

The Role of Celebrities in Campaigning Muslim Attire

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Abstract

Veiling has traditionally been more about displaying religious observance than a woman's beauty. In recent years, the practice of veiling among Indonesian Muslim women has become much more prevalent, influenced by consumerism, the example set by celebrities and the power of the mass media. A new and multi-dimensional nexus seems to have emerged which conflates fashion with religiosity, traditional practice with popular culture, market forces with personal transformation, and celebrity role-models with spirituality. The transactional process occurring between product, brand identification, celebrity promoters and consumers are complex. This paper examines these interwoven dimensions by exploring the role of celebrities in promoting Muslim attire. It finds that the concept of beauty among veiled women defies established concepts of beauty in the secular world, and that while the emerging industry of creative Muslim clothing offers economic gains to garment producers, the use of celebrities to promote their garment is not commercially unproblematic. Although Indonesia's contemporary cultural transformation is subject to the forces of the market economy, it is also mediated by an evolving paradigm of celebrity, fashion and Islamic faith. Exploring the experience of Muslim celebrities in their efforts to introduce Islamic fashion is to enter a new understanding of the development of Islam in Indonesia.

Keywords: Veiling, religiosity, celebrities, fashion, capital force, consumer, market economy, Indonesian Islam

Introduction

Since the idea of religious interpreters to cover male body is not as intense as shrouding female body, the practice of veiling has been an important part of religious and social communities as important as discourse of morality, modesty, piety and identity. In the folk tradition of Indonesian Muslim, veiling was an exclusive entity among *santri* (pious) women to distinguish with *abangan* (nominal) Muslims. The practice of wearing *kerudung* (loose headscarf) and *mudawarah* (tight veil) in denominational schools has been a communal feature of religious-based society. Although it is different from cultural practice in Arab world, normative and ideal values have been embedded in the traditional

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veiling worn by Muslim women. The practice of Muslim dress, according to Whalley, is “ a spiritual test, an overcoming of amoral influences, a battle with desires, a submission to the greater mission of Islam” (Whalley, 1993:17 cited in Feillard, 1999:12).

While such practices and values prevail in a limited group of society, female modesty and standard of morality have been manifested with a diverse appearance in the archipelago. Van Dijk reported that women in many occasions were bare-headed. In the third Sarikat Islam (SI) Congress at the end of 1918, he found that there were three young ladies had chosen to wear modern European dress which were identified as ‘free women’, and also women teachers choose Western dress and not a cheap Javanese *kain* (skirt of printed cloth). In Yogyakarta, the use of head shawl in 1930s has been opposed by schoolgirl of seventeen who objected with the practice of wearing the veil to safeguard a women’s virtue, reasoning that Java is not Arabia, and following Islam does not necessarily mean complying with Arab rules. When Indonesian people started to learn modern ideas, most women of Javanese bureaucratic and religious elite did not wear head shawl. This includes wives and daughters of high ranking Javanese administrators like *bupati* and also many practicing Muslim. Van Dijk also found an interesting description of wedding ceremony where K. H. Hasan Basri sit as a groom wearing national dress, while the bride does wear a *kain* and *kebaya* (close-fitting blouse), traditional dress (1997: 65-73)

Those historical background show that veiling has prevailed in very limited circle within the social structure of Indonesian society. The religious exhortations from Muslim figures, for example Nahdhatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah circle – two biggest religious organizations – hardly pertain the significance of veiling after the *dakwah* movement which was carried out by Islamism activists in urban and secular universities’ mosques intensified and inserted the agenda of veiling movement as a crucial issue. In another part of Muslim world, a worldwide Islamist movement also encouraged Muslim women to take up the veil through religious sermon and *fatwa* (Daomato, 1995:19). They have vigorously promoted veiling as central to the revival of Muslim identity and the construction of the Islamic moral and social order (Moghadam, 1993:240). Some Indonesian young women were slowly influenced by the campaign of veiling which was conveyed by their tutors with militant and convincing ways. As common Islamists’ outfit, they wear what people known as the *jilbab*, a long loose robe with wide long sleeves and the *khimar*, a headdress covering all the hair to below the neck in back and passes below the chin in front, leaving the entire exposed (El-Guindi, 1981:474-5).

However, this veiling movement was still exclusive and tended to develop in a narrow community. The scope of this movement was still around mosque network, secular schools and universities and few religious gatherings (*pengajian*). The practice of this kind of veiling still was ideological and did not provide alternative way of clothing for women. It is different with the subsequent development of veiling which has turned to be commodity

for consumption. The wearing of headscarf has been pervasive among various classes of Indonesian Muslims. Many *abangan* Muslims left their old appearance with the new one by taking up the veil. Moreover, the middle-class celebrities have participated in the commercial efforts to campaign the wearing of Muslim attire. The new trend has raised a question of veiling and more broadly, of the relationship between daily consumption of Muslim attire and celebrities. Why has not the idea of veiling received a great positive response by Muslim public after capitalist market system has penetrated consumption culture by empowering a great potency of celebrities in attributing Muslim products, whereas it has been practiced and campaigned by various Muslim elements?

I argue that situating the experience of Muslim celebrities in their effort to introduce Islamic fashion is to enter a new understanding of development of Indonesian Islam in the light of daily consumption of young Muslim women over their need to credible and attractive model or idol. Revealing the meaning transfer from celebrities to the product crystallizes a series of issues concerning the powerful role of veiled celebrities, the complexity of attribution of Muslim attire and the importance of role model to young women. In this paper, my argument is that consumer and popular culture of veiling show how Islamic actors are adapting and transforming capitalist market at the same time as they promote a contradictory mix of different entity in which Islam presents as a supporting force. By using McCracken's model, this study tries to capture the nexus of meaning transfer from celebrity to products in relation to the role of celebrities in campaigning Muslim attire.

Based on the literature, media reports and secondary materials, this research found that the pervasive practice of current Islamic veiling is different from the exclusive practice of Muslim dress among *santri* Muslims and Islamism activists after celebrities through advertising and media coverage have taken part in the capitalist industry of Muslim fashion. I argue that the new appearance of Muslim women has challenged the old practices and values of religious and communal identity with the new casual and relaxed paradigm of life style. This paper examines how capitalism works in reproducing cultural items of a certain social class by empowering the Islamic figures to transfer their meaning to products in the conducive social and political constellation of contemporary Indonesia.

The appearance of celebrity in Media

The early appearance of celebrities wearing Islamic clothing in public occurred during the Festival of Istiqlal (Islamic culture festival) in the 1990s since the ruling regime has accommodated Muslim's aspiration concerning the wearing of headscarves in public domain. Media reported that some celebrities took part in the Islamic fashion show which was part of the festival program (FI), such as Ida Royani, Ida Leman and Nani Wijaya, and was also backed up by a prominent designer, Anne Rufaedah (*Gatra*, February 4, 1995). As

the definition of celebrity as people that is 'known for being well-known' (Boorstin, 1961:57), their popularity has shifted the public image concerning the unfashionable headscarves worn by a certain social class of Muslim to the fashionable entity. The appearance of celebrities in the FI which promoted *busana muslim* (Islamic attire), according to Rufaedah, was significant in fostering the adoption of this new fashion by Indonesian Muslims. She argued that the popularity of Islamic attire became increasingly intense after the festival. There was almost 50% of the clothing offered for sale in popular urban markets like Tanah Abang (Central Jakarta) was *busana muslim*, she said (*Kompas*, 1 December, 2002).

McCracken has defined celebrity as "any individual who enjoys public recognition and who uses this recognition on behalf of a consumer good by appearing with it in an advertisement" (1989:310). In relation to this issue, studies on the role of celebrity in influencing public attitudes through consumer behavior have been conducted by some scholars (Till & Shimp, 1998; Tripp, Jensen, & Carlson, 1994). One of promising roles of celebrities are offering a range of personality and lifestyle meanings that other agents can not provide (McCracken, 1989:315). In explaining theory of social influence, Kelman (1961:57) argued that celebrity influences, positing that identification occurs when individuals conform to the attitude or behavior advocated by another person (celebrity) after these individuals acquire gratification from the person that they admire. Such an attitude formed when individuals emulate the behavior of celebrities only because they wish to be like them. With their self-esteem motivation to act in a way that establishes and enhances their ideal self, consumers conform to those attitudes and behaviors endorsed by the celebrities that are perceived to possess the qualities the consumers want to achieve their ideal image.

While McCracken's theory on the celebrity endorser conceptualized from celebrity to product and from product to consumer, the process of meaning transfer in the promotion of Islamic headscarves is relatively more complex. Apart from selling a product, the appearance of veiled celebrities both as advertisement endorser and their personal coverage in media provides 'side effect' to audiences or viewers on how their life style is as comfortable and attractive as unveiled women. The new life style brought by celebrities does not only become a meaningful reference for women, but also make them to be more confidence in wearing headscarves. Especially for young women, the role model is very important in their search of identity. Yue and Cheung (2000:91) found that young people can have both idols and models. Idealism, romanticism, and absolutism seem more important in idol selection, whereas realism, rationalism, and relativism coincide with model selection. But in selecting their idols and models, young Muslim women might refer to veiled celebrities based on intertwined aspects between combine idealism-realism, romanticism-rationalism and absolutism-relativism.



Inneke Koesherawati as celebrity endorser in a shampoo product

The changing appearance of Inneke Koesherawati², for example, from you-can-see style to the fashionable-shrouded attire has been a public attention dealing with the new role model of veiled celebrity. Although her track record shows that she was not a religious person, but her self-transformation is a great inspiration for young women. Her new appearance with the '*jilbab gaul*' (fashionable headscarf) has been an icon of a beautiful woman who unbelievably cover her body and hair for the shake of religious prescription. Unlike the previous celebrities who experienced a declining popularity after taking the veil, Inneke's decision to wear the headscarf has not decreased her career in the entertainment world. Her chance to take part in the religious-based programs on TV, radio or printed media is getting bigger as big as the growing Muslim consumer in many sectors of life. When a survey conducted by a shampoo company found that Inneke is the most favorite celebrity dealing with the practice of wearing headscarf, the company put her as the model of its product.³ Then, she appears on TV and printed media marketing the shampoo with her veiling. By using her new reputation, the company has seemingly expected that people's admiration to Inneke will influence the selling of product.

Celebrities are often regarded to be 'the epitome of the inauthenticity or constructedness of mass-mediated popular culture' (Franklin 1999 cited in Turner 2004:4). Their common motive tends to be driven by market economy rather than personal ambition to struggle their ideal norms. Although it can possibly turn to be personal dedication, they have already enjoyed economic advantages and have been

²² The female celebrity who used to be known as a hot-movie actress has dramatically changed her appearance in 1990s. She acted in various hot-movies such as *Diskotik DJ* (DJ Discotheque, 1990), *Gadis Metropolis* (Metropolitan Girl, 1991), *Gairah yang nakal* (Seductive Desire, 1993), *Ranjang Ternoda* (Dirty Bed, 1994), *Asmara di Sirkuit Sentul* (Love in 'Sentul' Circuit, 1994).

³ This survey was conducted by Unilever in 2004. This multi national company is one of the leading companies in the manufacture and marketing of food, home, and personal-care products, with some 400 brands.

comfortable with such a position. The initial trigger of Ratih Sanggarwati to take up the veil, according to her confession, was an unusual offer from a cosmetic company with Islamic label, Az-Zahra. This company offered her to be a model of their product with some conditions. She has to wear the veil in the advertisement and will wear the Muslim dress during she is bound with the contract. As a top model in 1980s, Ratih usually performs secular fashion both in national and international level. However, she accepted the offer despite she has no experience with the practice of headscarf. When a journalist asked her: "When will you take up the veil?", Ratih looked at the contract, which stated that she agreed to cover her body from the first day of publicity for the advertisement. She then asked her client (the Az-Zahra representative): "When will the advertisement be published?" The representative replied, "it will be published in the next two months". Ratih immediately said, "I will take up the veil in the next two months, as stated in the contract".⁴

Media also selects unveiled celebrity as driven-market due to their appearance can make money and they can help media entrepreneurs to attract a new audience (Turner 2004:34). Paras magazine as the Muslim media for middle class readers once published Luna Maya⁵ and Maudy Kusnaedi⁶ in its cover, although they are not a veiled celebrity. Since this magazine has promoted Islamic clothing, the picture of women in its content and cover has always been wearing the headscarves. The editor argues that the idea to put Luna Maya or Maudi Kusnaedi in the cover is related with marketing strategy to attract reader and at the same time claiming that the magazine is implementing *dakwah* (calling for religious virtues) by introducing headscarves to the unveiled celebrity. The celebrity appearance with Islamic clothing as the cover can significantly increase the rate of selling, although the cost to pay celebrity is much higher than non-celebrity model, the editor admitted. Therefore, this magazine has kept finding a new celebrity to demonstrate a new design of Muslim fashion as the intriguing factor for new readers to buy the magazine.

⁴ Hamdani, 2007:98; See also Ratih Sang (2006:58).

⁵ Luna Maya is a young-beautiful celebrity who has been popular with her various professions as actress, singer, fashion and commercial model.

⁶ Maudy Kusnaedi is a beautiful actress, model and presenter. After she won a Jakarta beauty contest, Abang None Contest 1993, she has acted in various movie and *sinetron* (electronic cinema).



Maudi Kusnaedi in the cover of *Paras*, a Muslim Women magazine

Since intensity of celebrities perform both on stage and screen, they own their meanings and can deliver them more powerfully (McCracken, 1989:315). Ratih Sanggarwati can demonstrate 'elegance' even by covering her hair much more vividly than other elegant model. No wonder if she was asked to be a model of cosmetic (with Islamic label), Muslim fashion and cover of Islamic media after she has taken up the veil. Besides, she is often invited by event-organisers to present her knowledge and skill on how to don headscarves with a fashionable style. She evokes the meanings in her persona with greater vividness and clarity. Ratih's book, 'Kerudung Cantik' (2004), discussing special techniques of wearing headscarf, but still looked pretty and considering *syariah* aspects, has been a best seller book and reprinted many times. Her reputation as the winner of Jakarta beauty contest (None Jakarta) and photogenic competition has been a great potency to deliver meaning especially to young women in a more powerful way. Her achievement as a top model in 1980s is profoundly sufficient to confirm her experience on stage. She has managed to show an attractive example because she has enacted an absorbed this elegance by performing it on stage, screen and another media. The powerful meaning of Ratih is laid on her smart, beauty and personality as a former high class model. When she brings these meanings into an advertisement, she has actually passed along meanings with which she has been charged by another meaning transfer process. For her unique quality on the one hand and her declining career in modelling arena on the other, she still appears in public with different market and arena, although catwalk is no longer her stage. After resigning from her old profession, she still takes part in certain religious and art events such as religious preaching, poet reading and costume advisor.



Ratih Sanggarwati's book on the various techniques of wearing headscarves

Another important aspect of celebrities laid at their appearance in media and their messages to audience. While their appearance will strengthen their public recognition, their communication with audience will acquire the celebrity-conveyed meanings and thus be able to construct a satisfying self-concept (McCracken 1989:317). For example, when media reported concerning the granting of award to veiled celebrities for their achievement during their involvement in the entertainment world. Neno Warisman, a former actress and singer, received an award sponsored by the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI: *Majelis Ulama Indonesia*) for being the best presenter on Indonesian television. After resigning from her old career, she became the presenter on the program *Renungan Ramadhan* ('Contemplating Ramadhan') for a private TV station (*Suara Merdeka*, 21 December 2005). Neno's public recognition also embodied in 2006 when she received the *Insan Peduli* (Humanitarian) Award from the Ministry of National Education: this was granted in recognition of her concern for childhood development issues.⁷

Similarly, Inneke Koesharawati received a Best Presenter Award from the MUI for her performance on TV (*Gatra*, 14 January 2002). In the acknowledgement of the award, Inneke commented to media that the award is a proof that wearing headscarf is not a problem to pursue her career, although some people previously doubt it. Inneke said: "Do not hesitate to wear the veil!" (*Gatra* 14 January 2002). The Inneke's conveyed-words certainly have powerful meanings for audience as powerful as other celebrities when they deliver messages in media. As Ratih Sanggarwati argued that "We have to improve the negative image of Islam [by wearing] appropriate clothing" (*Suara Merdeka*, 7 November 2003). In a similar tone, Astri Ivo, a former movie star, tried to fill the self-concept of

⁷ See Hamdani, 2007:97.

Muslim women by correlating the concept of outward appearance with the beautiful side of women. She does invite Muslim women to wear the headscarf, but urges them to continue to look beautiful (*Suara Karya*, 8 October 2005).

Attribution of Islamic headscarves to celebrities

When the celebrity has appeared in advertisement, there should be clear identification of the product with the endorser and transfer the meaning to it (McCracken, 1989: 316). In the promotion of Islamic clothing, Al-Fath – a producer of Muslim fashion –, hired Ratih Sanggarwati to make identification of its product with the image of high class taste as attached to Ratih (*Suara Merdeka*, 7 November 2003). Consumers who use the product certainly attribute it to the beauty and high class image of Ratih Sanggarwati. The same expectation came from producer of Muslim fashion, *Shafira*, when hiring Berliana Febrianti as the model of Islamic clothing (*Serambi Indonesia*, 11 April 2006). This prominent producer of Muslim fashion even did not only hire Berliana, but also used Inneke Koesherawati and Marissa Haque as a brand personification (www.disctara.com). This competitive situation made another producer of Islamic clothing, Rabbani, involving celebrity to marketing their products. Based on her consistency in wearing and promoting Islamic clothing in many occasions, the producer chooses Astri Ivo as a model of their product. The identification of those products to celebrities' endorser has seemingly become common preference among producers to sell their product by expecting the filled meanings from celebrity endorsers to the product.

Unlike McCracken's model that focused meanings delivery from celebrities to advertised products, the appearance of veiled celebrities in Media might be more complex. The meaning transfer of celebrities to the product does not always advantage the advertising agents, but also to various entrepreneurs of Muslim clothing industry in the shopping centre or traditional market after they have replicated and developed the fashion style. In other words, due to the unregulated property right of Islamic clothing design, the attribution of celebrity endorser does not merely refer to the producer or its trademark, but it associates more to the celebrity itself. In this respect, the meaning transfer occurs in a reverse situation. It is not delivered by celebrity to the product, but the "product" refers to celebrity. Although this could be categorized as violation of property right, the duplication trend in Muslim fashion's market is relatively common and never been regarded as a serious issue by designers and celebrity endorsers. When Inneke's style of headscarf found in Tanah Abang market, for example, the celebrity did not make it as serious matter. She even said that if her style has benefit for others, it is not a problem for her (kafegaul.com, 14 November 2006).

From time to time, there has been various style of Muslim fashion referring to celebrities. As soon as Ratih Sanggarwati with her way of clothing appeared in media, it

immediately inspired the sale of '*kerudung à la Ratih Sang*' in the market. Muslim consumers strongly attribute a new and unique veiling style, which combines the Javanese *kebaya* and the Malay *baju panjang* (long blouse) to Ratih Sanggarwati's influence. Another popular style refers to Inneke Koesherawati, which is usually known as '*kerudung Inneke*'. Unlike the classical style of headscarf which covers the breast, this kind of headscarf is worn by winding cloth of headscarf to the neck. Although Inneke is not the pioneer of the wearer of this style, Inneke's way of veiling known as '*kerudung gaul*' (fashionable headscarf). One of the early generations of headscarves style refers to Neno Warisman's practice. It comprises of two layers of clothes which is installed like a wave on the head. It is different from other celebrities who commodified their veiling style, Neno's style of headscarf has been popular without any advertisement or marketing strategy. Consumers only learn from the appearance of Neno with her typical headscarf through media or by training in workshop on technique of wearing headscarf *à la* Neno.



Neno Warisman's style of headscarf on the stage reading a poem

Given those various alternative of Muslim dress, consumer are no longer difficult to find relevant choices based on their taste. Those popular headscarves do not have strong connection with ideological spirit and militant movement as practiced by Islamism activists in 1908s. Nor they are an outward expression of traditional elements of religious group which stereotypically do not concern with fashionable appearance. These facts have shown the changing culture of veiling practice among Muslim women after the involvement of capitalist forces in fostering consumer culture. It is also supported by the growing trend of deideologization of veiling by exchanging the concept of *jilbab* with *kerudung*. Although both head cover are similar kind of veiling, the former has been assumed by people as more ideological than the latter. Ratih Sanggarwati is one of celebrities who prefers changing the concept of *jilbab* with *kerudung* in veiling nomenclature. When she published her book – about various techniques on wearing headscarves – she decided to use the word '*kerudung*'

rather than *jilbab* (Kerudung cantik, 2004). She admitted that she used the word *kerudung* is for the shake of marketing strategy. "It's not good for commercial purpose, If I use the word *jilbab*", she argued.⁸

Dissociation of current Muslim dress with ideological elements is a proof of transformation of Indonesian culture. Celebrities have contributed significant role in boosting popular forms of Indonesian Islam, and have negotiated between two spheres of religious identity: between 'theoretical' and 'popular', 'official' and 'folk' Islam. The result is that Islam has developed specific local features across large historically- and culturally-shaped regions of the Muslim world. Instead of referring to the traditional veil worn by Arabs at the original centre of Islam, Indonesian Muslims, living in a peripheral region, produce new and creative styles of veiling which maintain a distance from Arab practice. "There are many types of headscarf in Indonesia but they're not like Arabian clothes. We're creating our own Indonesian Muslim style", says the owner of a modern Muslim clothing boutique (*The Jakarta Post*, 19 March 2007). Compared to a few decades of Muslim experience in the contemporary Indonesia, this changing outward appearance is the new development of Muslim practices at the regional level. The emergence of regional forms of Islam, as identified by Gradeva and Ivanova (2001:239) has been characterized by incorporating large-scale adaptations of local cultural and religious usage.

While economic aspect has become inherent motive of veiled celebrities, their participation has been an important part of campaigning Muslim attire. In relation to Bourdieu's concept, celebrities play significant roles as 'agents of consecration' in the field of restricted production to foster producers of a 'determinate type of cultural goods' and consumers capable of consuming them (Bourdieu 1993:121). The forms of consecration of celebrities can be found in their experiences from the early efforts to introduce Muslim dress to consumers until the pervasive practice of Muslim attire among various classes of society. In the end of 1970s, Ida Royani, decided to "jump" to the world of fashion design and entrepreneur of Muslim clothing after feeling inconvenience with singing and acting profession. In order to dedicate to her new world, she took a course in London Academy of Modelling and has designed various Islamic clothing, particularly for upper class of society. After passing a long devotion, she has been appreciated with Rochelier Designers Award 1998 and Ten Best Dress Women in Singapore (*Suara Karya*, 12 October 2005). Since Islamic clothing has been previously assumed as unfashionable and low class attire, she is the one who has endeavoured to introduce fashionable Muslim clothing both in her boutique and high class outlets. With other designers that gather in association of Indonesian designer and entrepreneur of fashion (APPMI, Asosiasi Perancang Pengusaha Mode Indonesia), she intensely participates in the Muslim fashion shows (Batavia.co.id, 11 July 2010).

⁸ Interview with Ratih in Jakarta, 21 September 2004.

Another agent of consecration among celebrities is Ratih Sanggarwati, a top model in 1980s. While Ida started her dedication through fashion design, Ratih initiated her devotion in promoting Muslim fashion by being celebrity endorsers in Muslims daily consumptions. After resigning from catwalk arena, she has dedicated her life to campaign the shrouded Muslim attire by many ways. For example, she often visits religious gathering (*pengajian*) in mosques and teaches people on how to wear headscarves in a better way. As part of her concern on promoting Muslim attire, she has established and managed a training centre for young women to be a model with good personality in demonstrating Muslim fashion, named '*Lembaga Pendidikan Ratih Sang*' (LPRS). She has also initiated the contest of female Muslim model (*Pemilihan Top Model Muslimah*) since 2004 which has been participated by young women from several big cities in Indonesia. In her autobiography, her devotion to promote Islamic attire is expressed with self-transformation concept: 'From Catwalk to Stage of Religious Call' (*Dari Catwalk ke Panggung Syiar*). She declares that "modeling world is really my destiny that has been mandated by Allah swt to me. Now, I take God's way by promoting Islamic attire. I feel that my experience during involved in the modeling world will be a sufficient investment for me to call for virtues" (Ratih Sang, 2006: 35).

Although celebrities are socially and physically distant from average consumers (Cocanougher and Bruce, 1971:379), their appearance and personal experience which is frequently covered by media, has made them as if closed individuals with consumers that deserve to be reference. The story of religious awareness that they claim as "*hidayah*" (God's guidance) is a turning point of their secular persons to be "religious one". The new appearance with headscarf is a "conversion" representing new 'historical consciousness', 'self-transformation' and a vision of society that distance itself from the past (Brenner, 1996:673). The dramatic changing of Ratih's attitude to her religion is a good example for public on how glamorous and hedonist top model converted to be a "pious Muslim" and became a heroic campaigner of religious identity. As dramatic as Ratih, Inneke's experience shows a self-transformation from seductive and immoral practices in her movies to be "respectable woman" that has eagerly taken a religious path. Those stories certainly inspire young women to attribute the practice of veiling with the self-transformation and a signifier of religious awareness.

Consuming Beauty with veiling

In his study on celebrity endorser, McCracken (1989) has conceptualized how the process of celebrity endorsement help consumers get meanings out of the product into their lives. This study will develop in more specific question on how does an endorsement of veiled celebrities such as Inneke Koesharawati, Ratih Sanggarwati and Astri Ivo help the properties of Muslim fashion become the properties of the consumers? As discussed in the early section that the transfer meaning from celebrities to product do not occur in a single

entity, the stage of consumption is also complicated and sometimes difficult to explicate. As McCracken argues that the meanings of the object do not merely lift off the object and enter into the consumer's concept of self and world. There is no automatic transfer of meaning nor any automatic transformation of the self (1989:317). Some products advertised by veiled celebrities do not only refer to the product, but also attribute to the celebrities themselves and their style.

Transformation of the self possibly occurs when 'people admire, emulate, and become infatuated with their favorite celebrities' (McCutcheon et al, 2002). Among young women, their favorite celebrities have played important role in influencing their self-transformation and viewing the world. One of evidences on how young woman transform herself to be her favorite celebrity can be found in Andina Agustina (b. 1986). As a participant of beauty contest in 2004, she appeared with unusual outfit that covered her body, limbs and head in a wrapping garment known as *busana Muslim* (Muslim attire), while other participants revealed the shape of their bodies. The competition was organised by a secular cosmetic company, PT. Mustika Ratu. The beautiful shrouded young girl did not only become a finalist, but also won a prize in the category of 'Favourite Princess'. Her victory was broadcast on TV and published in the print media. "I am proud that I can win while wearing the *jilbab* (headscarf). I want to show the world that wearing the *jilbab* is not an obstacle to achieving success and participating in all kinds of social life," she remarked (*Republika*, 10 August, 2004). Besides expressing her pride in her own public achievement, Andina also paid homage to her idol, a popular veiled actress. According to Andina, one of her reasons for taking up the veil was her admiration for Inneke Koesherawati.

Andina's admiration to Inneke certainly not to the product advertised by the beautiful celebrity, but to her physical attractiveness in which it becomes a crucial factor of self-transformation. Kahle and Hommer (1985) identified that most studies have shown that physical attractive source facilitates attitude change (Baker and Gilbert 1977; Caballero and Price 1984; Chaiken 1979; Horai et. all 1974; Joseph 1982; Kulka and Kessler 1978; Mills and Aronso 1965; Mills and Harvey 1972; Petty and Cacioppo 1980). However, physical attractiveness attached to veiled celebrity is different from the image of beauty constructed by 'secular concept'. The physical attractiveness here tends to referring to the elegance of veiled popular women in demonstrating Muslim attire. Although the changing behavior in veiling practice among young women can not always refer to the physical attractiveness of celebrities, it has been an important aspect of the growing new appearance among Muslim women. As Andina's confession that her appearance has been influenced by Inneke's appeal after having a new reputation as veiled woman, this trend shows how individuals emulate the behavior of celebrities because they wish to be like them after these individuals acquire gratification from the person that they admire (Kelman, 1961:57).

Since the beauty is an objective attribute that all women necessarily want to manifest, the discourse of physical beauty for veiled women has seemingly experienced a shifting paradigm. The role of celebrities in constructing beauty for Muslim women has been intensely delivered to audiences after they change their appearance with Muslim attire. This could be seen in some comments concerning veiling and beauty in a book's epilogue (Sanggarwati, 2004:84). "*Subhanallah*" (glorious is God).....by wearing the *kerudung* (veil), it is not making uncomfortable, complicated or old-fashion as I thought before.....I feel that I am a real Muslim now. And who said that wearing Islamic headscarf, women can not looked beautiful? It's not true at all !" (Mediana Hutomo, sinetron artist). "Alhamdulillah, I feel safe, comfortable, peace and happy after wearing headscarf. If many women don the headscarf looked more beautiful, I am sure that it comes from the outpouring of happiness and tranquility of her soul" (Dewi Hughes, presenter). "As the nature of women who want to be looked beautiful, wearing headscarf does not reduce the level of female beauty. Because beauty has nothing to do with the revealing our body for the shake of vogue"(Inneke Koesherawati, actress and presenter).

Unlike the practice of veiling among previous generations which hardly offered the beautiful aspect of Muslim dress, this current veiling has campaigned the concept of beauty as integral concept with veiling. Contrary to the concept of 'hair is powerful symbolic of the self (Synnot, 1987:404), the covered hair and body is another version of female beauty campaigning by many practicing Muslims. People in workplaces, campuses, schools, religious gatherings (*pengajian*) and even in social network community commonly express their compliment to veiled women such as: "You are so beautiful with the headscarf !" or "You looked more gorgeous!" or "I've never seen you as beautiful as you are now!". These compliments become motivating words among the wearers of headscarves and people who have sympathy to the new comer of Muslim clothing wearer. Although this kind of beauty is rather elusive, the concealment of body and hair has challenged the established concept of beauty. As defender of veiling argues that the beauty of concealment lies in the elimination of the physical values in order to revive the values of the real self of a woman in the mind of the society of man and woman (Rahnavard, 1987).

When people assume that veiling and beauty can be put together in one entity, it could be a promising commodity for capitalist consumer culture. The vast range of Islamic clothing which is currently produced, marketed and sold point to the significance of appearance and beauty of Muslim women. Images of the spiritual achievement, respectable impression and associated with materialism and leisure, emphasize the importance of appearance and the look. Within consumer culture, advertisement and popular Muslim media provide a proliferation of stylized images of outward appearance. This current Muslim fashion is designed to celebrate the freedom to wear colorful and attractive outfit in order to beautify women in many occasions, but it is promoted with religious messages by the endorsers of capitalist market system. In a larger context, this is about a popular

culture whose raw materials are the products of commercial activity, practices of mass-produced culture, and what the society makes out of these products and practices (Basturk, 1995).

Conclusion

The transformation of Indonesian Muslim society is not only noticeable in religious or political life but also in everyday consumption. The abating political tension between state and Islamic forces in the end of New Order regime has paved the way of the growing consumer culture under the auspice of consecration agents to share economic and social advantages. While veiling became religious and political issue during the marginalization of Muslim politics, the development of Muslim attire has shown its progress after the middle-class celebrities taken part in campaigning the more attractive ways of wearing headscarves. Although their role is intertwined with their economic interest, the attractive aspect of celebrity has offered a range of personality and lifestyle that the model or other agents can not provide.

Instead of attributing the product of Muslim attire to celebrity and then to the producer or its trademark (McCracken, 1989), the meaning transfer of celebrity endorser in promoting Islamic attire has experienced a blurred association. The Muslim attire products that are advertised by veiled celebrities do not only refer to the marketing agents, but also inherently attach to the celebrities beyond the control of their producers. As a result, the attribution of various products with the name of certain celebrities has emerged in shopping centre or lower trading centre without any affiliation with the original producers. It has been familiar among the wearer of Muslim attire that they can easily find many kinds of headscarves attributing to Inneke Koesherawati, Ratih Sanggarwati, Neno Warisman, Astri Ivo and many other celebrities in diverse version.

Since popular culture is formed by a contradictory mix of different cultural forces, commercialized culture for consumption has been redefined, reshaped, and redirected to be a new cultural product which distances itself from the past. The current practice of veiling among young women is certainly different from ideological veiling among Islamism activists and traditional head shawl worn by *santri* women due to the more casual and relaxed values which are not provided by the previous generations. At the same time, the concept of beauty among veiled women has defied the established concept of beauty in the secular world. Nonetheless, the emerging creative industry of Muslim attire has not only offered economic advantages for the endorsers, but also challenged the sovereignty of Muslim consumers to determine the direction of cultural transformation without subject to market economy. Thus, the direction of new cultural entity would be influenced by their

respective role in creating supply and demand balance that is still being continuously negotiated in the changing daily life.

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