The Generalization of Muslim Wear to Modest Wear in 2010s Indonesia's Fashion Trend

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Abstract
Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world and with a diversity of languages, culture, and religious beliefs. From time to time, fashion trends in Indonesia are associated with the process of how an appropriate idea can be accepted and internalized through the filtration of Indonesian culture. Modest wear derived from Muslim wear does not only serve as a physiological fulfilment but also a need for identity. There are two types of modest wear users. The first ones are those who use it as an identity, they do not care about trends and will continue to use them. Meanwhile, the second ones are those who choose modest wear to keep up with the trend. This phenomenon raises an idea that, for a Muslim woman, the basis of clothing using modest wear is to use the *hijab/jilbab/kerudung* as part of the basic clothing. However, many also use head coverings temporarily and do not last long. Thus, this commitment to modest choices becomes a mere trend at one time or, in other words, the use of hijab does not represent their identity. This study investigates the change in Indonesia regarding hijab identity diachronically and the reinterpretation of modest wear in the 2010s accompanied by the determinant factors viewed from the synchronic aspects. It was revealed that modest wear was acceptable due to the dominant factors of trend drivers that are interconnected and interdependent, namely world events, economic conditions, social change, entertainment world, technological innovation, and fashion leaders in Indonesia.
Keywords: *fashion trend, generalization, modest wear, Muslim wear*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has abundant natural resources and consists of various ethnic groups, languages, and cultures and religious beliefs. Indonesia is also known as the largest Muslim country, which, in 2020, reached 229 million people (87.2% of Indonesia's population) (State of The Global Islamic Economic 2020-2021). In 2020, Indonesia was also included in the top five largest fashion consumer countries in the world and also a fashion exporter country. As a Muslim woman, using the hijab to cover her head and chest, as mentioned in the Quran and Hadith, is considered modesty and a reminder to always rely on her faith as a Muslim (Buiyan in Leiliyanti et al., 2020:639). In Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, wearing the hijab is common but not obligatory.

Along with the widespread changes around the world regarding the acceptance of Islam, the use of clothing representing Muslim identity is also increasingly accepted. In fact, in Indonesia, there is a new meaning attached to Muslim clothing, which tends to be an attempt to generalization. Various studies found that there were many aspects behind the widespread acceptance of modest idea in Indonesia. As

Royo (2019) mentioned that Muslim wear is the representation of Indonesia's fashion identity, Muslim wear expressing cultural identity, including religion identity. However, the existing results have not been able to describe in detail the causes of the acceptance of modest wear based on the factors that influence it. Moreover, the results of these studies have not investigated the causes of the direction of the use of Muslim clothing, which has become generalized and not specified.

METHODOLOGY

In this paper, the research topic was analysed using qualitative research methods with a historical approach to design objects, namely Walker's (1990:79-81) to analyse data related to modest wear, both in phenomenon, and fact analysis related to fashion trends from Kim *et al*. (2011:1-9). Historical research investigates everything about the past and history as factual and utilizes data that are static in nature since it is no longer ongoing, and it seeks for the direction of trends in these objects. Seeing the discussion about modest wear in Indonesia, a diachronic analysis (time or chronological) was carried out first to describe the substitutive elements in terms of time through events. The second one is synchronic analysis carried out to describe the factors related to the object in a time.

According to Walker (1990:70, 90), fashion design is one of the design contexts, which is historically a short-lived enthusiasm in the form of vogue (something that was popular at a time), craze (favour), or fad (enthusiasm) for something. A style is a form of design with a distinctive character. Style can be fashionable or not due to the nature of fashion that comes and goes quickly. Fashion also refers to various human behaviours. However, this often refers to a form of enthusiasm for a certain fashion style. Meanwhile, the fashion industry forms the commercial sector emphasizing the design, manufacturing, and sales aspects of clothing.

Those two analysis stages, namely diachronic and synchronic, were carried out to reveal modest wear in Indonesia. It takes the existence of other objects that are general in nature in identifying fashion design objects so that the specific character of a design object can be analysed (Walker, 1990). In this study, the other object mentioned above was the trend driver from Kim *et al*. (2011), which consisted of world events, economic conditions, subcultural influences, social changes, entertainment, technological innovations, and fashion leaders. One of the important sources of fashion trend documentation is fashion magazines that capture and published the moment of trend which cannot be separated from the element of time.

DISCUSSION

According to Riyanto (2003), clothing can be interpreted as a textile material that is draped or sewn and used to cover a person's body that can cover skin either directly or indirectly. Meanwhile, clothing in a broad sense is everything worn by humans from head to toe displaying the beauty that includes:
1. Primary clothing, such as kebaya and long cloth, sarong, skirt, blouse, blazer, bebe, skirt pants, shorts or trousers, *sporthem*, shirt, T-shirt, pyjama, singlet, halter, underskirt.
2. Complimentary clothing or millinery, such as footwear (especially shoes, sandals, slippers), socks, bags, hats, caps, shawls, headscarves, ties, scarves, shawls, stoles, belts, gloves, umbrellas.
3. Additional clothing or accessories such as hair bands, combs, bondu, decorative clips, tie clips, cufflinks (manchet), watches, glasses, earrings, necklaces and pendants, bracelets, anklets, rings, brooches, and crowns.

The discussion of modest fashion in Indonesia is closely related to the discussion of the history of fashion in Indonesia because this study highlighted changes in diachronic meaning. Before discussing the highlighted period (the 2010s), the historical point of view that gave rise to different definitions and

history of modest wear before the discussion period was analysed. Then, it was discussed in the 2010s period in question.

Muslim fashion style, hijab, modest, Islamic fashion, which is described as clothing with a character that covers and does not show the curves of the body and related to the rules or regulations of dress according to Islam, can be recognized either by the use of head coverings (hijab/*jilbab*, headscarf/hood, veil/scarf) or not. In addition to not showing the curves of the body, the National Fashion Development Plan (2015) states that, referring to the Islamic law, the clothes are not transparent, must cover most of the body except the face and palms, do not dangle to the ground so that they will not be stepped on, are not decorated with motifs or stylization of animal or human forms, and women's clothing should not resemble men's clothing and vice versa. Based on its term, modest is defined as one of the functions of clothing proposed by Solomon and Rabolt (2004), namely modesty. During the research period, this term was found in 2012 in Dewi magazine (One of the oldest and leading local fashion magazine in Indonesia) and also in the books and the journal articles. At that time, the term used was still Islamic fashion, Muslim fashion, or hijab style. Indonesia Trend Forecasting describes the decoding of modest fashion in the Greyzone trend book in early 2017.

Modest wear in Indonesia before the 2010s decade

The influence of Islam has changed certain aspects in Indonesia, especially in women's clothing, namely improvements that are adapted into Islamic norms and rules. The hallmark of Islamic influence in clothing is the use of scarves or headscarves by women for heads and other clothing models that are adapted into Islamic recommendations. Islam instils values, images, and ethics in fashion that place clothing not only as a covering for the body but also as a way to show one's character. Compared to men's clothing, women get more attention in Islam and there are many determining rules (Anas, 1998). Brenner (1996, in Heryanto, 2018:72-73) stated that in the 1980s the use of the headscarf was banned because it was considered as a symbol of a political movement based on Islam so that using the hijab meant opposing the government. In Indonesia, the use of the hijab or head covering, also known as a *tudung*, has been traced since the beginning of the entry of Islamic influence into Indonesia. Its use as an identity and preference for Muslim clothing has also been used in general since the 1980s. This Muslim fashion entered the realm of fashion in the 1990s when mainstream designers specialized in the segmentation of Muslim clothing, although the numbers were still limited at that time. Heryanto (2018) mentioned that the Muslim fashion industry increased in the late 1990s. Although previously the hijab had been used, hijab has transformed into a fashion trend since the 1990s.

Modest wear in Indonesia in the 2010s decade

In the previous decade, the identification of women's clothing was a clothing that covered the body, did not show the user's curves or did not fit the body, and was attached to the character of Muslim clothing (and Muslim clothing, for women). However, in the 2010 period, this identification was known as the hijab style. The term hijab was attached to its users, so that the term "hijaber" was found, meaning hijab users, becoming a modern form of the term hijab or veil. In its development, the term hijab is also used in communities that are formed on the same vision or activities of their members who wear the hijab, whether they are designers, celebrities, bloggers, or other circles.

The year 2010 marked the popularity of Muslim fashion and its industry, Muslim fashion designers such as Nuniek Mawardi, Iva Lativah, Irna Mutiara, Jeny Tjahyawati, and new generations of Muslim fashion designers such as Dian Pelangi and Ria Miranda began to be widely known. The growing trend of Muslim fashion encouraged the emergence of Muslim fashion communities such as Hijabers, Hijabers Mom, and HijUp. At the same time, in that year, there were also efforts to make Indonesia the centre of world Muslim fashion by the Indonesia Islamic Fashion Consortium (IIFC) by organizing the Indonesia Islamic Fashion Fair (IIFF) in the form of a retail exhibition specifically for Muslim fashion every year before

the month of Ramadan (Midiani, et al. 2015). The event also provided an opportunity for novice designers to hold fashion shows because the event was more affordable in terms of financing and technical implementation, which was different from the previous period when designers had to hold a solo show and invited the media. The 2010s also marked the acceleration of technology, so that a style was more quickly captured.

The pioneering hijab movement occurred in the late 2000s to the early 2010s. At that time, the trend of using the hijab style, which was identified from the use of Muslim clothing, began to be widely known. In the 2010s decade, this style experienced an expansion of the term into modest, such as modest wear, modest look, and modest fashion. The term modest was used in Indonesia around 2015 when this fashion segmentation began to get special attention from fashion actors in Indonesia. Modest was more recognized as a theme or idea than as a concrete style or appearance. The 2010 period marked the beginning of the recognition of the hijab style as a sign of identity and also solidarity with fellow Muslims, which in the past was to show the compliance and sharia needs of its users.

The growth of modest fashion producers, either small industries, MSMEs, or manufacturing, was also promising. Simultaneously, this modest theme has also been developing. The emergence of the modest fashion theme did not immediately hit the mark at the beginning of the 2010 period. The modest appearance was not seen as a fashion statement but rather as an identity need. However, at that time, many young people were wearing Muslim clothing. The biggest impetus was the recognition of luxury brands that began to regard modest fashion as an important movement with a growing market segment.

The modest fashion trend, which was rife in several major countries in the world, influenced the world's big brands. One of them was the Fendi brand, which participated in creating the scarf printing collection (Dewi magazine, February 2012 edition). The modest trend itself was expected to emerge as a form of openness of Muslim women in various parts of the world to their religious identity, following forms of oppression against Muslims and the Muslim nation such as the United States aggression against Afghanistan and Sudan or Israel against Palestine. The use of hijab as a complement to Muslim clothing was increasingly accepted in various international circles. The Italian designer brand Dolce & Gabbana also launched hijab and abaya in its collection. The colours used are basic colours such as black and white with floral ornaments for its appeal (Dewi magazine, September 2015 edition).

In 2012, there was an acknowledgement of Muslim figures who were world-famous for their thoughts and works such as artwork, textiles, films, criticism in the form of dialogue, criticism in the form of songs, and others. The figures who received this recognition also fought for important issues such as women's rights, religious extremism, and racism in the fashion world, the President's policies, anti-violence, and discrimination. In line with this recognition, Dewi magazine in 2012 noted the emergence of the modest fashion phenomenon as an industry that many fashion labels worked on, indicated by many Islamic fashion events organized by world designers held at the international and national levels. The hallmark of this style was clothing that was closed, stylish, and polite in an eastern style implemented in the form of loose cut, piled up, and headgear clothing.

The Diachronic Timeline of Modest Wear in Indonesia

International Influences

- Wide recognizition on Muslim's achievement, Islamophobic degression
- The release of modest wear collection of International luxury brand
- Social media influencers as new trendsetter

2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019

Fashion Style in Indonesia

- Muslim wear as one of daily use clothes for Indonesian women
- The term of modest wear/modest fashion were initally used for Indonesia's fashion mainstream
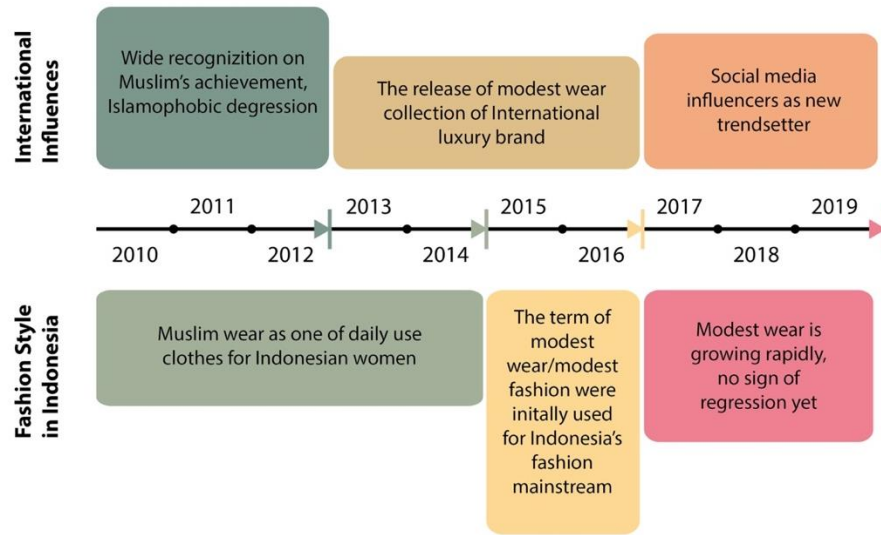- Modest wear is growing rapidly, no sign of regression yet

Figure 1 The diachronic timeline of modest wear in Indonesia in the period 2010s (Ratuannisa, 2021:260).

This modest wear as theme then became a long-term trend. If measured from the initial year of research in 2010, it had lasted for 9 years and even had its dynamics. At the Muffest (Muslim Fashion Festival) event, which is now under the Indonesia Fashion Chamber and the Creative Economy Agency (2015-2019), trend forecasting was launched as a result of the formulation of the Indonesia Trend Forecasting. The practice of these trends only developed in the area of fashion designers, show for certain events, or limited market segmentation that was not growing in public, which turned out to form its trend vortex. The trends compiled by the ITF were oriented from global trends to Indonesia, and vice versa. It was expected to be a typical Indonesian trend acknowledged worldwide.

In recent years, there has been an increasing awareness of modest fashion consumers as an important segment of the global fashion industry. The emergence of this awareness was initiated by Muslims who dress in Muslim clothing, which is now known as modest wear, after growing for several years. Since 2018, international labels such as Chanel, Christian Dior, Oscar De La Renta, John Galliano, and Yves Saint Laurent have released modest fashion collections (Dewi magazine, June 2018 edition).

The factors driving these trends are interconnected and interdependent characters, the following is an explanation of these factors:

1. World events

Based on the first factor, namely world events, the main related issue was after the 9/11 WTC incident, which became the beginning of the emergence of the term Islamophobia in the form of actions, practices, and discrimination against Muslims. Tariq and Hanan (2018) mentioned that "The Islamophobia process continued in three steps. The first was stereotyping, which happened when the tested hierarchy turned into meaning and knowledge of a person and became mainstream in people's consciousness. The second step was representation. In this step, any symbol signified the underlying meaning (hijab as a symbol of fundamentalism). The third step was semiology, which was an identification-building mechanism that highlights a symbol as part of social order. For example, hijab users (hijabi) were identified as perpetrators of terorism (Tariq and Hanan, 2018:129).

This incident of terrorism created widespread solidarity throughout the world. More and more Muslims were wearing the head covering. Its use varied according to fashion and depend on what was available in each country that affected the style, shape, and colour of the head covering. The specific reasons for wearing head coverings were not only for religious reasons. Some used it to gain acceptance and respect and other used it to conform to historical and social conventions. Some began to use it under pressure from the environment and family, but the more appropriate reason was because of the rules of the family and the local environment. Moreover, there were various types of use, some covering all or part of the head and other even covering the face.

Moving on to the decade of 2010, when stereotypes have begun to decrease, the acceptance of symbols was increasing. In the past, when there was a terrorism incident, people around the world would receive the news the next day. However, in the 2010s decade, the events of terrorist raids were presented live. Similarly, in fashion, the acceptance of modest fashion in one place could easily affected the same acceptance in other parts of the world. Likes, dislikes, sympathy, and antipathy towards a piece of information could be conveyed directly to the source of the information. Communication and information technology, especially the rapid development of internet, has encouraged various conveniences to be obtained. Information could be conveyed from the source to the recipient through media. This media represents the sophistication of ICT so that receiving information was no longer in a matter of hours, days, weeks but was already a matter of seconds. This allowed information related to events in one part of the world to be obtained quickly by people in other parts of the world.

2. Technology Innovation

Factors influencing trends cannot be separated from each other. ICT development factors are not only a medium but also part of the world event. "Freedom of speech and press that was suppressed before is now actively mediating storytelling from other parts of the world; making the exchange of knowledge and information run fast and making changes in whole aspects of human life happen very quick. The rapid increase of hijab is a consequence of globalization that brings together aspects of religion, politics, economy, social, and culture as intersecting subjects contributing to the development of hijab in Indonesia (Zinira, 2017:41)".

The factor of technological innovation in textile production was also the driving force for the development of the modest theme. Production that was getting faster, more diverse, and modern enabled higher diversification of fashion styles. The technical specifications required in modest wear were quite specific. Thus, the high market demand was directly proportional to the technology developed. An example is one innovation in inner hijab fashion items using elastic materials and various colours. Materials for all brands from international brands to local brands made in the home industry were supplied by large industries. The need for special material specifications, such as materials that was soft and cool on the skin, materials with high fluid absorption capacity, or anti-water splash materials, encouraged the industry to increasingly develop technology to fulfil it. The need for materials with distinct specifications for fashion items, which were the basic appearance of modest wear, was also affected by the ease of information received by the public. Therefore, the idea emerging from technological innovations were the exposure of modest theme and the role of technology in mediating these innovations to reach fashion consumers in particular and the wider community in general.

3. Social Change

In line with the exposure and mediation of modest themes by ICT development, social changes emerged due to the existence of virtual forms of interaction that allowed modest themes to be widely known. The image of a modern and flexible Muslim woman was popular on social media (Yuswohady, 2019). It was different from the previous stereotyped image of Muslim women, which is closed and conservative. The formation of a hijab user's community based on common interests, hobbies, or

lifestyles was one of the implementations of this openness. Social media mediated the circulation of visual information related to modest themes and provided role models for followers to imitate. The modest theme with a good, polite, and simple image presented more moderately on social media, indirectly forms a role model to be imitated.

4. Economic conditions

Economic conditions influencing the introduction of the modest theme in Indonesia were new marketing and advertising patterns via the internet, both through social media and e-commerce. Social media such as Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter, which originally accommodated friendship networks, served as storefronts for advertisers and producers, including producers of modest theme clothing. Dissemination of information and marketing methods had become an effective marketing and had proven to result in an instant increase in sales. The concept of buzz-marketing through influencers on social media was carried out by introducing a product through personal reviews, photos of outfits of the day, and testimonials. It was considered more effective than conventional advertising methods such as advertisements in print or electronic media.

Since the term hijab fashion was better known than modest, the commodification of this style occurred, even for disposable products such as hijab shampoo, hijab detergent, hijab masks, and hijab washing machines. Meanwhile, the term "modest", meaning polite or simple, was more acceptable and not tendentious towards Islam. The identification of modest wear was Muslim clothing products or closed clothing intended for both consumers who use head coverings and those who did not. This new form of marketing also made home-scale local producers or MSMEs more likely to grow since the marketing costs was minimum. Direct transactions occurred between producers and consumers. This form of marketing also made modest theme clothing commodified, one of which was by the government. This economic condition then influenced the world of entertainment and fashion pioneers.

One of the supporters for awareness of Muslim friendly products was marked in 2014, which recorded the recognition of halal products. According to Fitriati (2014), the rapid growth of the world's Muslim population had an impact on the development of the market for halal products. The Muslim market segment is now a giant tent that is increasingly attracting world attention. Research results from leading research institutions such as Pew Research Center, Gallup, Ogilvy, and JWT showed that the Muslim market share is the market share of the future. The potential growth of the Muslim population until 2030 is 35%. Thus, this industry is very promising in Indonesia and the world (Wajidi, 2018).

The need and potential of the modest theme were captured and accommodated by the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Kemenparekraf) in 2015, the potential market for modest fashion was prospective to be developed. Driven by widespread recognition of the modest fashion market, even by international fashion houses and luxury brands, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (in 2015 became BeKraf) proclaimed Indonesia as the centre of the world's modest fashion in 2020. This program is also supported by other ministries, namely the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Industry.

5. The world of entertainment on the theme of modest

In Indonesia, in the 2010s period, there were films with the theme of da'wah or Islamic religious symbols and electronic cinema (*sinetron*) on Indonesian local television watched by the majority of Indonesian audiences. In the decade of the 2010s, many films raised the theme of Islam even though it was not a thematic soap opera in the month of Ramadan. Figures on television, such as in advertisements, news readers, and informational programs, which were originally seen without a religious identity turned into a hijaber figure. Islamic religious events became popular television programs, which were presented not only routine at dawn but also at main entertainment times. The

factor of the entertainment world was also closely related to the factor of fashion pioneers who came from and worked in the entertainment world.

6. Fashion leader on modest theme

In the fashion leader factor, internationally, this modest theme began to be accepted when there was sympathy and recognition for Muslims. Journalists, models, and participants in talent search shows on television had become new figures in recognizing the image of Muslims who were modern and adaptive to changing times. In Indonesia itself, during this period, many Muslim influencers did not only come from celebrities, but also came from modest wear entrepreneurs, activists of the *hijaber* community (the term for hijab users), Muslim fashion models who wore the hijab, and even modest wear users who used the hijab and become a blogger or vlogger. It was these circles who constructed a new image of modern and fashionable Muslim women, changing the image of the hijab no longer as a wrapper or confinement of a Muslim woman, but more as a lifestyle choice.

In line with da'wah content on television, fashion pioneers no longer came from the entertainment world, but also from Islamic religious figures, such as *Da'i* who regularly appeared on television shows or off the screen. These figures encouraged the idea of modest in terms of identity to spread to the community. However, on the other hand, they also showed the commodification of religious content as public entertainment content. The next development of the modest theme was the government's acknowledgement of this theme, including the Creative Economy Agency, trend forecaster and researcher BD+A Design (which later merged into Indonesia Trend Forecasting) conducting special trend readings for the modest category.

Identification of modest wear in Indonesia

The cycle of international fashion shows is more consistent with the changing seasons such as fall/winter or spring/winter and spring/summer or autumn/summer. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, there is a tendency for Indonesian people to buy clothes for Eid, which eventually becomes a consideration for the fashion show and expo organizers to hold events close to that moment. However, the celebration of Eid al-Fitr follows the Hijri calendar, which shifts about ten days each year. Thus, it is possible for fashion shows and expos to shift as well. Concerning fashion trends in Indonesia, a collection is introduced not necessarily according to the season of its introduction, but often follows the time of Eid, with clothing that is not specific to Muslim clothes but is appropriate with the norms of modesty and also the Eid event.

Derived from the history of its emergence, the trend driver of modest wear is a specific style. However, when viewed from the clothing form, what distinguishes the main clothing element is the limitation of the modest wear on the length of the clothing. The core clothing of the modest wear usually consists of clothing which length is between midi and maxi which covers most of the body (from the neck to the wrists, covers the waist and the bottom closes to the ankles), rarely found in the form of mini clothes, especially for tops. Even if there is mini clothing, it is usually part of mix and match style and does not stand alone. For example, a crop top is used as an outer and does not directly show the exposed part of the stomach as a crop top is used. Modest wear could have a trapeze silhouette with a round neck, slick sleeves, most of it has midi length (under waist or even knees). It could also show a basic full-length dress/*abaya*/*gamis*, in 2010s flare full-length dress trend aroused, flare full-length dress, empire silhouette, bishop sleeves, nehru collar, and button-down, compared to the basic straight dress, has a more classic image and a more formal design. The culottes as bottom clothes, which serve various functions as formal wear, casual wear or an office look and various types of skirts, both with straight silhouettes, half-A, A silhouettes, and umbrella skirts, became a trend in this period.

One of the attractions of the modest theme is the many mixes and match clothes. In one look, you can only use one-piece clothing such as a full-length dress on the sleeves and body length or also called a gamis or abaya. However, it can also consist of two, three, or four clothes in one look. Initially,

one of the keys to the modest wear that is easily recognizable is the complementary elements or fashion accessories, namely head coverings with various terms: hijab, veil, hijab, veil, niqab, bergo, and others.

During the research period, there were changes in the style and type of clothing and the most prominent was the styling of the headscarf or hijab and also its functional complements, namely bandana, inner or in regional terms referred to as *ciput*. Starting from the *ciput* which is shaped like a skullcap, which has different pad thicknesses, has a beak that makes the folds of the veil on the face not attached directly to the face, the type of "ninja" ciput which is wrapped around the face and neck, and finally various knitted *ciputs*, one of which is with anti-chubby innovation. Hijab users are now more expressive in colour choices, and others. Thus, the most powerful clothing in Indonesia in this period is Muslim clothing, which is now changing the term to modest wear so that all people can use it. Its secular nature is synonymous with fashion. However, since the term Muslim fashion or hijab style has become a modest look, the scope of this modest wear has been expanded to full-covered and loose clothing.

The identification of fashion styles that emerge from the various modest themes, a modest appearance is a benchmark for the image of the whole outfit, the modest appearance of the theme itself can characterize other styles. It can characterize the classic style of monochromatic colour choices but can also characterize the punk style when there is an element of tartan, or a leather jacket is worn. The appearance of a modest theme can also become athleisure when users use sportswear fashion items such as tracksuits and sneakers, jumpers and trainers, or jackets and leggings. This becomes an assumption that the modest theme is more appropriately attached to the identity of its users who wear a head covering or hijab. Then, for this choice, the clothing preference is a clothing that covers the whole body.

CONCLUSION

A new trend or fashion style can be accepted when the idea is appropriate and can be internalized. One of the filtrations of the internalization process is Indonesian culture. The modest theme is not an influence from outside Indonesia. Muslim clothing and the norms of modesty in clothing have existed and been applied in Indonesia for a long time. Modest wear was originally better known as Muslim fashion in Indonesia. Indonesian people have been wearing Muslim clothing long before this trend existed. One of the factors is that the majority of Indonesian people are Muslims. When major events in the world related to terrorism occur and other phenomena that lead to Islamophobia or anti-Islamophobia, the emergence of the hijab as the identity of Muslim women in the world gets the spotlight but becomes something that is commonplace and is no longer attached to the image of the fundamentalist religion of Islam.

Regarding modest wear, the acceptance of this style is related to the need for clothing – the function of clothing is not only for physiological fulfilment but also for identity needs. For example, when a consumer wears the hijab for some time, it may just be a trend that when one day modest fashion does not apply, then he or she no longer wears that dress. Often, if someone already wears a head covering, most people will wear it continuously, this can mean that modest wear has fulfilled the basic function as Muslim clothing. However, it is also found that the use of head coverings is only temporary for a fashion trend, does not last long so that the commitment to this modest choice becomes a mere trend at one time or someone's identity is not represented by using the hijab.

In contrast to fashion style which appears as a trend in response to the phenomena of the times, modest wear is a form of generalization of Muslim clothing as the cultural identity of its users. On the trend driver factor, Kim, et al (2011) only mentioned the sub-culture and not the culture. Meanwhile in Indonesia, the country with the largest Muslim population in the world, wearing Muslim clothing is not only a form of obedience related to *aqidah*, but Muslim clothing is also more easily accepted due to cultural influences in Indonesian society. This is also related to the beginning of the emergence of Islam which is more accepted with a determination that is more social in nature. The generalization of terms and meanings in modest fashion is important so that the acceptance of the term Muslim fashion becomes

wider, both inside and outside Indonesia. The term Muslim fashion has a narrow and tendentious meaning towards certain beliefs, while modest is related to appropriateness or appropriateness which is a widespread consensus. This generalization is also considered as a prospective formulation for Indonesia, especially as an opportunity to advance the Indonesian economy in terms of the fashion industry internationally.

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