Definisi: Jurnal Agama dan Sosial Humaniora
eISSN: 2828-7878 Vol 4, No 3, 2025, pp 201-218
https://doi.org/10.15575/djash.v4i3.53169

Muslim Women's Clothing During Eid al-Fitr as an Expression of the Islamic Cultural System: A Comparative Literature Study of Indonesia, Malaysia, Türkiye, and Nigeria

Indah Rahmawati
UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia
Rahmawatiindah42@gmail.com

Ilim Abdul Halim
UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia
iimhalim81@gmail.com

Suggested Citation:

Rahmawati, Indah; Halim, Ilim Abdul. (2025). Muslim Women's Clothing During Eid al-Fitr as an Expression of the Islamic Cultural System: A Comparative Literature Study of Indonesia, Malaysia, Türkiye, and Nigeria. *Definisi: Jurnal Agama dan Sosial Humaniora*, Volume 4, Number 3: 201-218. https://doi.org/10.15575/djash.v4i3.53169

Article's History:

Received April 2026; *Revised* November 2026; *Accepted* November 2026.
2025. journal.uinsgd.ac.id ©. All rights reserved.

Abstract:

The celebration of Eid al-Fitr is one of the most important moments in Islamic tradition and serves as a space to articulate religious and cultural values expressed through Muslim women's dress. The clothing worn on the holiday not only reflects adherence to Islamic theological norms but also represents the social identity and aesthetics of local cultures. This study aims to analyze how Muslim women's dress practices during Eid al-Fitr in Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, and Nigeria reflect Islam as a dynamic and context-specific cultural system. The research method is a comparative literature study that examines academic literature, cultural archives, and ethnographic sources relevant to the traditions of Eid al-Fitr and Muslim women's dress in each country. The results show that despite differences in the form, style, and symbolism of clothing such as the kebaya and gamis Nusantara in Indonesia, baju kurung in Malaysia, modern Ottoman kaftan in Turkey, and the agbada and African abaya in Nigeria, all these practices reflect the integration of Islamic theological, social, and aesthetic values. Thus, Muslim women's Eid al-Fitr dress can be understood as a symbolic medium that demonstrates both the universality of Islamic teachings and the diversity of local cultural expressions. This research recommends the development of field ethnographic studies and digital cultural analysis to broaden understanding of the dynamics of Muslim cultural expression in a global context.

Keywords: comparative literature studies; cultural system; Eid al-Fitr; Islamic Identity; Muslim women's clothing.

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr celebrations cannot be understood solely as an aesthetic issue of fashion tastes or annual trends, but rather as a complex expression of social, spiritual, and cultural values that reflects Islamic values within the ever-changing landscape of modernity. Each Eid al-Fitr celebration offers a symbolic space where Muslim women can assert their religious identity through clothing choices that blend colors, shapes, and styles, intertwining local norms with global influences. In this context, clothing no longer stands as a mere material object, but as a meaningful medium of communication. These dress practices form a visual narrative of piety, propriety, and collective identity that lives within Muslim communities. Thus, Eid al-Fitr clothing becomes a symbolic representation of the value system that operates in Muslims' daily lives.

The cultural celebration of Eid al-Fitr presents both a reflective and performative moment, where dress practices become part of a social ritual marking the end of the spiritual period of Ramadan. Within this framework, Muslim women's dress not only represents adherence to religious teachings but also serves as a symbol of self-renewal and spiritual purity, celebrated collectively. The choice of bright colors, elegant designs, and the tendency to wear new clothes reflect symbolic meanings of inner purity and new beginnings. This dimension demonstrates that Eid al-Fitr dress practices are inseparable from a broader system of meaning, where religion, culture, and social expression interact. Thus, dress becomes an integral part of the ritual that binds individuals within a broader network of collective meaning.

In Indonesia and Malaysia, Eid al-Fitr attire has evolved into a symbol that not only reflects religious dimensions but also strengthens social structures and family relationships. The tradition of wearing uniforms within families, for example, demonstrates how clothing serves as a tool for building solidarity and collective identity. Furthermore, this practice demonstrates the integration of Islamic values with distinctive local cultures. Attire such as the baju kurung or gamis is chosen not only for its conformity to Islamic norms but also for its closeness to local cultural identity. In this context, clothing serves as a medium connecting the spiritual dimension to everyday social practices. Thus, this phenomenon demonstrates that Islamic expression is not singular, but rather manifests in diverse forms according to the cultural context of each society.

In contrast to the Southeast Asian context, Muslim women's dress practices during Eid al-Fitr in Turkey and Nigeria exhibit more complex dynamics, particularly regarding the interplay among Islamic tradition, secular modernity, and local cultural expressions. In Turkey, for example, Muslim dress often serves as a platform for negotiation between religious identity and the secular values long entrenched in the social system. Meanwhile, in Nigeria, dress practices demonstrate a synthesis of Islamic values and ethnic cultures, such as the strong Hausa tradition. Both contexts demonstrate that dress not only reflects adherence to religious teachings but also serves as a space for articulating complex identities. In this regard, Muslim women's dress during Eid al-Fitr can be understood as a form of cultural expression in a continuous process of negotiation.

The varied meanings and symbols of Muslim women's dress code during Eid al-Fitr celebrations across countries demonstrate that this phenomenon cannot be understood in a single, unified manner. On the one hand, clothing serves as a marker of adherence to religious norms that emphasize modesty and simplicity. On the other hand, it also serves as a space for expressing a modern lifestyle influenced by the global fashion industry. The tension between these two dimensions creates an interesting dynamic, as individuals attempt to balance religious

demands with the desire to appear fashionable. In this context, dress code reflects the ongoing process of identity negotiation in everyday life. Thus, Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr reflects not only religious values but also broader social dynamics.

This phenomenon demonstrates that Islam functions not only as a theological system governing human relations with God, but also as a cultural system that shapes aesthetic tastes, social structures, and consumption patterns in society (Geertz & Banton, 1966). Within this framework, clothing practices can be understood as part of a symbolic system that represents Islamic cultural values. Clothing choices are based not only on functional considerations but also on the symbolic meanings inherent in each element of clothing. Thus, clothing becomes a medium that connects the spiritual dimension with social reality. This approach allows for a more comprehensive understanding of how Islam operates in the daily lives of its followers, not only as a doctrine but also as a living cultural practice.

Understanding Muslim women's dress practices during Eid al-Fitr in various cultural contexts is crucial for uncovering the distinctive characteristics of Islam in each society. In Muslim-majority societies like Indonesia and Malaysia, these practices tend to demonstrate a harmonious integration of religious and local cultural values. Conversely, in contexts like Turkey and Nigeria, these practices often reflect a negotiation between different value systems. These differences demonstrate that expressions of Islam are not monolithic, but rather diverse and dynamic. Thus, studying Muslim women's dress during Eid al-Fitr can provide broader insights into how Islam is lived and practiced in various social and cultural contexts.

Research on Muslim fashion and the construction of Islamic identity shows increasingly diverse developments, both in terms of the approaches and focus of the studies used by researchers. Various studies show that fashion is no longer understood solely as a personal dressing practice, but rather as a social phenomenon laden with symbolic meaning. A study conducted by (Bagdogan, 2023) positions Muslim women in Turkey as active subjects in utilizing social media to represent the tesettür style as part of a religious urban lifestyle. In this study, social media is positioned as a representational space that allows individuals to display their religious identity in aesthetic and modern visual forms. This practice demonstrates that fashion has become a medium of self-expression that is inseparable from the influence of digital technology developments. Thus, Islamic identity is not only constructed through religious practices but also through visual representations spread across the vast digital space.

In a different context, research conducted by (Ara, 2021) examined the factors shaping hijab fashion awareness among young women in Malaysia. This study highlights how this awareness does not emerge spontaneously but is shaped through the interaction of religious values, social influences, and intense media exposure. In this study, hijab fashion is understood as a practice that lies at the intersection of religious commitment and modern lifestyle trends. Young women consider not only aspects of conformity to Islamic norms but also aesthetic dimensions and emerging trends in the fashion industry. These findings demonstrate a subtle negotiation between religious values and modern aspirations in dress practices. Within this framework, clothing becomes a space where religious and social identities interact and form dynamic configurations.

Both studies demonstrate that Muslim women's fashion cannot be separated from broader social dynamics, including technological developments and changing patterns of interaction in modern society. Clothing serves not only as a symbol of religious identity but also as a medium of social communication that allows individuals to present themselves in public spaces, both in person and through digital media. The practice of dressing becomes part of the identity-

construction process, involving various factors, from religious values to the influence of popular culture. In this context, fashion can be understood as a complex phenomenon, reflecting not only individual beliefs but also social position and involvement in the currents of modernity. Thus, the study of Muslim women's fashion opens up space to understand how Islamic identity continues to be shaped and negotiated in various contexts of contemporary life.

Another study conducted by (Apriantika, 2023) provides a different perspective by highlighting the link between Eid fashion trends and the construction of Muslim middle-class identity. In this study, clothing is seen not only as a religious symbol but also as part of a consumption practice that reflects an individual's social position within the societal structure. Eid fashion trends serve as a means for the middle class to assert their identity, both as part of the Muslim community and as part of a specific social group. Fashion consumption in this context has a strong symbolic dimension, where clothing choices reflect taste, status, and social aspirations. This practice demonstrates that clothing functions as a tool for articulating a multidimensional identity, encompassing religious, social, and economic aspects in an interconnected whole.

These findings align with research conducted by (Hudayana, 2022) which links the development of a sharia-based lifestyle with the growth of the Muslim middle class. In this study, the sharia lifestyle is understood as a phenomenon that emerged along with increasing purchasing power and religious awareness among urban Muslims. Clothing is a crucial element of this lifestyle, as it serves as a visible symbol in everyday life. Dressing in accordance with sharia principles not only reflects religious commitment but also becomes part of a lifestyle with specific symbolic value. In this context, clothing serves as a medium connecting religious and class identities, creating a distinctive form of expression in modern Muslim society.

Meanwhile, research conducted by (Myland, 2023) in Nigeria demonstrates the integration of Islamic values and local culture in Muslim women's dress practices. This study highlights how clothing becomes a space where local traditions and religious teachings interact, producing unique and contextual forms of expression. The use of striking colors and distinctive ethnic motifs reflects the strong influence of African culture in these dress practices. At the same time, basic Islamic principles remain the foundation for determining the form and function of clothing. These findings demonstrate that dress practices not only reflect religious values but also serve to maintain cultural identity in a pluralistic society. Overall, this research demonstrates that Muslim clothing is an important medium for understanding the dynamics of Islamic culture as it continues to evolve in various social contexts.

Despite numerous studies, studies on Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr in a cross-national context remain relatively limited. Most studies tend to focus on specific aspects, such as identity, economics, or the politics of fashion, without examining the practice of dressing as part of a cultural ritual with profound symbolic meaning. This limitation indicates a gap in the literature that needs to be filled through a more comprehensive approach. Therefore, cross-national comparative studies are crucial to understanding how Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr reflect various dimensions of social and cultural life.

This study offers a unique approach by examining Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr in four distinct cultural contexts: Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, and Nigeria. This approach allows for a more in-depth analysis of the similarities and differences in dress practices, as well as the meanings inherent within them. Using the framework of Islam as a cultural system, this study seeks to uncover how Islamic values are articulated through visual symbols and social

practices. This comparative approach also provides an opportunity to understand the global and local dynamics that shape Islamic expressions in various contexts.

The theoretical contribution of this research lies in its attempt to broaden the understanding of Islam as a cultural system that lives in the daily practices of the Muslim community. By highlighting clothing as a symbolic medium, this research demonstrates that Islamic values are not only internalized abstractly but also manifested in concrete and visual forms. This approach provides a new perspective in the study of Islamic culture, which has tended to focus on normative aspects. Thus, this research can enrich the body of scholarship in the field of contemporary Islamic studies.

Practically, this research has broad implications for various parties, including academics, fashion designers, and cultural policymakers. Understanding the dynamics of Muslim women's fashion during Eid al-Fitr can form the basis for developing strategies that are more sensitive to cultural and religious values. Furthermore, this research opens up space for cross-cultural dialogue regarding the plurality of Islamic expressions in the modern world. Thus, this study has not only academic relevance but also practical contributions to understanding the relationship between religion, culture, and the creative industries.

The research problem formulation in this study is designed to explore in depth various aspects related to Muslim women's dress practices during Eid al-Fitr. The questions posed include how these practices reflect Islamic values as a cultural system, as well as how similarities and differences in Islamic cultural expressions emerge across contexts. Furthermore, this study seeks to understand the interaction between theological, social, and aesthetic values in shaping the meaning of dress. This approach allows for a comprehensive analysis of the phenomenon under study.

The objectives of this research include describing and comparing the forms and meanings of Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr in various countries. Furthermore, this research aims to interpret the expression of Islamic culture as manifested through visual symbols and social practices. An analysis of the relationship between religiosity, local culture, and modernity is a key component of this research. Thus, this study seeks to build a more comprehensive theoretical understanding of Islam as a cultural system through a cross-national comparative approach.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Islam as a Cultural System

The conceptualization of Islam as a cultural system is rooted in anthropological thought (Geertz, 2008) which positions religion not merely as a normative belief system but as a network of symbols that provide direction and meaning to human social action. From this perspective, religion exists as an interpretive structure that lives in the daily practices of society, shaping how individuals understand reality and organize their social experiences (Pals, 2018). In the Islamic context, this approach opens up the possibility that religious practices, including dress, do not stand as literal reflections of doctrine, but rather as the result of a dialectic between normative texts and cultural interpretations that develop within Muslim communities. Thus, Muslim dress not only represents adherence to sharia but also contains a construction of meaning influenced by local social, historical, and cultural dynamics.

Within Geertz's framework, every religious ritual practice contains what is known as a web of meaning, a complex and interconnected network of meanings that represents how humans interpret the spiritual dimension in their social lives (Saint-Blancat, 2011). The practice of dressing during Eid al-Fitr celebrations can be understood as part of this network, where the

visual symbols worn by individuals reflect collective understandings of purity, propriety, and religious identity. The meanings contained in clothing are not static, but rather constantly transform along with changes in the social context. Thus, the practice of dressing becomes a medium that allows individuals to negotiate their identities within the framework of Islamic values that exist in their society.

The understanding of Islam as a cultural system is also strengthened by the idea (Tibi, 2001) that views Islam as a civilizational system, namely a system of civilization that regulates the structure of values, ethical norms, and social symbols of its followers. From this perspective, Islam functions not only as a spiritual teaching, but also as a cultural framework that shapes patterns of collective life. Muslim clothing in this context can be seen as a symbol containing various layers of meaning, ranging from expressions of religiosity to markers of social status and group affiliation. The practice of dressing during the Eid al-Fitr moment becomes a concrete representation of the integration of theological, social, and aesthetic dimensions, which are intertwined in a unity of meaning that lives in Muslim society.

The fashion phenomenon during Eid al-Fitr celebrations demonstrates how Islamic values are articulated through concrete cultural practices. The choice of clothing, colors, and styles not only reflects adherence to religious norms but also demonstrates how individuals interpret and internalize these values in their daily lives. In this context, clothing becomes a symbolic medium connecting the spiritual dimension and social reality. This practice demonstrates that Islam as a cultural system exists not only conceptually but also in material forms observable in society.

Clifford Geertz's Symbolic Theory and the Concept of Cultural Meaning

Within the framework of symbolic theory developed by Clifford Geertz, cultural symbols are understood as the primary means of communicating meaning within society. Symbols function not only as representations but also as mechanisms that enable individuals to understand and interpret their social realities. Clothing, in this context, is one form of symbol that has the ability to convey messages regarding identity, social status, and the values held by individuals and groups. In the context of Eid al-Fitr celebrations, Muslim clothing becomes a symbol that contains various layers of meaning, both religious and social. The religious dimension is reflected in the principles of modesty and spirituality, while the social dimension emerges in the context of the use of clothing as part of collective interactions and celebrations.

Symbolic meaning, from Geertz's perspective, is always contextual, dependent on the value systems and symbolic structures that develop within a particular society (Pals, 2018). This suggests that interpretations of Muslim clothing cannot be separated from the cultural context in which they occur. In different societies, the same symbol can have different meanings, depending on the surrounding social and cultural background. Therefore, analyzing Muslim clothing during Eid al-Fitr requires a context-sensitive approach to more comprehensively understand its meaning.

In the Indonesian and Malaysian contexts, Eid al-Fitr attire is often interpreted as a symbol of personal purity or fitrah, manifested through the use of new clothing in bright colors or white (Utami, 2021). This practice reflects a collective understanding of the spiritual significance of Eid al-Fitr as a moment of self-renewal. Meanwhile, in Turkey, Eid al-Fitr attire reflects the process of reconciliation between secular modernity and Islamic religiosity, manifested in clothing styles that combine traditional and modern elements (Pehlivan, 2020). In Nigeria, Eid al-Fitr attire serves as a symbol of Muslim community identity amidst existing cultural diversity (Masquelier,

2009). This variation demonstrates that the symbolism of Muslim women's attire during Eid al-Fitr reflects the dynamics of Islam as a cultural system operating in diverse social contexts.

Through this symbolic approach, clothing is understood not merely as a material object, but as a cultural text that can be read to uncover its hidden meanings. Every element of clothing, from color to shape, has the potential to represent specific values embedded in society. Thus, analyzing Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr provides a means to understand how Islamic values are articulated in social life through concrete visual symbols.

Clothing Culture in an Islamic Perspective

In Islamic teachings, the practice of dressing has dimensions that are not only physical, but also spiritual and social. The Qur'an, in Surah Al-A'raf verse 26, contains teachings about the importance of maintaining modesty through clothing, while also emphasizing that the best clothing is libas at-taqwa, namely clothing of piety that reflects faith and piety. This understanding shows that clothing does not only function as a body covering, but also as a symbol of one's morality and religious identity (Sandikci & Ger, 2010). In this context, the practice of dressing becomes part of the expression of spiritual values internalized in everyday life.

Contemporary studies on modest fashion show that Muslim women interpret clothing as a form of agency and self-expression, not simply a form of adherence to religious norms. The ideas of (Johnson & Fairweather, 2017) and (Tarlo, 2010) highlight that clothing practices reflect an individual's ability to negotiate their identity within a framework of religious values. Clothing becomes a medium that allows Muslim women to express themselves creatively, without relinquishing their attachment to religious principles. Thus, clothing practices cannot be understood reductively as a form of passive adherence, but rather as an active process of shaping self-identity.

From a cultural perspective, Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr can be understood as a form of cultural performance, a display of identity that combines religious values with aesthetic aspirations and modernity. This practice reflects how individuals use clothing as a means to display their identities in social spaces. In Indonesia and Malaysia, this phenomenon is evident in the use of clothing that integrates local elements such as batik, songket, and kebaya with global modest styles. Meanwhile, in Turkey and Nigeria, Eid al-Fitr clothing serves as a medium to affirm Muslim identity in public spaces and as a symbol of community solidarity.

Dressing practices in the context of Eid al-Fitr demonstrate the dynamic interaction between religious values, local culture, and global influences. Clothing serves as a meeting point where these various dimensions intertwine, creating unique and diverse forms of expression. Thus, Islamic dress culture cannot be understood as a static phenomenon, but rather as a process that continually evolves in line with social and cultural changes.

Conceptual Framework of the Research

Studies on Muslim fashion have focused primarily on issues such as gender identity, the fashion industry, or individual piety, while the dimensions of Eid al-Fitr fashion as a transnational cultural symbol have not received adequate attention. This situation highlights the need to develop a more comprehensive approach to understanding this phenomenon. This research begins with the assumption that Islam as a cultural system is expressed through social symbols, one of which is the practice of Muslim women's dress during Eid al-Fitr celebrations.

Using a comparative literature study approach, this study analyzes Muslim women's dress practices in four countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, and Nigeria, with the aim of identifying how Islamic values are articulated in different cultural contexts. The analysis is conducted by

referring to three main dimensions: the theological dimension relating to the values of modesty and purity in Islamic teachings; the socio-cultural dimension reflecting adaptation to local traditions; and the economic and aesthetic dimensions relating to the influence of the fashion industry and global trends.

This conceptual framework allows for a more systematic mapping of the relationship between religiosity, culture, and modernity in Muslim women's dress practices. Through this approach, the research seeks to uncover how cultural symbols are used to represent Islamic values in everyday life. Furthermore, this framework demonstrates that religious practices cannot be separated from the cultural context in which they develop. Thus, this research contributes to strengthening the understanding of Islam as a living and dynamic cultural system within various social contexts.

METHOD

This study employs a library research approach with a qualitative comparative method. A cross-national comparative literature study approach is used to examine the practice of Muslim women's Eid al-Fitr dress as a symbolic and contextual cultural phenomenon. This approach was chosen because the study did not collect field data, but rather reviewed and analyzed various scientific literature relevant to the theme of Muslim women's dress and Eid al-Fitr celebrations in the context of Islamic culture in four countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, and Nigeria. The aim of this approach is to identify similarities, differences, and patterns of representation of Islamic culture in the practice of Muslim women's dress as a social and religious symbol. The comparative literature study was chosen to enable cross-national analysis that focuses on cultural, theological, and social dimensions without being bound by empirical geographical boundaries. This research is descriptive-analytical, namely describing the phenomenon based on existing academic sources, then interpreting its meaning within the theoretical framework of "Islam as a cultural system."

This study utilized two types of data sources: primary and secondary sources. Primary sources included scientific journals, academic books, and research reports that directly addressed the themes of Muslim fashion, Islamic dress culture, and Eid al-Fitr celebrations in the four countries studied. Examples include works by (Bagdogan, 2023) on Islamic fashion in Turkey, (Ara, 2021) on modest fashion in Malaysia, research by (Apriantika, 2023) on middle-class Eid al-Fitr fashion in Indonesia, and research by (Masquelier, 2009) on Muslim women's fashion in Nigeria. These sources served as the primary basis for constructing cultural analyses and comparisons across countries. Secondary sources included books on cultural theory, the anthropology of religion, and literature examining the concept of Islam as a cultural system, such as works by (Geertz, 2013), and (Tibi, 2001). Furthermore, secondary data was also drawn from supporting scholarly articles on cultural economics, the modest fashion industry, and Islamic modernity relevant to the context of Eid al-Fitr celebrations.

Data collection was conducted through documentation and academic literature searches using national and international scientific databases, such as Google Scholar, Scopus, DOAJ, and Garuda (Indonesian Digital Reference Platform). Search keywords included: Islamic fashion, Eid clothing, Muslim women's dress, modest fashion, Islamic culture, and Eid al-Fitr traditions. The search was conducted systematically to obtain relevant literature. Each literature found was then categorized based on: (a) the country context, (b) the main theme (culture, identity, theology, or economics), and (c) its relevance to the concept of Islam as a cultural system.

Data analysis was conducted using content analysis and thematic comparative analysis techniques. The analysis stages include: Data reduction, which is sorting literature relevant to the topic of Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr and eliminating sources that are general or non-contextual. Thematic categorization, which is grouping data based on four major themes: theological, socio-cultural, economic, and aesthetic. Comparative analysis, which is comparing the results of studies between countries to find differences and similarities in the expression of Islamic culture through Eid al-Fitr clothing. Theoretical synthesis, which is integrating literature findings with the theory of Islam as a cultural system and Clifford Geertz's symbolic theory to interpret the social meaning of Muslim women's clothing in a cross-cultural context.

To maintain academic validity, the literature mapping process follows the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) flow adapted to the context of the literature study. These stages include: Identification, which involves searching for all publications relevant to the topic using national and international scientific databases with predetermined keywords. Screening, which involves filtering literature based on inclusion criteria, focusing on Muslim fashion, Eid al-Fitr, and the Islamic cultural context; and exclusion criteria, such as non-academic articles or articles that only discuss fashion without a religious context. Eligibility, which involves assessing the eligibility of sources by looking at the credibility of the publisher, year of publication, and thematic relevance to the four countries studied. Inclusion, which involves determining the literature to be analyzed in depth; the final result is approximately 20–25 academic sources deemed most representative for comparative analysis.

Data validity was maintained through source triangulation, comparing findings from various cross-disciplinary literature (anthropology, sociology, and Islamic cultural studies). Furthermore, interpretive analysis was used to ensure the consistency of the symbolic meaning of Muslim attire in each country's context, without neglecting the theological aspects of Islam, which serve as its primary foundation. With this approach, the research is expected to yield a comprehensive and valid understanding of the position of Eid al-Fitr attire within the structure of global Islamic culture.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Indonesia and Malaysia (Islam as the Majority Culture)

In the context of Indonesia and Malaysia, Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr celebrations develop within a social landscape that positions Islam not merely as a formal religion but as a cultural foundation deeply rooted in the collective life of society. The presence of Islam in a majority position shapes patterns of social expression that integrate religious values into everyday practices, including dress. Eid al-Fitr clothing, within this framework, is understood not merely as an aesthetic choice or a seasonal trend, but as a symbol that simultaneously encompasses theological, social, and cultural dimensions. The values of modesty, purity, and self-respect rooted in Islamic teachings are present in visual form, observable through the clothing's structure, color choices, and style. At the same time, the clothing also reflects the social ethics that exist within society, demonstrating how religion shapes collective norms that govern individual appearance in public spaces. Thus, Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr concretely represent the interconnectedness of religiosity and culture that exists simultaneously in Muslim-majority societies.

In Indonesian society, the practice of choosing Muslim women's clothing for Eid al-Fitr is often closely linked to the tradition of wearing "new clothes," which has a symbolic meaning as a sign of self-renewal after undergoing Ramadan. This tradition reflects the concept of fitrah, namely a

state of returning to purity that is interpreted spiritually and manifested in material form through new clothing worn on the holiday (Bowen, 2012). This practice does not simply reflect consumption, but also becomes part of a social ritual that marks the transition from a spiritual phase to a collective celebration. The choice of clothing types such as modern kebaya, gamis with pastel shades, abaya, and hijab syar'i demonstrates the diversity of forms of expression that remain within the corridor of Islamic values of modesty. Each type of clothing carries its own meaning related to the identity, aesthetic taste, and social position of the individual in society. Thus, Eid al-Fitr clothing functions not only as a body covering, but also as a symbolic medium that articulates religious experience in a visual form that can be shared socially.

The modern kebaya combined with the use of a simple hijab demonstrates a process of negotiation between local culture and religious values that have developed in Indonesian society. This phenomenon can be understood as a form of "Islamization of local culture," in which traditional elements are not eliminated but rather adapted to align with Islamic norms (Geertz, 2013). Originally a traditional Javanese attire, the kebaya has undergone transformations in form, material, and style of wear to conform to Islamic principles of modesty. This process reflects a cultural dynamic that is not static but continually changes through the interaction between tradition and religion. In practice, the combination of the kebaya and hijab creates a distinctive aesthetic form, which simultaneously represents the pluralistic and contextual identity of Indonesian Muslims. Thus, Eid al-Fitr attire becomes a space where local and religious values intertwine, producing a unique and dynamic cultural expression.

The color choices in Eid al-Fitr attire in Indonesia also have symbolic meanings inseparable from the religious and cultural values that develop within society. Bright or pastel colors are often chosen to reflect the joy and happiness inherent in Eid al-Fitr celebrations. These colors serve not only as aesthetic elements but also as symbols representing a pure and hopeful inner state. Furthermore, the choice of loose, non-contouring clothing demonstrates a commitment to the norms of modesty established in Islamic teachings. This combination of color and form creates a harmony between aesthetic and ethical values, which is a hallmark of Muslim women's attire for Eid al-Fitr. Thus, each element of clothing has a symbolic function that contributes to the overall meaning of the dress code.

In the Malaysian context, Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr exhibit a more standardized pattern, particularly through the use of baju kurung, baju kebaya, and modern baju kurung variations adapted to the times. These garments have strong historical roots as part of Malay cultural identity, which are then integrated with Islamic values in their use (Abdullah, 2025). The loose and closed structure of the clothing reflects the principles of modesty upheld in Islamic teachings, while maintaining the characteristic elegance and simplicity of Malay aesthetics. Thus, Eid al-Fitr clothing in Malaysia serves not only as a marker of religiosity but also as a symbol of ethnic identity that continues to be maintained in a modern context.

The practice of wearing uniformly colored clothing within the family, known as sedondon, is a hallmark of Eid al-Fitr celebrations in Malaysia. This tradition demonstrates how clothing serves as a symbol of solidarity and togetherness within Malay-Muslim families. The uniformity of color not only creates a harmonious visual impression but also represents the values of collectivity that are an important part of the community's culture. In this context, clothing is no longer understood merely as an individual expression but as a representation of group identity that strengthens social bonds among family members. This practice demonstrates the crucial role of clothing in building and maintaining social relationships, particularly during ritual moments like Eid al-Fitr.

The use of songket, woven fabrics, and various ethnic motifs in Eid al-Fitr attire in Malaysia demonstrates the preservation of local aesthetic values within Islamic expressions. These motifs serve not only as decoration but also contain cultural meanings related to the history, social status, and ethnic identity of the Malay community. The integration of local aesthetic elements and religious values reflects how Islam is experienced within a specific cultural context. Thus, Eid al-Fitr attire serves as a medium connecting local traditions and religious identity, creating a distinctive form of expression rooted in the cultural history of the local community.

In both Indonesia and Malaysia, Muslim women's dress code during Eid al-Fitr demonstrates the integration of theological, social, and aesthetic dimensions into an inseparable whole. Clothing not only reflects adherence to religious teachings but also serves as a means of expressing social and cultural identity. In this context, Islam, as a cultural system, is concretely present through the clothing practices individuals engage in daily. Clothing becomes a symbol representing the values embraced by society and a tool for building social cohesion within Muslim communities.

The evolving patterns of Eid al-Fitr dress practices in both countries demonstrate that clothing serves a broader role than merely utilitarian. It serves as a social symbol that reinforces Muslim identity as a majority group, while also serving as a glue that maintains social cohesion within society. Through dress, individuals can affirm their membership in the larger community and project their identity in the public sphere. Thus, Eid al-Fitr dress is not only a cultural practice but also a crucial instrument in building and maintaining social structures within Muslim societies.

Türkiye (Modern Post-Secular Islam)

In the Turkish social landscape, Muslim women's dress code during the Eid al-Fitr celebration, known as Ramazan Bayramı, exhibits a distinctive configuration, shaped by the long history of state secularism and the resurgence of Islamic identity in the public sphere in the 20th and 21st centuries. This context presents a complex cultural dynamic, where religious expression coexists with the country's legacy of modernity, which emphasizes rationality and secularity (White, 2014). Muslim women's dress in this context not only represents religious devotion but also serves as a medium for the articulation of identity, constantly shifting between various value horizons. Clothing becomes a symbolic space where Turkish Muslim women negotiate their position in a society undergoing intense social transformation. In practice, clothing choices demonstrate how Islamic values are internalized without relinquishing their connection to modern aesthetic norms developing in urban spaces. Thus, Eid al-Fitr dress in Turkey reflects the complex interaction between religion, history, and modernity that shapes the cultural identity of its people.

In this context, the tesettür style has become a key characteristic of Muslim women's fashion practices during Eid al-Fitr celebrations in Turkey. This style demonstrates the integration of Islamic principles of modesty with a modern, minimalist design approach. The clothing tends to have clean cuts, elegant silhouettes, and minimal detail, creating a refined aesthetic yet rooted in religious values. The colors chosen, such as burgundy, emerald, ivory, and navy, reflect an urban aesthetic trend that emphasizes maturity and class. These color choices serve not only as a visual element but also as a representation of the growing middle-class cultural tastes in Turkey's major cities. In practice, the tesettür style has become a form of identity expression that combines religious awareness with a modern aesthetic sensibility, resulting in distinctive and contextual clothing forms.

The various styles of clothing worn during Eid al-Fitr in Turkey demonstrate a diversity of forms while remaining within the framework of Islamic modesty. Garments such as the pardösü (long coat), long coat, and kaftan with modern touches are essential elements of Muslim women's appearances on the holiday. Furthermore, the use of silk hijabs with neat pleating techniques adds an elegant aesthetic dimension to the overall look. Each element of clothing serves a function that is not only practical but also symbolic, reflecting individual identity and preferences within a broader social context. The combination of modest cuts and modern details demonstrates how Turkish Muslim women articulate their identities through their clothing choices. In this sense, clothing not only complements their appearance but also serves as a meaningful medium for self-expression.

The transformation of the kaftan in the context of Eid al-Fitr attire in Turkey provides a fascinating glimpse into the shifting symbolic meanings of the cultural landscape. During the Ottoman Empire, the kaftan was a symbol of aristocracy and power, worn by the elite as a sign of high social status. In the modern context, the kaftan has been reinterpreted and adapted into Muslim attire worn by urban women, particularly those from the middle class. This transformation demonstrates how cultural symbols can undergo metamorphosis along with changing social structures and evolving values within a society. The kaftan is no longer confined to aristocratic meanings, but has become a symbol of identity that combines historical heritage with modern aspirations. Thus, this attire reflects both continuity and change within Turkish cultural traditions.

This phenomenon aligns with Nilüfer Göle's concept of "public Islam," which emphasizes that Islamic expression in modern Turkish society is mediated more through social and cultural spaces than solely through ritual (Göle, 1996). Within this framework, clothing becomes a primary medium for displaying religious identity in public spaces. Dressing practices not only reflect personal beliefs but also become part of social interactions involving various actors in society. Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr represents how Islamic identity is negotiated and displayed within the complex context of modernity. Thus, clothing functions as a symbol connecting the individual and collective dimensions of religious expression.

Eid al-Fitr celebrations in Turkey also demonstrate a tendency to emphasize formality and modesty in appearance, which is related to a cultural orientation toward professionalism and urban aesthetics. A neat, elegant, and structured appearance is part of the expected social norms for this occasion. The clothing worn not only reflects religious values but also demonstrates an awareness of the importance of self-representation in the social space. In this context, clothing becomes part of a social etiquette that regulates how individuals present themselves to others. The formality of Eid al-Fitr attire reflects respect for the celebratory occasion while also indicating an individual's position within the broader social structure.

The social class dimension is also evident in Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr in Turkey, particularly in relation to the aspirations of the growing middle class in urban areas. Clothing becomes a means of expressing an identity that is not only religious, but also professional and modern. Turkish Muslim women use clothing as a medium to demonstrate their involvement in the modern world without abandoning their attachment to Islamic values. In this regard, clothing becomes both a symbol of social mobility and a tool for constructing a self-image that aligns with middle-class aspirations. The choice of design, materials, and style reflects an effort to balance religious demands with the growing social expectations of urban society.

The relationship between religiosity, modernity, and aesthetics in Muslim women's fashion practices in Turkey demonstrates an ongoing negotiation process in everyday life. Clothing not

only reflects deeply held values but also serves as an arena where these values are brought together and processed into new forms. In this context, Turkish Muslim women play an active role in shaping the meaning of clothing through the choices they make. The practice of dressing becomes a creative process involving interpretations of religious teachings, cultural traditions, and modern trends. Thus, Eid al-Fitr clothing reflects the dynamics of identity, which is not static but constantly evolving in line with social change.

The diversity of forms and meanings of Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr in Turkey demonstrates that the practice of dressing is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon. Clothing serves not only as a covering for the body but also as a symbol containing multiple layers of meaning related to individual identity, values, and aspirations. In this context, clothing becomes a medium that allows individuals to express themselves within a broader social framework. Every element of clothing, from cut to color, plays a role in shaping the visual narrative of Muslim women's identity in Türkiye.

Thus, Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr in Turkey can be understood as a form of identity articulation that exists at the intersection of tradition, modernity, and religiosity. Clothing becomes a space where these various dimensions interact, producing distinctive and contextual forms of expression. In a constantly changing social landscape, clothing practices reflect an individual's ability to navigate various existing value systems. Through clothing, Turkish Muslim women project an identity that is not only rooted in tradition but also open to the dynamics of modernity that shape their lives.

Nigeria (Dominant Minority Islam in the Context of African Pluralism)

Nigeria is known as a country with a complex and multi-layered ethnic and religious configuration, where Islam holds a majority position in the north, but does not dominate the entire national scale. This situation creates a social space rich with interactions between identities, so that the celebration of Eid al-Fitr takes on meaning beyond the purely ritual dimension. In this context, Nigerian Muslim women use the momentum of Eid al-Fitr as a means to affirm their religious identity in a pluralistic society often characterized by interfaith symbolic dynamics. Dressing practices are one of the most visible mediums in this process. Muslim women's Eid al-Fitr attire in Nigeria generally includes various forms such as African-style abayas, long dresses with striking embroidery, traditional Nigerian kaftans, and large hijabs often combined with ethnic motifs from the Hausa, Fulani, or Yoruba groups. This diversity of forms reflects the connection between Islamic values and local traditions that exist within society (Renne, 2018).

The choice of colors in Nigerian Muslim women's clothing also plays a significant role in constructing the symbolic meanings inherent in these practices. Nigerian women tend to wear bright, bold colors such as gold, orange, purple, or fuchsia, which not only serve as aesthetic elements but also carry strong cultural significance. These colors represent collective pride, the joy of celebrating Eid al-Fitr, and the affirmation of social status in West African societies. This practice demonstrates that clothing is not merely a means of fulfilling religious norms but also a medium of expression that articulates cultural values passed down through generations. In this context, the aesthetics of clothing cannot be separated from broader structures of meaning, where color, shape, and motif interact to produce complex and layered representations of identity.

In the Hausa-Fulani tradition, Muslim women's clothing for Eid al-Fitr is often adorned with intricate embroidery, particularly on the sleeves and chest, which is a hallmark of this dress practice. These embroidered details serve not only as decorative elements but also as markers of cultural identity that connect individuals to their communities. Furthermore, the level of

intricacy and quality of the embroidery often reflects a family's economic capacity, making clothing a socially legible indicator in the context of hierarchical societies. West African ethnographic studies have shown that Eid al-Fitr clothing serves as a symbol of membership in the Muslim community and as a means of marking an individual's social position within the community (Masquelier, 2009). Within this framework, dress practices are not only related to religious aspects but also to broader social dynamics.

The overall dress code of Muslim women in Nigeria during Eid al-Fitr celebrations demonstrates how Islamic values interact with specific social and cultural contexts. Clothing serves as a medium that enables the negotiation of identity in a pluralistic society, where religious, ethnic, and political aspects intertwine to shape individuals' social experiences. This practice demonstrates that Islam, as a cultural system, has the capacity to adapt to diverse social structures without losing the essence of its values. In the Nigerian context, this flexibility is reflected in the ability of Muslim communities to integrate religious teachings with local traditions, resulting in distinctive and contextual forms of cultural expression. Muslim women's Eid al-Fitr dress can thus be understood as a representation of this dynamic, demonstrating the close relationship between religious identity and the surrounding social realities.

Comparative Analysis: Similarities, Differences, and Cultural Synthesis

1. *Equality*

In the four national contexts studied, Muslim women's dress code during Eid al-Fitr celebrations demonstrates fundamental similarities rooted in universal Islamic values. Clothing serves not only as a visual element but also as a religious symbol representing the post-Ramadan spiritual state, understood as a return to purity. The value of modesty, reflected in the loose and closed structure of clothing, is a crucial element consistently present in various forms of clothing. The use of the hijab as a head covering also reinforces the religious dimension of these dress codes and serves as a collectively recognized marker of Muslim identity. Furthermore, the choice of soft or bright colors creates a visual nuance associated with expressions of joy and gratitude in celebrating the day of victory. All of these elements demonstrate that Muslim women's dress code during Eid al-Fitr shares a common normative foundation, rooted in Islamic teachings that emphasize a balance between the spiritual and social dimensions in the lives of its followers.

These similarities are not only evident in the visual aspect, but also in the symbolic meaning inherent in the dress code itself. Eid al-Fitr attire across countries serves as a medium for articulating religious experience in a form that can be seen and felt socially. Clothing serves as a means of expressing gratitude for the completion of Ramadan, while also marking the transition to a new phase filled with hope and self-renewal. In this context, clothing serves as a symbol connecting individual spiritual experience with collective expression within society. This practice demonstrates that Islamic values are not only internalized in the form of belief but also manifested in concrete actions with social significance. Thus, the similarities in Muslim women's dress code during Eid al-Fitr reflect the existence of a universal value system, which serves as the foundation for the diverse cultural expressions that have developed across the Muslim world.

Despite variations in form and style, the orientation toward Islamic moral and spiritual values remains the unifying principle that unites dress practices across the four countries. The clothing structure, which emphasizes modesty, the use of the hijab as a religious symbol, and the choice of colors that reflect the festive atmosphere, demonstrate the consistency in the

application of these values. This demonstrates that Islam as a value system has the capacity to transcend geographical and cultural boundaries, creating similar patterns of practice in different contexts. Thus, Muslim clothing for Eid al-Fitr can be understood as a manifestation of the universality of Islam, manifested in diverse forms while retaining a common core meaning.

This uniformity in basic dress principles also demonstrates that dress practices are inseparable from religious norms, which serve as a primary reference in the lives of Muslims. The values of purity articulated through new clothing, modesty embodied in covered clothing, and expressions of gratitude reflected in color and style are elements that are consistently present. These practices demonstrate that dress serves not only to cover the body but also as a symbol representing the relationship between humans and God within the framework of social life. Thus, the similarities in Muslim dress practices during Eid al-Fitr reflect the unity of values that underpin various expressions of Islamic culture across countries.

2. Difference

Beyond universal similarities, Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr across the four countries also exhibit significant variations, particularly in the aesthetic dimensions and cultural meanings inherent in each style. In Indonesia and Malaysia, Eid al-Fitr clothing serves as a means of strengthening social cohesion in predominantly Muslim societies. The integration of Islamic values with local aesthetics rooted in Malay-Nusantara traditions creates a form of expression that emphasizes family warmth and social harmony. Clothing is not only a religious symbol but also part of a cultural practice that strengthens social ties within the community. In this context, clothing serves as a medium that connects individuals with their groups, creating a sense of togetherness that is characteristic of Muslim communities in the region.

In the Turkish context, Muslim women's clothing practices during Eid al-Fitr demonstrate a distinct orientation, with modern urban aesthetics becoming the dominant element shaping the clothing's character. The influence of the country's history of secularism and the dynamics of modernity create a space where religious identity is negotiated through clothing choices that combine traditional and modern elements. The Ottoman aesthetic influences adapted into fashion designs provide a historical dimension that enriches the symbolic meaning of clothing. In this context, Eid al-Fitr clothing serves not only as a religious marker but also as a symbol of the process of negotiating Muslim identity in a society undergoing ongoing social transformation. Thus, clothing practices in Turkey reflect the complex dynamics between religiosity and modernity that shape the cultural identity of its people.

Meanwhile, in Nigeria, Muslim attire during Eid al-Fitr serves a more prominent role as a symbol of Muslim community identity in a culturally and religiously pluralistic society. The use of bold colors and distinctive ethnic embroidery demonstrates the aesthetic boldness inherent in African cultural traditions. Clothing serves as a means of affirming Muslim identity in a social space characterized by diversity. In this context, clothing not only reflects religious values but also serves as a symbolic strategy for constructing and maintaining group identity within a complex social structure. Thus, dress practices in Nigeria demonstrate how clothing can function as a tool for navigating social relations in a pluralistic society.

These differences demonstrate that Islam as a cultural system is not homogeneous, but rather operates within various historical and social contexts that shape diverse expressions of Islam. Each society develops its own ways of articulating Islamic values through cultural practices, including dress. This variation does not diminish the underlying unity of values, but

rather enriches the forms of expression that emerge in various contexts. Thus, Muslim women's dress practices during Eid al-Fitr reflect diversity within unity, where universal Islamic values are embodied in distinct forms according to the cultural characteristics of each society.

3. *Cultural Synthesis (Geertz's Theory and Islam as a Cultural System)*

Using The conclusion of this study indicates that Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr celebrations cannot be understood solely as an aesthetic dress practice, but rather as a symbolic representation of a vibrant and dynamic Islamic cultural system. This dress practice contains theological dimensions related to the values of modesty and purity, while also reflecting social dimensions that demonstrate collective identity and the relationships between individuals within society. Furthermore, aesthetic aspects also play a significant role in shaping the meaning of clothing, where color, design, and style serve as a medium of expression that connects religious values with local cultural tastes. Thus, Eid al-Fitr clothing functions as a means of articulation that integrates faith, culture, and identity into a unified whole. This phenomenon demonstrates that Islam exists not only as a normative doctrine but also as a concrete cultural practice that can be observed in the daily lives of Muslims in various social contexts.

Furthermore, the comparative analysis reveals fundamental similarities as well as contextual differences in Muslim women's fashion practices in Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, and Nigeria. These similarities lie in the universal values of Islam, which emphasize modesty, the use of the hijab, and the symbolization of happiness through color choices and new clothing. However, differences emerge in the form of cultural expressions influenced by the historical background, social structure, and dynamics of modernity in each country. In Indonesia and Malaysia, fashion plays a role in strengthening social cohesion and the collective identity of the majority Muslim community. In Turkey, fashion serves as an arena for negotiation between religiosity and secular modernity. Meanwhile, in Nigeria, fashion serves as a symbol of identity affirmation in a pluralistic society. These variations demonstrate that Islamic expression is flexible and contextual, without losing the essence of its fundamental values.

Ultimately, this study confirms that Muslim women's clothing during Eid al-Fitr is a symbolic medium that represents the complex interaction between religion, culture, and modernity. From the perspective of Islam as a cultural system, the practice of dressing becomes part of a web of meanings that is continuously evolving and negotiated by individuals in their social lives. Clothing not only reflects adherence to religious teachings but also serves as a means of displaying identity, social status, and cultural aspirations in the public sphere. Therefore, understanding this phenomenon requires a comprehensive and contextual approach to capture the dynamics surrounding it. This research also opens up opportunities for further study, particularly through empirical and ethnographic approaches, to enrich understanding of how Islamic cultural symbols continue to transform in response to changing times.

CONCLUSION

The attire worn by Muslim women during Eid al-Fitr cannot be understood merely as an aesthetic sartorial practice; rather, it serves as a symbolic representation of a living and dynamic Islamic cultural system. Such sartorial practices encompass a theological dimension—linked to values of modesty and purity—while simultaneously reflecting a social dimension that reveals collective identity and interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, the aesthetic aspect plays a crucial role in shaping the meaning of the attire, with colors, designs,

and styles serving as media of expression that bridge religious values and local cultural tastes. Thus, Eid al-Fitr attire functions as a means of articulation that integrates faith, culture, and identity into a cohesive whole. This phenomenon demonstrates that Islam exists not only as a normative doctrine but also as a concrete cultural practice, observable in the daily lives of Muslims across various social contexts.

Moreover, a comparative analysis reveals both fundamental similarities and contextual differences in the sartorial practices of Muslim women in Indonesia, Malaysia, Turkey, and Nigeria. The similarities lie in universal Islamic values—emphasizing modesty, the wearing of the hijab, and expressing joy through the choice of colors and new garments. Conversely, differences emerge in the specific forms of cultural expression, which are shaped by the historical backgrounds, social structures, and the dynamics of modernity unique to each nation. In Indonesia and Malaysia, attire helps strengthen social cohesion and the collective identity of the Muslim-majority population. In Turkey, clothing serves as an arena for negotiating the relationship between religiosity and secular modernity. In Nigeria, meanwhile, attire serves as a symbol of identity affirmation within a pluralistic society. This variation illustrates that Islamic expression is flexible and contextual, yet remains rooted in its fundamental values.

Ultimately, this study asserts that the attire worn by Muslim women during Eid al-Fitr serves as a symbolic medium that represents the complex interplay among religion, culture, and modernity. From the perspective of Islam as a cultural system, the practice of dressing constitutes part of a network of meanings that is continuously evolving and negotiated by individuals within their social lives. Attire does not merely reflect adherence to religious teachings; it also serves as a means to project identity, social status, and cultural aspirations within the public sphere. Consequently, understanding this phenomenon requires a comprehensive, contextual approach that captures the underlying dynamics. This research also paves the way for further study—particularly through empirical and ethnographic approaches—to enrich our understanding of how Islamic cultural symbols undergo constant transformation in response to the changing times.

REFERENCES

Abdullah, A. H. (2025). Veiled Empowerment: The Baju Kurung As An Islamic Symbol Of Modesty, Femininity, And Malay Women's Agency In Malaysia. *International Journal of Humanities Technology and Civilization*, 134–144.

Apriantika, S. G. (2023). Religiosity versus class existence: Indonesian Muslim middle class fashion consumption on Instagram. *Simulacra*, *6*(1), 45–61.

Ara, H. (2021). Hijab fashion consciousness among young Muslim women in Malaysia. *Studies of Applied Economics*, *39*(4).

Bagdogan, S. (2023). Hands-on (ly) vlogging: How Turkish Muslim women perform "modesty" and "piety" in self-branding on their YouTube cooking channels. *Social Media+ Society*, *9*(2), 20563051231166450.

Bowen, J. R. (2012). *A new anthropology of Islam*. Cambridge University Press.

Geertz, C. (2008). *Local knowledge: Further essays in interpretive anthropology*. Basic books.

Geertz, C. (2013). Religion as a cultural system. In *Anthropological approaches to the study of religion* (pp. 1–46). Routledge.

Geertz, C., & Banton, M. (1966). *Religion as a cultural system*. Tavistock.

Göle, N. (1996). *The forbidden modern: Civilization and veiling*. University of Michigan Press.

Hudayana, B. (2022). Identity Shift: from Javanese Islam to Shari'ah-Centric Muslims in the Trah, a kinship-based social organisation. *Contemporary Islam*, *16*(2), 401–426.

Johnson, J., & Fairweather, I. (2017). *An analysis of Saba Mahmood's politics of piety: The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Macat Library.

Masquelier, A. (2009). *Women and Islamic revival in a West African town*. Indiana University Press.

Myland, A. (2023). The Embodiment of Kunya Among Hausa Women of Kano, Nigeria. *OKH Journal: Anthropological Ethnography and Analysis Through the Eyes of Christian Faith*, *7*(1), 17–29.

Pals, D. L. (2018). *Seven Theories of Religion: Tujuh Teori Agama Paling Berpengaruh [Seven Theories of Religion: The Seven Most Influential Theories of Religion]*. IRCISOD. https://doi.org/[in Indonesian]

Pehlivan, Ş. (2020). Corporate gap filler:'Lifestyle Turkey'modest fashion fair. *International Journal of Fashion Studies*, *7*(2), 257–264.

Renne, E. P. (2018). *Veils, turbans, and Islamic reform in northern Nigeria*. Indiana University Press.

Saint-Blancat, C. (2011). Lahouari Addi, Lionel Obadia (éd.), Clifford Geertz. Interprétation et culture. Paris, Éditions des archives contemporaines, 2010, 191 p. *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions*, *156*, 86.

Sandikci, Ö., & Ger, G. (2010). Veiling in style: how does a stigmatized practice become fashionable? *Journal of Consumer Research*, *37*(1), 15–36.

Tarlo, E. (2010). *Visibly Muslim: fashion, politics, faith*. Berg.

Tibi, B. (2001). *Islam between culture and politics*. Springer.

Utami, L. P. (2021). Factors of Muslim Fashion Progress in Surakarta City: A History Review. *Islah: Journal of Islamic Literature and History*, *2*(2), 103–121.

White, J. (2014). *Muslim Nationalism and the new Turks: updated edition*.

© 2025 by the authors. Submitted for possible open access publication under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY SA) license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/).