MORPHOLOGY OF THE CURRENT ISLAMIC COLLEGE OUTFIT
(Semiotic Study on the Shift of Student Clothing Standards at UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya)

Achmad Zaidun
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya
achmadzaidun@uinsby.ac.id

Moh Atikurrahman
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya
atiqurrahmann@gmail.com

Abstract: *This study discussed the fashion phenomenon, especially the variety and shifts in contemporary fashion among students in Islamic university. Using semiotics to discuss students' dress code in Islamic university is a rare perspective. Most studies focus more on discussing fashion codes and their implementation, and dress codes are not discussed as the main material object of research, or clothing is not understood as something that has a system within itself. As a result, the discourse regarding clothing as a system of cultural markers becomes murky. This study examined Muslim students' clothing using Saussurean semiotics in terms of a structured sign system. For Saussure, a sign consists of the relationship between signifier and signified. The first element is material and concrete. Meanwhile, the second element is mental and abstract. Apart from these elements, a sign is built from the relationship between langue as social conventions and parole as individual expressions. Meanwhile, clothing is a non-verbal semiotic element that has multi-articulation through the smallest meaningful elements called morphemes and the smallest elements that are meaningless but function to differentiate meaning called phonemes. In the context of UIN Sunan Ampel as a cultural locus of our study, the clothing practices of students from the oldest PTKIN campus in East Java were fragmented into two, namely santri and non-santri fashion. This event illustrated the dynamics of fashion on a campus that was found on Islamic values and principles.*

Keywords: *Fashion, dress code, students, semiotics, Saussurean.*

Abstrak: *Artikel ini membahas fenomena fesyen mahasiswa, khususnya ragam dan pergeseran busana kiwari di kalangan civitas akademica perguruan tinggi Islam di Indonesia. Meskipun penelitian tentang* dresscode *mahasiswa dari kampus-kampus Islam telah jamak dilakukan, namun studi semiotika seputar busana mahasiswa muslim masih sangat jarang dilakukan. Sebagian besar hasil penelitian yang tersedia lebih berfokus pada diskusi kode etik busana dan penerapannya. Praktis* dresscode *tidak dikaji sebagai pakaian itu sendiri. Imbasnya wacana terkait pakaian sebagai sistem penanda kultural menjadi sumir. Studi ini meneliti pakaian sebagai fokus diskusi dengan pendekatan semiotika Barthesian. Bagi Roland Barthes sebuah pakaian memiliki tiga lapis struktur, meliputi; pakaian itu sendiri, ikon tentang pakaian, dan narasi tentang pakaian. Alibinya, dari sepotong busana seseorang sejatinya tengah menyatakan sesuatu melalui suatu modus penstrukturan yang rigid. Pakaian merupakan elemen semiotik nonverbal yang memiliki artikulasi ganda melalui elemen-elemen terkecil bermakna yang disebut morfem dan elemen-elemen terkecil yang tak-bermakna namun berfungsi untuk membedakan makna yang disebut fonem. Dalam konteks UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya sebagai sebuah lokus kultural, praktik berbusana di kalangan mahasiswa terfragmentasi menjadi dua, yakni fesyen santri dan nonsantri. Peristiwa ini menggambarkan dinamika fesyen pada sebuah kampus yang dirintis dari nilai dan prinsip Islam.*

Kata Kunci: *Fesyen, dress code, mahasiswa, semiotika, Saussurean.*

Introduction

The dress code for students at Islamic Universities (PTKI) is undergoing a shift. In the past, the Islamic campus academic community was recognized by their clothing (outfit) which gave the image of *santri* (all covered), today the fashion of students at the State Islamic Institute (IAIN) and/or State Islamic University (UIN) has evolved into fashion that tends to be trendy and stylish. As a result, the campus residents are no longer easily differentiated from non-PTKI students. On the other hand, clothing is a cultural element that must be positioned as a complex cultural construction. A piece of clothing contains various cultural elements which are composed of various systemic structures. From a piece of students' clothing, there is a series of semiotic systems that are articulated through a rigid and patterned structuring mode.[1] Generally, clothing becomes *the language of fashion*. Barthes calls clothing *non-verbal semiotics* which has double articulation through (1) the smallest meaningful elements (called *morphemes*) and (2) the smallest elements which are not meaningful but serves to differentiate meaning (called *phoneme*).[2]

In the context of UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, students' clothing as an academic dress code is an institutional attribute that represents the identity and character of the institution supported by Islamic values. However, recently the image of Islam in Muslim students' clothing tends to shift and fade. It needs to be emphasized that clothing for a PTKI student is not merely an academic institution that is overly attached to Islamic values. For the Muslim academic community, clothing goes beyond the formal academic dress code because ethic in dressing is an institution's necessity. Clothing is seen as a visual effect that originates from the pictorial-nonverbal semiotic system. In clothing, syntagmatic and paradigmatic may exist and result the formation of sign system. Besides, the semiotic structure of clothing is also supported by the relationship between *langue* and *palore* in realizing a systematic marking scheme to form the structure of the academic dress code of Islamic education institutes.

For PTKI, it is normal to provide rigid rules regarding the clothing standards of tertiary students. These regulations are further embodied in academic documents i.e., as Student Academic Guidelines, Student Code of Ethics, Student Rules of Conduct, Decision Letters, and the like. The standard clothing for PTKI refers to the Sharia consensus regarding clothing as a concept and cultural product of religious communities (esp. Islam). In student academic documents, not only "neat" or "polite" are mentioned as minimum academic norms. In fact, it is actually mandatory for students to cover their intimate parts (*aurat*) (see UIN Yogyakarta Student Code of Conduct 2018[3] and 2018 IAIN Bukittinggi Student Academic Guidelines),[4] prohibits openwork (transparent) clothing and makes it mandatory for female students to wear

---

[1] Kris Budiman, Semiotika Visual: Konsep, Isu, dan Problem Ikonisitas (Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011).

[2] Roland Barthes, The Fashion System (California: University of California Press, 1990).
Roland Barthes, The Language of Fashion (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013).

[3] UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Tata Tertib Mahasiswa Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2018).

[4] LPM IAIN Bukittinggi, Kode Etik Mahasiswa Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bukittinggi (Bukittinggi: IAIN Bukitinggi Press, 2018).

veil (i.e., *hijab*) (see UIN Sunan Ampel Academic Guidelines 2021[5] and the 2020 UIN Jakarta Student Code of Conduct).[6] Even, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung, Indonesia, explicitly mentions the terminology "Islamic law" (read: syariah) as the standard dress code for students on campus (see UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Student Academic Guidelines 2020).[7] As a result, the previous cultural phenomena in higher education entails to the discussion of the dynamics on student clothing at UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia, especially regarding the variety and shifts in clothing which incidentally uses Islamic principles as a platform.

This is an interdisciplinary research of the evolution of fashion for Islamic tertiary students, namely the academic community at the study site. Fashion, we assume, is defined as a cultural expression of an institution. It may also be considered as a relational sign system. In relation to semiotic study on the dress code of the study site, the academic community in the Faculty of Adab and Humanities was investigated as the representative of Islamic higher education, in general.

As an illustration, students (especially female students) of two departments: Arabic Language and Literature (hence BSA) and History of Islamic Civilization (hence SPI) have clothing standards that are identified by the characteristics of loose, unfashionable clothing, minimal accessories, skirts wearing, and so on. Like *santri* with clothing attributes as a manifestation of the *hijab* (covering the private parts). On the other hand, students in the department of English Literature (hence SASING) and Indonesian Literature (hence SASINDO) actually have opposing fashion preference which can be seen through the accentuation of fashionable clothing, tending to wear trousers (students), sometimes tight and even showing off their body shape, etc. In historical context, BSA and SPI were pioneering departments when the institution was still entitled to 'IAIN'. Meanwhile, SASING and SASINDO are the current departments launched after the transition into 'UIN'. The latest phenomenon of student fashion in previously aforementioned department is a miniature of the fashion trends that prevail among students at particularly UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya and generally PTKI in Indonesia.

This study focuses on the clothes and fashion trends of students at UIN Sunan Ampel in Surabaya, Indonesia. Clothing, as a cultural aspect, is seen as a "aesthetic object" rather than a "artefact" (inanimate item). According to Mukařovský, artifact is the fundamental material for aesthetic creations that express human thinking while responding to cultural artefacts.[8] Beyond clothing, there is a multi-articulation of oneself which is seen as a scheme of individual semiosis and is directly proportional to the horizon of insight, ideological choices and variations in identity that a person proclaims. The question we raise is 'what variety of clothing and fashion shifts that

---

[5] UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Pedoman Akademik Program Sarjana (S1), Magister (S2), dan Doktor (S3) UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya (Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2021).
[6] UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, Pedoman Akademik UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta Tahun 2020/2021 (Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2020).
[7] UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Pedoman Akademik Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung (Bandung: UIN Sunang Gunung Djati Bandung, 2020).
[8] Bramantio, "Suara-suara Perempuan yang Terbungkam dalam Sihir Perempuan", 2011. Retrieved 23 February 2022, from bramantio-fib.web.unair.ac.id

students prefer (choose)'. This question is further analyzed using Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotics theory as an exemplary research paradigm.

Literature Review

Studies concerning student clothing on PTKI are actually often carried out. The lack of the previous research results blames students' dress ethics in the campus environment. Pusparani (2020) investigated the ethic of student dress code at FITK, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, Indonesia, using Max Weber's sociological approach.[9] Alfredi (2016) studied the perceptions of students in the Social Sciences Education Department regarding the dress code of ethics at the same faculty.[10] Meanwhile, Aziz (2016) studied the cognitive, affective and psychomotor responses of students at FIDK, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, Indonesia.[11]

Furthermore, Hidayat (2017) studied the dress ethics of students at PGMI, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In his findings, there were three fashion typologies, namely fashionable (performed by students with low religiosity values but high spirituality), formal (performed by students with high religiosity values), and dynamic type (performed by students with an understanding of religious values not as something formal).[12] Meanwhile, Afifah (2016) examined the application of the fashion code of ethics in relation to the clothing style of students at FUF, UIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya, Indonesia, using Max Weber's social action approach.[13] Suciani (2016) also studied the dress ethics of Ahwal Syakhshiyyah students at IAIN Palangkaraya.[14] Differently, Pakuna (2005) highlighted the clothing of students who were active in extracurricular activities at UIN Walisongo, Semarang, Indonesia. In his findings, it was explained that students who included as members of KAMMI, HMI, PMII, IMM, Music community, Theater community, and MAPALA community have a variety of different fashions.[15]

There are number of research results that are similar to those conducted by Sari (2013),[16] Hunaifa (2019),[17] Zahara (2020),[18] Hassan & Ara (2021),[19] Bouvier

[9] R. Pusparani, "Penerapan Kode Etik Mahasiswa Terhadap Gaya Berbusana", Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2020.

[10] J. Alfrendi, "Persepsi Mahasiswa Jurusan Pendidikan IPS Terhadap Pelaksanaan Kode Etik Berbusana FITK UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta", Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2016.

[11] H. S. M. Aziz, "Respon Mahasiswa Tentang Kode Etik Berpakaian di Fakultas Ilmu Dakwah dan Ilmu Komunikasi Uin Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta", Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2016.

[12] N. Hidayat, "Pendidikan Karakter dan Etika Berbusana (Studi Kasus Terhadap Etika Berbusana Mahasiswa Prodi PGMI)", Jurnal Pendidikan UNIGA, 2(4), 59–74, 2017.

[13] K. R. Afifah, "Analisis Penerapan Kode Etik Mahasiswa Terhadap Gaya Berbusana Mahasiswa UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya Menurut Tindakan Sosial Max Weber dan Islam: Studi Kasus Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Filsafat", Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2016.

[14] W. A. Suciani, "Etika Berbusana Muslimah Bagi Mahasiswi IAIN Palangka Raya (Analisis Hukum Islam)", Surabaya: IAIN Palangka Raya, 2016.

[15] H. B. Pakuna, "Etika Berbusana (Studi Kasus Terhadap Pola Berbusana Mahasiswi IAIN Walisongo Semarang)", Semarang: IAIN Walisongo Semarang, 2005.

[16] I. P. Sari, "Perspektif Jilbaber Terhadap Trend Jilbab di Kalangan Mahasiswi UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta", Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2013.

[17] H. Hunaifa, "Fashion: Antara Budaya dan Shari'ah", Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019.

(2016),[20] Al-Mahadin (2013),[21] Hendariningrum & Prabowo (2019),[22] Khairunnisa (2014),[23] Owyong (2009),[24] Sharov (2019),[25] etc. However, there is highly minimum research on student dress codes or fashion, especially on PTKI, particularly with using a semiotic approach. The researches tend only to focus on the rules or code of ethics regarding student clothing on campus. These studies never place students' clothing as the primary subject in the research discourse. The sociological paradigm resulted from the previous studies is clothing is merely a supporting element of a complex socio-cultural process. This concept seems to place clothing as an attribute of both cultures; clothing is considered valuable in relation to multiple social factors. In this approach, clothing as fashion is not considered primary, but remains only an epiphenomenon (secondary symptom).

This study was initiated because students' fashion rationalization rarely made clothing the core of research discussions. Meanwhile, the main focus of this study was the variety of clothing and fashion shifts among PTKI students. Student clothing as a campus dress code is understood as a marking phenomenon – a sign element that has an integral structure and system within itself. From studying the structure and system of clothing, it is possible to understand fashion as a social phenomenon tied to a particular locus. As a paradigm, semiotics places students' fashion as the main symptom of the social phenomenon being studied. Clearly spoken, semiotics is a discipline that examines social material (i.e., clothing) as a sign that has meaning (referring to something else). This paradigm attributes radical results regarding clothing as part of the culture of a tradition that is entrenched in institutions, such as Islamic religious campuses. Therefore, this study variable provided a non-partial portray of results regarding fashion among students in UIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya, Indonesia, in particular and PTKIN in general.

Theoretical Framework

Cloth (*garment*) contains three levels of structure: the clothes itself (*the real garment*), the clothing icon or image (*the image-clothing*), and language about clothing (*the written-clothing*). The last two elements refer to the first substance.[26] As

---

[18] R. Zahara, "Konsep Fashion dalam Al-Quran (Studi Deskriptif Analisis Tafsir-Tafsir Tematik)", Banda Aceh: UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, 2020.

[19] S. H. Hassan & H. Ara, "Hijab Fashion Consciousness Among Young Muslim Women in Malaysia", Studies of Applied Economics, 39(4), 2021. https://doi.org/10.25115/eea.v39i4.4312

[20] G. Bouvier, "Discourse in clothing: The social semiotics of modesty and chic in hijab fashion", Gender and Language, 10(3), 2016. https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.v10i3.32034

[21] S. Al-Mahadin, "The social semiotics of Hijab: Negotiating the body politics of veiled women" Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research, 6(1), 2013. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.6.1.3_1

[22] R. Hendariningrum & A. Prabowo, "Lifestyle and Fashion As Communication (Semiotics Of Lifestyle and Fashion As Shown For Self-Identity Yogyakarta Teenagers)", The Indonesian Journal of Communication Studies, 8(1), 86–104, 2019.

[23] E. Khairunnisa, "A Semiotic Analysis of Fashion Domination through Signs in Music Videos", Bandung: Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia Bandung, 2014.

[24] Y. S. M. Owyong, "Clothing semiotics and the social construction of power relations", Social Semiotics, 19(2), 191–211, 2009. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330902816434

[25] K. Sharov, "Visual semiotics of feminine fashion: A concise analysis". Praxema, (1), 2019. https://doi.org/10.23951/2312-7899-2019-1-173-195

[26] Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, California: University of California Press, 1990.

a meaningful cultural attribute, clothing becomes part of visual semiotics. Meanwhile, the structure of a piece of clothing is built into a rigid and systematic relational system. Relations between elements are divided into syntagmatic (*syntax*) and paradigmatic (*paradigm*).

There is a grammatical unit in one suit of clothing that is formed of a syntagma and a paradigm with an interrelational structure. Syntagma in clothing refers to the connection of presence in the Saussurean semiotic system (*in presentia*) between a piece of clothing and other pieces (or so-called grammatical units and other grammatical units) in its use. Dressing or '*how-to-dress*' is always expressed through a series of pictorial (visual) signs in the time dimension, so syntagmatic schemes are sometimes called linear relations. On the other hand, the clothing paradigm is an associative relationship which refers to the relationship of absence (*in absentia*) which links signs (clothing) with other signs based on its similarities or differences. Shortly, certain clothes are potentially associated with each other in a series of memories and mind as inner representations that form "signs" (a kind of language) or articulations of the wearer through the 'chosen' clothes and the 'way' the clothes are represented themselves.[27]

This study was descriptive research using qualitative as method. In this study, various structures and shifts in the form of student clothing as expressive manifestations were described. Dressing is an expressive realm. Expression, as something actual, is a concrete domain that is influenced by certain mental conditions. As a mental manifestation, a person's clothing and way of dressing always originates from personal (student) views internalized through discourse around clothing as *adab* (between *hijab* and fashion) within PTKI campus holding up Islamic values. The figuration that appears from clothing is a manifestation of personal expression and students' views regarding clothing in relation to the dress code of ethics in PTKI campus (i.e., UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya).

The matters in relation to PTKIN students' clothing were then examined systematically by referring to Ferdinand de Saussure's theory on fashion system. As previously explained, fashion system is categorized into two groups, namely syntagm and paradigm. Syntagm discussed the mixture and match of student clothes or something actual in student fashion displays, while paradigm discussed something stored behind visible things and abstract systems i.e., ideology, history, culture, value, taste, and so on.

Furthermore, clothing is also a manifestation of the dichotomous Saussurean semiotic system, called as *langue* and *parole*. In the students' clothing system at the study site, langue in clothing was composed of various oppositions between parts of the suit (pieces), parts of clothing, and their "details", the variations of which result in changes in meaning (the effect and meaning of wearing a skirt is not the same as wearing a robe, especially if it actually emphasizes Islamic values); and the rules that controlled the association of parts within the suit itself, whether along the body or inward. Meanwhile, parole in the clothing system consisted of all random material or fabrication phenomena (atomic fabrication) or also individual clothing styles

---

[27] Kris Budiman, *Semiotika Visual: Konsep, Isu, dan Problem Ikonisitas*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011.

(clothing size, level of cleanliness, personal habits in clothing, or free association of parts). More concretely, langue is structured as oppositional devices and is reflected through the term 'dress code' which was regulated in the code of ethics for members of certain communities in the study site. Meanwhile, clothing as parole is a variation that is manifested in the variety of students' clothing which sometimes did not comply with the dress code as a grammatical form of clothing for PTKI students in general and UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya in particular.[28]

Discussion

The most obvious distinguishing feature that can be noted from someone in connection to clothes as the image of the PTKI academic community. Using clear fashion expressions throughout the outfit of the day (hence OOTD), student's clothing becomes material for interpersonal communication system (language of fashion) that is expressed through an implicit pattern of non-verbal expression.

In the Saussurean semiotic tradition, clothing becomes a material element of signs known as 'signifier'. Clothing is understood as a sign structure that is built from material, concrete-mental signifiers (concept), and abstract signifiers. In the Saussurean semiotic model, the relationship between signifier and signified (which then forms a sign system) is more directed towards form rather than substance.[29] In student fashion, clothing is a concrete sign system element. A person who wears certain clothes is actually expressing something (discourse) that contains something (sign meaning) implicit to other people. A signifier is a material element of a sign that represents certain aspects behind the sign itself, i.e., meaning, value, significance, expectations and so on. As a concrete aspect of the sign, the signifier becomes a representation (something else) that is to be articulated in a signifying scheme which is ultimately censored by the five senses.

Figure 1
Various OOTDs for students at UIN Sunan Ampel, from robes, skirts, trousers, to culottes
(Private Document, 2023)

---

[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*

The development of contemporary student fashion has experienced an evolutionary shift in standards, including at our study site. The verbal 'to get a lecture' is understood as the common activity of seeking for knowledge (*tolabul `ilm*) in higher education. However, the current trend of the academic community is going to campus likes what they do in their common activities. As a social act, clothing is certainly part of the institutions in sociological interaction. Clothing acts as a symbolic communication system.[30] The above Figure displayed how students fit themselves into campus academic relationships, which was manifested through various OOTDs. From an all-covered appearance which represented clothing as a *hijab* (veil) (1) and (2), to clothing as an accentuation of style or fashion. In the appearance of female students (3), (4), and (5), the mix-and-match and clothing designs clearly appeared as a schematic combination of fashion in a social semiotic system. However, the use of the veil (*niqab*) as in female students (1) cannot necessarily be interpreted as a non-fashion expression of students. In this case, Nonaka (2021) explained that the contemporary trend is actually a partial part of the phenomenon of urban Muslim women in Indonesia.[31] Therefore, OOTD is a representation of fashion.

Every age has its own situational context. Likewise, the development of student's fashion trends is always shifting, not fixed and even tends to evolve along with the spirit of the times (*zeitgeist*). In the context of our study site, the tension between clothing as fashion and the *hijab* was seen in the fragmented campus dress code phenomenon as student fashion with the characteristics of loose, unfashionable clothing, minimum of accessories, wearing skirts (students), and so on (1), while non-santri fashion which is visible through the accentuation of clothing that is completely fashionable, wearing pants (for female students), even tight to show off body shape, and so on (2).

---

[30] R. H. Nagasawa, S. S. Hutton & S. B. Kaiser, "A Paradigm for the Study of the Social Meaning of Clothes: Complementarity of Social-Psychological Theories", Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, 10(1), 1991. https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X9101000108

L. Ovsiankina & T. Kuprii, "Fashion As Sign and Symbolic Conditionality: Philosophical and Sociological Aspects", Skhid, 1(1), 2021. https://doi.org/10.21847/1728-9343.2021.1(1).225446

[31] Y. Nonaka, "Practising Sunnah for reward of heaven in the afterlife: The expansion of cadar wearing among urban Muslim women in Indonesia", Indonesia and the Malay World, 49(145), 2021. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2021.1952018

Figure 2
Outfits of students at UIN Sunan Ampel, rom shirts, blouses, to blazers (outer)
(Private Document, 2023)

The Academics Dress Code in the Syntagmatic-Paradigmatic Scheme

In this case, the relational system called as syntagmatic and paradigmatic relation are dicussed. In the context of student clothing as an academic dress code, syntagma refers to the *in presentia* relationship between a piece of clothing and other pieces (or so-called grammatical units and other grammatical units) in its use. A particular outfit (OOTD) is always expressed as a series of figural signs in the time dimension (the syntagmatic dimension is sometimes called as a linear relation). Meanwhile, paradigm is an associative relationship which refers to an *in absentia* relationship which connects a sign with other signs based on similarities or differences before it appears in an expression. In our study, certain clothing items are always paradigmatically related to their synonyms or antonyms. Certain clothes are potentially associated with each other in a series of memories, mind, and as inner representations that form a system of signs and "codes" for the wearer.[32]

In terms of clothing design, the term 'coordinate fashion' or 'mix-and-match fashion' is commonly known.[33] The clothing syntagm is articulated through the combination of tops and bottoms of the clothes worn, as well as the material, design, theme, color and so on. On the other hand, the clothing paradigm is a set of values, ideologies, beliefs and so on. In the context of student dress codes, the difference between syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations can be schematically illustrated in the following example.

---

[32] Kris Budiman, *Semiotika Visual: Konsep, Isu, dan Problem Ikonisitas*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011.
[33] *Ibid.*

Figure 3
Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Relationship on Female Students' Outfits
(Private Document, 2023)

In Figure (3), there are five two-piece dresses for students at our study site as a syntagmatic series. In Figure (3.1), female students wear suits (mix-and-match) clothing consisting of a top in the form of a tunic, a bottom in the form of a skirt, and a headscarf. This part of the top becomes a paradigmatic relationship with other tops, such as the blouse in Figure (3.2) and Figure (3.3), the t-shirt in Figure (3.4), or the shirt in Figure (3.5). Meanwhile, the bottom in the form of a skirt is related to other bottoms, which is also in the form of a skirt (but with a different model and motif) as seen in Figure (3), or trousers (pants) as in Figure (4) and Figure (5), likewise the type or model and color choice of veil. From various considerations regarding the two relationship axes (syntagmatic-paradigmatic), the suitability of combinations of clothing is expressed authentically by each student through symbolic units.

In Figure (3.1), the syntagmatic level of the campus dress code as a form of mix-and-match clothing is expressed by female students through combinations, top clothing in the form of a brightly colored tunic combined with a black skirt. Meanwhile, the choice of veil color is a mix and match that is adjusted to the color of the skirt. The overall combination of tops and bottoms worn has gone through a selection stage, be it material, design, theme, color, and so on. Certainly, it looks strange (not in harmony), as if the bottom of the skirt is replaced with another skirt (3.4), or the female student's skirt (3.2) is substituted with (3.5). In unified fashion coordinates, linearity (read: unidirectional) relations become an important part of the mix-and-match series in clothing. Another point is also seen in the female student's choice (3.2) which left the blouse (top) outside (not tucked into the skirt). On the other hand, female student (3.3) chose to tuck her blouse into her skirt. A person's preferences will always be manifested in the choice of clothes and the mix-and-match of clothing displayed. The visual effect that arises from leaving or inserting the top into the bottom is clearly very contrasting.

Meanwhile, at the paradigmatic level, clothing is a representation of a set of values, ideology, beliefs, tastes, social background and so on. A person's preferences

will be manifested in a series of suit related to as a coherent structural unit. Female students (3.1) and (3.2) were certainly not the same in appearance when compared to female students (3.3), (3.4), and (3.5) because their tastes in clothing models were different. This also applies to the concept of clothing or body language (*aurat*). Meanwhile, certain clothing items are always paradigmatically related to their synonyms or antonyms. This means that mix-and-match (3.1) is a synonym for (3.2) because the combination of the two is paradigmatically related as a similar mix-and-match, both in appearance, concept and meaning. Mixing and matching clothing from both can be accepted as a *santri* image which is often found in religious study programs, such as the Arabic Language and Literature Department (80%), the History of Islamic Civilization Department (around 40%). Meanwhile, non-religious departments such as the English Literature and the Indonesian Literature remained only 20%.

Furthermore, mix-and-match (3.3), (3.4), and (3.5) become antonyms of (3.1) and (3.2) because these three combinations were binary opposites. The concepts of the four female students were paradigmatically antonyms of the other two. In this case, the mix-and-match clothing of the four other female students was categorized as a non-*santri* image which was commonly found in non-religious departments, such as English Literature (Sasing) and the Indonesian Literature (Sasindo) (ranging 80%). In religious departments, such as the History of Islamic Civilization (SPI) were 60%, while 20% were from the Arabic Language and Literature (BSA).[34]

Referring to campus clothing standards as regulated by UIN Sunan Ampel in 2022 concerning Student Academic Guidelines page 69, states that "Every student is required to wear Muslim clothing and behave in accordance with Islamic teachings. Further provisions regarding student behavior are regulated in the Student Code of Ethics (KEM)". Meanwhile, in Chapter 8 regarding the student code of ethics, it is explained that "dress etiquette" for students (men) is broken down into three points while for female students with eight points.[35] The more rigid category for female students inevitably raises suspicions regarding gender bias in the implementation of the student fashion code of ethics at our study site. However, to confirm this, it would be good if there was separate research regarding gender relations in student codes of ethics at Islamic higher education institutions.

In these provisions, students (esp. male) are required to wear pants, not wear t-shirts or torn clothes, wear shoes (the heels cannot be stepped on) and are prohibited from wearing sandals, and are not allowed to dress up like women (long-haired, necklaces, earrings, etc.). In Figure (4), there are five combinations of two-piece

---

[34] This percentage was concluded by researchers from casual observations during the lecture activities. There were interesting facts related to these numbers for each academic year. For students at the Department of Indonesian Literature, it turned out that there was an increase in the use of trousers among female students every year. In the 2019 academic year at the department, the average number of students wearing trousers was ranging between seven and eight, while in the 2020 academic year increased drastically to 13-14 students, as well as in the 2021 was 17-18 students. The use of trousers (by students) was not intended as something unnatural, but rather as an illustration of the phenomenon surrounding student fashion at UIN Sunan Ampel.

[35] UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Pedoman Akademik Program Sarjana (S1), Magister (S2), dan Doktor (S3) UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2021.

dresses, student at (4.1) syntagmatically wears a suit consisting of shirt top, materially underneath trousers, and equipped with a cap. This combination meets predetermined standards. As a representation of the paradigmatic relationship, students at (4.2) appear in a combination of *koko* shirt (top) and very tight skinny jeans. College students at (4.3) as another paradigmatic relationship with block-shirt and denim trousers. Then, in (4.4) shows students wearing t-shirt tops combined with jackets as outer clothes and combined with blue jeans. Finally, student at (4.5) wore a sweater top combined with denim bottoms.

Figure 4
Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Relationship on Male Students' Outfits
(Private Document, 2023)

The Figure (4.1) and (4.3) can be ignored in the following discussion because the OOTD of the two students meets the rules. For students at (4.2), what became a concern was the tight trousers they wore. Unlike the clothing criteria for female students, in the clothing criteria for (male) students, there was no narrative prohibition regarding tight trousers models. The diction "polite" or the clause "...behaves according to the teachings of Islam" was definitely not specific. Meanwhile, students at (4.4) who mixed and matched t-shirts with unbuttoned jackets was called a "good trick" regarding the prohibition on wearing t-shirts as tops. However, would it be wise if the regulations regarding the student code of ethics also regulate the behavior of leaving outer clothing unbuttoned? For students at (4.5), apart from having a long hair, what is clearly prohibited because they are considered to resemble women, by the use of sweaters, which at first glance have a material and style similar to t-shirts.

Figure 5
(Private Document, 2023)

On the other hand, for female students, the points related to the Islamic campus dress code include covering the intimate parts except the face (so explicitly wearing a veil as in Figure (6.2) is not permitted), clothing materials must not be tight or thin. has the potential to reveal the shape of the body, openwork clothes and t-shirts are not permitted. If student wears trousers, tops must be long to cover half the thighs, whereas if he wears a skirt, the top only has to be long enough to cover the hips, a headscarf covering the hair, neck and chest, covering the leg area either with closed shoes or wearing socks, and so on. Referring to the previous provisions, the female student's appearance (in Figure 5) can be said to be inconsistent with the provisions, such as tucking the top into the bottom of the shirt (Figures 3.3 and 3.4) and (Figures 5.2, 5.3, 5.5, and perhaps 5.4). The top length is too short when combined with the skirt bottom (Figure 3.5). Veils that do not cover the shoulders and chest area (Figure 3.5) and (Figures 5.4 and 5.5). The leg area is not completely covered, such as (Figures 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5), (Figures 5.2 and 5.5) above and (Figure 6.4) below, because the skirt or pants are too high or not wearing socks. Also, the material is thin and reveals the shape of the user's body as in Figure (6.5).

Figure 6
(Private Document, 2023)

From the four layers in Figure 6, the syntagmatic-paradigmatic relationship showed the appropriateness of mix-and-match clothing of students ar UIN Sunan Ampel was vice versa with the reference document that regulated students' clothing code of ethics. Figure (1) on each image (3.1, 4.1, 5.1, and 6.1) is a representation of student clothing that is acceptable to the dress code standards in UIN Sunan Ampel.

Preferences of Fashion in the Langue-Parole Dimension

The shift in the fashion of PTKI students can be traced and linked to changes in the institution's statutes which apparently not only changed (not to say overhauled) the nomenclature construction—such as the name of the college, the design of the institution's logo, the architecture of campus buildings, and overall institutional governance. The metamorphosis of PTKI (i.e., UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya) can be seen in the emergence of new departments that are more varied (not only about religious disciplines). The logical consequence is that there was a shift in PTKI's old image which was once attached to it as a campus for Islamic students. Meanwhile, the offer of more diverse scientific branches has sparked interest among groups with more diverse backgrounds. The more varied biographies of new PTKI enthusiasts are an inevitability that arises as a result of the complex dynamics of the institution which can be seen in the shift of the evolutionary fashion (fashion coordinate) of the students, especially at our study site.

The evolution of PTKI academic fashion is a logical implication of the discursive tension between clothing as *hijab* and fashion. The discourse regarding the code of ethics or clothing regulations for PTKI students which is currently taking place today is both fundamental and crucial as part of substantial internal institutional issues. In general discourse, the function of clothing for a Muslim is to cover the private parts.[36] In a more plural social dimension, a piece of clothing is considered a

---

[36] A. Arifuddin, "Pakaian Muslimah dalam Perspektif Hadis dan Hukum Islam", DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum, 17(1), 2019. https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v17i1.664

complex representation of style or fashion,[37] so that fashion is defined as fashion, way, style, habits, variety, taste and so on.[38] The term 'fashion' differ from simple clothing designs (clothing, dresses, apparel, etc.) primarily in their semiotic properties.[39] Fashion is a social semiotic system, whereas clothing simply refers to social phenomena.[40] In clothing, there is a symbol system used as a field for individual expression (self). Meanwhile, the concept of *hijab* (the covering) as part of clothing or fashion has become an antagonistic discourse on issues of femininity, especially discourse surrounding the female body. The Indonesian National Commission on Violence against Women provides open criticism regarding the implementation of Muslim dress policies in government institutions. In the Annual Notes of the Indonesian National Commission on Violence against Women in 2022, the Discriminatory Policies against Women states that throughout 2021, there will be discriminatory Regional Regulations. The regional regulation contains rules for civil apparatus (hence ASN) clothing/uniforms that are based on certain religious teachings, such as the use of headscarves (*hijabs*) (p. 107). One of the criticisms of the Indonesian National Commission on Violence against Women was addressed to the use of certain religious attributes in the name of regional characteristics, even though the attribute in question refers to a reference to one religion.[41] In other contexts, women's *hijab* is also often repressed and marginalized for religious reasons. Kristeva considers *hijab* worn by a Muslim woman to be a symbol of violence and melancholia

M. Ibrahim, "Concept of Islam in Fashion", International Journal of Science and Research, 7(2), 918–921, 2018.

A. Mustami, Islamic Education In Civilization Of Fashion Industry: Clothes Concept Reflection In Islam. Ta'dib, 20(1), 2015. https://doi.org/10.19109/td.v20i1.82

S. Syofrianisda, "Karakteristik Pakaian Wanita Muslimah dalam Tinjauan Al-Qur'an dan Hadis", Istinarah: Riset Keagamaan, Sosial Dan Budaya, 2(1), 2020. https://doi.org/10.31958/istinarah.v2i1.2160

[37] S. Andras, "Fashion, Dress, Costume: a Proposed Terminological Clarification in the Historical Research of Women's Clothing", Journal Contribution, 2021. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.16923241.v1

R. Hendariningrum, & A. Prabowo, "Lifestyle and Fashion As Communication (Semiotics Of Lifestyle and Fashion As Shown For Self-Identity Yogyakarta Teenagers)", The Indonesian Journal of Communication Studies, 8(1), 86–104, 2019.

K. Johnson, S.J. Lennon,, & N. Rudd, "Dress, body and self: research in the social psychology of dress", Fashion and Textiles, 1(1), 20, 2014. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40691-014-0020-7

[38] H. Hunaifa, Fashion: Antara Budaya dan Shari'ah, Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019.

S. M. P. Sahrub, "Pemaknaan fashion: Studi gaya hidup pada komunitas Indonesia Sneakers Team Surabaya", Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika, 14(2), 2020. https://doi.org/10.20473/jsd.v14i2.2019.103-110

D. Susanti, Pusat Fashion Kontemporer di Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, 2011.

[39] R. Barthes, The Fashion System, California: University of California Press, 1990.

P. Bourdieu & Y. Delsaut, "Le couturier et sa griffe : contribution à une théorie de la magie", Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales, 1(1), 1975. https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1975.2447

[40] K. Sharov, "Visual semiotics of feminine fashion: A concise analysis", Praxema, (1), 2019. https://doi.org/10.23951/2312-7899-2019-1-173-195

[41] Komnas Perempuan RI, "Catatan Tahunan (Catahu) 2022 Komnas Perempuan RI", 2022.

A. Agripina, et al., "Antara Iklan dan Dakwah: Representasi Postingan Reels Rabbani tentang Busana Islami hingga Isu Pelecehan Seksual". Journal Bastra, 8(4), 2023.

(Wajid, 2006). The hypothesis of feminists who are critical of the *hijab* tends to consider head coverings for Muslim women as something that is restrictive and is undoubtedly too reductionist.[42]

Further, the Islamic campus dress code is also related to the relationship between langue and parole. In the clothing of the academic community at our study site, there was a langue (system) of standard clothing that must be followed by every campus member, including students. The langue in the campus dress code was composed of various oppositions between certain parts of the suit (pieces), parts of clothing, their "details", and the variations of which result in changes in meaning (see Figure 6), and the rules that controlled the association of parts within the suit itself. In short, the langue in student clothing at our study site was structured as oppositional and relational devices that were manifested in a student dress convention. These institutions were regulated in a rigid Student Code of Ethics. These rules are always listed in a supplement to the UIN Sunan Ampel Student Academic Guidelines document, annually.

Figure 7
Langue in Student Clothing
(Private Document, 2023)

In 2019, the UIN Sunan Ampel Student Code of Ethics, especially those containing student dress rules in the campus environment, is a separate document (not contained in other documents i.e., the 2019 UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya Student Academic Guidelines). This document was stipulated by the university leadership through the Decree of the Chancellor of UIN Sunan Ampel Number 41 of 2019 concerning the Student Code of Ethics. In addition, from 2020 to 2022, the student code of ethics became part of the Student Academic Guidelines at UIN Sunan Ampel.

In the Decree of the Chancellor of UIN Sunan Ampel Number 41 of 2019, it is stated that the student dress code is determined "... by considering the aspects of Islam, modesty, appropriateness of lecture activities and Indonesian-ness". In the next

---

[42] S. Al-Mahadin, "The social semiotics of Hijab: Negotiating the body politics of veiled women". Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research, 6(1), 2013. https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.6.1.3_1

section, seven points of clothing etiquette are established for (male) students, including:

(a) Must dress neatly, politely and in accordance with sharia;
(b) Cover the private parts;
(c) Arrange her hair neatly;
(d) Wear clothes that are neat, not torn, and do not contain writing or images that contain pornography, provocation, violence, etc.;
(e) Wear shoes and socks;
(f) Remove jewelry (accessories), including studs/earrings or the like in the ears or nose and/or any part of the body, no tattoos, no dyed hair; and
(g) Not to wear sandals, t-shirts and/or inappropriate clothing.

Furthermore, the dress code for female students is determined by six criteria, namely:

(a) Must dress neatly, politely and in accordance with sharia;
(b) Cover the private parts, i.e., the entire body except the face and palms;
(c) Wear clothes that are loose/not tight, not thin/transparent, and wear a modest headscarf;
(d) Wear clothes that are neat, not torn, and do not contain writing or images that contain pornography, provocation, violence, etc.;
(e) Wear shoes and socks; and
(f) Remove excessive make-up or jewelry (accessories), not to wear earrings/giangs or the like on the nose, lips and/or on any part of the body other than the ears, not to change the color of the eyebrows.

In 2020, the student code of ethics document became part of the UIN Sunan Ampel Student Academic Guidelines. The narrative surrounding the student fashion convention was revised in several parts. For example, the dress code criteria for (male) students have become more concise. On the other hand, dress codes for female students tend to be more rigid. For students, for example, the criteria for dressing include dress modestly wearing trousers, shirts, no t-shirts or torn clothes; wear shoes with no heels and are not allowed to wear sandals or the like; and must not have long hair and women's accessories such as necklaces, earrings, headbands, bracelets and hairpins.

Meanwhile, the criteria for clothing for female students include covering the entire body from head to ankles and wrists, except for the face or clothing that is at least 30cm in its length from the waist down and long-sleeved clothing to the wrists; wear trousers or skirts that are not tight/thin/reveal the body shape that reach the ankles; the clothing material is not transparent and not made from t-shirts; headscarf with hair, neck and chest covered by the hijab; wearing closed shoes or sandals with socks; special provisions are adjusted to the policies of each faculty; for official institutional events, students are required to wear an academic jacket as well as the clothing style which corresponds some conditions:

a. For trousers or blouse, then loose trousers and a blouse that is at least half thigh long.

b. For skirt and blouse, then a closed bottom skirt and a long blouse covering the hips.

In the Student Academic Guidelines document, published between 2020 and 2022, the code of ethics for student clothing at UIN Sunan Ampel has not undergone any changes or adjustments.

Regarding the substance of the previously aforementioned student code of ethics document, it is interesting to discuss clothing for non-Muslim students. In recent years, UIN Sunan Ampel has accepted several non-Muslim students. However, to this day the code of ethics for non-Muslim students (especially women) has not been regulated in circular letter. In our observations, non-Muslim female students did not wear head/hair coverings, but wearing short-sleeved shirts, and so on. On the other hand, in the 2022, the Student Academic Guidelines applied a terminology "Islamic law" in the dress code for its students. In Chapter IV, sub-Lecture Rules, section (a) for students, number 5, it is stated: "Every student is required to wear Muslim clothing and behave in accordance with Islamic teachings...". The fashion code of ethics for non-Muslim students should ideally also conform to existing and applicable regulations. They are not required to wear standard Muslim clothing (*kaffah*). However, these regulations have caused non-Muslim students to reconsider about studying at PTKI (include UIN Sunan Ampel), especially for those female due to the dress code of ethics in point (a) and (e).

Another dilemma that was also interesting to discuss was around the *niqab* or the use of the veil by some female students. The use of the veil has begun to appear among several female students. As a study by Nonaka (2021), the phenomenon of using face coverings in urban circles is common, whether it is motivated by ideological reasons (*hijrah*) or non-ideological reasons (urban fashion trends).[43] On the other hand, the code of ethics for female students in point (a) states that female students are required to "*cover their entire body from head to ankles and wrists, except the face* ...". This means that the use of the veil or *niqab* is actually not permitted. Yet, does wearing the veil conflict with the principles of religious moderation – particularly by the term 'cloth', the expression of dressing covered like a veil represents an extreme image in Islamic religion? In this case, Nonaka (2021) stated that the veil is no longer an image of the Islamic extremist. Most classical and contemporary scholars have not agreed that wearing the veil is prohibited. However, are these restrictions (i.e., the use of *niqab*) not in conflict with the Article 28 and the Article 29 of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution?

---

[43] Y. Nonaka, "Practising Sunnah for reward of heaven in the afterlife: The expansion of cadar wearing among urban Muslim women in Indonesia", Indonesia and the Malay World, 49(145), 2021. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2021.1952018

Figure 8
Parole in Student Clothing
(Private Document, 2023)

In the student dress code, parole is defined as the use or realization of clothing by every member of the community who wears the clothing. Parole is concrete and exists in physical reality. It becomes the reason of the different characteristics of each individual's clothing. In addition, langue is a system or rule, while parole is a concrete object of dress. In students' dress code, parole is manifested in the variety of clothing for each individual student. Meanwhile, the code of ethics for student dress in the campus environment established by the institution is a form of langue.[44]

Parole is a truly unique item of apparel. To begin, parole may be viewed as a mixture that allows someone to employ fashion codes to convey their opinions or likes. Second, parole may be viewed as a psychophysical process that permits someone (especially a student) to exhibit these combinations (see previous Figures). This combinative aspect implies that parole is composed of signs that are identical and always repeat themselves. Due to this repetition, each sign can be an element of langue. Also, because it is a combinative activity, parole is related to individual action and is not merely a form of creation. In short, parole is the actual use of clothing as an action by individuals.[45] In actual use (Figure 6), in expressing oneself through clothing (parole), there were many expressives that were not in line with the style determined (langue) by the institution.

Conclusion

The evolution of fashion outside of campus undoubtedly impacts and develops students' preferences to regard themselves in academic contact settings at tertiary institutions, including UIN Sunan Ampel. The dominant perception effect that

---

[44] A. Rohman, M. Fidiyanti, Z. Rosyidi, N.M. Efendi, & S. Sodikin, "Islamic Symbol On Fashion Style Used By The Student Of Adab And Humanities Faculty, UIN Sunan Ampel Surbaya: Semiotics Studies", Jurnal Disastri: Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia, 5(1), 99–107, 2023.
[45] Kris Budiman, *Semiotika Visual: Konsep, Isu, dan Problem Ikonisitas*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011.

emerged was that campus clothing was no longer seen solely as a *hijab* to protect the private parts. Clothing has shifted as a manifestation of student fashion which tends to be individual so that the boundaries regarding dress code as regulated in the student code of ethics are not really referred to by students as a preference in social or academic interactions on campus. This fact was concluded based on observations that had been made regarding the variety of student clothing. Our study has found that clothing is a relational system between syntagmatic-paradigmatic in general. The variety of clothing for students is dominated by clothing as a manifestation of fashion which emphasizes fashion, style, trends and so on. Among the students in the Faculty of Adab and Humanities, 70 percent of the students of the English Literature and Indonesian Literature Departments chose to emphasize fashionable clothing, while 60 percent of the students at the History of Islamic Civilization, which incidentally was a religious department and was started since the status of the institution was still an institute, prioritized style in the clothes they wear. The only difference was shown by students of the Arabic Language and Literature Department, where 80 percent of students preferred closed clothing that becomes the typical clothing of santri. This fact shows that the langue of academic clothing does not really influence the clothing parole shown by students.

This broad description of the range of student clothes at the Faculty of Adab and Humanities is a microcosm of the institution's face when it comes to the student fashion phenomena at UIN Sunan Ampel. The campus is still dominated by faculties that were established when the institution was still an institute (only a few faculties, such as the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, the Faculty of Islamic Economics and Business, and the Faculty of Psychology, can be considered new). These faculties have made adjustments by adding non-religious departments. In relation to the student fashion phenomenon, this condition is also influencing, where gaps or binaries in student fashion exist. However, this trend does not occur in relatively new faculties. Our conclusion is, student fashion in these new faculties does not have any diversity (the portrait of santri and non-santri clothing), it is only dominated by OOTD as a merely representation of fashion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Afifah, K. R. (2016). *Analisis Penerapan Kode Etik Mahasiswa Terhadap Gaya Berbusana Mahasiswa UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya Menurut Tindakan Sosial Max Weber dan Islam: Studi Kasus Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Filsafat* (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya). Retrieved from https://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/9623/

Agripina, A. et al., "Antara Iklan dan Dakwah: Representasi Postingan *Reels* Rabbani tentang Busana Islami hingga Isu Pelecehan Seksual". *Journal Bastra, 8(4), 2023*.

Al-Mahadin, S. (2013). The social semiotics of Hijab: Negotiating the body politics of veiled women. *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, *6*(1). https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.6.1.3_1

Alfrendi, J. (2016). *Persepsi Mahasiswa Jurusan Pendidikan IPS Terhadap Pelaksanaan Kode Etik Berbusana FITK UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta* (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta). Retrieved from

https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/54058

Andras, S. (2021). Fashion, Dress, Costume: a Proposed Terminological Clarification in the Historical Research of Women's Clothing. *Journal Contribution.* Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.16923241.v1

Arifuddin, A. (2019). Pakaian Muslimah dalam Perspektif Hadis dan Hukum Islam. *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum*, *17*(1). https://doi.org/10.35905/diktum.v17i1.664

Aziz, H. S. M. (2016). *Respon Mahasiswa Tentang Kode Etik Berpakaian di Fakultas Ilmu Dakwah dan Ilmu Komunikasi Uin Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta* (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta). Retrieved from https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/32356

Barthes, R. (1990). *The Fashion System* (M. Ward & R. Howard, Eds.). California: University of California Press.

Barthes, R. (2013). *The Language of Fashion*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Bourdieu, P., & Delsaut, Y. (1975). Le couturier et sa griffe : contribution à une théorie de la magie. *Actes de La Recherche En Sciences Sociales*, *1*(1). https://doi.org/10.3406/arss.1975.2447

Bouvier, G. (2016). Discourse in clothing: The social semiotics of modesty and chic in hijab fashion. *Gender and Language*, *10*(3). https://doi.org/10.1558/genl.v10i3.32034

Bramantio, B. (2011, December 15). Suara-suara Perempuan yang Terbungkam dalam Sihir Perempuan. Retrieved 23 February 2022, from bramantio-fib.web.unair.ac.id website: http://bramantio-fib.web.unair.ac.id/artikel_detail-40748-Umum-Suarasuara Perempuan yang Terbungkam dalam Sihir Perempuan.html

Budiman, K. (2011). *Semiotika Visual: Konsep, Isu, dan Problem Ikonisitas* (Vol. 1). Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.

Hassan, S. H., & Ara, H. (2021). Hijab Fashion Consciousness Among Young Muslim Women in Malaysia. *Studies of Applied Economics*, *39*(4). https://doi.org/10.25115/eea.v39i4.4312

Hendariningrum, R., & Prabowo, A. (2019). Lifestyle and Fashion As Communication (Semiotics Of Lifestyle and Fashion As Shown For Self-Identity Yogyakarta Teenagers). *The Indonesian Journal of Communication Studies*, *8*(1), 86–104. Retrieved from http://103.23.20.161/index.php/ijcs/article/view/2974

Hendariningrum, R., & Susilo, M. E. (2008). Fashion dan Gaya Hidup: Identitas dan Komunikasi. *Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, *6*(2).

Hidayat, N. (2017). Pendidikan Karakter dan Etika Berbusana (Studi Kasus Terhadap Etika Berbusana Mahasiswa Prodi PGMI). *Jurnal Pendidikan UNIGA*, *2*(4), 59–74. Retrieved from https://journal.uniga.ac.id/index.php/JP/article/view/78

Hunaifa, H. (2019). *Fashion: Antara Budaya dan Shari'ah* (UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya). Retrieved from https://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/35613/

Ibrahim, M. (2018). Concept of Islam in Fashion. *International Journal of Science*

and Research, *7*(2), 918–921. Retrieved from https://www.ijsr.net/get_abstract.php?paper_id=ART20179413

Johnson, K., Lennon, S. J., & Rudd, N. (2014). Dress, body and self: research in the social psychology of dress. *Fashion and Textiles*, *1*(1), 20. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40691-014-0020-7

Khairunnisa, E. (2014). *A Semiotic Analysis of Fashion Domination through Signs in Music Videos* (Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia Bandung). Retrieved from http://repository.upi.edu/5303/

LPM IAIN Bukittinggi. (2018). *Kode Etik Mahasiswa Institut Agama Islam Negeri Bukittinggi*. Retrieved from https://iainbukittinggi.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/kode-etik-mahasiswa.pdf

Mustami, A. (2015). Islamic Education In Civilization Of Fashion Industry: Clothes Concept Reflection In Islam. *Ta'dib*, *20*(1). https://doi.org/10.19109/td.v20i1.82

Nagasawa, R. H., Hutton, S. S., & Kaiser, S. B. (1991). A Paradigm for the Study of the Social Meaning of Clothes: Complementarity of Social-Psychological Theories. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal*, *10*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/0887302X9101000108

Nonaka, Y. (2021). Practising Sunnah for reward of heaven in the afterlife: The expansion of cadar wearing among urban Muslim women in Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, *49*(145). https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2021.1952018

Ovsiankina, L., & Kuprii, T. (2021). Fashion As Sign and Symbolic Conditionality: Philosophical and Sociological Aspects. *Skhid*, *1*(1). https://doi.org/10.21847/1728-9343.2021.1(1).225446

Owyong, Y. S. M. (2009). Clothing semiotics and the social construction of power relations. *Social Semiotics*, *19*(2), 191–211. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330902816434

Pakuna, H. B. (2005). *Etika Berbusana (Studi Kasus Terhadap Pola Berbusana Mahasiswi IAIN Walisongo Semarang)*. IAIN Walisongo Semarang, Semarang.

Pusparani, R. (2020). *Penerapan Kode Etik Mahasiswa Terhadap Gaya Berbusana* (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta). Retrieved from https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/50308

Rohman, A., Fidiyanti, M., Rosyidi, Z., Efendi, N. M., & Sodikin, S. (2023). Islamic Symbol On Fashion Style Used By The Student Of Adab And Humanities Faculty, UIN Sunan Ampel Surbaya: Semiotics Studies. *Jurnal Disastri: Pendidikan Bahasa Dan Sastra Indonesia*, *5*(1), 99–107. Retrieved from http://ejournal.unhasy.ac.id/index.php/disastri/article/view/3712

Sahrub, S. M. P. (2020). Pemaknaan fashion: Studi gaya hidup pada komunitas Indonesia Sneakers Team Surabaya. *Jurnal Sosiologi Dialektika*, *14*(2). https://doi.org/10.20473/jsd.v14i2.2019.103-110

Sari, I. P. (2013). *Perspektif Jilbaber Terhadap Trend Jilbab di Kalangan Mahasiswi UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta* (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta). Retrieved from http://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/12091/

Sharov, K. (2019). Visual semiotics of feminine fashion: A concise analysis.

Praxema, (1). https://doi.org/10.23951/2312-7899-2019-1-173-195

Suciani, W. A. (2016). *Etika Berbusana Muslimah Bagi Mahasiswi IAIN Palangka Raya (Analisis Hukum Islam)* (IAIN Palangka Raya). Retrieved from http://digilib.iain-palangkaraya.ac.id/404/

Susanti, D. (2011). *Pusat Fashion Kontemporer di Yogyakarta* (Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta). Retrieved from https://e-journal.uajy.ac.id/1651/

Syofrianisda, S. (2020). Karakteristik Pakaian Wanita Muslimah dalam Tinjauan Al-Qur'an dan Hadis. *Istinarah: Riset Keagamaan, Sosial Dan Budaya*, *2*(1). https://doi.org/10.31958/istinarah.v2i1.2160

UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya. (2021). *Pedoman Akademik Program Sarjana (S1), Magister (S2), dan Doktor (S3) UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya*. Retrieved from https://drive.google.com/file/d/1n-hjkU-XQ4OGwrW06RxEt9c6dOUwvy0H/view

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung. (2020). *Pedoman Akademik Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung*. Retrieved from https://suakaonline.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Buku-Pedoman-Akademik-UIN-SGD-Bandung-2020.pdf

UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. (2018). *Tata Tertib Mahasiswa Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta*. Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. (2020). *Pedoman Akademik UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta Tahun 2020/2021*. Retrieved from https://drive.google.com/file/d/10a31l5zRe3NmDyR1kb0lCJJhwRgWOFuB/view

Zahara, R. (2020). *Konsep Fashion dalam Al-Quran (Studi Deskriptif Analisis Tafsir-Tafsir Tematik)* (UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh). Retrieved from https://repository.ar-raniry.ac.id/id/eprint/13662/