

Globalization in Moslem *Fashion* As the form of Neo-Colonialism

Introduction

The magazine is a media that is often associated with lifestyle. In Indonesia, several magazines, such as the *Paras* and *Perkawinan*, make Moslem fashion as a part of the construction of lifestyle that can describe social class in society. *Paras* and *Perkawinan* are Moslem magazines published in Indonesia, which displays the values of acculturation of East and West displayed through the bridal fashion, but still using the label "Islamic". In media (magazine) "Islamic" refers to the East, while the modern refers to West. Here is an interesting case that shows how a magazine constructs a discourse about modern Indonesian Moslem women in order to become parts of what magazine calls as the modern and global, in which Eastern values and West Values "melt" through fashion¹.

Targeted consumers, Moslems, are another issue of interest when the body, identity, religion and culture are redefined in a given product brand. In Indonesia, the Moslem consumption is closely linked with the consequence of rapid globalization growing together with a total consumption of various products labeled Islamic. A discourse called modern Moslem is often offered as a trendy lifestyle choice. If connected with local values, Moslem dresses labeled "Islamic" cannot stop at the use value and exchange value, but it will be more than that. Globalization does not only have acculturation, but also "raises" local values into global values. Similarly, the global values can also be more "down" into local values because they are embraced and obeyed by the local people of a country.

The media and producers also use the forms of worship to God as a measure of loyalty to the Moslem community in religious ritual. Yet, another perspective can be used to observe how bridal fashion makes Moslems able to see the culture, especially what is happening on the social, economic, political and postcolonial dimensions, as explained by Ania Loomba (2000:9) that "The new global order does not depend on direct rule since

¹ This terminology is used to explain the condition of imitating western values or the condition of pretending to be like western people, but the imitating process is not perfect enough, as a result, it still creates the gap between the reality and the imagination.

this new world order allows the penetration of the economics and culture (in varying degrees) though most of the country is politically against another country". Fashion displayed in the media can be used as a discourse indicating value, class, religion and ethnic / racial / ethnic specific in a society. Clothing and fashion can also communicate a message about the ideology, culture, resistance and form of post neo-colonization of a nation.

Indonesia's Islamic fashion boom is actually started to be presented when the media provide "space" more to Moslems to represent their representation in mass media. Moreover, it also relates closely to the fact that the capital owners can take profit more easily from media organization founded after the collapse of the Soeharto's regime. Thus, the existence of Islamic media started to flourish in the early 2000s. Islamic magazines for women in particular are even significant enough to compete with secular other woman magazines that had already existed in the map of magazine distribution. Alia, Noor, Paras, and Perkawinan are brands of Islamic woman magazines presented in the early 20th century. Paras magazine, published since 2002, competes with other woman magazines that have already been established in the distribution channels such as Femina and Kartini's.

Indonesian Moslem woman market actually reflects an "attack" constructed by the Moslem woman magazines acquiring the meaning of religion as a "sacred" and "clean". But at the same time, they actually try to manipulate by treating religion as a moneymaking machine, and bring a profit that cannot be separated from the commodity. Fumbled the issue of religion, Topics of both faith in God and Moslems discussing fashion appear on Islamic woman magazines in order to distinguish it from other secular woman magazines.

Thus, modern lifestyle constructed by Moslem woman magazines has always been touted for market segmentation. Though it is "westernized" stylish modern, it is still Shari's and Islamic as the promise in every Moslem woman magazines. It means that both modern stylish and contemporary personality remain "Islam" into the themes that are always constructed by media with various representations of objects given as the sign for ready consumption.

Discussion

How Media redefine “Indonesia” and “Java”

If we analyze further, it will be known that how Moslem wedding dress represented in a magazine is always dominated with Java culture, and then generalized as the culture of Indonesia labeled as the East. It is what we call as a media construction. We know that Javanese has been "colonizing" the Indonesian people with various cultural dominance, that's why, it can also be viewed as part of neo-colonialism. New Order intervened in managing people, for example in a wedding procession, with the call as a "tradition" of the nation at least clearly illustrated in a book called Java by John Pamberton (2003:277) who states that "It is not too surprising that the marriage has become the center of attention of the New Order of "tradition". Outside of its colonial heritage as a unique scene to show the cultural identity of "Java", in Central Java the implementation (as in other places) shows the existence of such a domestication way as events that recognize the forces of procreation to domesticate them for the sake of social regeneration". It means that the dominance of Java in cultural discourse like “Adi Luhung” delivers Javanese hegemony over the other tribes in Indonesia. However, until now placing Java as the most represented tribes Indonesia is something that is difficult to deny this unconsciousness.

Therefore, when the media talk about bridal fashion with the title "When East Meet West", the Eastern representations that appear in the magazine is a fashion kebaya, which is a Javanese traditional clothes. It means that East Is East is a meaningful discourse in the Indonesian media since it actually does not refer to Java only? Kebaya which is known as the fashion tribe of Javanese represent Indonesia as a whole. Media become agents who create the legitimacy of the existence of Indonesian in a Moslem fashion magazine though the representatives of the East in those fashion media actually refer to the primordial Java only. Java which I mean here refers to the tribal or ethnic geographically located in Indonesia which is also occupying the island of Java named. And, it also refers to the orientation of the dominance of tribal values as the “creation” of New Order in 1966-1998 led by Suharto.

As bridal fashion, the sense of images in the media can only be seen impartially since only certain tribes became a discourse representation of the media who posed as the East? Thus, what happens now is who colonizes whom? Java colonizes the entire tribe in Indonesia, except Java itself? As shown in figure 1 and 2 below. Media presents Java as a representation that the so-called East as well as friends from the West. Java, in this case, is symbolized with kebaya outfit which can be mixed with hijab, while the West is symbolized with bucket and veils.



Picture 1

Picture 2

The ideological discourse of the media is very visible here. The dominance of the media itself can also be connected with the power relations that exist. As we know the dominance of the existence of both print and electronic media in Indonesia is concentrated in Java, especially in the circles of power located in the state capital of Jakarta. Centered power domination in Jakarta covering various lines of social life,

economy, and politics has shown that the state wants much from the media to geographically plug its hegemony on.

Therefore, we can conclude that the rule of New Order for more than 30 years has affected how media construct the values of Java as an ideology. Similarly, according to Althusser in Durham and Kellner (2006:80), ideology may mean values that are believed by the state or the ruler as the status quo and can be "forced" through the Ideology of State Apparatus (ISA) and/or Repressive State Apparatus (RSA). Thus, the ISA delivered by President Soeharto is reflected on the history of a marriage procession as a sign of the authority establishing culture domination (Pamberton, 2003:2007), as a result, it is considered as "Almost natural, domesticated structure formed in such actions supporting a common form of domesticated Java constructed by New Order. This cultural domestication can always be recognized through such practices as examples of "traditional rituals" held by an Indonesian who is more "beautiful".

Moreover, through Gramsci called hegemony in Barker (2004:62), it is also known that " a historic bloc faction of the ruling class run social authority and leadership over subordinate classes through a combination of strength with the approval of" the media contributes to perpetuate power by participating in the process of hegemonic of the dominant ideology. Similarly, (re)production of representations of Java as the most modern tribe is considered as the great and deserved one to enjoy primordial in the media. Therefore the issue of race, ethnicity and tribalism in Indonesia itself is never really resolved because media centered on the island of Java will never be separated from the realm of power and influence of Javanese culture that always haunt the construction process of a message in it. Thus, there is a constant bias in media that highlights certain tribes and will automatically close the representation of another tribe.

Global and Local Moslem Fashion

The media also often feature modern terminology, like West. In the Moslem fashion, the special issues addressing the question of bridal fashion, as shown in Figure 1 and 2, can explain how fashion refers to the so-called local and global. Media even can also show how local values can coexist and even merge into unitary fashion wedding dress mentioned part of global modernity.

A unitary system of symbols presented here can be understood as a discourse of the text presenting what the trend is and how it is regarded as a role model by Moslem woman magazine readers. As the discourse of fashion images in magazines, Paras bridal shows Javanese Moslem wedding dress. But, the magazine claims that there's something there that looks modern, namely the use of Veil, the long head cover complementing the presence of the headscarf as a cover of women's hair. The use of modern image term here is reinforced by the phrase:

"The appeal of endless *kebaya* needs to be explored. Through a combination of typical traditional and modern fashion elements of this country, it will improve the look of your wedding Day. "

The mass media try to look the audience as a kind, similar logics. Globalization can be interpreted in a mass of individuals who have lost their self identity. Individuals stand up and move to follow the same patterns, unified by a massive culture of globalization. Although the mass consisted of individuals who come together, but they are actually "individuals without much individuality" (Appadurai, 1996). Therefore, the meaning of the mass itself focuses on the circumstances of the similar tendency in order to see how homogeneous the mass media is.

For example, Paras in its rubrics of globalization tries to manage fashion as a uniformity called modern Moslem bride who refers to contemporary values. Since globalization leads people to think, act, apply, and even look similarly, this uniformity can be anything like the ideas, thoughts, and even cultural identity. Globalization is also often associated with the closest relationship to the (neo) colonialism and (neo) imperialism.

The term globalization is often deployed as a cover concept for the new world economy, but as Herbert Schiller argues, its continuities with the old world system of market capitalism should not be ignored. In fact, globalization is a contested term with some identifying it with new forms of imperialism, and seeing it as predominantly negative, while others equate it with modernization and the proliferation of novel products, cultural forms, and identities" Durham dan Kellner (2006:xxx).

If analyzed with the post-colonialism perspectives, furthermore, it can also be known that the existence of bride dresses combined with western values is considered as

the worship of the East towards the West claimed as the superior, grand and modern culture, as a result, the East must adapt western values in their Moslem bride fashion. In other hand, the processes of negotiation between global and local culture can also become a new spirit to create a new identity. It is aimed to make local culture becomes more modern and innovative, and can also be globally accepted because of following the trend of fashion. For instance, it can be seen in Paras magazine No. 50/V/November 2007 where there is an example of the modern fashion representation claimed as parts of negotiation process between religion-its hijab, “terms of traditional and *East*” due to the existence of kebaya, and terms of “modern-*West*” due to the existence of *Veil, bucket*, and long tail as the new accessory of kebaya.

The use of the titles in this article, moreover, also explains how the traditional values try to melt in the unity of fashion. It can be seen through the meaning of certain symbols arranged in language that represents the unity of purpose of the media. Thus the process of hybridity between "West" and "East" can clearly be seen how media try to melt those values into one. The terms of East and West used refers to what is called the Edward Said (1978) that the East refers to the countries located on the continent of Africa and Asia, while the West refers to the countries located on the continent of Europe and America. Similarly, Paras and Perkawinan magazines in this case uses the term of “East” referring to the Indonesia (read: Javanese). However, it does not only reflect separation issue due to the geographical factors since it can also reflect the issues of culture and identity that can work in harmony as constructed by media. Therefore, that Paras and Perkawinan magazines are classified as Indonesian magazines affects how those media see the West and the East certainly from the perspective of the East where those media are geographically located.

As a result, in media we can see how local and global values melt into a new value that seems as a harmonious unity. Brides previously wore Moslem outfits dominated with Indonesian kebaya, and then they use a new concept of the wedding dress reflecting Western values. The “westernized” Moslem bride dress even became a trend at the end of 2007 when the Indonesian designers started using the ball gowns substituting the existence of batik fabrics in bridal fashion.

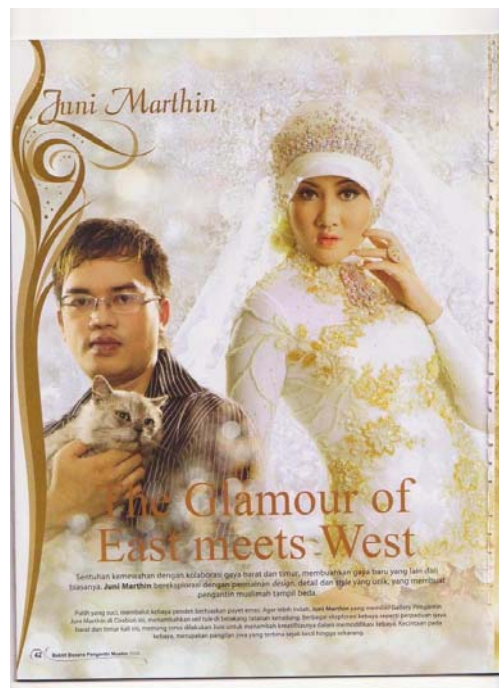
Indeed, Indonesian people have been exhausted with over 350 years of colonialism, but it unfortunately still affects the way Indonesian people think and act because of the existence of "dialogue" among them. However, not all Western values derived from the colonizers have still truly enjoyed in this nation since there is a gap to "negotiate" with Western powers since it is hard to deny. For instance, we can enjoy Telo or Kebumen Pizza Fried Chicken as parts of negotiation though at the same time we also celebrate the hegemony of the West.

The concepts of "colonize" and "colonizer" can actually be defined as how they look at each other. The colonizer will never really have the absolute control of the occupiers because there is still a gap that allows them to mutually learn from each other. There is even a likely relationship between East and West shown in those magazines as mutual "enjoyment". East meets to the locality of Indonesian-Javanese culture "lifted" and juxtaposed together with the West. The unity of clothing can then be accepted by the religion (Islam) with the spirit glocalization (refers to Globalisation and Localization). In the context of fashion, for instance, there are Western values are translated with a bucket of flowers, veils usually used by the West when the bride married in church, or "tail" attached on kebaya.

Using the concept of Homi K. Bhabha (1994) in view of Western values adapted by the Eastern, it can be known that the imitation process is not perfectly adapted in the Moslem fashion. It can be seen through how the veils, which are usually used to cover the bride's head and face in the West, turns into a hijab head covering. Meanwhile, bucket used shows that there is an entirely new section in the Javanese wedding procession inserted with the unity symbol of modernity taken from the western values. It also can be seen while western brides used the long "tail" on their ball gowns, Javanese or Indonesian brides try to imitate those symbols by substituting it with veil as the long tail on their dresses.

In other words, Moslem bride dress as a fashion that continues to grow in Indonesia comes in a unique design that is interesting to be analyzed with the post-colonial approach. As noted by Rowe and Scheeling (in Durham and Kellner, 2006:662), hybridity is "the Ways in which forms change from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices". Wedding dress designs displayed in Moslem Indonesia

Islamic magazines show the existence of "dialogue" between the Western values and the Eastern ones. It indicates that there is a reciprocal relationship between the so-called "invaders" of the West and the "colonized" the East. And, the "Third space" allowing them to have a meeting place is mediated by the media, so media can be seen as the place where the existence of so-called Leela Gandhi (2001:175), communication, negotiation and subsequent translations is. Thus, it means that Moslem woman magazines are where the mediation of the eastern values and the western values in fashion takes place which then lead to the birth of a new identity. For instance, the concepts of Syar'i and Islamic have been inserted in "marriage" by Islamic woman magazines that could previously be almost unimaginable.



Picture 3



Picture 4

In addition, how the media see what is called as traditional and modern things will greatly influence how the media produce the message of culture and fashion in the context of hybridity. For instance, it can be seen in the booklet, "Perkawinan" that presents the bride dresses. In 42 pages of fashion-page articles titled "The Glamour of East meets West", as seen in Picture 3 and 4, it is known that the acculturation occurs between the eastern values representing the traditional Indonesian culture and the western values representing the modern one.

Therefore, it may be concluded that how media reproduce and apply the terms of "East" and "West" in fashion media can be seen through how the tag line of Moslem bride given refers more to the traditional East and modern West. Local fashion designers also become agents who reproduce the values of global consumption that are full of flavor combined with the superior values between East and West as a form of hybridity. In my point of view, it is media creating and spreading western values as culture that must be accepted and imitated since fashion is a part of identity melting with hijab and then creating the new identity of high class. Moslem bridal fashion designers, moreover, also become perpetrators of it affecting the media to create a new culture as the reading and production of new identities. It means that the media has made Islamic values and

western values be side by side with the eastern values (read: local) though they also give the restricted context of syari 'and Islamic. However, those restrictions still create a new concept of the East, namely Islam, which can easily be mediated through the rubrics of fashion magazines considered as the "third space" where it can meet the West which is identical with the religion outside of Islam.

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