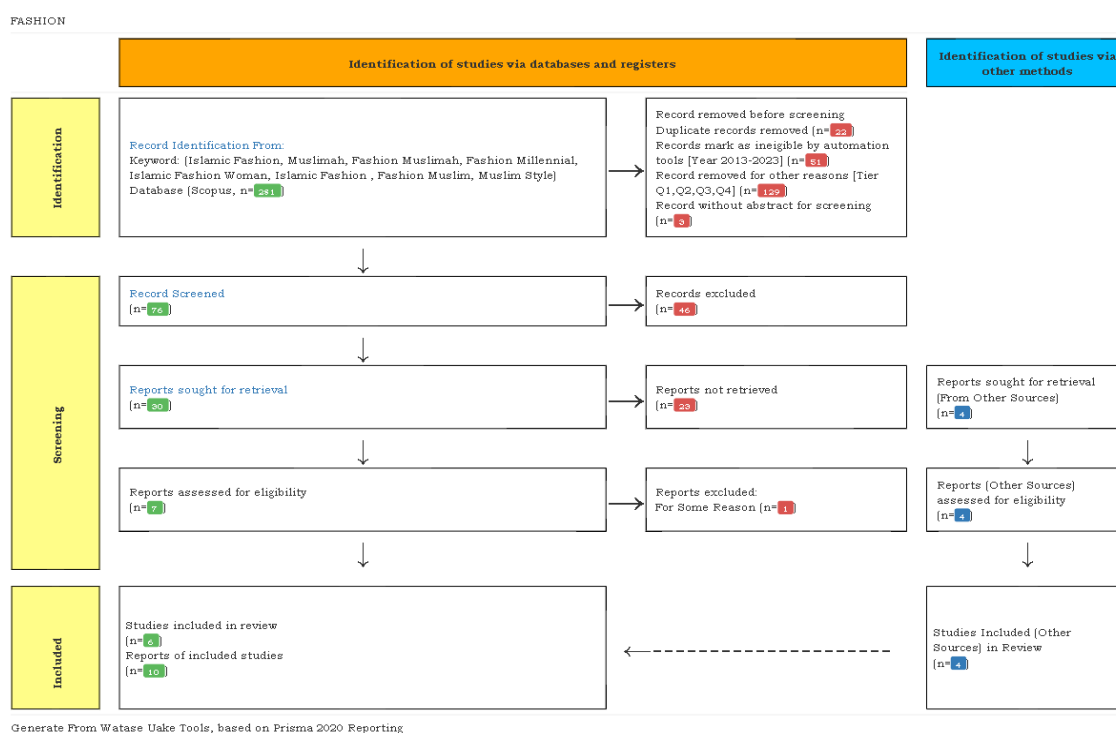
Based on Table (1), it is known that the total number of articles obtained was 281 articles. Furthermore, prior to screening, several articles were excluded due to (a) duplication, (b) not being published between 2015-2023, (c) not indexed Q1, Q2, Q3, and Q4, (d) not being relevant to the specified keywords .

Second, screening and eligibility assessment. At this stage the remaining articles with a total of 76 articles were re-examined according to the title, abstract and keywords

with a total of 30 articles. Next, the articles were checked again with full text access, totaling 12 articles and added 4 articles searched from Scopus indexed sources.

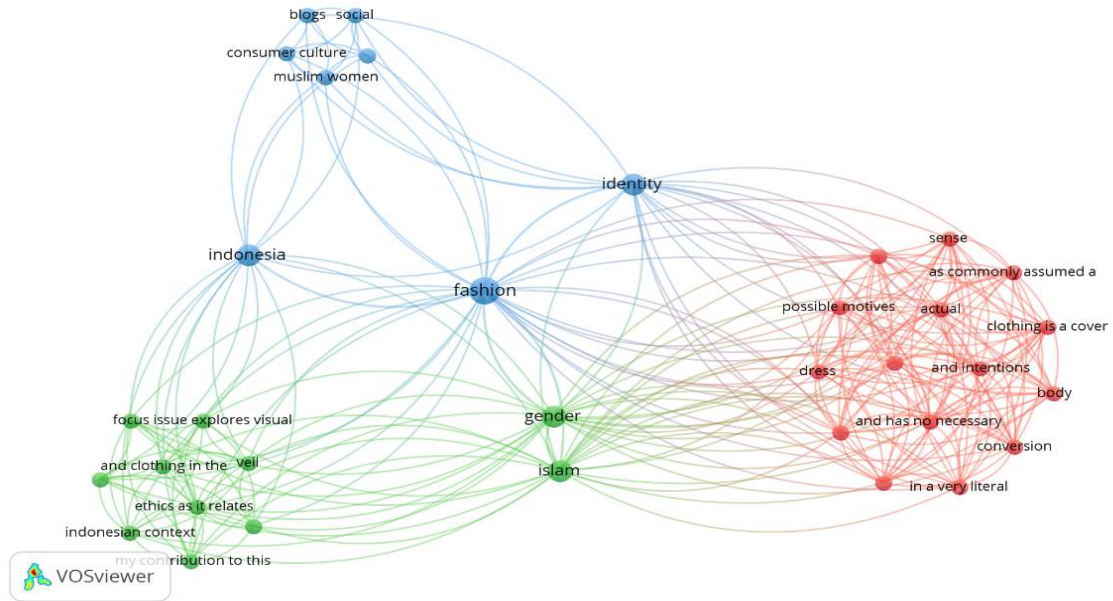
Third, included. At this stage, all articles that have been filtered will be included in systematic analysis to obtain a PRISMA flow diagram. Details of the stages above can be seen from the following figure:

**Figure 1.** PRISMA flow diagram



Based on Figure (1), it is known that of the 281 articles there were 16 selected articles which were then entered into Mendeley, then saved in RIS format. The RIS file is then entered into the VOSviewer application to (1) create a map based on bibliographic data, (2) read the data from the reference manager file, (3) select the file from the folder, (4) select the type of analysis method and calculation, (5) verify selected keywords, and (6) the resulting image is visible. The results of the initial thematic association analysis show that millennial Muslim fashion has a very complex association pattern and can be seen in the following image:

**Figure 2.** VOSviewer Regarding Millennial Muslim Women's Fashion



Based on Figure (2), several keywords that are related to the research theme are fashion, identity, Indonesia, blogs, consumer, culture, gender, Islam, focus issue, explores visual, clothing, ethics as it relates, Indonesian context, sense, actual, dress, and intentions.

## DISCUSSION

### *Contestation of Muslimah Fashion Space in Indonesia*

The history of Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia has a long story (Mrazek, 2002, p. 154). Additionally, many elements have made significant contributions to the popularity of Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia. The phenomenon of Indonesian Muslim women's fashion has become part of popular Islamic culture since the media, through advertisements, soap operas, music videos, and more, has exposed it (Amail, 2016, p. 742). The proliferation of Islamic attire is heavily influenced by shopping centres, television programs, fashions magazines, and educational communities. For instance, Muslim women who frequently watch Saudi television series are likely to adopt fashion style such as face coverings and black-colored clothing. This contrasts with Western media consumption, where styles are vibrant, patterned, and often involve wearing hijabs (Jones, 2007).

Before independence, there were several important notes regarding Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia. Indies revolutionaries around the 1930s invested in clothing to show and define the boundaries between the natives and the colonialists (Mrazek, 2002, p. 154). In fact, the contact between Indonesia and the Islamic world indicated the introduction of Islamic ideas or symbols, including displaying Islamic clothing in society at that time (Rohmawati, 2020, p. 110).

The fashion worn by Muslim women in Indonesia has experienced restrictions. In the Old Order era, Soekarno restricted the flow of popular culture such as fashion which was influenced by the West because it was considered as preventing the development of Indonesian national/traditional culture (Amail, 2016, p. 740). In the 1980s, Muslim women's clothing became a political cause (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1711). During the Soeharto regime, to be precise from 1965 to 1998, women's magazines and television programs designed specifically for women were taken over by the government regarding the way of giving ideology, opinions and views to encourage women to become housewives who dress in polite, traditional styles (Jones, 2007). In the early 1980s, Muslim women in Indonesia generally wore long-sleeved clothing with loose or fitted head coverings. This has become common and shows a trendy transformation of the clothing sub-genre (Jones, 2007). Apart from that, there are regulations prohibiting the use of the hijab in public schools (Muheramtohadhi & Fataron, 2022, p. 92). Through the Ministry of Education and Culture which issued a Decree in 1982 regarding the regulation of the form and use of school uniforms in state schools, which directed uniforms to only be in one form (Rohmawati, 2020, p. 110).

It is possible that during the New Order there was a gap in using Muslim fashion. During the New Order era (between 1968-1998) by introducing more liberal economic policies through capital flows, popular culture began to significantly impact people's lives as continuous industrialization increased (Amail, 2016, p. 740). The state's willingness to discipline opposition factions by investing foreign capital was manifested in economic changes in the late 1980s and 1990s, resulting in a development boom, which ultimately affected status, lifestyle and religious piety (Jones, 2007, p. 11).

In Indonesia, the term hijab became known around the 1980s. During that era, Muslim women who wore the hijab were relatively rare because they were considered less stylish and outdated (Amail, 2016, p. 742). Historically, Indonesian women did not wear the jilbab (headscarf), unless they had completed the hajj (pilgrimage to Mecca) (Bucar, 2016, p. 76). By the late 1980s, women who had not yet performed the Hajj began wearing the hijab as a political criticism of Suharto's corruption by wearing a plain, loose-fitting styles that covered the entire body, including the hair and neck. The Islamic clothing style at that time was characterized by long, loose tunics that covered the female form in pale or dark pastel colors, as well as headscarves made of soft thin material that covered the head and the ends were tied together (Bucar, 2016, p. 76).

Before the mid-1990s, Islamic clothing was limited to small specialty shops perated by taylors, thus, there were not many Muslim fashion manufacturers (Jones, 2007). Designers played a significant role in disseminating Islamic fashion trends in Indonesia. The first generation of Muslim fashion designers was Ida Royani who founded her own label in 1980 1980 (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1712). Apart from that, in the 1980s, the influence of the Islamic Movement from the Middle East began to be seen through Indonesian academics who brought books and ideas about the importance of renewing Islamic beliefs and practices in everyday life (Rohmawati, 2020, p. 110).

At the end of the New Order, the use of the hijab had developed. This started in the 1990s, when educated middle-class Indonesian women wore hijabs with long cloth (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1711). At that time, the wave of the use of the hijab increased, marked by educated urban middle class Indonesian women starting to wear the hijab at a rapid rate. The hijab has become a symbol of modernity rather than piety or adherence to global Islamic ideology (Bucar, 2016, p. 77). The resistance movement against the ban on the headscarf was also carried out by students, one of which was through the Indonesian Muslim Scholars (ICMI) in the early 1990s which showed a symbol of identity political action (Rohmawati, 2020, p. 112).

Suzanne Brenner, as a fashion designer, explained that the use of hijab before the reform era was uncommon in Indonesia (Jones, 2007, pp. 11–12). In the mid-1990s, many editors reported receiving inquiries asking why Islamic fashion was not featured in weekly spreads in fashion magazines. Instead, Islamic attire was only included in magazines during the Eid al-Fitr and Ramadan holiday periods. This became the forerunner of Muslim fashion becoming a fashion magazine (Jones, 2007, p. 22). By the late 1990s, with the end of the Soeharto regime, instead of appearing as a social critique, became a consumer choice with various styles. Islamic fashion has been promoted in various magazines and specialty stores (Jones, 2007, p. 19).

After reform, there are several government policies regarding Muslim women's fashion. Since 2001, the Indonesian government has implemented regional autonomy, one of which is Aceh and South Sulawesi (Bukulamba) adopting Islamic law. The impact is that Muslim women must wear Islamic clothing (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1711). After the New Order, the regions of Padang, Indramayu, Cianjur, Purwakarta and Pandeglang as the implementation of Sharia Regional Regulations (PERDA Syari'ah) required elementary to high school public school students to wear Muslim clothing (Rohmawati, 2020, p. 98).

In the era of modernization, numerous innovative advancements have emerged in the utilization and dissemination of fashionable Muslim women's fashion. For instance, following the reform era, the phenomenon of hijaber, as part of Muslim fashion continues as an interesting reminder of the state of youth. Piety intertwines with the global urban life creates creative and dynamic industries as part of modern transnational society (Beta, 2014, p. 380). Fashion trends among Muslim women began with the emergence of the hijab creator community (Hijabers Community) initiated by several young Muslim women in 2011 (Amail, 2016, p. 742). Second generation Islamic fashion designers such as Irna Mutiara, who established her business in 1996 and subsequently founded the Hijabers Mom Community in 2011 along with her associates, exemplify this trend. The advent of technology, notably through blogs and Instagram, has facilitated the emergence of a third generation in 2011, including figures like Ria Miranda and Jenahara, who also established Hijabers Communities in the same year.

The Hijabers Community (HC) is a social-religious organization of Muslim women capable of transforming the perception that the hijab, traditionally associated with conservatism, into a modern and fashionable style (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1712). For

instance, fashion trends in 2011 included Islamic garments such as fabric wrapped with a tie, flowy pastel cardigans, dolman-sleeve tops, and loose harem pants with fabric reaching the knees or ankles. Hijab trends involved the use of ninja underscarves, tight base layers, thick pashminas, and bun underscarves (caps with padding on the head to create a bun-like impression beneath the hijab) (Bucar, 2016, p. 77). Indonesian Muslim women fashion in 2020 was heralded as a fashion compass, as the design style from Indonesia tends to be embraced by Muslims worldwide dunia (Rohmawati, 2020, p. 113). Works by Indonesian Islamic designers receive acclaim not only nationally but also internationally. Islamic fashion in Indonesia caters to all segments of society, including the upper, middle, and lower classes, according to their respective financial backgrounds (Mas'udah, 2018, p. 182). Designers are increasingly aware of the proliferation of Islamic clothing that not only adheres to Sharia regulations but also adjusts to modern styles (Muheramtohadhi & Fataron, 2022, p. 99).

Contributors to the dissemination of Muslim women's fashion in Indonesia are not exempt from the role of media and fashion events. The presence of media such as TV, magazines, social media, and the internet facilitates the public's access to information about stylish Muslim women's clothing. Fashion designers utilize magazines and social media to promote their creations. Magazines wield significant influence in the expansion of modest fashion in Indonesia. The internet shapes the Islamic media representation concerning the dissemination of photos, videos, and the latest news related to Muslim women fashion (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1712). One of the users of social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, as well as fashion blogs, are hijabers, young women wearing hijabs who express colorful views and enjoyment of Islam, all serving as references for Muslim fashion choices (Beta, 2014, p. 377).

Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram seem to encourage Indonesian Muslim women to become fashionable Muslim women. Indonesian Muslim women usually 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 fashion photos or videos on social media accounts (Mas'udah, 2018, p. 183). The ideal standards of fashionable Islamic style built on social media can have an impact on how Indonesian Muslim women build and express their identity as fashionable Muslim women (Mas'udah, 2018, p. 190). International fashion events also have an impact in shifting fashion trends from traditional to fashionable. Indonesia regularly hosts the Islamic Fashion Festival (IFF) which establishes the country as the center of Islamic fashion for the Muslim world. International fashion shows can support Indonesia to become the center of world Muslim fashion (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1713).

### ***The Struggle of Millennial Muslim Women's Fashion Identity***

There is much debate surrounding the conservative yet stylish fashion of millennial Muslim women in Indonesia. The proliferation of Muslim fashion and global Islamic

culture is one outcome of changing religious perspectives in (Jones, 2007; Rohmawati, 2020). The expression of an individual's religiosity, particularly concerning fashion, has shifted from the conservative critique (frugal and moral) explicitly anti-fashion from older generations to modified expressions explicitly termed stylish, rendering Muslim fashion more visible in mainstream society (Jones, 2007). Globalization has engendered fashionable constructions within the social sciences. Fashion, as a global business, signifies fashion trends that push cultural and social boundaries (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1710). Culture and nation produce rules that regulate individual or group behavior and interaction, one of which pertains to fashion (Akou, 2015, p. 409).

There are several reasons why millennial Muslim women in Indonesia opt for modest attire that leans towards conservative dress. Millennial Muslim women perceive that the fashion they wear should align with the obligations mentioned in the Quran (An-Noor: 31). They have underlying reasons for using other Islamic clothing, such as being commanded by their parents and school requirements (Rakhmawati et al., 2014, p. 4). Other sources link simplicity and decency in the fashion of Muslims. Some popular hadiths related to clothing explain, "In the tradition of the Prophet (SAW) it is said ... 'simplicity produces nothing but goodness'," also "every religion has a character and the character of Islam is decency" (Akou, 2015, p. 419). Wearing simple attire or leaning towards conservative clothing symbolizes the identity of millennial Muslim women as guardians against promiscuity (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1711). From this perspective, religion is used as a shield in demonstrating one's fashion identity (Mossière, 2012, p. 2).

Millennial Muslim women fashion is influenced by Islamic groups in Indonesia. Following the reform era, there has been a notion to make Islamic Sharia as the basis and guidance for the lives of Muslims. There is a faction that refers to the slogan "back to the Quran and Sunnah," which is interpreted as applying pure Islamic Sharia, including the attire worn by the youth (Mahmudah, 2021, p. 27). This group is better known as the conservative Islamic movement, which is radical or right-wing Islamic groups referring to the movement back to Islam. Meanwhile, for the liberal left-wing Islamic groups, they appear to be more dynamic (Muslim, 2013, p. 228).

There is a struggle between right-wing and left-wing Islamic groups. In relation to Muslim women fashion, right-wing Muslim women groups typically wear long garments with a monotonous style in terms of color and design, usually dark in color. There is a view that the hijab worn should be large, covering almost the entire body and wearing a face veil. They consider this model to be correct (Syukur & Putranto, 2020, p. 54). In contrast, liberal groups (left-wing Islam) state that the hijab is not Islamic clothing, but merely a pre-Islamic Arab cultural attire. The essence of hijab is wearing clothing that meets general decency standards (public decency). Public decency is inherently flexible and evolves with the development of human culture (El-Shafa, 2014, p. 135). As a result, millennial Muslim women take a middle path.

### ***The New Orientation of Millennial Muslim Women Fashion***

Currently, millennial Muslim women predominantly adhere to the fashion style of the middle group as a symbol of their faith identity and also following trends. The Muslim women fashion movement by millennials is motivated by the structural tension paradigm of the conflict between right and left Islam. They do not align themselves with either right-wing or left-wing Islam as a safe step in fashion (M. Yasin, Nur A. & Aziemah, 2019, p. 82). The participation in fashion according to Islamic groups is being strengthened by the phenomenon of hijabers, hijra groups and pop culture. First, the hijaber phenomenon. The phenomenon of the rise of millennial Muslim women wearing the hijab among popular people, celebrities and public figures has brought motivation for some millennials to adopt muslim women's attire (Hasan, 2013, p. 6).

Secondly, the hijrah group. Lately, the phenomenon of hijrah has been intensively pursued, whether by public figures or artists, referring to a person's transformation from a less Islamic lifestyle to an Islamic one. There are three stages in the hijrah level, including physical hijrah, ideological hijrah, and spiritual hijrah. In the first stage, physical hijrah is closely associated with changes in a person's fashion, such as wearing Sharia-compliant hijab and robes for women (Tebuireng, 2018, p. 17). Thirdly, pop culture. The success of the millennial Muslim fashion revolution cannot be separated from Islamic pop culture as a hybrid form of Islam and pop culture. Nowadays, Muslims adopt it for various purposes of propagation and education. Islamic pop culture in the form of religious films, religious soap operas, religious music, religious novels, the internet containing Islamic teachings, and others which bring a new direction to Muslim women's fashion according to millennial style (Yuswohady et al., 2017, p. 124).

In recent years, fashionable clothing has inspired several millennial Muslim women. Muslim fashion in Indonesia has become a lifestyle that is considered a fresh and new look fashion trend. The transformation of Islamic fashion is developing from conservative to contemporary fashion in accordance with fashion (Kartajaya et al., 2019, p. 307). For Indonesian millennial Muslim women, dressing in an Islamic way is no longer just an implementation of religious observance or differentiating oneself from followers of other religions, but a representation of fashionable clothing, as long as one is able to adopt the most up-to-date fashion styles (Mas'udah, 2018, p. 183).

Islamic clothing not only covers the private parts, but also adapts to current fashion trends. For millennial Muslim women, many opt for clothing that appears youthful, stylish, and modern, rather than wearing long black abayas as contemporary attire (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1711). For instance, in modern society, the hijab worn by millennial Muslim women transforms its image into modern and fashionable, in line with current trends (Indarti & Peng, 2017, p. 1710). In Indonesia, millennial Muslim women typically wear colorful hijabs paired with jeans, modern blouses, dresses, cardigans, and belts. They also accessorize with jewelry and apply makeup. The primary message, aside from following religious commandments, is that fashion is also used to appear stylish (Peng & Indarti, 2016, p. 414). Some fashionable millennial Muslim women also play with colorful clothing,

experiment with veils, create intricate layers with pashminas or scarves, and even some wear turbans (head coverings typically worn by men). These outfits are often complemented with designer bags and sometimes high heels (Beta, 2014, p. 378). From this perspective, Muslim women fashion is heavily influenced by liberal religious thinking. There is an awareness among Muslims of the importance of displaying Islamic identity, driven by both religiosity and a more open-minded Muslim perspective (Muheramtohadhi & Fataron, 2022, p. 99).

Most individuals exchange opinions regarding modesty and ethics related to the direction of millennial Muslim women fashion today. In fact, good Islamic clothing should be tailored to the Quran and Hadith, although interpretations vary. For instance, concerning verses on adultery and the covering of the body in the Quran, which stipulate that a woman's body should be covered. In Iran, the wearing of the hijab is mandatory, and the punishment for improper clothing is seventy-four (74) lashes (Bucar, 2016, p. 84). At a different level, Muslims are encouraged to monitor, assess, and supervise others as locally accepted parameters regarding Islamic morality in personal and social realms (Bucar, 2016, p. 85). Trends and attitudes toward Islamic clothing norms from conservative to fashionable in Indonesia are adapted to the evolving culture and societal views. Debates about Muslimah fashion among religious conservatives provide insights into what kind of relationship exists, thus there can be between ethics and aesthetics and who qualifies for them. This indicates a subordination of aesthetics to ethics. Conversely, fashion professionals claim that ethics and aesthetics are one identity, namely aesthetics as ethics (Crăciun, 2017, p. 1).

Millennial modern (urban) Muslim women in Indonesia seek moral certainty, spirituality and piety by supporting the commodification of Islam as a way to articulate their identity. Even though they wear fashionable fashion, these Muslim women express modesty at the same time (Beta, 2014, p. 377). Muslim fashion in Indonesia acculturates religious rules, is modern and not outdated, thus influencing millennial Muslim women to wear Islamic clothing. Indonesian Muslim women's fashion, especially young people, currently refers to religious laws and global youth trends derived from the West (Amail, 2016, p. 748).

Fashionable headscarves are tolerated in Indonesia because they are perceived as symbols of beauty and fashion. One literature explains that by Muslim women shaping beautiful headscarves, they will be inspired to become more beautiful inside (Bucar, 2016, p. 84). Critics simultaneously converge on the idea that fashionable Islamic clothing indeed reflects the face of moderate and modern Islam. Instead of demeaning Islamic values, fashionable Islamic attire is seen as promoting an open Muslimah identity towards modernity and flexibility with change and differences. Fashionable Islamic clothing has successfully influenced more millennial Muslim women in Indonesia to wear Islamic clothing (Mas'udah, 2018, p. 191). This depiction can help reconcile Muslims with modernity that not only portrays clothing and style but also the true face of a woman (Beta, 2014, p. 379).

## CONCLUSION

The journey of millennial Muslim women fashion in Indonesia has undergone a long and dynamic process, from its inception to paradigm shifts within society. Initially, Muslim women fashion faced hierarchical differentiation and was often prohibited, even subject to enforcement in its usage. However, through innovation and resilience, Muslim women fashion has undergone a transformation that introduces a new dimension to Islamic fashion. The popularity of millennial Muslim women fashion is closely linked to the influence of fashion pioneers and media in Indonesia. They directly or through media channels introduce more stylish fashion trends, transforming the conservative image into something more innovative. Nonetheless, debates over the identity of millennial Muslim women fashion persist, especially in the struggle between conservatism and modernity. Modern fashion for millennial Muslim women's reflects piety, innovation, and global trends. Previously constrained by religious and political rules, conservative styles have evolved into something more dynamic. This transformation is influenced by the structural conflict paradigm between right-wing and left-wing Islam, with the adoption of moderate Islamic values as a middle ground solution. Moderate Islam introduces new concepts into millennial Muslim women fashion, creating phenomena such as hijabers, hijrah groups, and pop culture as significant developmental steps. Overall, this journey creates a new identity for millennial Muslim women fashion in Indonesia, which not only follows global trends but also maintains Islamic values in a moderate manner.

There are several limitations that need to be elucidated in this study. This research uses literature from domestic and international literature, so the classification needs to be sharpened. Apart from that, the database used is mostly based on literature studies. Therefore, the author recommends that future researchers strengthen the connection between millennial Muslim women's fashion and field research, thereby expanding or deepening research on similar themes.

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