

NEGOTIATING MODESTY IN INDONESIA: MUSLIM WOMEN INFLUENCERS AND DIGITAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP ON INSTAGRAM

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the Faculty of
Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



by:

Asya Dwina Luthfia

01232310003

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

DEPOK

2025

NEGOTIATING MODESTY IN INDONESIA: MUSLIM WOMEN INFLUENCERS AND DIGITAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP ON INSTAGRAM

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the Faculty of
Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



by:

Asya Dwina Luthfia

01232310003

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

DEPOK

2025

ABSTRACT

Asya Dwina Luthfia

01232310003

asya.luthfia@uiii.ac.id

Islamic Studies

Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia

This study examines how young Muslim women influencers in Indonesia transform modest fashion into a form of digital entrepreneurship on Instagram. Focusing on two case studies—@denaahaura, who runs the brand Minimslm, and @sashfir, founder of Lafiye—it explores how modesty is interpreted, styled, and commodified in visually distinct yet equally strategic ways. Drawing on digital ethnography and visual analysis, the research shows how belief, branding, and business are entangled in the everyday labor of self-presentation. Dena presents modesty as a fixed moral stance, rooted in da’wah affiliations and political values, and embeds this position into the architecture of her brand. In contrast, Sashfir maintains a modest personal image while allowing her brand to engage a broader visual spectrum—where modesty is ambient, aesthetically flexible, and shaped by market sensibilities. By situating these practices within the context of Indonesia’s Muslim-majority digital culture, the study contributes to existing debates on modest fashion, entrepreneurial femininity and hijaber respectability, while also challenging Global North-centric narratives by foregrounding Southeast Asian perspectives on influencer labor, visual piety, and commercial agency.

Keywords: *Digital Entrepreneurship, Indonesia, Instagram, Modest Fashion, Muslim Women Influencers.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	ii
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY	iii
ANTI-PLAGIARISM STATEMENT	iv
THESIS ATTESTATION	v
THESIS DEFENSE APPROVAL	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
METHODS	7
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	8
Muslim Women Influencers: From Frivolity to Digital Demand	8
Muslim Women Entrepreneurship in the Digital Hustle: Between Flexibility, Faith, and Invisible Support	11
Dressing Modesty: Religion, Consumption, and Cultural Tension	15
Personal Branding and Ideological Expression: Case Studies of Denahaura and Sashfir	17
Case 1: Denahaura	17
Dressing the Da'wah: Minimsim and the Fashioning of Belief	22
Case 2: Sashfir – Soft Islam, Subtle Capitalism	25
LAFIYE: Between Aesthetics, Modesty, and Branding That Is Never Neutral	30
Two Ways of Framing Modesty: From Ideology to Branding	35
CONCLUSION	35
REFERENCES	37

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Instagram Account of Dena Haura J'octaria (@denaahaura).....	17
Figure 2. Instagram Feed of @denaahaura	18
Figure 3. Three Videos of @denaahaura Inviting Public Awareness and Vocal Solidarity on Palestine	19
Figure 4. Collaborative Posts of @denaahaura	20
Figure 5. @denaahaura Citing Quranic texts on her posts.....	21
Figure 6. Minimslm's bio, linktree, and feeds	22
Figure 7. Visual reframing of modesty and minimalism in MInimslm's product	23
Figure 8. Fashioning Resistance: MINIMSLM's Visual Campaign for Palestine.....	24
Figure 9. Bio and Broadcast Channel Instagram of @sashfir	25
Figure 10. Feeds and one of Palestine's highlights on @sashfir account	27
Figure 11. Brand Affiliating Posts of @sashfir.....	28
Figure 12. Silent Branding of Lafiye on @sashfir's Instagram	29
Figure 13. Feeds and Bio of @lafiye Instagram's account	30
Figure 14. Sav Series of @lafiye	31
Figure 15. Rowane Series of @lafiye	33
Figure 16. ODE Series of @lafiye	34

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is witnessing the growth of young Muslim influencers, especially women, on social media. Through visual storytelling, these platforms make it easier for them to negotiate their identities, challenge stereotypes,¹ share religious messages (*da'wah*), discuss piety, and—most notably—run businesses.² More broadly in Southeast Asia, Muslim women's social media practices—particularly on Instagram—have attracted scholarly attention.³ Instagram's visual nature lets users be playful and express themselves freely. At the same time, however, it shapes certain social norms that actually encourage behaviors that differ from the common norms of the culture they live in.⁴ Yet, these behaviors are still seen as adaptive, because they can offer a fairly sustainable way of living.⁵ These developments demonstrate how Muslim women, especially those in Muslim-majority societies, have benefited significantly from fast growing of digital technology.⁶ Compared to conventional digital tools like websites, social media is more affordable, easier to use, and offers more direct access to audiences. These qualities make it especially appealing for those looking to start a business.⁷ For women in particular, its

¹ Faiza Hirji, "Claiming Our Space: Muslim Women, Activism, and Social Media," *Islamophobia Studies Journal* 6, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.13169/islastudj.6.1.0078>; Inaash Islam, "Redefining# YourAverageMuslim Woman: Muslim Female Digital Activism on Social Media," *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 12, no. 2 (2019): 213–33.

² Andina Dwifatma and Annisa R. Beta, "The 'Funny Line Veil' and the Mediated Political Subjectivity of Muslim Women in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Communication* 34, no. 3 (2024): 284–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2024.2320900>; H. Hartono, "Virtually (Im)Moral: Pious Indonesian Muslim Women's Use of Facebook," *Asian Studies Review* 42 (January 2018): 39–52, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1407290>; Eva F. Nisa, "Creative and Lucrative Da'wa: The Visual Culture of Instagram amongst Female Muslim Youth in Indonesia," *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 5, nos. 1–2 (2018): 68–99, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22142312-12340085>; Emma Baulch and Alila Pramiyanti, "Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman," *Social Media*, 2018; Melly Maulin Purwaningwulan et al., "The Existence of Social Media as a Promotional Media in The Hijab Image Revolution in Indonesia," *Library Philosophy and Practice*, April 1, 2019, 1.

³ Annisa R Beta, "Hijabers: How Young Urban Muslim Women Redefine Themselves in Indonesia," *International Communication Gazette* 76, nos. 4–5 (2014): 377–89, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048514524103>; J Patrick Williams and M Nasir Kamaludeen, "Muslim Girl Culture and Social Control in Southeast Asia: Exploring the Hijabista and Hijabster Phenomena," *Crime, Media, Culture* 13, no. 2 (2017): 199–216, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659016687346>; Nisa, "Creative and Lucrative Da'wa"; Baulch and Pramiyanti, "Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman."

⁴ Farah Hasan, "Muslim Instagram: Eternal Youthfulness and Cultivating Deen," *Religions* 13, no. 7 (July 15, 2022): 11, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13070658>.

⁵ Bennett M Berger, "On the Youthfulness of Youth Cultures," *Social Research*, JSTOR, 1963, 330.

⁶ Eva F Nisa, "Internet and Muslim Women," in *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives* (Springer, 2019), 1.

⁷ Sonia Camacho and Andrés Barrios, "Teleworking and Technostress: Early Consequences of a COVID-19 Lockdown," *Cognition, Technology & Work* 24, no. 3 (2022): 441–57.

accessibility and flexibility open up space to compete more fairly with men in the world of entrepreneurship.⁸

Despite this growing attention to modest fashion as a global industry, less has been said about the everyday actors who drive its visibility and commercial appeal—especially in Indonesia. As Boateng et al. (2025) show in their bibliometric review, research on influencers, social media, and entrepreneurship is still dominated by scholars based in the Global North.⁹ Indonesia is mentioned just once—through Baulch and Pramiyanti (2018) again—showing how the region remains on the sidelines of global knowledge production around the influencer economy. Some recent studies are starting to fill that gap.¹⁰ Poulis et al. (2024), for instance, explore how religion, fashion, and branding interact in hijabi consumer culture.¹¹ They offer useful insights into how Muslim consumers negotiate between religious values and market trends—but say little about the influencers themselves: the ones doing the everyday work of making the brand happen, and trying to stay both faithful and profitable at once.

This study focuses on young, rising Muslim influencers in Indonesia—not well-known celebrities—to examine not only how they present modest aesthetics, but also how they transform these aesthetics into marketable products, particularly on Instagram. I select two influencers with contrasting personal and ideological backgrounds. Dena Haura J’octaria (@denaahaura) is a married woman with a visibly Islamic image who runs multiple *syar’i*-based businesses, including modest fashion, skincare, and a bookshop, and is closely affiliated with conservative *da’wah* networks. In contrast, Fira Assegaf—known as Sashfir (@sashfir)—is unmarried, promotes a clean minimalist aesthetic, and leads a successful pashmina brand while engaging in lifestyle-based affiliate marketing. These differences are significant, as they shape how each influencer defines modesty, communicates piety, and navigates visibility and branding within a market-driven platform.

Building on these observations, this study examines how young Muslim women influencers in Indonesia—across different ideological and personal trajectories—construct modest fashion as digital entrepreneurship, and why these

⁸ Maura McAdam et al., “Digital Girl: Cyberfeminism and the Emancipatory Potential of Digital Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies,” *Small Business Economics* 55, no. 2 (2020): 349–62; Girja Sahu and Urvashi Bhamboo, “Social Commerce for Success: Evaluating Its Effectiveness in Empowering the Next Generation of Entrepreneurs,” *International Journal for Multidisciplinary Research* 5, no. 3 (2023): 1–7.

⁹ Richard Boateng et al., *AI and the Creative Economy: Transforming Content Creation and Influencer Entrepreneurship* (CRC Press, 2025).

¹⁰ Baulch and Pramiyanti, “Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman.”

¹¹ Athanasios Poulis et al., “Branding Muslim Hijabi Fashion: Exploring Influencer Trends and Impact,” *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, ahead of print, September 27, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1108/CCIJ-02-2024-0024>.

differences matter for understanding how piety and commerce are negotiated, contested, or normalized on visual platforms.

I argue that these women are not just navigating modest fashion trends but actively shaping how modesty is defined, visualized, and sold in digital spaces. Their different personal and ideological positions—married versus unmarried, *da'wah*-oriented versus lifestyle-focused—influence how they perform piety and approach entrepreneurship. Dena treats modest fashion as part of a moral obligation, closely tied to Islamic activism, while Sashfir frames it as a matter of taste and aesthetic control. These differences manifest in how they style models, curate visual tones, target specific markets, and define what counts as “modest.” By tracing how belief shapes branding, I show that modesty, in this context, becomes a flexible asset—mobilized not only for religious expression but also for business strategy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Several studies show that Muslim women around the world engage entrepreneurial activities, both digital and non-digital, while simultaneously negotiating the social and religious boundaries. Khan et al. (2022), for instance, investigate how social engagement on digital platforms might foster young Muslim women's entrepreneurial learning and innovation.¹² According to Sakai and Anoraga (2020), Muslim middle-class women in Indonesia use social media for small-scale digital self-employment, frequently integrating business ventures into religious and personal spheres.¹³ Sakai and Fauzia (2022) investigate how Muslim women in Southeast Asia use entrepreneurship to negotiate gender norms, societal expectations, and religious beliefs as they explore the rise of mompreneurs as a middle-class Islamic reaction to modernity.¹⁴

In more constrained settings like conflict zones, Althahathini et al. (2021)¹⁵ and Tlaiss & McAdam (2021)¹⁶ illustrate how Islam—interpreted through a feminist lens—can serve both as a tool for survival and as a source of agency.

¹² Mohammad Furqan Khan et al., “Learning and Creativity in Virtual Communities: Nurturing Entrepreneurial Intentions of Muslim Women,” *Management and Labour Studies* 47, no. 4 (2022): 483–501.

¹³ Minako Sakai and Bhirawa Anoraga, “Education, Digital Enterprise and Islam in the Indonesian Modern Embedded Economy,” in *Muslim Women in the Economy* (Routledge, 2020).

¹⁴ Minako Sakai and Amelia Fauzia, *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*, Gender, Development and Social Change (Springer International Publishing, 2022), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-05954-4>.

¹⁵ Doaa Althalathini et al., “The Impact of Islamic Feminism in Empowering Women's Entrepreneurship in Conflict Zones: Evidence from Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 178, no. 1 (2022): 39–55.

¹⁶ Hayfaa A Tlaiss and Maura McAdam, “Islam, Arab Women's Entrepreneurship and the Construal of Success,” *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 27, no. 3 (2021): 821–44; Hayfaa A Tlaiss and Maura McAdam, “Unexpected Lives: The Intersection of Islam and Arab Women's Entrepreneurship,” *Journal of Business Ethics* 171, no. 2 (2021): 253–72.

Others, like Mitra and Basit (2019)¹⁷, focus on the role of social and faith-based networks in shaping business decisions among second-generation Muslim women in the UK. But there's also a different side: Avnimelech and Zelekha (2023)¹⁸ point out that hierarchical religious structures, including Sunni Islam, can reinforce gendered barriers to entrepreneurial access. However, the ways in which Muslim women negotiate these dynamics also vary by context—including in Southeast Asia, where digital platforms are deeply embedded in everyday religious and commercial practices.

In recent years, the topics of social media, influencers, and entrepreneurship have become increasingly discussed in academia. This is closely related to how people's communication and business practices have changed significantly in the digital era.¹⁹ Due to the enormous transformation of traditional business models brought about by platforms such as Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok,²⁰ a new breed of entrepreneurs known as social media influencers has emerged.²¹ They leverage their online presence and number of followers to build, promote, and sustain their businesses.²²

Furthermore, Duffy and Hund (2015) show how influencers craft the image of the ideal woman—someone who is passionate about her work, lives glamorously, and maintains a picture-perfect feed—while obscuring the labor, discipline, and capital behind the scenes.²³ Abidin (2016) flips the idea that selfies are frivolous; to her, they are labor. She calls this “subversive frivolity,” where triviality is repurposed, styled, and monetized.²⁴ Gómez Cruz and Thornham (2015) urge us to stop reading selfies as mirrors of the self, arguing instead that they are socio-

¹⁷ Jay Mitra and Asma Basit, “Personal Networks and Growth Aspirations: A Case Study of Second-Generation, Muslim, Female Entrepreneurs,” *Small Business Economics* 56, no. 1 (2021): 121–43.

¹⁸ Gil Avnimelech and Yaron Zelekha, “Religion and the Gender Gap in Entrepreneurship,” *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal* 19, no. 2 (2023): 629–65.

¹⁹ Yao Wu et al., “Consumer Resource Integration and Service Innovation in Social Commerce: The Role of Social Media Influencers,” *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 50, no. 3 (2022): 429–59.

²⁰ Anand Jhavar et al., “The Emergence of Virtual Influencers: A Shift in the Influencer Marketing Paradigm,” *Young Consumers* 24, no. 4 (2023): 468–84.

²¹ Susie Khamis et al., “Self-Branding, ‘Micro-Celebrity’ and the Rise of Social Media Influencers,” *Celebrity Studies* 8, no. 2 (2017): 191–208; David C Giles and Lucy Edwards, “Instagram and the Rise of the Social Media ‘Influencer,’” in *Twenty-First Century Celebrity: Fame in Digital Culture* (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2018).

²² Gillian Brooks et al., “Influencer Celebrification: How Social Media Influencers Acquire Celebrity Capital,” *Journal of Advertising* 50, no. 5 (2021): 528–47; Abdus-Samad Temitope Olanrewaju et al., “The Influence of Social Media on Entrepreneur Motivation and Marketing Strategies in a Developing Country,” Springer, 2018, 355–64.

²³ Brooke Erin Duffy and Emily Hund, “‘Having It All’ on Social Media: Entrepreneurial Femininity and Self-Branding among Fashion Bloggers,” *Social Media+ Society* 1, no. 2 (2015): 2056305115604337.

²⁴ Crystal Abidin, “‘Are not These Just Young, Rich Women Doing Vain Things Online?’: Influencer Selfies as Subversive Frivolity,” *Social Media+ Society* 2, no. 2 (2016): 2056305116641342.

technical practices embedded in wider digital logics.²⁵ Meanwhile, van Driel and Dumitrica (2021) show how influencers increasingly navigate the tension between seeming authentic and staying attractive to brands—resulting in the homogenization of content.²⁶ In short, what appears to be personal expression is in fact deeply entangled with market demands and algorithmic pressures.

Several studies have examined how social media influencers function as technology-mediated socialization agents—they shape how people think, feel, and act as consumers.²⁷ For instance, Jegham and Bouzaabia (2022) found that young people rely on Instagram influencers and peer recommendations for beauty and fashion purchases, indicating that social media plays a big role in their purchasing decisions.²⁸ Fashion entrepreneurs and modest fashion brands are fully aware of this dynamic. As a result, many of their marketing strategies often involve collaborating with influencers—not only to promote their products, but also to shape public perception and drive engagement.²⁹ Unlike conventional celebrities who are known for their professional talents, social media influencers gain recognition through large follower bases on digital platforms³⁰ and their ability to engage with their followers regularly while sharing these interests in daily lives.³¹

In this broader landscape of influencer culture, Muslim women have carved out a distinct presence—especially through the visual grammar of the hijab. The hijab has emerged as both a visible marker of Muslim women's identity³² and a medium through which they participate in online activities. It has therefore been the subject of extensive scholarly attention in previous research.³³ Many of these

²⁵ Edgar Gómez Cruz and Helen Thornham, “Selfies beyond Self-Representation: The (Theoretical) f(r)ictions of a Practice,” *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 7, no. 1 (2015): 28073.

²⁶ Loes Van Driel and Delia Dumitrica, “Selling Brands While Staying ‘Authentic’: The Professionalization of Instagram Influencers,” *Convergence* 27, no. 1 (2021): 66–84.

²⁷ George P Moschis and Gilbert A Churchill Jr, “Consumer Socialization: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis,” *Journal of Marketing Research* 15, no. 4 (1978): 599–609; Lubna Nafees et al., “Can Social Media Influencer (SMI) Power Influence Consumer Brand Attitudes? The Mediating Role of Perceived SMI Credibility,” *Digital Business* 1, no. 2 (2021): 100008; Rachata Runtrakulchai, “The Study of Influencer Marketing Among Generation Z in Thailand: Types of Contents, Frequency, and Platforms,” *IEEE*, 2021, 64–67.

²⁸ Salma Jegham and Rym Bouzaabia, “Fashion Influencers on Instagram: Determinants and Impact of Opinion Leadership on Female Millennial Followers,” *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 21, no. 5 (2022): 1002–17, <https://doi.org/10.1002/cb.2050>.

²⁹ Melly Maulin Purwaningwulan et al., “The Uniqueness of Influencer Marketing in the Indonesian Muslim Fashion Industry on Digital Marketing Communication Era,” Atlantis Press, 2018, 114–19.

³⁰ Khamis et al., “Self-Branding, ‘Micro-Celebrity’ and the Rise of Social Media Influencers.”

³¹ Abidin, “‘Are not These Just Young, Rich Women Doing Vain Things Online?’: Influencer Selfies as Subversive Frivolity.”

³² Miriam Cooke, “The Muslimwoman,” *Contemporary Islam* 1 (2007): 139–54.

³³ Heather Marie Akou, “Interpreting Islam through the Internet: Making Sense of Hijab,” *Contemporary Islam* 4, no. 3 (2010): 331–46; Elif Kavakci and Camille R Kraeplin, “Religious Beings in Fashionable Bodies: The Online Identity Construction of *Hijabi* Social Media Personalities,” *Media, Culture & Society* 39, no. 6 (2017): 850–68, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716679031>; Baulch and Pramiyanti, “Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman”; Zerrin Karakavak and Tuğba Özbölük, “When Modesty Meets Fashion: How Social Media and Influencers Change the Meaning of Hijab,”

studies take the form of case studies, focusing on how specific micro-celebrities appear and operate on visually driven social media platforms – such as Instagram. Moreover, hijab is heavily commercialised on it, as sentiments of Islamic piety shift from anti-fashion to be more commodified and trend-driven.³⁴ Terms like "*Hijabista*"³⁵ or "*Hijabers*"³⁶ have emerged to describe young Muslim women—especially in urban settings—who experiment with fashionable ways of hijab as an expression of faith, creativity, and identity.³⁷ Still, the hijab represents only one aspect of a broader shift, in which modest fashion emerges not merely as a religious marker but as a style-conscious, market-driven practice shaped by commercial and cultural dynamics.

However, this study moves beyond the hijab as a single object and instead situates it within the broader landscape of modest fashion. Lewis (2017) argues that modest fashion is not just about clothing style, but also about one's attitude toward how the body is covered and presented.³⁸ Scholars have observed that the emergence of modest fashion is deeply tied to broader socio-cultural transformations. Also known as Islamic or halal fashion, modest fashion encompasses a wide variety of styles in terms of colour, pattern, silhouette, and design.³⁹ As a rapidly expanding consumer niche,⁴⁰ this industry has recently drawn increased interest from global fashion actors.⁴¹ Even it continues to grow steadily and has shown remarkable resilience in the face of challenges like the COVID-19 pandemic.⁴² Undoubtedly, as the world's largest Muslim-majority country, Indonesia is considered one of the key markets for this industry.⁴³

Journal of Islamic Marketing 14, no. 11 (2023): 2907–27, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-05-2021-0152>; Poulis et al., "Branding Muslim Hijabi Fashion."

³⁴ Carla Jones, "Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia," *Fashion Theory* 11, nos. 2–3 (2007): 211–31, <https://doi.org/10.2752/136270407X202763>.

³⁵ Jan Blommaert and Piia Varis, "Culture as Accent: The Cultural Logic of Hijabistas," *Semiotica* 2015, no. 203 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.1515/sem-2014-0067>; Mohamed M. Mostafa and Alshaimaa Bahgat Alanadoly, "Profiling and Clustering the Global Market for Hijabistas: A Twitter Text Analytics Approach," *International Journal of Information Technology* 16, no. 4 (2024): 2425–37, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41870-023-01616-w>.

³⁶ Baulch and Pramiyanti, "Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman."

³⁷ Kavakci and Kraeplin, "Religious Beings in Fashionable Bodies."

³⁸ Reina Lewis, "Modest Fashion and Anti-Fashion," in *The Routledge International Handbook to Veils and Veiling*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2017), 139, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315613734-11>.

³⁹ Jones, "Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia."

⁴⁰ Siti Hasnah Hassan and Harmimi Harun, "Factors Influencing Fashion Consciousness in Hijab Fashion Consumption among Hijabistas," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 7, no. 4 (2016): 476–94, <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-10-2014-0064>.

⁴¹ Karakavak and Özbölük, "When Modesty Meets Fashion."

⁴² Natasya Fitriani Putri et al., "Analysing the Modest Fashion Market: An Empirical Study of e-Commerce Best-Selling Products," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 16, no. 3 (2025): 841–69, <https://doi.org/10.1108/jima-03-2024-0142>.

⁴³ Jiwon Shin et al., "Between Fashion and Piety: Hijab Influencers and Religious Communities in the Consumer Socialization of Indonesian Muslims," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, SAGE Publications Inc, July 31, 2023, 4, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X231191238>.

The rise of modest fashion as a visible, marketable, and deeply negotiated practice on social media cannot be separated from the broader transformation of Islam into a public and commercial force in post-Suharto Indonesia. As Kitiarsa (2008) argues, religious commodification today goes beyond mere commercialization: it involves turning Islamic values into marketable moral frameworks, allowing religious ideology and consumerism to reinforce each other.⁴⁴ Everyday practices—such as dressing modestly or consuming halal products—acquire a sacred aura when imbued with symbolic meaning by their practitioners. Building on this, Hasan (2009) notes that this entanglement of piety and market logic has created new economic niches where Islamic goods, symbols, and lifestyles thrive.⁴⁵ Fealy (2008) further highlights how, since the late 1990s, Indonesian Muslims have actively expressed their faith through not just ritual acts, but through consumer choices—from Islamic banking and herbal drinks to Islamic travel and clothing.⁴⁶ These shifts are part of a wider emergence of what Fealy and White (2008) call “expressing personal piety,” a trend shaped by urbanisation, digital technology, and increased access to public platforms.⁴⁷ In this context, modest fashion becomes more than a dress code—it is a form of visible religiosity that fits smoothly within the expanding Islamic marketplace.

METHODS

This research used digital ethnographic approaches⁴⁸ and qualitative content analysis.⁴⁹ Digital ethnography, as defined by Boellstorff (2020), adapts traditional ethnographic methods—such as observation and contextual interpretation—to online environments.⁵⁰ Since Instagram is a visual and image-driven platform, it offers a relevant site to observe how young Muslim women perform modest fashion and build entrepreneurial identity through curated self-presentation. I did not

⁴⁴ Pattana Kitiarsa, ed., *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*, Routledge Studies in Asian Religion and Philosophy (Routledge, 2008).

⁴⁵ Noorhaidi Hasan, “The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency, and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere,” *Contemporary Islam* 3, no. 3 (2009): 242, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-009-0096-9>.

⁴⁶ Greg Fealy, “2. Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia,” in 2. *Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia* (ISEAS Publishing, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812308528-006>.

⁴⁷ Greg Fealy and Sally White, “Introduction,” in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. Greg Fealy and Sally White, Books and Monographs (ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2008), Cambridge Core, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/3B22445DF5088698740188D295D0C576>.

⁴⁸ Dhiraj Murthy, “Digital Ethnography: An Examination of the Use of New Technologies for Social Research,” *Sociology* 42, no. 5 (2008): 837–55; Sarah Pink et al., “Tactile Digital Ethnography: Researching Mobile Media through the Hand,” *Mobile Media & Communication* 4, no. 2 (2016): 237–51.

⁴⁹ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Sage publications, 2018).

⁵⁰ Tom Boellstorff, “Rethinking Digital Anthropology,” in *Digital Anthropology* (Routledge, 2020).

conduct interviews or direct interaction; instead, I focused on naturally occurring posts and any activities that users shared publicly. This allows me to analyze how modesty is visually and commercially negotiated through the images and products influencers create and share, in ways shaped by both religious meaning and platform logic. Interviews were intentionally excluded, as the focus is not on how influencers explain their choices, but on how they present themselves and construct meaning through curated content. Furthermore, I can examine not only what they communicate, but how they position themselves in relation to their imagined audiences—through visuals, tone, and branding choices embedded in the platform itself.

The selection of subjects was based on purposive sampling, a method of selecting respondents intentionally⁵¹. This method is particularly suitable when seeking individuals with specific characteristics that are closely related to the research topic.⁵² I focused on two Indonesian influencers and their fashion brands: Dena Haura J'octaria (@denaahaura) with Minimsalm (@minimsalm), and Fira Assegaf or Sashfir (@sashfir) with LAFIYE (@lafiye). The way they present themselves, express their religious values, and run their businesses gives a useful contrast to think about how faith, style, and commerce come together in the everyday practices of Instagram. I examined visual elements—such as outfit choices, photographic tone, and model representation—alongside captions, bios, and commercial links. This comparison reveals how modesty is not a fixed standard, but a dynamic strategy shaped by ideology, audience, and platform aesthetics.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Muslim Women Influencers: From Frivolity to Digital Demand

Social media has often been described as a "game changer".⁵³ It becomes a highly influential space in shaping consumer attitudes and behaviour, especially among young Muslim generations. The influence of Muslim influencers is not limited to shaping consumer tastes—they also help define fashion norms themselves. Wilson and Grant (2013)⁵⁴ argue that these influencers have introduced a new aesthetic within modest fashion that emphasizes grace and elegance, while also challenging earlier conservative standards. More than just showcasing

⁵¹ Lawrence A Ponemon and John P Wendell, "Judgmental Versus Random Sampling in Auditing: An Experimental Investigation," *Auditing: A Journal of Practice & Theory* 14, no. 2 (1995).

⁵² Ray W Cooksey, "The Methodology of Social Judgement Theory," *Thinking & Reasoning* 2, nos. 2–3 (1996): 141–74.

⁵³ Poulis et al., "Branding Muslim Hijabi Fashion."

⁵⁴ Jonathan AJ Wilson and John Grant, "Islamic Marketing—a Challenger to the Classical Marketing Canon?," *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 4, no. 1 (2013): 7–21.

clothing, social media offers Muslim women a space to express themselves in a more personal way and in line with their own identities.⁵⁵

In this context, Muslim Instagram users generally present themselves more modestly than other users. This shows how Muslim youth often navigate stricter environments, with less freedom than their non-Muslim peers. Their surroundings do not really allow bold, flashy poses or openly rebellious lifestyles. Still, you can see them experimenting—through makeup, fashion, or small stylistic choices. It is obvious that users experiment with the boundaries of their environment and question rules in a subversive way.⁵⁶ Instagram as Hasan (2022) argue, has also become a platform where Islamic information is shared based on sacred texts and traditions through visual savvy that combines youth and *deen*.⁵⁷ For instance, something commonly regarded as vain or undesirable can be reframed and made acceptable under Islamic values—such as, flaunting attractiveness with Islamic caption while presenting it as part of da'wa. It is the desire to be seen as someone respected—someone others look up to. Young people want to be admired and act as role models for their peers. Getting likes and shares on Islamic posts helps boost their confidence and makes them feel validated by their fellow Muslims online.⁵⁸

Some of these young Muslims, particularly those who gain significant visibility and following, fall into the category of social media influencers. They have been defined in multiple ways by scholars. Freberg et al. (2011) see social media influencers as independent third-party endorsers who shape opinions through blogs and social platforms.⁵⁹ Abidin (2016) frames influencers as microcelebrities who share aspects of their daily lives—from the mundane to the exceptional—as a way of crafting an online persona that shapes public opinion.⁶⁰ De Veirman et al. (2017) define them as individuals with a large follower base who are perceived as trusted authorities within specific niches.⁶¹ Ge and Gretzel (2018) describe influencers as figures within a consumer's social network who directly affect their behaviour.⁶² More recently, Dhanesh and Duthler (2019) have emphasized their role in personal branding, highlighting how they build relationships with followers and influence their thoughts, emotions, and choices through entertaining and

⁵⁵ Dorothy Lee Goehring, "Muslim Women on the Internet: Social Media as Sites of Identity Formation," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 3 (2019): 20–34.

⁵⁶ Asef Bayat, "Muslim Youth and the Claim of Youthfulness," *Being Young and Muslim: New Cultural Politics in the Global South and North* 27 (2010): 47–48.

⁵⁷ Hasan, "Muslim Instagram," 15.

⁵⁸ Hasan, "Muslim Instagram," 12.

⁵⁹ Karen Freberg et al., "Who Are the Social Media Influencers? A Study of Public Perceptions of Personality," *Public Relations Review* 37, no. 1 (2011): 90–92.

⁶⁰ Crystal Abidin, "Visibility Labour: Engaging with Influencers' Fashion Brands And# OOTD Advertorial Campaigns on Instagram," *Media International Australia* 161, no. 1 (2016): 86–100.

⁶¹ Marijke De Veirman et al., "Marketing through Instagram Influencers: The Impact of Number of Followers and Product Divergence on Brand Attitude," *International Journal of Advertising* 36, no. 5 (2017): 798–828.

⁶² Jing Ge and Ulrike Gretzel, "Emoji Rhetoric: A Social Media Influencer Perspective," *Journal of Marketing Management* 34, nos. 15–16 (2018): 1272–95.

informative content.⁶³ Rather than focusing solely on their looks or religious image, recent work highlights how they normalize consumer habits and promote modesty as a lifestyle ideal. Scholars have observed that hijab and modest fashion trends are significantly shaped by social media influencers.⁶⁴ Muslim women turn to these figures not only to keep up with the latest hijab trends⁶⁵ but also to find guidance on how to align their appearance with religious and social expectations.

Furthermore, to get the attention of brands, in terms of business affiliating or endorsing, influencers need to build an audience that matches the kind of market advertisers are after.⁶⁶ This means imagining who their followers are—or who they want them to be—and shaping their content to fit that image. Even without being told directly, they tend to follow the dominant standards on the platform. This stands somewhat in contrast to Carter (2016)⁶⁷ and Muttaqin (2020),⁶⁸ who highlight the strength of influencers in emphasizing genuine and personal communication, especially as consumers have started to lose interest in mainstream advertising. However, in reality, their content gradually becomes more polished and calculated—often resembling professional ads—even though they were originally perceived as offering something more “authentic.”⁶⁹ Since the algorithm is unpredictable and visibility can drop without warning, maintaining audience attention becomes crucial. In this context, sustaining interest is not just a bonus—becomes crucial.⁷⁰ For many influencers, this means dealing with ongoing pressure to tailor their content in ways that match what they think their followers want, just to maintain their presence and stay in the game.

The rise of Muslim women influencers in Indonesia opens up important questions about how visibility, femininity, and commerce intersect in the digital space. These women, often young and stylish, are not only promoting modest aesthetics but also acting as both sellers and consumers—endorsing products, affiliating with brands, and curating their online image. Duffy and Hund (2015)

⁶³ Ganga S Dhanesh and Gaelle Duthler, “Relationship Management through Social Media Influencers: Effects of Followers’ Awareness of Paid Endorsement,” *Public Relations Review* 45, no. 3 (2019): 101765.

⁶⁴ Shin et al., “Between Fashion and Piety”; TSATM Azzman and M Manaf, “Celebrity-Fan Engagement on Instagram and Its Influence on the Perception of Hijab Culture among Muslim Women in Malaysia,” *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 35, no. 1 (2019): 286–302.

⁶⁵ Kavakci and Kraepelin, “Religious Beings in Fashionable Bodies.”

⁶⁶ Andrea Hunter, “Monetizing the Mommy: Mommy Blogs and the Audience Commodity,” *Information, Communication & Society* 19, no. 9 (2016): 1306–20.

⁶⁷ Daniel Carter, “Hustle and Brand: The Sociotechnical Shaping of Influence,” *Social Media + Society* 2, no. 3 (2016): 2056305116666305.

⁶⁸ Ahmad Muttaqin, “Women’s Identity in the Digital Islam Age: Social Media, New Religious Authority, and Gender Bias,” *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 2 (2020): 253, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i2.7095>.

⁶⁹ Mingyi Hou, “Social Media Celebrity and the Institutionalization of YouTube,” *Convergence* 25, no. 3 (2019): 534–53.

⁷⁰ Taina Bucher, “Want to Be on the Top? Algorithmic Power and the Threat of Invisibility on Facebook,” *New Media & Society* 14, no. 7 (2012): 1164–80.

argue that influencers like these often reproduce post-feminist values, where female power is tied to purchasing ability, individual choice, and self-expression—all rooted in market logic.⁷¹ Far from resisting dominant norms, this culture tends to reproduce conventional standards of femininity.

However, Abidin (2016) presents an alternative viewpoint, according to which women who publicly display femininity—such as maintaining their beauty and controlling their social media personas—are taking back authority over the way in which their own bodies are valued. Often discarded as unimportant, selfies and personal content turn into valuable assets that showcase women's ability to exhibit and style themselves to enhance the market worth of their bodies. According to this perspective, being frivolous turns into a calculated tactic, or what Abidin refers to as "subversive frivolity."⁷²

Muslim Women Entrepreneurship in the Digital Hustle: Between Flexibility, Faith, and Invisible Support

In fact, earning money is only one aspect of entrepreneurship that women fulfill. Through entrepreneurship, they develop their character in accordance with the local values and capitalism of their place of residence and origin.⁷³ Al-Boinin et al. (2025) showed that Qatari women entrepreneurship on social media is heavily influenced by cultural and social factors. Their findings confirmed that family, kinship, and reputational concerns significantly influence their decision to use digital platforms.⁷⁴ This demonstrates that despite Qatar's modernization, the influence of social and cultural norms remains strong, even permeating online activities.

A similar shift occurred in Indonesia, the growing need to sustain a consumer lifestyle among the Muslim middle class has driven these Muslim women to seek work outside of conventional employment opportunities.⁷⁵ They try to keep up and participate in economic and social activities alongside their husbands, dressed in elegant Muslim attire and serving halal-certified cakes during key Islamic ceremonies. In addition, they make no direct attempts to reform patriarchy or criticize the husband's role as head of the home, yet they are extending their status in society by aligning with Khadijah and Aishah, two prominent Muslim women.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Duffy and Hund, "'Having It All' on Social Media: Entrepreneurial Femininity and Self-Branding among Fashion Bloggers," 3.

⁷² Abidin, "'Are not These Just Young, Rich Women Doing Vain Things Online?': Influencer Selfies as Subversive Frivolity," 15–16.

⁷³ Carla Freeman, "The 'Reputation' of Neoliberalism," *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 2 (2007): 252–67; Carla Freeman, *Entrepreneurial Selves: Neoliberal Respectability and the Making of a Caribbean Middle Class* (Duke University Press, 2015).

⁷⁴ Hamda Al-Boinin et al., "Gender, Culture, and Social Media: Exploring Women's Adoption of Social Media Entrepreneurship in Qatari Society," *Administrative Sciences* 15, no. 3 (2025): 17.

⁷⁵ Sakai and Fauzia, *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*, 246.

⁷⁶ Sakai and Fauzia, *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*, 247–48.

Muslim women believe that role-modelling help them achieve their goals. Thus, it can help their families to maintain a middle-class lifestyle.⁷⁷ Moreover, in Indonesia, Muslim women are hesitant to be labeled as feminists, for example, if they bring up empowerment, it will be considered inauthentic and westernized. Thus, it would be better for them to say that they are following the example of the Prophet's wife, which is more religious and in line with social expectations.⁷⁸

Modern businesswomen in developing economies now lead different lives due to the strong correlation between social media and entrepreneurial opportunities, which creates favorable conditions for both professional and personal development.⁷⁹ However, there are ongoing debates about whether the internet truly benefits women in improving their lives, and if such impact is felt equally across different groups of women. Robinson et al. (2015) argue that digital activities cannot be separated from the broader social context, as our online behavior reflects the roles and expectations that exist in society.⁸⁰

Therefore, this gender problem does not necessarily stop in the online world. In fact, women are increasingly under pressure to conform to feminine stereotypes in their online identities, a so-called digital double bind.⁸¹ This view challenges claims that digital entrepreneurship is inclusive or acts as an "equalizer" for previously marginalized groups.⁸² Dy et al. (2017, 2018) even emphasize that the potential of digital entrepreneurship to empower vulnerable groups is often overstated, as it still requires access to capital, technology, and knowledge that not everyone possesses.⁸³ As Daniels (2013) notes, inequalities in the offline world tend to recur in the digital realm.⁸⁴

Accordingly, there have been enquiries to concentrate on women's lived experiences and how offline "reality" and online "virtuality" complement each other rather than replace it.⁸⁵ Opportunities definitely exist in cyberspace, but they are

⁷⁷ Sakai and Fauzia, *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*, 248.

⁷⁸ Rachel Rinaldo, *Mobilizing Piety: Islam and Feminism in Indonesia* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 8.

⁷⁹ Victoria L Crittenden et al., "Women in Sales in Developing Countries: The Value of Technology for Social Impact," *Business Horizons* 63, no. 5 (2020): 619–26.

⁸⁰ Laura Robinson et al., "Digital Inequalities and Why They Matter," *Information, Communication & Society* 18, no. 5 (2015): 569–82.

⁸¹ Brooke Erin Duffy and Urszula Pruchniewska, "Gender and Self-Enterprise in the Social Media Age: A Digital Double Bind," *Information, Communication & Society* 20, no. 6 (2017): 843–59.

⁸² Lynn M Martin and Len Tiu Wright, "No Gender in Cyberspace? Empowering Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Female-run ICT Small Firms," *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 11, no. 2 (2005): 162–78.

⁸³ Angela Martinez Dy et al., "A Web of Opportunity or the Same Old Story? Women Digital Entrepreneurs and Intersectionality Theory," *Human Relations* 70, no. 3 (2017): 286–311; Angela Martinez Dy et al., "Emancipation through Digital Entrepreneurship? A Critical Realist Analysis," *Organization* 25, no. 5 (2018): 585–608.

⁸⁴ Jessie Daniels, "Rethinking Cyberfeminism (s): Race, Gender, and Embodiment," in *Women, Science, and Technology* (Routledge, 2013).

⁸⁵ Jenny Sundén, "What Happened to Difference in Cyberspace? The (Re) Turn of the She-Cyborg," *Feminist Media Studies* 1, no. 2 (2001): 215–32.

limited by the current power structures, as Sassen (2002) warns.⁸⁶ The cultural and social setting of activities must be given more consideration in order to comprehend the effects of digital technologies on women.⁸⁷ Daniels (2013) supports this view by claiming that women utilize the internet to change their material, physical lives in ways that both challenge and perhaps strengthen gender hierarchies.⁸⁸ He warns against overestimating the emancipatory potential of digital business for women, particularly in patriarchal settings, and is eager to highlight the boundaries of the revolutionary potential of digital technology in the context of women's offline reality.

Moreover, the claim that women may balance a variety of household responsibilities with economic engagement through home-based entrepreneurship has been criticised for its naivete.⁸⁹ Taylor (2015) notes that in the era of remote work, the flexibility of working from home has created a kind of “new mystique” that resembles old illusions about women’s ideal roles.⁹⁰ Sarah Grey (2016), a freelance journalist, highlights that many women are being pushed out of the formal workforce by the lack of paid maternity leave, limited vacation time, lack of flexibility, and wages that do not match the cost of childcare. Her comments suggest that conventional work structures remain problematic, but they are now often obscured by romantic narratives about the freedom of self-employment.⁹¹

Furthermore, as businesses continue to follow market logic and customer demands, the notion that women have complete control over their work hours is being questioned. For women with children, running a digital business from home often exacerbates the tension between work and parenting. When the workspace merges with the home, the boundaries of time and place disappear—business becomes a constant presence, demanding constant attention. Here, a contradiction arises: home-based digital enterprise can exacerbate both areas of duty rather than attaining confluence, as opposed to resolving the conflict between caring responsibilities and economic involvement.⁹²

⁸⁶ Saskia Sassen, “Towards a Sociology of Information Technology,” *Current Sociology* 50, no. 3 (2002): 365–88.

⁸⁷ Friederike Welter, “Contextualizing Entrepreneurship—Conceptual Challenges and Ways Forward,” *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 35, no. 1 (2011): 165–84.

⁸⁸ Daniels, “Rethinking Cyberfeminism (s): Race, Gender, and Embodiment.”

⁸⁹ Susan Marlow, “Exploring Future Research Agendas in the Field of Gender and Entrepreneurship,” *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship* 6, no. 2 (2014): 102–20.

⁹⁰ Stephanie Taylor, “A New Mystique? Working for Yourself in the Neoliberal Economy,” *The Sociological Review* 63, no. 1_suppl (2015): 174–87.

⁹¹ Sarah Grey, “Between a Boss and a Hard Place: Why More Women Are Freelancing,” *Bitch Magazine*, 2016.

⁹² Susan Marlow, “Women and Self-Employment: A Part of or Apart from Theoretical Construct?,” *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation* 3, no. 2 (2002): 83–91; Julia Rouse and Dilani Jayawarna, “The Financing of Disadvantaged Entrepreneurs: Are Enterprise Programmes Overcoming the Finance Gap?,” *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 12, no. 6 (2006): 388–400.

That is why Sakai and Fauzia (2022) argue that the figure of the Muslim *mompreneurs*—women who combine motherhood and entrepreneurship⁹³—is largely limited to urban middle-class women who have access to and can afford domestic assistance.⁹⁴ Even with such support, the promise of flexibility in digital entrepreneurship remains questionable. The virtual nature of online business produced a high-pressure environment where the business is "always open," even for women without children or those who had enough money to pay for daycare or domestic assistance. Instead of offering more flexibility, digital entrepreneurship often ends up increasing the workload—reflecting broader trends where technology erases the lines between work and home.⁹⁵

The use of domestic workers is widespread, particularly in Southeast Asia and Muslim-majority contexts. In this sense, the labor of poor working-class women remains invisible, even as they sustain the households and careers of their middle-class employers.⁹⁶ While the invisible labor of working-class women is not the primary focus of this study, it serves as a reminder that digital entrepreneurship does not occur in isolation from broader social inequalities. The privileges—such as time, space, and support—that enable some women to run online businesses often rely on the hidden labor of other women. In addition to the support of domestic workers who help ease their burden, Venkatesh et al. (2012) found that close social circles—especially family—have a significant influence on a person's decision to adopt new technology, such as social media for entrepreneurial purposes. Interestingly, this influence appears to be more pronounced in women than in men.⁹⁷ This is evident in the case study of Indonesia, which represents a patriarchal society with husbands retaining authority, has revealed that having the husband's endorsement is vital for a woman desiring to enhance her economic position.⁹⁸

⁹³ Muslim women, to some extent, are expanding the boundaries of gender roles through the emergence of *mompreneurs*. But my note here is—although this is often seen in a positive light, as if women now have more choices and access to spaces once dominated by men—there's another side that's rarely discussed: their roles are increasing, but that does not mean their burdens are decreasing. Raising a family, taking care of the home and children, while also running a business, is no easy task. If the business fails, they feel like they've failed twice—not only have they not fully cared for their children, but the business also did not work out. Orgad has already pointed this out—that many felt disillusioned and disempowered, as if they had failed both in the professional world and as mothers. At the same time, this also puts pressure on other women and sets a new standard for what it means to be successful in business. (Shani Orgad, *Heading Home: Motherhood, Work, and the Failed Promise of Equality* (Columbia University Press, 2019), 39.)

⁹⁴ Sakai and Fauzia, *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*, 255.

⁹⁵ Judy Wajcman, "Pressed for Time: The Acceleration of Life in Digital Capitalism," in *Pressed for Time* (University of Chicago Press, 2014).

⁹⁶ Sakai and Fauzia, *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*, 255.

⁹⁷ Viswanath Venkatesh et al., "Consumer Acceptance and Use of Information Technology: Extending the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology," *MIS Quarterly*, JSTOR, 2012, 157–78.

⁹⁸ Sakai and Fauzia, *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*, 248.

Dressing Modesty: Religion, Consumption, and Cultural Tension

Indonesian Muslim women typically wear a *hijab* (also known as *jilbab*), a headscarf that covers the head and neck while leaving the face visible.⁹⁹ The original purpose of veiling—to guard against the male gaze—has been redefined and expanded, as more Muslim women seek fashionable Islamic clothing within the growing sphere of Islamic consumer culture.¹⁰⁰ While from an Islamic point of view, modest fashion usually means wearing clothes that follow religious rules—basically, loose-fitting, non-transparent clothes that cover the *awrah*.¹⁰¹ Now, this term “*awrah*” refers to parts of the body that should be hidden—often described as a kind of “vulnerability that must be protected”.¹⁰² Simply put, *awrah* is about which body parts can not be exposed around others, whether they are men or women.¹⁰³ Yet in practice, what counts as “modest” is not only guided by religious rules but also shaped by community norms, personal taste, and even commercial logic. Beta (2014)¹⁰⁴ notes that the rise of the Hijabers Community (HC)—fueled by social media and popular influencers—has played a big role in redefining modest style in Indonesia. However, this trend is being criticized by Islamic conservative groups as see it as too luxurious, not align with Islamic values and potentially attract male gaze.¹⁰⁵

However, according to Bouvier (2016), Muslim women utilize their attire to convey several messages at once: “on the one hand, freedom, confidence, and modernity, and on the other, modesty, religious identity, and tradition”.¹⁰⁶ It points out that modesty is not something fixed or absolute; rather, it is something that people constantly negotiate and reinterpret.¹⁰⁷ In the same breath, Jones (2007) argues that the rise of Islamic fashion in Indonesia is not just about religious

⁹⁹ Jones, “Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia.”

¹⁰⁰ Karakavak and Özbölük, “When Modesty Meets Fashion.”

¹⁰¹ Arnifa Asmawi et al., “Advancing Muslim Modest Fashion Clothing: Impact on Consumer Behavior and Challenges for Young Female Muslim Influencers,” *Journal of Comparative Asian Development* 20, no. 1 (2024): 2.

¹⁰² Aisha Wood Boulanouar, “The Notion of Modesty in Muslim Women’s Clothing: An Islamic Point of View,” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (2006): 134; Asifa Siraj, “Meanings of Modesty and the *Hijab* amongst Muslim Women in Glasgow, Scotland,” *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 6 (2011): 716–31, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2011.617907>.

¹⁰³ Interpretations of *awrah* for women are not all the same—they differ across schools of thought, cultural contexts, and how people understand religion today. Some say it means covering the whole body except the face and hands, while others take a stricter or more flexible view. Since these definitions of modest are highly debated, in this study I stick to a more common understanding: clothes that don’t shape the body, are not transparent, and still follow the norms in the place where they live.

¹⁰⁴ Beta, “Hijabers.”

¹⁰⁵ Baulch and Pramiyanti, “Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman.”

¹⁰⁶ Gwen Bouvier, “Discourse in Clothing,” *Gender and Language* 10, no. 3 (2016): 364.

¹⁰⁷ Norainie Ahmad, “How Modest Is Modest Fashion? Exploring Notions of Modesty Within the Context of Muslim Women’s Hypervisibility on Instagram,” *이화여자대학교 아시아여성학센터 학술대회자료집*, 2017, 262–96.

commitment or consumer trends. Instead, she sees it as part of broader national discussions on modernity and piety. For her, the commodification of Islamic dress in urban Indonesia has not been straightforward—it has created a space for Muslims to reflect on the intersections between faith, gender roles, and material culture.¹⁰⁸

While Muslim women continue to negotiate what piety means through what they wear, the global fashion industry has started to notice—and respond to—these trends. Lewis argued that the fashion industry used to completely avoid being associated with Muslims—whether as designers, models, consumers, or influencers.¹⁰⁹ But in the 2010s, the Muslim fashion market, or what we now call modest fashion, began to grow into a profitable global industry.¹¹⁰ That is when major fashion companies started to turn their attention to Muslim consumers.¹¹¹ These businesses provide loose-fitting, longer clothes with higher necklines designed for ladies who desire to wear modestly while staying up to date with fashion trends.¹¹² By the end of the 2020s, modest fashion had become a massive trend known around the world.¹¹³ The hijab, undoubtedly, became a central item in this trend. In fact, the hijab segment experienced unprecedented growth—largely driven by the influence of young Muslim women across the globe.¹¹⁴

In this regard, Amalanathan and Reddy-Best (2024) show that Muslim women are not only consumers but also key actors in constructing new spaces through fashion. They highlight how Muslim women establish fashion businesses because the mainstream fashion in US, does not provide a space that reflects their values.¹¹⁵ Tilton (2015) calls this as fashionable personae—identities formed through self-narrative and appearance, but still constrained by the expectations of the fashion industry. In this context, modest fashion actors can be seen as

¹⁰⁸ Jones, “Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia.”

¹⁰⁹ Reina Lewis, “Why Mainstream Brands Are Embracing Modest Fashion,” *Retrieved June 27* (2018): 2022.

¹¹⁰ Chanmi Hwang and Tae Ho Kim, “Muslim Women’s Purchasing Behaviors toward Modest Activewear in the United States,” *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 39, no. 3 (2021): 1.

¹¹¹ Trevor Clawson, “On-Trend: Why Modest Fashion Is Both A Movement And An Entrepreneurial Opportunity,” *Forbes*, accessed July 18, 2025, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/trevorclawson/2021/10/26/on-trendwhy-modest-fashion-is-both-a-trend-an-entrepreneurial-opportunity/>.

¹¹² Reina Lewis, “Hijab Stories: Choice, Politics, Fashion,” in *Fashion Cultures Revisited: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, Second edition, ed. Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013).

¹¹³ “How Hijab Is Becoming A Part Of The Emerging Modest Fashion,” *Outlook India*, February 18, 2022, <https://www.outlookindia.com/culture-society/modest-fashion-an-emerging-style-statement-to-match-faith-and-spiritual-beliefs-news-182992>.

¹¹⁴ Shelina Janmohamed, “Generation M : Young Muslims Changing the World,” in *Generation M : Young Muslims Changing the World*, 1st ed., ed. Shelina Janmohamed (I.B. Tauris, 2016), <https://www.bloomsburycollections.com/monograph?docid=b-9781350986589>; Reina Lewis, ed., *Modest Fashion: Styling Bodies, Mediating Faith*, Dress Cultures (I.B. Tauris, 2013).

¹¹⁵ Shanti Amalanathan and Kelly L. Reddy-Best, “Modesty in Business, Bold in Fashion: Entrepreneurial Experiences of U.S. Muslim Women in Niche Fashion Markets,” *Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship* 13, no. 1 (2024): 57, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13731-024-00420-5>.

entrepreneurial fashion activists—they strive to create safe and representative spaces for Muslim women, while still having to negotiate the pressures of capitalism and the market.¹¹⁶

Personal Branding and Ideological Expression: Case Studies of Denahaura and Sashfir

Case 1: Denahaura

Brief Profile

Dena Haura J'octaria, widely known as Dena, is an Indonesian Muslim influencer born in 1998. She is a mother, a young entrepreneur, and a public figure with over 692,000 followers on Instagram. Her visibility is not just about popularity—it reflects a carefully crafted persona: gentle, but ideologically firm; soft-spoken, yet closely connected to structured and militant da'wah networks.

She did not start off with the maternal or da'wah-based image she now carries. Her early content focused on minimalist living and environmental ethics, particularly zero-waste practices. Islam was present, but more embodied than verbalized—visible in fashion, but not central in narrative. That changed gradually, in line with her marriage, motherhood, and deeper involvement in an ideologically framed da'wah circle.

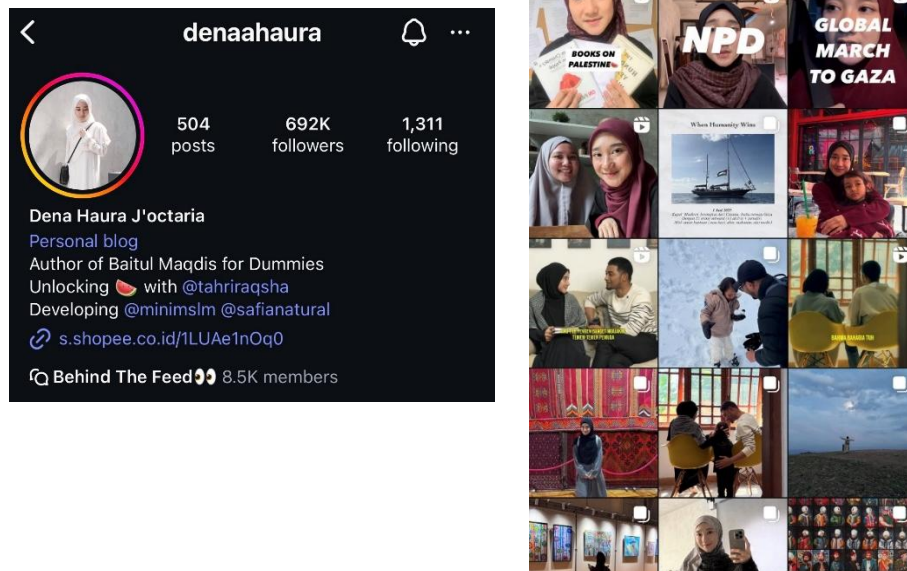


Figure 1. Instagram Account of Dena Haura J'octaria (@denaahaura)

A quick look at her bio says a lot. She links three accounts: @minimslm, her main modest fashion business; @safianatural, a skincare brand that draws on the idea of feminine fitrah; and @tahriraqsha, a Palestine-focused education and

¹¹⁶ Monica Tilton, "Fashionable Personae: Self-Identity and Enactments of Fashion Narratives in Fashion Blogs," *Fashion Theory* 19, no. 2 (2015): 201–20.

donation platform affiliated with @rumahquranalila—led by the wife of Felix Siau, a former HTI figure and popular conservative preachers in Indonesia.¹¹⁷ These are not just business links—they reflect how Dena positions herself within a digital Islamic economy and da'wah ecosystem that expands her symbolic and religious capital.

Unlike other Muslim women influencers who highlight personal growth or self-expression, Dena's content follows a clear rhythm. Three themes dominate: the construction of pious and productive Muslim womanhood; bold support for Palestine that goes beyond spiritual solidarity and takes the form of explicit political critique; and the promotion of products, programs, and ideas tied to her husband's business and her wider ideological network. Most of her posts show her with her husband and child—not just for aesthetics, but to reinforce a visual narrative of domestic piety. When she posts alone, it's usually as an introduction to longer Islamic reflections or carousel sermons.

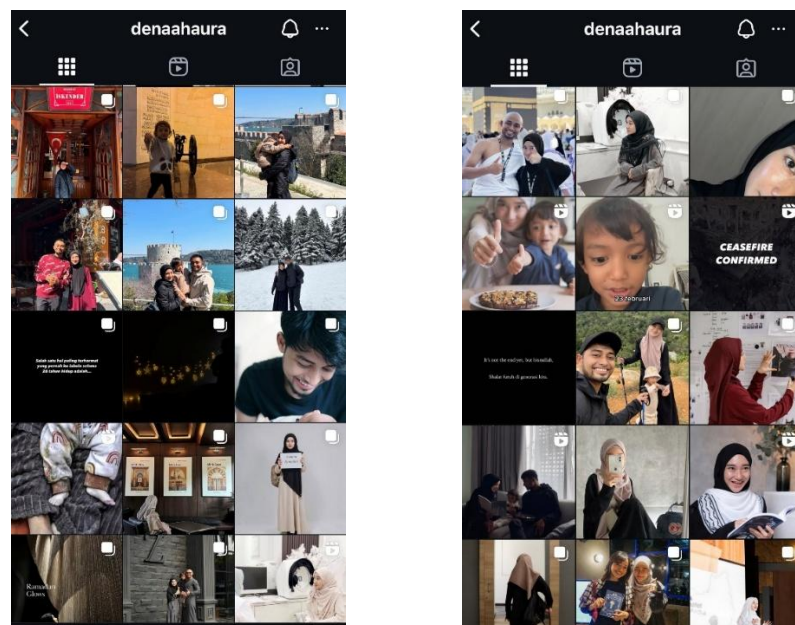


Figure 2. Instagram Feed of @denaahaura

Her feed carries a quiet consistency: neutral tones, soft light, restrained gestures. But what holds everything together is the continuity of the identity she has

¹¹⁷ HTI is the Indonesian representative of Hizb ut-Tahrir, part of a transnational Islamic movement that advocates the establishment of a caliphate through a non-violent ideological approach. Locally, the group is known for its conservative preaching and its rejection of democracy and nationalism. Felix Siau, formerly affiliated with HTI, has been actively utilizing social media to reach young Muslims with a conservative Islamic narrative. According to Hew (2018), Felix combines visual aesthetics and religious messaging in a style of *dakwah* that is entertaining yet dogmatic. His approach represents a strategy of normalizing radical values by framing them in an appealing and relatable way, thereby broadening the reach of HTI's ideology to a wider audience.

Wai Weng Hew, "THE ART OF *DAKWAH*: Social Media, Visual Persuasion and the Islamist Propagation of Felix Siau," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 134 (2018): 61–79, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2018.1416757>.

carefully constructed over time. She does not present herself as an *ustadzah*. However, her audience trust her as an approachable figure: young women who runs the business, yet maintains a pious image, as an individual and a wife. Still, the version of Islam she embodies is not fluid or open-ended. It rests on clear boundaries, strict discipline, and strong convictions about what is right, wrong, and acceptable. This layered construction of identity—calm on the surface but deeply structured underneath—is what I will unpack in more detail below.

1. Palestine: Spiritual Identity Beyond Political Solidarity

Dena consistently frames her support for Palestine as a spiritual commitment rather than mere political solidarity. In one video, she highlights a long march at the Rafah border involving people from over 40 countries, calling attention to the dire humanitarian crisis in Gaza—months without food aid, widespread hunger, and deaths. Egypt, instead of facilitating access, deported activists, surveilled and silenced them, even resorted to violence. Dena calls this a case of mental colonisation, where Western values still dictate what is permissible—even in Muslim-majority states like Egypt. “Liberation of mind before liberation of land,” she says. For her, calling the conflict “too complex” is itself a colonial narrative. The lines are clear—remaining neutral is a failure of moral clarity.

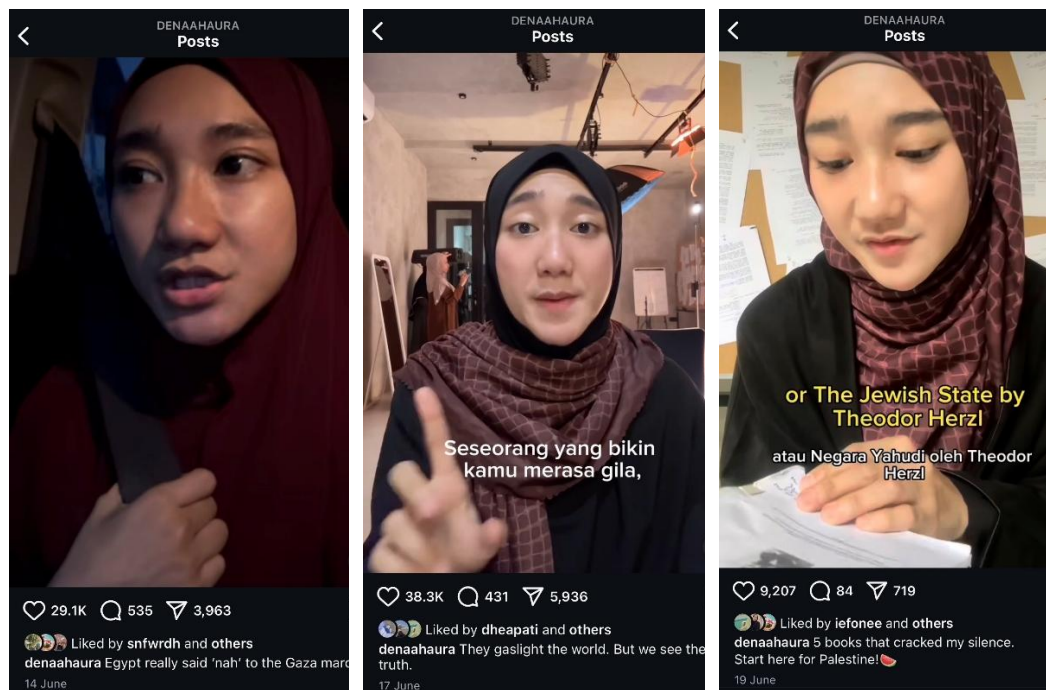


Figure 3. Three Videos of @denaahaura Inviting Public Awareness and Vocal Solidarity on Palestine

In another post, she likens Israel to a narcissistic abuser: one who harms, then blames the victim. “They gaslight the world,” she writes, and in narcissistic logic, “justice feels like a personal attack.” She questions why states tolerate what

we wouldn't accept from a person. This political clarity is also carried into educational content: she shares five books on Palestine that opened her eyes to the silence she once lived in, and she posts updates on the Madleen aid ship, seized by Israeli forces. "We are witnessing the failure of humanity," she writes. What's notable is that even though she has a dedicated Palestine account (@tahriraqsha), she shares all this on her personal page—signaling that, for her, Palestinian advocacy is not a separate campaign, but part of what it means to be a faithful Muslim woman.

2. Self-Development, Da'wah, and the Ideological Role of Her Husband

In this session, I will discuss how she often uploads Islamic content while tagging her husband's personal account, his business account, or the business account of the Islamic missionary network she is involved in.

In one striking post, in a carousel where the first slide is a picture of her husband and kid, she addresses young people who often voice mental health struggles on social media. "We have to heal ourselves," she insists. "This world is transactional—love, care, and attention come when we're useful and glowing like light. No one draws close to someone who's a burden." She compares this to the Prophet, who suffered deeply but gave endlessly to others. She concludes with a message: "heal yourself, because you deserve to be loved."

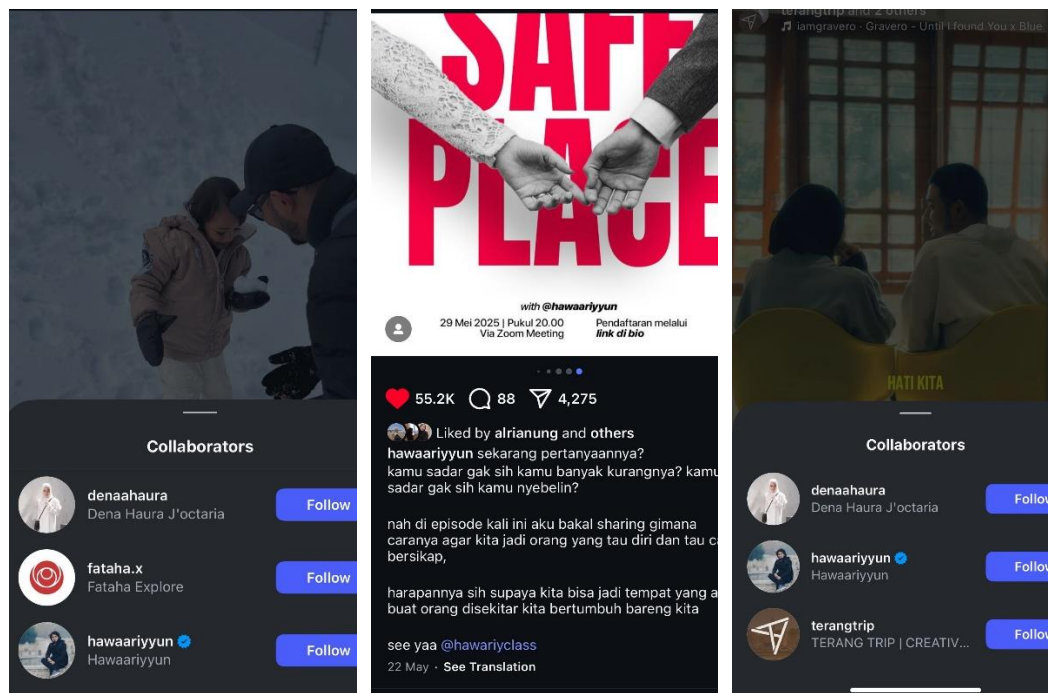


Figure 4. Collaborative Posts of @denaahaura

This narrative aligns closely with her husband's style of da'wah, which is marked by assertiveness, rigidity, and strong opposition to liberal values. Marriage is not romanticized—it's portrayed as a space of discipline and self-correction. In one post, Dena states that marriage requires readiness to be criticized and to keep

improving. The final slide always leads to a da’wah class promotion, such as @hawariyy.class. Her travel content also mirrors this framework. In a collaborative video with @terangtrip—a pilgrimage agency also affiliated with Felix Siau—she and her husband reflect on spiritual travel. “Sometimes, the journey we need most is inward,” they say, naming Mecca and Medina as the ultimate places of self-discovery. The conclusion appears intentional, reinforcing the connection between personal reflection and religious travel, while quietly promoting a packaged version of spiritual experience through a travel program.

None of this, however, happens in isolation. Dena’s online persona is shaped by a well-defined ideological network. She did not appear out of nowhere to sell products—her husband plays a crucial role, both as a partner and as a bridge into larger da’wah circles, particularly those affiliated with Felix Siau. Her content regularly connects to religious classes, spiritual travel promotions, and Palestinian solidarity campaigns—all within the same ideological orbit. What she performs online is not just personal consistency, but symbolic and ideological alignment.

3. Faith as Social Filter and Moral Compass

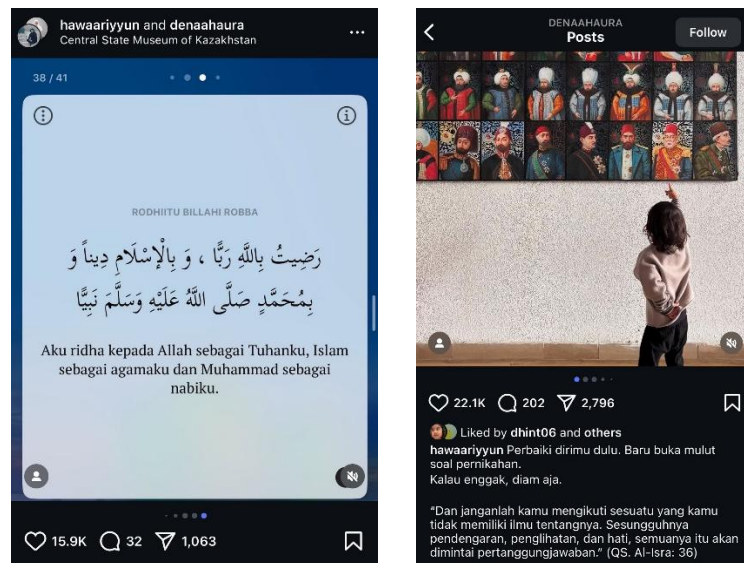


Figure 5. @denaahaura Citing Quranic texts on her posts

In one post, Dena stands in a Kazakh museum, on the first slide, then in the end, she was quoting the verse “raḍītu billāhi rabbā...” She tells her followers: “You do not have to please everyone. You are already loved by God, and by those who see you through the eyes of faith.” Anything disconnected from Allah, she adds, will only lead to pain and disappointment. Islam, in her view, is not just a private belief—it is a filter for relationships and a moral compass for social choices. In a separate marriage-related post, she urges followers not to speak about marriage unless they are personally prepared. “Fix yourself first,” she says, closing with Qur’an 17:36.

Dena's authority is undeniably shaped by her husband and the da'wah networks she is embedded in. Yet what sustains that authority is the way she communicates: calm in appearance, but sharp and unwavering in tone. Her language is consistent, often direct, and at times even confrontational—especially when addressing topics like mental health or moral discipline. While her visual choices remain soft and composed, the messages she delivers are rarely neutral. They carry clear boundaries, firm convictions, and a sense of moral urgency that invites not just reflection, but alignment. What she offers is not just a personal style but a particular framing of moral truth, delivered in formats that are emotionally resonant and widely shareable. This is where Abidin's (2016) concept of subversive frivolity¹¹⁸ becomes useful: Dena may appear to be casually sharing reflections, but in fact she is drawing lines—defining what counts as proper Islamic conduct and what does not. She does not take on the role of a preacher, yet her presence sets norms—about emotion, choice, as well as collective anger. Here, she acts as a digital socialization agent,¹¹⁹ not only from Islamic content she shared, but also from her morally correct and emotionally compelling image.

Dressing the Da'wah: Minimslm and the Fashioning of Belief

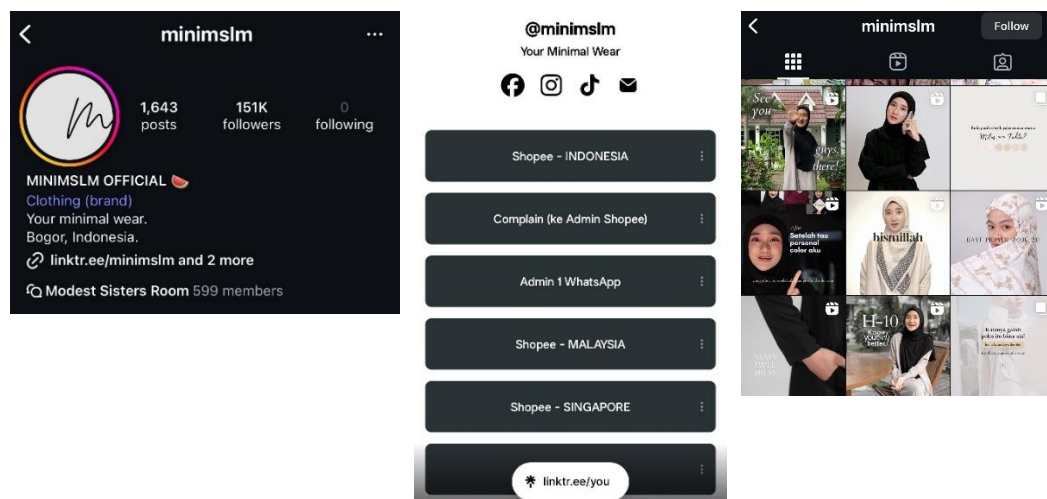


Figure 6. Minimslm's bio, linktree, and feeds

Dena's modest fashion brand is known as Minimslm. it now has over 151,000 followers on Instagram with the exact accounts name, @Minimslm. Launched in 2019, the brand has consistently carried a calm, clean, and earth-toned visual aesthetic. Its bio reads simply: "Your minimal wear." This phrase does more than describe comfortable, pared-down clothing—it points back to the minimalist lifestyle that marked Dena's early identity as a content creator. The brand, Minimslm is like an abbreviation that can be read as 'minimalist Muslim' or even

¹¹⁸ Abidin, "'Are not These Just Young, Rich Women Doing Vain Things Online?': Influencer Selfies as Subversive Frivolity."

¹¹⁹ Jegham and Bouzaabia, "Fashion Influencers on Instagram."

as simple as ‘minimalism’, both of which combine Islamic identity and a positive lifestyle today. Because minimalism itself, in Islam, aligns with *zuhud* or asceticism. This, Dena embodies the same image in her brand as she built from the start on her personal account.

In addition, the brand does not just cater to Indonesian consumers. Its attached links include Shopee access for Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, and a WhatsApp link for customer support. This is a sign that Minimslm is also building a regional consumer network tied to religious symbols and values. Furthermore, Minimslm utilizes a broadcast channel feature, Modest Sisters Room, to connect more closely with its consumers, with intimate promotions similar to a chat group, but directed solely by the owner.

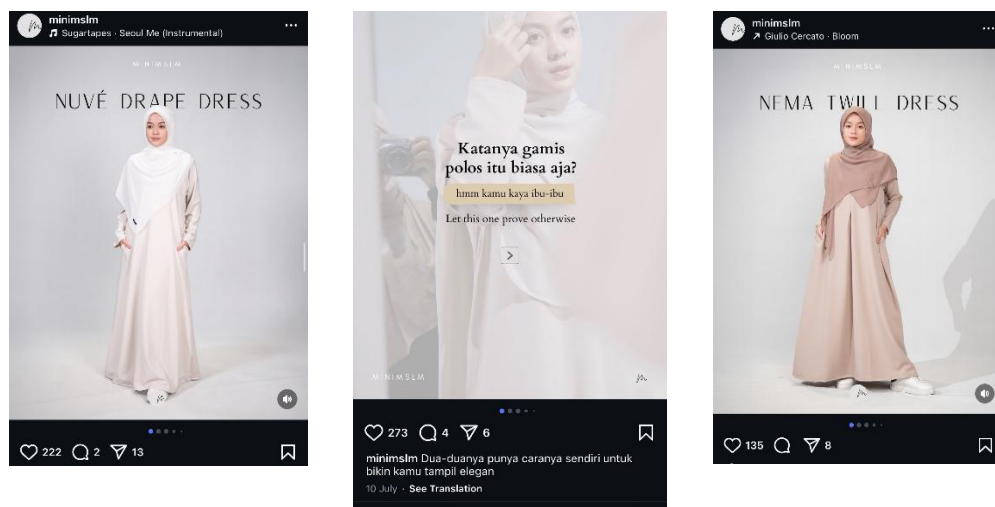


Figure 7. Visual reframing of modesty and minimalism in Minimslm’s product

I will discuss some of Minimslm's business strategies from how they present their products on social media through visuals and text. Products like the Nuve Drape Dress and Nema Twill Dress, pictured above, demonstrate that Minimslm chooses a safe, yet strategic approach. Loose silhouettes, neutral shades, and clean styling dominate, with models appear upright and composed against plain white backdrops. The captions rely on words like “timeless,” “structured,” and “simple.” There’s nothing loud, yet the branding speaks clearly: modesty can be minimal, youthful, and elegant. These concepts are identical and matched Dena’s persona thoroughly.

In one post, Minimslm openly challenges the cliché that plain dresses are old-fashioned or “auntie-like.” Here, it flips the script—insisting that plain dresses can be modern and tasteful. The Sudée Outer follows this logic too: a long outer layer that stays syar’i but adds versatility. The point is not just about clothes—it’s about offering a mode of being a Muslim woman that is composed, stylish, and spiritually grounded, without being loud or preachy.

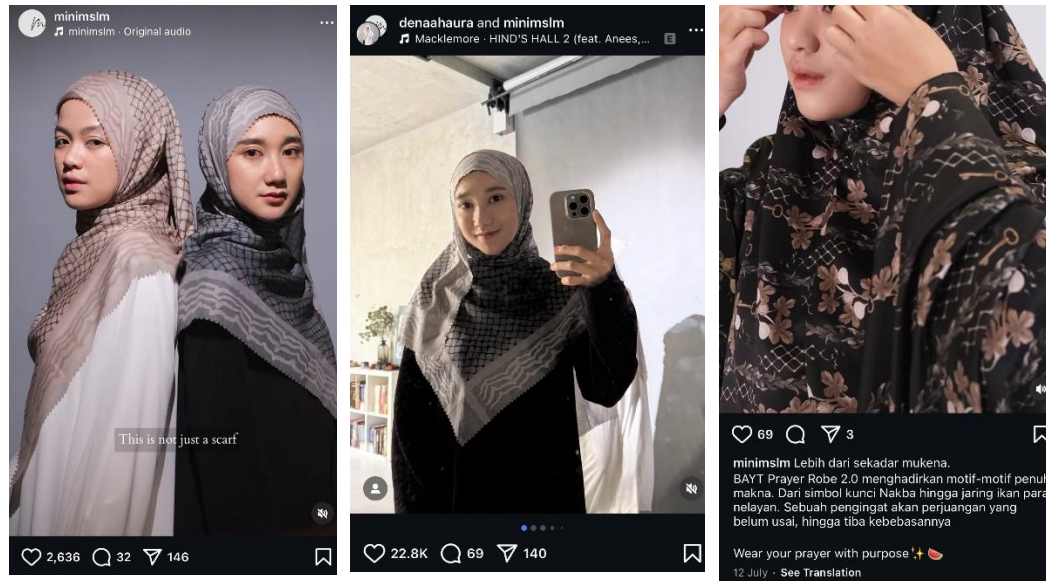


Figure 8. Fashioning Resistance: MINIMSLM's Visual Campaign for Palestine

More politically and spiritually charged narratives emerge through the latest products it launched like the Kufeeya and Bayt Prayer Robe 2.0. The Kufeeya is not just a scarf with keffiyeh patterns—it is presented as a symbol of Palestinian resistance. Dena not only models the hijab but also models and provides voiceover for the brand's campaign video. She uses English in the video, and her narration is poetic and heartfelt. Besides building awareness that Minimsalm is not half-hearted in supporting Palestine, campaigns like this are also aimed at a wider audience, using a narrative of solidarity. The caption states, “this is not just a scarf. Not just worn. Remembered.” On her personal account, Dena also mentions that part of the profits will be donated to Palestine. As if to convince customers that this is not just a product but Dena's ideological commitment that cannot be questioned even in the business realm.

The campaign is echoed on the Minimsalm account, featuring captions that explain the symbolism behind the Kufeeya motifs: olive trees, fishing nets, borders—woven into a spiritual-political narrative that frames the product as a medium of silent resistance. A similar approach is applied to the Bayt Prayer Robe 2.0—a prayer outfit with symbolic motifs of Nakba and fishermen's nets. The caption reads: “a reminder of a struggle that is not yet over. Wear your prayer with purpose.” Here, Minimsalm appears to convey that even in the act of standing before God in prayer, one can simultaneously signal their positions as part of life mission. From the outset, Dena's involvement in every inch of the product marketing she deliberately displays indicates that this business is closely tied to her personal identity and ideology.

This practice can actually be understood through what is called commodity activism.¹²⁰ As exemplified by Minimslm, entrepreneurs employ this approach to transform consumption from a simple transaction into an act imbued with added value, framed as mass symbolic participation. As explained by Littler (2008), products in this logic not only address practical needs but also carry a moral promise¹²¹—that by purchasing them, one has “done something.” Minimslm sells more than just clothing; it offers a moral affiliation that can be worn daily.

On the other hand, this approach also touches on feminist consumerism, even though it does not explicitly use feminist discourse. Empowerment values are embedded through style choices, narratives of simplicity, and control over image. According to Johnston and Taylor (2008), this is a move away from overt political expression and towards consuming practices linked to self-care and bolstering personal perspectives.¹²² Dena presents herself as both an activist and an entrepreneur. Through design, captions, and visual curation, she conveys messages about self-control, moral clarity, and religious position that can be felt, seen, and purchased.

Case 2: Sashfir – Soft Islam, Subtle Capitalism

Brief Profile

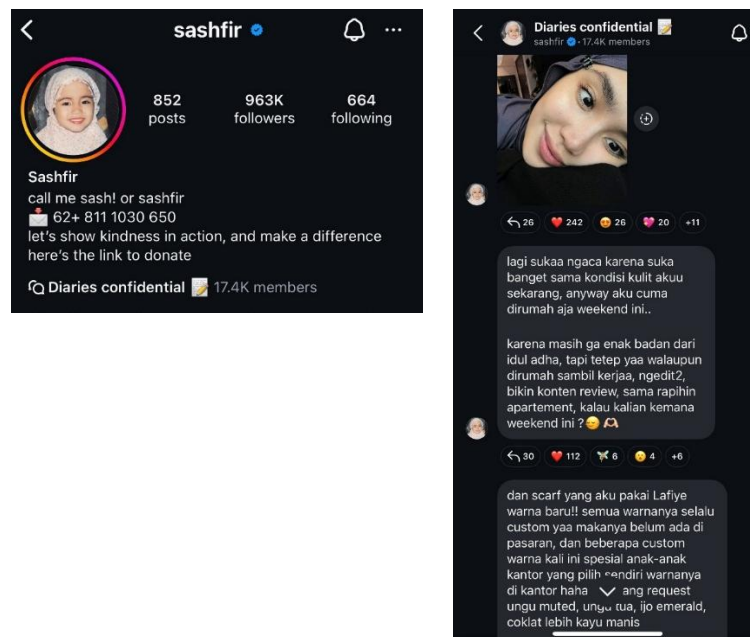


Figure 9. Bio and Broadcast Channel Instagram of @sashfir

¹²⁰ Jemima Repo, “Feminist Commodity Activism: The New Political Economy of Feminist Protest,” *International Political Sociology* 14, no. 2 (2020): 215–32.

¹²¹ Jo Littler, *Radical Consumption: Shopping for Change in Contemporary Culture: Shopping for Change in Contemporary Culture* (McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2008).

¹²² Josée Johnston and Judith Taylor, “Feminist Consumerism and Fat Activists: A Comparative Study of Grassroots Activism and the Dove Real Beauty Campaign,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 33, no. 4 (2008): 941–66.

Sashfir, or Fira Assegaf, is a 27-year-old woman widely recognized among young Indonesian women as the face of the “old money hijabi look”—a fashion style that radiates understated luxury and modesty without relying on overt religious expression. Born in Bengkulu and raised in a culturally conservative Malay-Muslim environment, she once mentioned that she is more fluent in Arabic than in English, despite having graduated from Lasalle College Singapore with a degree in photography. Her surname, “Assegaf,” which is often associated with Arab-Habib heritage¹²³, has never been publicly confirmed by her. Yet it leaves just enough space for people to connect her elegant, modest appearance to a culturally Islamic sense of refinement. She never shares anything about her personal life—romantic relationships, close family ties, or religious identity directly. At a time when many Muslim influencers are leaning into *hijrah* narratives and digital *da'wah*, her position is markedly different: She is not here to preach religion but to embody a version of modern Muslim womanhood that speaks softly but carries influence.

Her Instagram profile reflects a highly deliberate curation of identity. With over 963 thousand followers and a verified account, her bio remains strikingly minimal. There’s no mention of her as the founder of Lafiye, no “fashion influencer” label, and no religious tagline. She simply writes, “Call me Sash! or Sashfir,” lists a business contact number, and includes one link to a donation page. This framing is intentional—she distances herself from the image of a hyper-commercial or self-centered influencer. Instead, she presents as someone grounded and approachable, someone whose strength lies not in loud declarations but in quiet consistency. It’s a subtle branding strategy that actually strengthens her appeal. Sashfir is not just selling products—she is selling an ideal version of life: calm, composed, minimalist, and aesthetically rich.

Her Instagram profile reflects a highly deliberate curation of identity. With over 963 thousand followers and a verified account, her bio remains strikingly minimal. There’s no mention of her as the founder of Lafiye, no “fashion influencer” label, and no religious tagline. She simply writes, “Call me Sash! or Sashfir,” lists a business contact number, and includes one link to a donation page. This framing is intentional—she distances herself from the image of a hyper-commercial or self-centered influencer. Instead, she presents as someone grounded and approachable, someone whose strength lies not in loud declarations but in quiet consistency. It’s a subtle branding strategy that actually strengthens her appeal. Sashfir is not just selling products—she is selling an ideal version of life: calm, composed, minimalist, and aesthetically rich.

¹²³ In Indonesia, the term *Habib* refers to a lineage believed to descend from the Prophet Muhammad, typically through the Hadrami Arab community. This heritage carries symbolic religious prestige, especially within traditionalist Muslim circles. Even without explicit claims, names like “Assegaf” often evoke assumptions of piety, authority, and respectability—attributes that can enhance one’s moral influence in public religious discourse.

Beyond her bio, she runs a broadcast channel titled *Diaries Confidential*, which now has over 17,400 members. This is not a space for religious sermons or moral lessons, but rather a public diary told in an intimate tone. She shares glimpses of her days at home, how her skin is doing or what scarf she is wearing that day. But beneath these seemingly casual stories lies a very intentional marketing tactic. For instance, when she mentions that the scarf she is wearing is a new unreleased color from Lafiye, there's no direct call to buy it. By embedding the product into her daily, relatable routines, she builds a kind of emotional closeness with her audience that's far more compelling than an ad. She does not come across as a seller. She is a friend who's simply sharing—and that makes the influence even stronger.

Visual Ethics: Taking Position through Quiet Solidarity

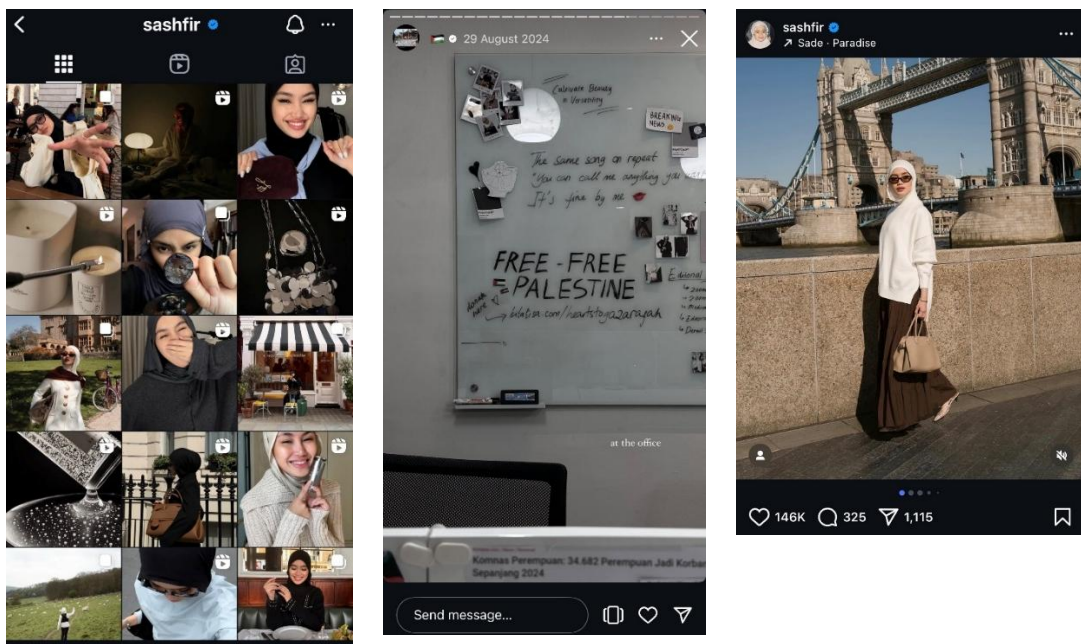


Figure 10. Feeds and one of Palestine's highlights on @sashfir account

Her Instagram feed visually reinforces this branding. Her color palette is consistent: earth tones, muted hues like deep grey, calm cream, cinnamon brown, and ivory white. Her style is never flashy or excessive, yet always elegant. Her outfits never cling to the body, nor are they sheer—most are loose and layered. She understands how to navigate the line between bodily aesthetics and ethical modesty, without ever positioning herself as a moral authority. She avoids posting religious quotes or Islamic reminders, yet certain gestures reveal where she stands. Among them is her visible, if understated, support for Palestine. While she does not produce original content about it, she has reposted Instagram stories showing solidarity. In one highlight, a whiteboard inside Lafiye's office—the fashion brand she owns—displays the handwritten phrase “free free Palestine.” It's not loud or theatrical, but the message is there, woven into her space and work environment. In a landscape where many influencers avoid political or religious controversy, this kind of

gesture—however soft—signals a quiet but deliberate solidarity that not all are willing to show.

Endorsing Without Selling: Branding and Visual Softness



Figure 11. Brand Affiliating Posts of @sashfir

The way Sashfir promoting external brands like Wardah, Gonegani, or Nueta is never loud. The brand is always there—tagged, mentioned—but never explained, never sold hard. Her captions are brief and restrained, just enough to inform without interrupting the visual flow. Instead of convincing her followers to buy, she lets the image do the work: well-lit, clean, composed. This minimalism is not accidental—it’s a strategy. In her collaboration with Wardah, she applies a retinal serum under soft light, writing nothing more than the product’s name and function. The same tone carries over to her fashion endorsements. In one post, she poses in front of Big Ben wearing a brown mermaid skirt by @gonegani, with a caption that reads, “comfy from the first stop to the last snap”—simple and direct, paired with a poised full-body shot. Another feature her in Hong Kong, smiling in a cream cardigan by @nueta, writing only, “Soft knit, calm mind, confident steps.” These posts demonstrate how endorsement can be achieved subtly, without relying on the explicit language of advertising.

What appears to be a calm, personal lifestyle is in fact the result of deliberate effort. Sashfir’s visual presentation is carefully maintained and consistently styled. Following Duffy and Hund’s (2015) idea of feminine self-branding,¹²⁴ her influence is shaped not through narratives of ambition or productivity. She makes no explicit appeals to her audience, yet affiliation still occurs—subtly, through tone and atmosphere.

¹²⁴ Duffy and Hund, “‘Having It All’ on Social Media: Entrepreneurial Femininity and Self-Branding among Fashion Bloggers.”

Unspoken Brand: Lafiye, Visual Storytelling, and Curated Detachment

What makes this pattern even more compelling is how it contrasts with how she presents her own fashion brand, Lafiye. In multiple posts wearing Lafiye's signature pashmina, she does not explain the brand nor mention it in the caption. Instead, Lafiye is only tagged within the image itself, almost hidden—only visible when viewers tap the photo. One post shows her holding a grape slice in front of her face, with a poetic caption reflecting on the beauty of slowing down, not clothing.

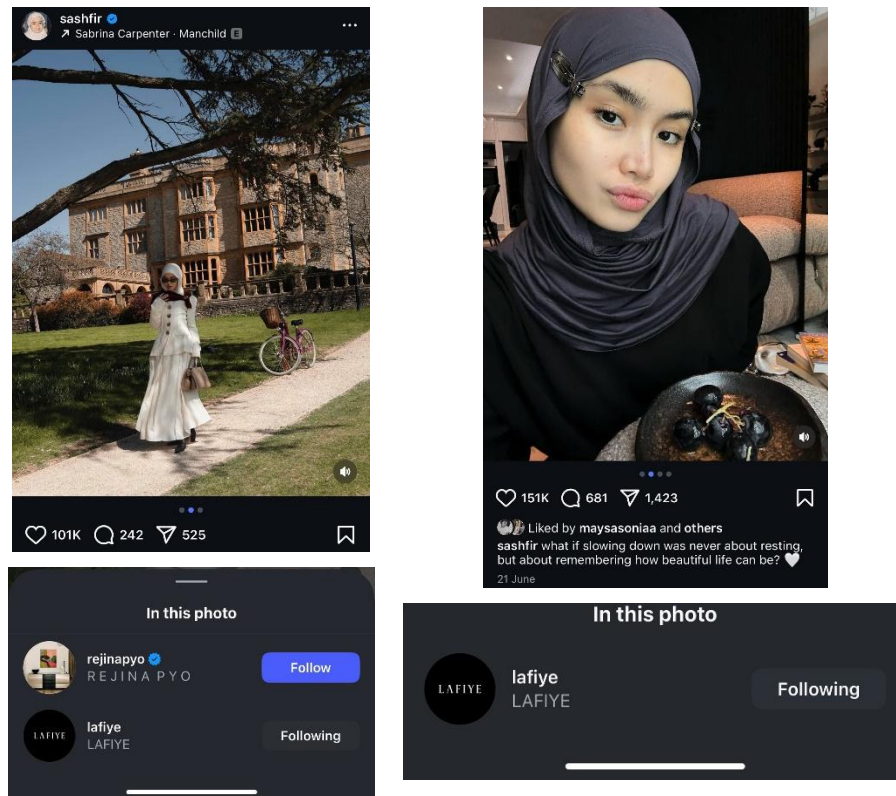


Figure 12. Silent Branding of Lafiye on @sashfir's Instagram

Another post contains no caption at all, just her walking in front of a British mansion in a full outfit that includes Lafiye's pashmina and, interestingly, a tag to the Korean-London brand Rejina Pyo. The silence in these posts is not emptiness—it suggests intentional distancing from overt commercial discourse. By keeping the tone emotionally neutral and aesthetically calm, Sashfir builds a soft branding style that feels like lifestyle storytelling rather than marketing. It reflects a calculated strategy that preserves the influencer's personal aura of authenticity. By minimizing overt promotion, Sashfir positions her brand as an organic extension of herself—not as a product aggressively marketed, but as part of a lifestyle that appears calm, tasteful, and effortless.

This creates an illusion of naturalness, where modest fashion is not imposed but embodied. In contrast to hard-selling or overt Islamic branding, this quiet marketing blurs the line between *personal expression* and *commercial intent*. It

avoids the risk of seeming “too commercial” or overly religious—allowing Lafiye to appeal to a broader, more diverse consumer base, including hijabi and non-hijabi women alike. As Lewis (2017) points out, modest fashion often operates more as a class-coded aesthetic than a straightforward expression of faith.¹²⁵ That’s what happens here. Sashfir sells a version of modesty that’s refined, non-confrontational, and easily consumed. She does not preach, but she persuades—quietly, and with style.

LAFIYE: Between Aesthetics, Modesty, and Branding That Is Never Neutral

LAFIYE is a clothing brand based in Jakarta that now has more than 304,000 followers on Instagram. Through its brief bio, “Cultivate Beauty in Versatility,” the brand shows the way of seeing beauty in many forms. The wording does not mention “modest” or “Islamic,” yet it subtly gestures toward those values, emphasizing versatility over transgression, beauty over exposure.

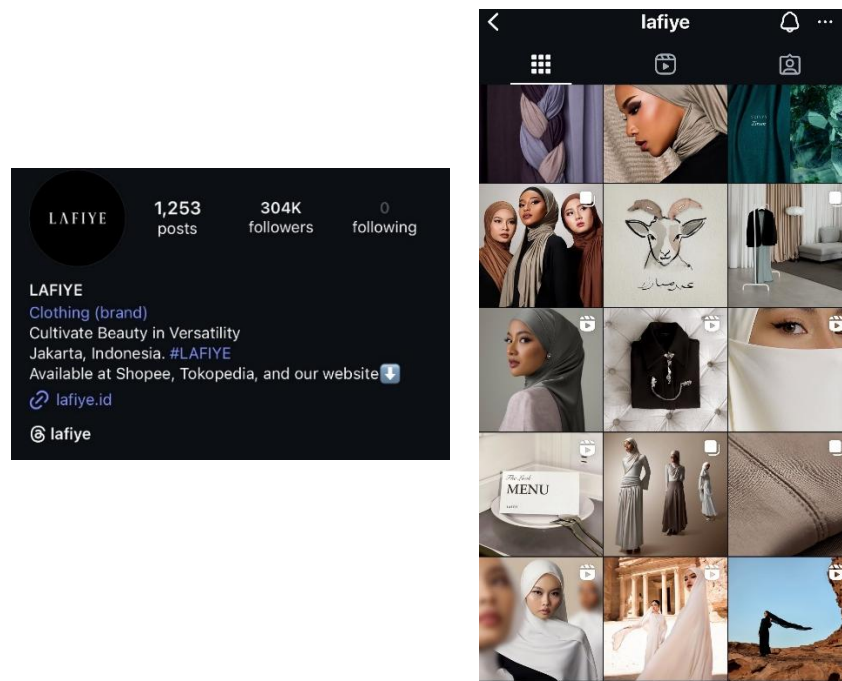


Figure 13. Feeds and Bio of @lafiye Instagram’s account

At first, I assumed Lafiye was a brand specifically for hijabis. But after looking more closely, I realized it is not that simple. Some models wear the hijab, others simply drape a scarf or shawl over their heads, and some are not veiled at all. Body types also vary; not every model is tall or slim. This makes it clear that the market they are targeting is broad—not just visibly pious women in loose clothing, but also those who want to appear stylish, professional, or even experimental—while still staying within a visual framework that feels “neat.”

¹²⁵ Lewis, “Modest Fashion and Anti-Fashion.”

This visual strategy is far from neutral. In fact, that is where its strength lies. Lafiye clearly understands that today’s modest fashion market is shaped by ongoing negotiations—between piety and aesthetics, comfort and control, representation and bodily realities. The Muslim female body here is not simply displayed; it is carefully arranged, curated, and managed. Who appears, how they pose, what they wear, how the light hits them, even their facial expressions—all contribute to crafting a specific impression: this is what calm, modern, and unobtrusive piety looks like. There is no verbal preaching, no religious jargon. And that is precisely what makes the narrative powerful—piety is not declared, it’s felt.

Sav Series: When Modesty is Wrapped in Stillness and Curated Aesthetics

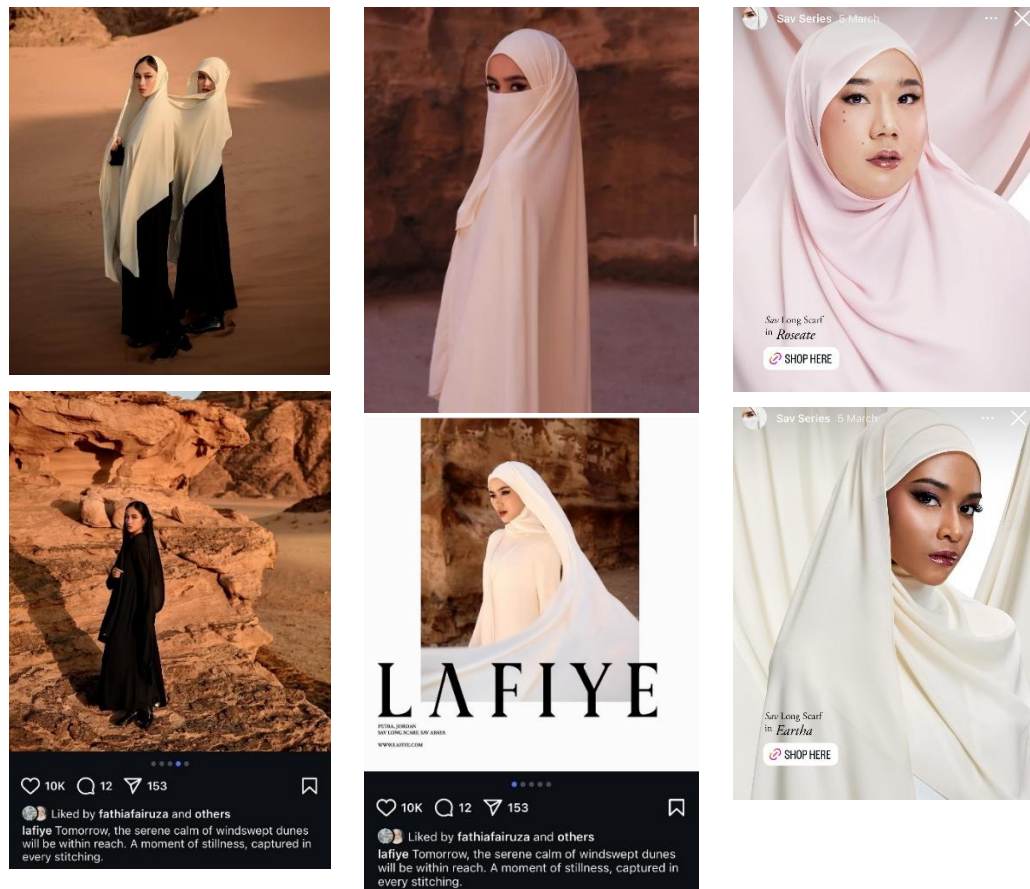


Figure 14. Sav Series of @lafiye

Sav Series is arguably the collection that most explicitly engages with the idea of modesty—both visually and textually. Its launch featured images set in desert landscapes, soft golden light, large stones, and models posed in silence, as if in contemplation. One promotional caption reads like a quiet reflection, “Modesty is not about hiding, it’s about refining. Refining your intention. Your presence. Your comfort.”

The words “refining” and “comfort” are italicized, emphasizing that modesty is no longer about which parts of the body are covered, but about intention,

inner calm, and presence. A following slide includes a hadith from Sahih Muslim: “Indeed, Allah is beautiful and loves beauty.” I cannot say for certain whether this means the brand has a religious orientation. Yet, this series clearly demonstrate modesty is something that can be visually expressed, without needing to be defined. Some models wear long khimars that cover most of the body; others wear elongated scarves like pashmina draped loosely, sometimes without covering the neck or hair. All of this appears within a single promotional campaign.

What is more striking is that other captions in this series are devoid of overtly religious language, “Tomorrow, the serene calm of windswept dunes will be within reach. A moment of stillness, captured in every stitching.” This reads more like a sensory or atmospheric narrative than a moral invitation. Yet the featured products—khimars, abayas, and long scarves—are all garments strongly associated with Muslim women. Modesty here is framed as a mood—silent, serene, spiritual—available to anyone. Sav also incorporates a diversity of models—dark-skinned, plus-sized, and thin. This matters, because modesty is not being tied to any singular body type or ethnicity. Still, all of them are presented in a consistent visual tone: clean, soft, and tightly controlled.

Modesty, then, no longer operates as a strict boundary, but as a spectrum of styles open to interpretation. Through *enframement*—the process by which images are detached from their everyday context and re-presented as visual objects to be evaluated (Spyer & Steedly, 2013 in Baulch & Pramianti)¹²⁶—Lafiye turns dress not into a matter of moral instruction, but into a way of performing a version of the self that appears appropriate, composed, and modest enough.

Rowane: Modesty, Style, and the Grey Zone

Rowane is one of the most explicit series in terms of showcasing diverse styles of dress. In a single post, three women appear together, each dressed very differently. The woman in the center is unveiled, fair-skinned, with monolid eyes. To her left and right are two women wearing hijab—one in trousers, the other in a skirt. Their skin tones are darker, and their hijab styles vary. In the next slide, the central model wears a sleeveless top layered with a shawl, paired with a long skirt. Each clothing item is sold separately.

¹²⁶ Patricia Spyer and Mary Margaret Steedly, *Images That Move*, 2013; Baulch and Pramianti, “Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman.”



Figure 15. Rowane Series of @lafiye

Rowane is not offering modesty in the normative sense, but choice—options for layering, for silhouettes, for styling. But this is not mere diversity for its own sake. It is a branding move that subtly says: “You can look like this without feeling like you’ve strayed from your values.” There is no religious reference, yet everything is styled to appear “appropriate,” “polished,” “aesthetic.”

Ode: At the Edge of Modesty

If any series steps furthest from conventional modesty, it is Ode. Its visual promotions and Instagram stories introduce three style categories: daily wear, resort wear, and lounge wear—each with different approaches to covering the body, styling, and presentation. Daily wear is the most revealing. One model wears a turban and tight pants. Another, plus-sized and unveiled, wears a long dress that hugs her figure. A third model appears in a short-sleeved top and long, semi-sheer leggings. Despite the exposure, the overall tone remains clean and visually polished—modesty, however, is virtually absent.



Figure 16. ODE Series of @lafiye

If any series steps furthest from conventional modesty, it is Ode. Its visual promotions and Instagram stories introduce three style categories: daily wear, resort wear, and lounge wear—each with different approaches to covering the body, styling, and presentation. Daily wear is the most revealing. One model wears a turban and tight pants. Another, plus-sized and unveiled, wears a long dress that hugs her figure. A third model appears in a short-sleeved top and long, semi-sheer leggings. Despite the exposure, the overall tone remains clean and visually polished—modesty, however, is virtually absent.

Resort wear is slightly more covered, though still full of negotiation. An unveiled model wears a long-sleeved top that exposes the shoulders. Another, also not veiled, wears a loose-fitting dress. The hijabi model in this series covers her neck fully with a pashmina, but pairs it with a fitted top and loose skirt. The signature use of woven textures in sleeves and waistlines adds a refined, curated feel—resort, but still composed. Lounge wear is the most covered of the three. One model wears a loose, dark-colored dress; another wears a coordinated top and bottom, both relaxed in fit. Still, modesty is not claimed here—it is simply one of the styles made available.

Ode does not position itself as a modesty-centered collection, but that is precisely what makes its boundaries porous. There is no denial of religious values, but no affirmation either. Everything is left open—and that is where branding strategy becomes apparent. What’s being sold is not just clothing, but comfort and visual appeal that feel accessible to anyone, regardless of their relationship to religious dress codes. This is an effective visual strategy: not enforcing a fixed category, but opening space for negotiation.

In this setting, modesty is no longer an obligation but an option. It emerges not only as a style, but as an ambiance—and in some cases, as a strategy. For urban Muslim women in Indonesia, faced with demands of professionalism, aesthetics, and fluid forms of self-presentation, modesty can no longer remain static. It shifts, it is discussed, and it is curated. And whether deliberately or not, Lafiye provides the visual space in which that shifting continues to take place.

Two Ways of Framing Modesty: From Ideology to Branding

Rather than simply showcasing different aesthetics, the cases of Dena Haura and Sashfir exemplify two contrasting infrastructures of modest fashion in contemporary Indonesia. Each influencer presents not just a personal style, but a coherent system in which modesty is defined, visualized, and commercialized—rooted in distinct ideological, social, and market logics. By tracing the analytical thread from ideological positioning, through definitions of modesty, visual representation, market orientation, and finally branding strategy, we see how modest fashion becomes not only a practice of dress but a strategic formation.

Dena constructs what might be called a structured ideological model of modesty. Her branding follows a vertical logic: it begins with clear Islamic moral values, translates into tightly defined *syar'i* dress codes, continues with uniform and disciplined visual presentation, targets an activist and ideologically aligned market, and culminates in a hard-selling promotional strategy. Every layer—from Quranic captions to campaign aesthetics—reinforces the notion that modesty is a moral obligation. Her product is not only clothing, but participation in a worldview. In this model, modesty is bounded, declarative, and anchored in *da'wah* authority.

In contrast, Sashfir presents a fluid affective model, where modesty is not declared but suggested. Her approach moves from soft, implicit religiosity, to ambiguous but refined modesty, through carefully composed visuals, toward an aspirational and socially mobile market, and finally to a quiet, emotionally distant branding strategy. Her brand, *Lafiye*, trades not in rules but in moods. Modesty here is not what is covered, but what is felt—elegance, quiet confidence, restraint. The result is a system that expands modest fashion beyond hijabis and toward upper-middle-class Muslim women navigating urban modernity without overt religious frames.

These models do not compete on the same spectrum—they construct different logics of legitimacy. One draws from Islamic moralism, the other from aesthetic capitalism. Yet both are effective because they turn modesty into an intelligible, consumable system. This structural difference is precisely what makes their coexistence significant: it reveals that the field of modest fashion is no longer united by shared religious codes, but fragmented into ideological infrastructures that shape what modesty can mean, should look like, and how it is sold.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that Muslim women influencers in Indonesia are not merely users or promoters of modest fashion, but strategic actors who combine images of piety, visual aesthetics, and entrepreneurial skills in a single digital ecosystem. Through the cases of Dena Haura and Sashfir, this research explores two different but equally significant approaches to interpreting and selling modesty in the social media era. Dena builds her authority within conservative Islamic

networks through a structured image and a clear narrative. Through her brand Minimslm, she combines ideology, morality, and political solidarity into a consumable format—presenting clothing not merely as a product but as a statement of values. On the other hand, Sashfir adopts a far more subtle approach: her personal image remains consistently modest and elegant, yet her brand, Lafiye, opens up a more fluid visual negotiation space. Modesty is merely one element within a broader aesthetic palette, where non-hijab or fitted products are still incorporated into a cohesive, calm, and acceptable visual landscape. The tension between personal image and business strategy suggests that modesty is no longer merely a religious category, but also a flexible and adaptive branding asset for the market.

Conceptually, these findings expand our understanding of Muslim women influencers not only as subjects of representation, but as active agents of symbolic and economic production on digital platforms. They do not merely follow algorithms or social norms but shape them—whether through da'wah affiliations or curated aesthetic detachment. In the context of the modest fashion industry, this study highlights two important directions: first, how modesty can be explicitly capitalised as a da'wah commodity rich in meaning (such as in the Minimslm campaign for Palestine); second, how modesty can be unpacked from its normative narrative and resold in the form of taste, mood, or visual atmosphere that does not directly claim religion but still invites consumer emotional engagement (as in Lafiye's Sav Series and ODE). Both demonstrate that modest fashion is not a singular entity but a field of negotiation between norms, markets, and the aspirations of the Muslim middle class.

Theoretically, this study offers a new reading of the concepts of agency Mahmood (2005).¹²⁷ In Dena's case, it appears that women's agency is formed and exercised through the symbolic infrastructure of da'wah, not merely personal branding. Whereas in Sashfir's case, agency emerges from strict control over visuals and atmosphere, without the need for verbal articulation or explicit ideological positions. This challenges the old dichotomy between piety and capitalism, and rejects readings that view aesthetics and commercialisation as forms of depoliticisation. Instead, it demonstrates how values, both religious and aesthetic, can be actively communicated, negotiated, and exchanged in a highly competitive digital market. Thus, this study contributes to enriching the analysis of digital Muslim subjectivity by showing that piety is not always expressed through religious speech or symbols, but also through image control, market engagement, and highly calculated visual strategies.

¹²⁷ Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton University Press, 2005).

REFERENCES

- Abidin, Crystal. “‘Aren’t These Just Young, Rich Women Doing Vain Things Online?’: Influencer Selfies as Subversive Frivolity.” *Social Media+ Society* 2, no. 2 (2016): 2056305116641342.
- Abidin, Crystal. “Visibility Labour: Engaging with Influencers’ Fashion Brands And# OOTD Advertorial Campaigns on Instagram.” *Media International Australia* 161, no. 1 (2016): 86–100.
- Ahmad, Norainie. “How Modest Is Modest Fashion? Exploring Notions of Modesty Within the Context of Muslim Women’s Hypervisibility on Instagram.” 이화여자대학교 아시아여성학센터 학술대회자료집, 2017, 262–96.
- Akou, Heather Marie. “Interpreting Islam through the Internet: Making Sense of Hijab.” *Contemporary Islam* 4, no. 3 (2010): 331–46.
- Al-Boinin, Hamda, Savanid Vatanasakdakul, and Wajdi Zaghouni. “Gender, Culture, and Social Media: Exploring Women’s Adoption of Social Media Entrepreneurship in Qatari Society.” *Administrative Sciences* 15, no. 3 (2025): 89.
- Althalathini, Doaa, Haya Al-Dajani, and Nikolaos Apostolopoulos. “The Impact of Islamic Feminism in Empowering Women’s Entrepreneurship in Conflict Zones: Evidence from Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 178, no. 1 (2022): 39–55.
- Amalanathan, Shanti, and Kelly L. Reddy-Best. “Modesty in Business, Bold in Fashion: Entrepreneurial Experiences of U.S. Muslim Women in Niche Fashion Markets.” *Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship* 13, no. 1 (2024): 57. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13731-024-00420-5>.
- Asmawi, Arnifa, Shamima Manzoor, Abdullah Al-Mahmud, and Shahida Manzoor. “Advancing Muslim Modest Fashion Clothing: Impact on Consumer Behavior and Challenges for Young Female Muslim Influencers.” *Journal of Comparative Asian Development* 20, no. 1 (2024): 1–26.
- Avnimelech, Gil, and Yaron Zelekha. “Religion and the Gender Gap in Entrepreneurship.” *International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal* 19, no. 2 (2023): 629–65.
- Azzman, TSATM, and M Manaf. “Celebrity-Fan Engagement on Instagram and Its Influence on the Perception of Hijab Culture among Muslim Women in

- Malaysia.” *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 35, no. 1 (2019): 286–302.
- Baulch, Emma, and Alila Pramiyanti. “Hijabers on Instagram: Using Visual Social Media to Construct the Ideal Muslim Woman.” *Social Media*, 2018.
- Bayat, Asef. “Muslim Youth and the Claim of Youthfulness.” *Being Young and Muslim: New Cultural Politics in the Global South and North* 27 (2010): 36.
- Berger, Bennett M. “On the Youthfulness of Youth Cultures.” *Social Research*, JSTOR, 1963, 319–42.
- Beta, Annisa R. “Hijabers: How Young Urban Muslim Women Redefine Themselves in Indonesia.” *International Communication Gazette* 76, nos. 4–5 (2014): 377–89. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048514524103>.
- Blommaert, Jan, and Piia Varis. “Culture as Accent: The Cultural Logic of Hijabistas.” *Semiotica* 2015, no. 203 (2015). <https://doi.org/10.1515/sem-2014-0067>.
- Boateng, Richard, Sheena Lovia Boateng, Thomas Anning-Dorson, and Obed Kwame Adzaku Penu. *AI and the Creative Economy: Transforming Content Creation and Influencer Entrepreneurship*. CRC Press, 2025.
- Boellstorff, Tom. “Rethinking Digital Anthropology.” In *Digital Anthropology*. Routledge, 2020.
- Boulanouar, Aisha Wood. “The Notion of Modesty in Muslim Women’s Clothing: An Islamic Point of View.” *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 8, no. 2 (2006): 134.
- Bouvier, Gwen. “Discourse in Clothing.” *Gender and Language* 10, no. 3 (2016): 364–85.
- Brooks, Gillian, Jenna Drenten, and Mikolaj Jan Piskorski. “Influencer Celebification: How Social Media Influencers Acquire Celebrity Capital.” *Journal of Advertising* 50, no. 5 (2021): 528–47.
- Bucher, Taina. “Want to Be on the Top? Algorithmic Power and the Threat of Invisibility on Facebook.” *New Media & Society* 14, no. 7 (2012): 1164–80.
- Camacho, Sonia, and Andrés Barrios. “Teleworking and Technostress: Early Consequences of a COVID-19 Lockdown.” *Cognition, Technology & Work* 24, no. 3 (2022): 441–57.

- Carter, Daniel. "Hustle and Brand: The Sociotechnical Shaping of Influence." *Social Media+ Society* 2, no. 3 (2016): 2056305116666305.
- Clawson, Trevor. "On-Trend: Why Modest Fashion Is Both A Movement And An Entrepreneurial Opportunity." *Forbes*. Accessed July 18, 2025. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/trevorclawson/2021/10/26/on-trendwhy-modest-fashion-is-both-a-trend-an-entrepreneurial-opportunity/>.
- Cooke, Miriam. "The Muslimwoman." *Contemporary Islam* 1 (2007): 139–54.
- Cooksey, Ray W. "The Methodology of Social Judgement Theory." *Thinking & Reasoning* 2, nos. 2–3 (1996): 141–74.
- Crittenden, Victoria L, William F Crittenden, and Haya Ajjan. "Women in Sales in Developing Countries: The Value of Technology for Social Impact." *Business Horizons* 63, no. 5 (2020): 619–26.
- Cruz, Edgar Gómez, and Helen Thornham. "Selfies beyond Self-Representation: The (Theoretical) f(r) Ictions of a Practice." *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 7, no. 1 (2015): 28073.
- Daniels, Jessie. "Rethinking Cyberfeminism (s): Race, Gender, and Embodiment." In *Women, Science, and Technology*. Routledge, 2013.
- De Veirman, Marijke, Veroline Cauberghe, and Liselot Hudders. "Marketing through Instagram Influencers: The Impact of Number of Followers and Product Divergence on Brand Attitude." *International Journal of Advertising* 36, no. 5 (2017): 798–828.
- Dhanesh, Ganga S, and Gaelle Duthler. "Relationship Management through Social Media Influencers: Effects of Followers' Awareness of Paid Endorsement." *Public Relations Review* 45, no. 3 (2019): 101765.
- Duffy, Brooke Erin, and Emily Hund. "'Having It All' on Social Media: Entrepreneurial Femininity and Self-Branding among Fashion Bloggers." *Social Media+ Society* 1, no. 2 (2015): 2056305115604337.
- Duffy, Brooke Erin, and Urszula Pruchniewska. "Gender and Self-Enterprise in the Social Media Age: A Digital Double Bind." *Information, Communication & Society* 20, no. 6 (2017): 843–59.
- Dwifatma, Andina, and Annisa R. Beta. "The 'Funny Line Veil' and the Mediated Political Subjectivity of Muslim Women in Indonesia." *Asian Journal of Communication* 34, no. 3 (2024): 284–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2024.2320900>.

- Dy, Angela Martinez, Susan Marlow, and Lee Martin. "A Web of Opportunity or the Same Old Story? Women Digital Entrepreneurs and Intersectionality Theory." *Human Relations* 70, no. 3 (2017): 286–311.
- Fealy, Greg. "2. Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia." In *2. Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia*. ISEAS Publishing, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.1355/9789812308528-006>.
- Fealy, Greg, and Sally White. "Introduction." In *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, edited by Greg Fealy and Sally White. Books and Monographs. ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2008. Cambridge Core. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/3B22445DF5088698740188D295D0C576>.
- Freberg, Karen, Kristin Graham, Karen McGaughey, and Laura A Freberg. "Who Are the Social Media Influencers? A Study of Public Perceptions of Personality." *Public Relations Review* 37, no. 1 (2011): 90–92.
- Freeman, Carla. *Entrepreneurial Selves: Neoliberal Respectability and the Making of a Caribbean Middle Class*. Duke University Press, 2015.
- Freeman, Carla. "The 'Reputation' of Neoliberalism." *American Ethnologist* 34, no. 2 (2007): 252–67.
- Ge, Jing, and Ulrike Gretzel. "Emoji Rhetoric: A Social Media Influencer Perspective." *Journal of Marketing Management* 34, nos. 15–16 (2018): 1272–95.
- Giles, David C, and Lucy Edwards. "Instagram and the Rise of the Social Media 'Influencer.'" In *Twenty-First Century Celebrity: Fame in Digital Culture*. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2018.
- Goehring, Dorothy Lee. "Muslim Women on the Internet: Social Media as Sites of Identity Formation." *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 3 (2019): 20–34.
- Grey, Sarah. "Between a Boss and a Hard Place: Why More Women Are Freelancing." *Bitch Magazine*, 2016.
- Hartono, H. "Virtually (Im)Moral: Pious Indonesian Muslim Women's Use of Facebook." *Asian Studies Review* 42 (January 2018): 39–52. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1407290>.

- Hasan, Farah. "Muslim Instagram: Eternal Youthfulness and Cultivating Deen." *Religions* 13, no. 7 (2022): 658. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13070658>.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi. "The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency, and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere." *Contemporary Islam* 3, no. 3 (2009): 229–50. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-009-0096-9>.
- Hassan, Siti Hasnah, and Harmimi Harun. "Factors Influencing Fashion Consciousness in Hijab Fashion Consumption among Hijabistas." *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 7, no. 4 (2016): 476–94. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-10-2014-0064>.
- Hew, Wai Weng. "THE ART OF *DAKWAH*: Social Media, Visual Persuasion and the Islamist Propagation of Felix Siau." *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 134 (2018): 61–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2018.1416757>.
- Hirji, Faiza. "Claiming Our Space: Muslim Women, Activism, and Social Media." *Islamophobia Studies Journal* 6, no. 1 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.13169/islastudj.6.1.0078>.
- Hou, Mingyi. "Social Media Celebrity and the Institutionalization of YouTube." *Convergence* 25, no. 3 (2019): 534–53.
- Hunter, Andrea. "Monetizing the Mommy: Mommy Blogs and the Audience Commodity." *Information, Communication & Society* 19, no. 9 (2016): 1306–20.
- Hwang, Chanmi, and Tae Ho Kim. "Muslim Women's Purchasing Behaviors toward Modest Activewear in the United States." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 39, no. 3 (2021): 175–89.
- Islam, Inaash. "Redefining# YourAverageMuslim Woman: Muslim Female Digital Activism on Social Media." *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 12, no. 2 (2019): 213–33.
- Janmohamed, Shelina. "Generation M : Young Muslims Changing the World." In *Generation M: Young Muslims Changing the World*, 1st ed., edited by Shelina Janmohamed. I.B. Tauris, 2016. <https://www.bloomsburycollections.com/monograph?docid=b-9781350986589>.

- Jegham, Salma, and Rym Bouzaabia. "Fashion Influencers on Instagram: Determinants and Impact of Opinion Leadership on Female Millennial Followers." *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 21, no. 5 (2022): 1002–17. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cb.2050>.
- Jhavar, Anand, Prashant Kumar, and Sanjeev Varshney. "The Emergence of Virtual Influencers: A Shift in the Influencer Marketing Paradigm." *Young Consumers* 24, no. 4 (2023): 468–84.
- Johnston, Josée, and Judith Taylor. "Feminist Consumerism and Fat Activists: A Comparative Study of Grassroots Activism and the Dove Real Beauty Campaign." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 33, no. 4 (2008): 941–66.
- Jones, Carla. "Fashion and Faith in Urban Indonesia." *Fashion Theory* 11, nos. 2–3 (2007): 211–31. <https://doi.org/10.2752/136270407X202763>.
- Karakavak, Zerrin, and Tuğba Özbölük. "When Modesty Meets Fashion: How Social Media and Influencers Change the Meaning of Hijab." *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 14, no. 11 (2023): 2907–27. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-05-2021-0152>.
- Kavakci, Elif, and Camille R Kraeplin. "Religious Beings in Fashionable Bodies: The Online Identity Construction of *Hijabi* Social Media Personalities." *Media, Culture & Society* 39, no. 6 (2017): 850–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443716679031>.
- Khamis, Susie, Lawrence Ang, and Raymond Welling. "Self-Branding, 'Micro-Celebrity' and the Rise of Social Media Influencers." *Celebrity Studies* 8, no. 2 (2017): 191–208.
- Khan, Mohammad Furqan, Shabana Khurshid, Faseeh Amin, and Natasha Saqib. "Learning and Creativity in Virtual Communities: Nurturing Entrepreneurial Intentions of Muslim Women." *Management and Labour Studies* 47, no. 4 (2022): 483–501.
- Kitiarsa, Pattana, ed. *Religious Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Gods*. Routledge Studies in Asian Religion and Philosophy. Routledge, 2008.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Sage publications, 2018.
- Lewis, Reina. "Hijab Stories: Choice, Politics, Fashion." In *Fashion Cultures Revisited: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, Second edition, edited by

Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013.

Lewis, Reina. "Modest Fashion and Anti-Fashion." In *The Routledge International Handbook to Veils and Veiling*, 1st ed. Routledge, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315613734-11>.

Lewis, Reina, ed. *Modest Fashion: Styling Bodies, Mediating Faith*. Dress Cultures. I.B. Tauris, 2013.

Lewis, Reina. "Why Mainstream Brands Are Embracing Modest Fashion." Retrieved June 27 (2018): 2022.

Littler, Jo. *Radical Consumption: Shopping for Change in Contemporary Culture: Shopping for Change in Contemporary Culture*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2008.

Mahmood, Saba. *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton University Press, 2005.

Marlow, Susan. "Exploring Future Research Agendas in the Field of Gender and Entrepreneurship." *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship* 6, no. 2 (2014): 102–20.

Marlow, Susan. "Women and Self-Employment: A Part of or Apart from Theoretical Construct?" *The International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Innovation* 3, no. 2 (2002): 83–91.

Martin, Lynn M, and Len Tiu Wright. "No Gender in Cyberspace? Empowering Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Female-run ICT Small Firms." *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 11, no. 2 (2005): 162–78.

Martinez Dy, Angela, Lee Martin, and Susan Marlow. "Emancipation through Digital Entrepreneurship? A Critical Realist Analysis." *Organization* 25, no. 5 (2018): 585–608.

McAdam, Maura, Caren Crowley, and Richard T Harrison. "Digital Girl: Cyberfeminism and the Emancipatory Potential of Digital Entrepreneurship in Emerging Economies." *Small Business Economics* 55, no. 2 (2020): 349–62.

Mitra, Jay, and Asma Basit. "Personal Networks and Growth Aspirations: A Case Study of Second-Generation, Muslim, Female Entrepreneurs." *Small Business Economics* 56, no. 1 (2021): 121–43.

- Moschis, George P, and Gilbert A Churchill Jr. "Consumer Socialization: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis." *Journal of Marketing Research* 15, no. 4 (1978): 599–609.
- Mostafa, Mohamed M., and Alshaimaa Bahgat Alanadoly. "Profiling and Clustering the Global Market for Hijabistas: A Twitter Text Analytics Approach." *International Journal of Information Technology* 16, no. 4 (2024): 2425–37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41870-023-01616-w>.
- Murthy, Dhiraj. "Digital Ethnography: An Examination of the Use of New Technologies for Social Research." *Sociology* 42, no. 5 (2008): 837–55.
- Muttaqin, Ahmad. "Women's Identity in the Digital Islam Age: Social Media, New Religious Authority, and Gender Bias." *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 8, no. 2 (2020): 253. <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v8i2.7095>.
- Nafees, Lubna, Christy M Cook, Atanas Nik Nikolov, and James E Stoddard. "Can Social Media Influencer (SMI) Power Influence Consumer Brand Attitudes? The Mediating Role of Perceived SMI Credibility." *Digital Business* 1, no. 2 (2021): 100008.
- Nisa, Eva F. "Creative and Lucrative Da'wa: The Visual Culture of Instagram amongst Female Muslim Youth in Indonesia." *Asiascape: Digital Asia* 5, nos. 1–2 (2018): 68–99. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22142312-12340085>.
- Nisa, Eva F. "Internet and Muslim Women." In *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*. Springer, 2019.
- Olanrewaju, Abdus-Samad Temitope, Naomi Whiteside, Mohammad Alamgir Hossain, and Paul Mercieca. "The Influence of Social Media on Entrepreneur Motivation and Marketing Strategies in a Developing Country." Springer, 2018, 355–64.
- Orgad, Shani. *Heading Home: Motherhood, Work, and the Failed Promise of Equality*. Columbia University Press, 2019.
- Outlook India. "How Hijab Is Becoming A Part Of The Emerging Modest Fashion." February 18, 2022. <https://www.outlookindia.com/culture-society/modest-fashion-an-emerging-style-statement-to-match-faith-and-spiritual-beliefs-news-182992>.

- Pink, Sarah, Jolynna Sinanan, Larissa Hjorth, and Heather Horst. "Tactile Digital Ethnography: Researching Mobile Media through the Hand." *Mobile Media & Communication* 4, no. 2 (2016): 237–51.
- Ponemon, Lawrence A, and John P Wendell. "Judgmental Versus Random Sampling in Auditing: An Experimental Investigation." *Auditing: A Journal of Practice & Theory* 14, no. 2 (1995).
- Poulis, Athanasios, Francisca Farache, Ola Elbayouk, and Ioannis A Nikas. "Branding Muslim Hijabi Fashion: Exploring Influencer Trends and Impact." *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, ahead of print, September 27, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1108/CCIJ-02-2024-0024>.
- Purwaningwulan, Melly Maulin, A. Suryana, Uud Wahyudin, and S. Dida. "The Existence of Social Media as a Promotional Media in The Hijab Image Revolution in Indonesia." *Library Philosophy and Practice*, April 1, 2019, 1.
- Purwaningwulan, Melly Maulin, Asep Suryana, Uud ud Wahyudin, and Susanne Susanne Dida. "The Uniqueness of Influencer Marketing in the Indonesian Muslim Fashion Industry on Digital Marketing Communication Era." Atlantis Press, 2018, 114–19.
- Putri, Natasya Fitriani, Affan Hameed, Meryem Akin, et al. "Analysing the Modest Fashion Market: An Empirical Study of e-Commerce Best-Selling Products." *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 16, no. 3 (2025): 841–69. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jima-03-2024-0142>.
- Repo, Jemima. "Feminist Commodity Activism: The New Political Economy of Feminist Protest." *International Political Sociology* 14, no. 2 (2020): 215–32.
- Rinaldo, Rachel. *Mobilizing Piety: Islam and Feminism in Indonesia*. Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Robinson, Laura, Shelia R Cotten, Hiroshi Ono, et al. "Digital Inequalities and Why They Matter." *Information, Communication & Society* 18, no. 5 (2015): 569–82.
- Rouse, Julia, and Dilani Jayawarna. "The Financing of Disadvantaged Entrepreneurs: Are Enterprise Programmes Overcoming the Finance Gap?" *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 12, no. 6 (2006): 388–400.

- Rungtrakulchai, Rachata. "The Study of Influencer Marketing Among Generation Z in Thailand: Types of Contents, Frequency, and Platforms." IEEE, 2021, 64–67.
- Sahu, Girja, and Urvashi Bhamboo. "Social Commerce for Success: Evaluating Its Effectiveness in Empowering the Next Generation of Entrepreneurs." *International Journal for Multidisciplinary Research* 5, no. 3 (2023): 1–7.
- Sakai, Minako, and Bhirawa Anoraga. "Education, Digital Enterprise and Islam in the Indonesian Modern Embedded Economy." In *Muslim Women in the Economy*. Routledge, 2020.
- Sakai, Minako, and Amelia Fauzia. *Women Entrepreneurs and Business Empowerment in Muslim Countries*. Gender, Development and Social Change. Springer International Publishing, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-05954-4>.
- Sassen, Saskia. "Towards a Sociology of Information Technology." *Current Sociology* 50, no. 3 (2002): 365–88.
- Shin, Jiwon, Yong Kyu Lew, and Myengkyo Seo. "Between Fashion and Piety: Hijab Influencers and Religious Communities in the Consumer Socialization of Indonesian Muslims." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, SAGE Publications Inc, July 31, 2023, 0887302X231191238. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X231191238>.
- Siraj, Asifa. "Meanings of Modesty and the *Hijab* amongst Muslim Women in Glasgow, Scotland." *Gender, Place & Culture* 18, no. 6 (2011): 716–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2011.617907>.
- Spyer, Patricia, and Mary Margaret Steedly. *Images That Move*. 2013.
- Sundén, Jenny. "What Happened to Difference in Cyberspace? The (Re) Turn of the She-Cyborg." *Feminist Media Studies* 1, no. 2 (2001): 215–32.
- Taylor, Stephanie. "A New Mystique? Working for Yourself in the Neoliberal Economy." *The Sociological Review* 63, no. 1_suppl (2015): 174–87.
- Titton, Monica. "Fashionable Personae: Self-Identity and Enactments of Fashion Narratives in Fashion Blogs." *Fashion Theory* 19, no. 2 (2015): 201–20.
- Tlaiss, Hayfaa A, and Maura McAdam. "Islam, Arab Women's Entrepreneurship and the Construal of Success." *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behavior & Research* 27, no. 3 (2021): 821–44.

- Tlaiss, Hayfaa A, and Maura McAdam. "Unexpected Lives: The Intersection of Islam and Arab Women's Entrepreneurship." *Journal of Business Ethics* 171, no. 2 (2021): 253–72.
- Van Driel, Loes, and Delia Dumitrica. "Selling Brands While Staying 'Authentic': The Professionalization of Instagram Influencers." *Convergence* 27, no. 1 (2021): 66–84.
- Venkatesh, Viswanath, James YL Thong, and Xin Xu. "Consumer Acceptance and Use of Information Technology: Extending the Unified Theory of Acceptance and Use of Technology." *MIS Quarterly*, JSTOR, 2012, 157–78.
- Wajcman, Judy. "Pressed for Time: The Acceleration of Life in Digital Capitalism." In *Pressed for Time*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.
- Welter, Friederike. "Contextualizing Entrepreneurship—Conceptual Challenges and Ways Forward." *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 35, no. 1 (2011): 165–84.
- Williams, J Patrick, and M Nasir Kamaludeen. "Muslim Girl Culture and Social Control in Southeast Asia: Exploring the Hijabista and Hijabster Phenomena." *Crime, Media, Culture* 13, no. 2 (2017): 199–216. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659016687346>.
- Wilson, Jonathan AJ, and John Grant. "Islamic Marketing—a Challenger to the Classical Marketing Canon?" *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 4, no. 1 (2013): 7–21.
- Wu, Yao, Satish Nambisan, Jinghua Xiao, and Kang Xie. "Consumer Resource Integration and Service Innovation in Social Commerce: The Role of Social Media Influencers." *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science* 50, no. 3 (2022): 429–59.