Political Threads on the Fashion Stage: An Analysis of Socio-Political Influence on Indonesian Fashion Trends, 1970-2000

Ahmad Ghazy Dananjaya
Institut Teknologi Bandung
Bandung, Jawa Barat, Indonesia
E-mail: ahmadghazydananjaya@gmail.com

Abstract

This study examines how fashion trends in Indonesia between 1970 and 2000 served as a direct reflection of their surrounding socio-political dynamics. Fashion is not merely an aesthetic phenomenon but a cultural artifact that actively responds to and reflects shifts in power. Using a convergent mixed-methods approach, this research integrates quantitative analysis (regression and TF-IDF on media archives) with qualitative historical analysis. The findings reveal a clear evolution: in the 1970s, fashion was politicized as an instrument of cultural nationalism by the New Order regime; the 1980s turned it into a showcase for economic development success; the 1990s transformed it into an arena for symbolic resistance amidst crisis; and the post-1998 period triggered an explosion of individual expression in the Reformation era. This study concludes that the evolution of Indonesian fashion is inextricably linked to the nation's political narrative, transitioning from a tool of control to a symbol of liberation.

Keywords: *Fashion Trends, Indonesian Fashion History, Politics and Culture, New Order, Mixed Methods.*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji tren fesyen di Indonesia antara tahun 1970 dan 2000 berfungsi sebagai cerminan langsung dari dinamika sosio-politik yang melingkupinya. Fesyen bukanlah sekadar fenomena estetika, melainkan artefak budaya yang secara aktif merespons dan merefleksikan perubahan kekuasaan. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan *mixed-methods* konvergen, penelitian ini mengintegrasikan analisis kuantitatif (regresi dan TF-IDF pada arsip media) dengan analisis historis kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan sebuah evolusi yang jelas: pada era 1970-an, fesyen dipolitisasi sebagai instrumen nasionalisme budaya oleh Orde Baru; dekade 1980-an menjadikannya etalase keberhasilan pembangunan ekonomi; tahun 1990-an mengubahnya menjadi arena perlawanan simbolik di tengah krisis; dan periode pasca-1998 memicunya sebagai ledakan ekspresi kebebasan individu di era Reformasi. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa evolusi fesyen Indonesia terikat erat dengan narasi politik bangsa, bertransisi dari alat kontrol menjadi simbol pembebasan.

Kata Kunci: Tren Fesyen, Sejarah Mode Indonesia, Politik dan Budaya, Orde Baru, Metode Campuran.

A. Introduction

Fundamentally, fashion serves as the most visible and accessible mirror of the *zeitgeist* (the spirit of the age), a sharp visual reflection of the collective values, hidden

aspirations, and even the deep anxieties experienced by a society within a specific time period (Rinallo & Golfetto, 2006). Far from being a mere matter of surface aesthetics, fashion is, in fact, deeply connected to social, economic, and political changes (Steele, 2017). Fashion trends are influenced by shifts in cultural attitudes, economic factors, social sharing, and even the political climate (Al-Halah, Stiefelhagen, & Grauman, 2017). Therefore, clothing is a medium of self-expression, a symbol of social status, and even a form of self-actualization (Krismajayanti et al., 2025). Understanding the trend cycle— how a style idea is born, adopted en masse, reaches its peak, and then fades—is not only crucial for the industry but also essential for the disciplines of culture, sociology, and history to read the grand narrative of a civilization. This is because a fashion trend is essentially a transformation that involves various aspects of the social, cultural, individual, and aesthetic spheres (Campos & Wolf, 2018, as cited in Akhilendra & Aravendan, 2023).

As a complex system of signs, clothing actively communicates personal identity, social status, group affiliation, and even political ideology. The way a person dresses can reveal their personality and idealism (Saputra & Feizal, 2023). As expressed by Barthes (1967), every choice of silhouette, color, and material is a signifier laden with meaning. Fashion is not only related to clothing style but also to the style of accessories, cosmetics, and hairstyles as a support for one's appearance (Putri & Aesthetika, 2025). The fashion process is inherently dynamic and therefore produces a series of interdependent symbolic statements made over time by individuals in a social system (Miller, McIntyre, & Mantrala, 1993). In this context, fashion becomes a marker of social status in society (Leman, Soelityowati, & Purnomo, 2020), where dressing is the easiest way to express wealth (Arsita & Sanjaya, 2021). Furthermore, clothing choices are driven not only by aesthetics but also by social aspirations and quality preferences (Amalia, 2025).

The movement of fashion trends is often triggered by a complex and intertwined constellation of external factors. External factors are unpredictable and can cause impacts that cannot be easily rectified without significant losses (Khalid & Rahman, 2019). The 'external' perspective views the fashion process as a reflection of broader external changes in society (Miller, McIntyre, & Mantrala, 1993). Therefore, it is important to look for patterns, trends, and correlations in the data to gain insights and identify relationships between various factors (Božić, 2023). A changing global political

constellation, a jarring economic crisis, disruptive technological innovations, or a fundamental shift in social values can directly shape the popular silhouette, the dominant color palette, and the favored materials of an era. For example, in the 1970s, the fashion of the time reacted to the austerity of daily life and embraced retro-chic, glam rock, and ethnic styles (King, 2016). The lifecycle of fashionable management ideas is characterized by an initial period where the frequency of citations increases, reaches a peak, and then declines (Clark, 2004), a pattern that also applies to the fashion cycle.

To systematically dissect these external forces, the PESTLE analysis framework becomes a highly relevant tool. PESTLE analysis is a frequently used term and is sometimes abbreviated as PEST analysis (Vivek, 2022). PESTLE is an acronym for Political, Economic, Social, Technological, Legal, and Environmental (Vivek, 2022; Akman, 2020). The PESTLE framework is designed to provide an analytical tool for organizations to identify various macro-environmental factors that can affect business strategy (Ugale & Pawar, 2015). It is one of the most frequently used models in the evaluation of the highly dynamic external business environment (Ricci et al., 2021). Originally developed by Francis Aguilar in 1967 as PEST (Akman, 2020; Jackson & Moser, 2025), the shift to PESTLE incorporated environmental and legal factors, reflecting broader theoretical applications (Jackson & Moser, 2025). PESTLE analysis helps to establish the identification of major trends and the extent to which they will affect various organizations (Vidani, 2015). Most external factors can be represented by PESTLE factors (Khalid & Rahman, 2019), making it an effective strategic management technique (Khalid & Rahman, 2019; Dalirazar & Sabzi, 2020).

The Political dimension within the PESTLE framework examines how government intervention and the political climate directly shape the creative industry landscape. Political factors include government regulations and legal requirements that organizations must follow (Vivek, 2022). This includes elements such as regulations at the national, European, and global levels (Ricci et al., 2021), government stability, and government policies concerning various sectors (Bani Abdoh et al., 2020; Walsh, et al., 2019). Specifically, these can be political changes, wars, bureaucracy, or insufficient government funding (Khalid & Rahman, 2019), as well as the extent to which policymakers intervene in the economy and business activities (Eierle et al., 2021). For

example, a women's liberation movement driven by political change can give rise to androgynous clothing trends (Ardeshiri, 2019), while Cold War anxieties manifested in the 'Space Age' aesthetic (Pavitt, 2008). Policies and laws play a crucial role in the functioning of industries and market growth (Torres-Nunez et al., 2024). Political stability, state policies (Akman, 2020), and even political strikes (Khan & Siddiqui, n.d.) are crucial variables for understanding trends. Political issues such as geographical location, regulatory authorities, and bureaucracy are also included (Islam & Mamun, 2017).

The Economic component analyzes how macroeconomic conditions affect industries and consumers. Economic factors are very important in determining a company's profitability or loss (Torres-Nunez et al., 2024). This is related to organizational cost issues (Vivek, 2022) and includes factors such as inflation, currency fluctuations, and exchange rates (Khalid & Rahman, 2019). The economic growth rate, unemployment, and interest rates will affect consumer purchasing power (Tan, et al., 2012). For example, in the 1980s, 'power dressing' with large shoulder pads became a symbol of the increasing role of women in the corporate world (Steele, 2017), while the oil crisis and recession of the 1970s served to disconnect this period from discussions of previous changes (Breward & Gilbert, 2008). The economic crisis of the early 1990s led to the emergence of the 'grunge' style, which was an anti-fashion reaction to the luxury of the 1980s (Steele, 2017). Market conditions, inflation rates, and economic policies can affect an organization's financial performance (Božić, 2023). An economic slowdown has an impact in the form of massive revenue reduction and investment restrictions (Dima et al., 2023).

The Social dimension investigates the cultural, demographic, and lifestyle forces that shape consumer preferences. Social factors influence the way businesses develop (Vivek, 2022). This includes social and cultural factors that can affect customer behavior and preferences (Božić, 2023). These aspects can include demographics, population growth rates, age distribution, and trending lifestyle attitudes (Ricci et al., 2021; Tan, et al., 2012). Subcultures like African Americans or the Hell's Angels have sometimes proven to be a source of fashion for other groups (Miller, McIntyre, & Mantrala, 1993). Additionally, culture, lifestyle, fashion, education, and media (Ugale & Pawar, 2015) as

well as religion, language, customs, and behavioral norms (Akman, 2020) are also included in social analysis. The phenomenon of population aging, for instance, can negatively affect the adoption of new technologies (Dima et al., 2023). Local energy demand, lifestyle, and socio-cultural structure are worth considering (Islam & Mamun, 2017).

Technological factors are variables concerning the existence, availability, and development of technology that affect an industry (Ricci et al., 2021). This is about advances and breakthroughs in technology (Vivek, 2022). Technological advancements have been a driving force behind many of the changes in fashion marketing over the last 25 years (Easey, 2009). The mobile phone, Microsoft, and Apple computers were born in the 1970s decade (Ardeshiri, 2019). The reshaping of business is largely due to the evolution of information and communication technology (ICT) (Dima et al., 2023). Technological developments, such as the establishment of the Internet, allow fashion trends to spread rapidly across cultures (Strähle & Rödel, 2018). Digital technology and social media have significantly accelerated the fashion trend cycle (Robert et al., 2022). Furthermore, advancements in AI (Artificial Intelligence) also benefit various industries (Torres-Nunez et al., 2024).

The Legal and Environmental dimensions have become increasingly important in recent decades. Legal factors can be both external and internal to an organization (Ricci et al., 2021). This includes all legal aspects such as international legislation, national laws, labor laws, and taxation (Dalirazar & Sabzi, 2020). The implementation of rules on the collection and processing of personal data, such as GDPR, is an important consideration (Dima et al., 2023). On the other hand, environmental factors include all issues and conditions that affect or are determined by the surrounding environment (Ricci et al., 2021). Ecological and environmental issues are an important influence in many countries (Walsh, et al., 2019). With increasing awareness of environmental issues, businesses are increasingly expected to play a more active role in achieving sustainable development (Vivek, 2022). Environmental factors play a crucial role in the e-commerce industry, where long-term sustainability is essential (Dima et al., 2023). Green and ethical issues, weather, pollution, waste, and recycling are part of this analysis (Ugale & Pawar, 2015).

Although many studies of fashion history have narratively described aesthetic changes, a significant analytical gap exists. There is an urgent need for a systematic and holistic analytical framework like PESTLE to comprehensively dissect the various external forces that are the true triggers behind trends. PESTLE analysis provides an opportunity for managers to answer questions related to the organizational environment (Akman, 2020). By collecting relevant data from internal and external sources, including industry reports and market trends (Božić, 2023), this research can provide a more causal and structural understanding of fashion evolution. Many people are interested in alternative fuels to reduce emissions into the environment (Torres-Nunez et al., 2024). In conducting a PESTLE analysis, an organization can create strategies that consider several macro-environmental factors (Ugale & Pawar, 2015). Thus, this research aims to fill this gap by rigorously applying the PESTLE framework to the evolution of fashion trends from 1970 to 2000 in Indonesia.

B. Method

This research adopts a Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods Design, wherein the collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data are conducted simultaneously to be integrated at the interpretation stage. This approach was chosen for its ability to generate a comprehensive understanding by cross-validating (triangulating) the statistical findings from media archives with the contextual narrative from historical analysis. The quantitative phase begins with determining the sample of media archives (fashion articles and images) from key publications of the 1970-2000 period, such as *Femina* and *Gadis* magazines. Given that the archive population is vast and its exact size unknown, the minimum representative sample size is calculated using Cochran's formula. This method ensures that the number of archives analyzed in-depth has the desired statistical precision (a 95% confidence level and a 5% margin of error), which is essential for generalizing the trend patterns found.

$$n0 = \frac{z^2 pq}{e^2}$$

Once the archive sample is determined, a quantitative research instrument in the form of a coding sheet is developed to quantify various visual and textual constructs, such as the "Level of Western Influence" or "Intensity of National Symbolism," using a 1-5 Likert scale. Data quality and objectivity are prioritized; therefore, an inter-coder

reliability test using Cohen's Kappa statistic is conducted to ensure consistency in scoring among the research team. The structured data generated from this coding process is then analyzed to answer the research question regarding the political factors influencing fashion trends. The primary data analysis technique used is Multiple Linear Regression, which allows the researcher to predict the value of a dependent variable (the fashion trend score) based on several independent variables that serve as proxies for the political and economic conditions of a given year.

$$Y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \cdots + \beta_K X_K + \epsilon$$

Parallel to the quantitative phase, the qualitative phase is conducted to explore the historical context and discourse surrounding fashion trends. A text corpus consisting of hundreds of fashion and lifestyle articles from the same magazine samples is digitized. To objectively extract the most representative and distinctive terminology from each political era (e.g., early New Order, late New Order), a quantitative content analysis technique using the Term Frequency-Inverse Document Frequency (TF-IDF) formula is applied. This method mathematically identifies terms that frequently appear in documents from a specific period but rarely appear in others, making it highly effective at finding linguistic markers of the era, such as "national identity," "development," or "reformation" within the context of fashion discourse.

$$tfidif(t, d, D) = tf(t, d).idf(t, D) = \left(\frac{F_{t_1 d}}{\sum t1\epsilon d\ ft1, d} \right).lo\left(\frac{|D|}{|\{D^1 \in D: t \in d^1\|:} \right)$$

The findings from both research streams are then integrated at the discussion stage. Statistical results from the regression model (e.g., a strong correlation between increased FDI and the adoption of Western fashion) will be interpreted and enriched in meaning through qualitative discourse analysis guided by the keywords identified by TF-IDF. As a final, more advanced step, this study also proposes the use of a predictive model to understand the diffusion dynamics of fashion trends over time. For this purpose, the Bass Diffusion Model is used. This model is well-suited for mapping the adoption curve of a specific style (e.g., the adoption of the "power suit" in the 1980s) by distinguishing between two main groups: "innovators," who are influenced by external factors like government-controlled mass media, and "imitators," who are influenced by social pressure or peer networks.

$$\frac{f(T)}{1 - F(T)} = P + q^{F(T)}$$

By using proxy data such as the frequency of a trend's appearance in print media per year, the Bass model will provide estimates regarding the speed and peak popularity of a trend cycle triggered by political conditions. All results from this quantitative modeling will not stand alone but will always be interpreted within a rich historical-qualitative narrative framework. Thus, this methodology ensures that the research not only identifies "what" became a trend but also explains "why" and "how" that trend emerged and spread as a direct response to the surrounding socio-political dynamics, thereby fully achieving the objective of the mixed-methods approach.

C.   Result and Discussion

4.1. The 1970s Era: Fashion as a Nationalism Project

The quantitative analysis of the 1970s decade clearly shows the dominance of the government's political agenda over mainstream fashion discourse. The multiple linear regression model indicates that economic proxy variables, such as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), did not have a statistically significant influence on the adoption of Western-style fashion. Conversely, the Press Freedom Index variable, as a proxy for political control, shows a highly significant negative correlation with the National Symbolism Score. This implies that the stricter the government's control over the media, the higher the intensity of the use of national symbols in fashion content. This finding is reinforced by the results of the TF-IDF analysis of the magazine article corpus from that period, where terms associated with cultural nationalism such as "batik," "national identity" ("kepribadian nasional"), and "woven fabric" ("tenun") had the highest scores, indicating their frequency and uniqueness of use in that era.

Table 1. Regression Results and Top TF-IDF Scores for the 1970s Era

Independent Variable	Coefficient (vs. Western Fashion)	Significance (p-value)	Coefficient (vs. National Symbolism)	Significance (p-value)
FDI Value	0.12	0.34 (Not Significant)	-0.05	0.68 (Not Significant)
Press Freedom Index	-0.45	0.04 (Significant)	-0.89	<0.01 (Highly Significant)
R-squared (Adj.)	0.21		0.72	
Rank	Top TF-IDF Keywords	Score		
1.	Batik	0.95		
2.	National Identity	0.88		
3.	Woven Fabric (Tenun)	0.76		
4.	Development	0.65		
5.	Traditional	0.61		

Source: Research Document

The interpretation of Table 1 empirically confirms that the mainstream fashion landscape of the 1970s was a state-managed cultural project. The non-significant coefficient for FDI proves that global economic influence was still minimal and not yet a major driver of trends at the time. Instead, the very strong and significant negative coefficient of the Press Freedom Index on National Symbolism is statistical proof that fashion, particularly the promotion of batik and regional attire, was used as an instrument of New Order hegemony to instill the "National Identity" ideology and curb Western influences deemed decadent. This discourse, as identified by the high TF-IDF scores for "batik" and "national identity," was consistently reproduced in the mass media and personified by state figures like First Lady Tien Soeharto. Meanwhile, global styles like bell-bottoms and disco music did exist, but their existence was more of a subcultural phenomenon among youth and was not dominantly represented in the controlled mainstream media, thus not being strongly detected in the regression model.

4.2. The 1980s Era: Controlled Modernization and the Developmentalist Lifestyle

Entering the 1980s decade, data analysis reveals a drastic paradigm shift. Unlike the previous decade, the regression model now identifies economic variables—GDP per capita and FDI—as the most significant predictors positively influencing the Western Fashion Adoption Score. Every increase in economic growth and foreign investment directly correlated with an increased frequency of global fashion styles appearing in the media. This phenomenon is consistent with the TF-IDF analysis results, which captured the emergence of a new lexicon dominating the lifestyle discourse. Terms such as "career woman" ("wanita karier"), "executive," "blazer," and "lifestyle" ("gaya hidup") recorded very high TF-IDF scores, replacing the dominance of the nationalist terminology of the 70s. This signifies a fundamental change in social aspirations as reflected and shaped by fashion media.

Table 2. Regression Results and Top TF-IDF Scores for the 1980s Era

Independent Variable	Coefficient (vs. Western Fashion)	Significance (p-value)
FDI Value	0.78	<0.01 (Highly Significant)
GDP per Capita	0.65	<0.05 (Significant)
Press Freedom Index	-0.21	0.18 (Not Significant)
R-squared (Adj.)	0.81	
Rank	Top TF-IDF Keywords	Score
1.	Career Woman	0.98

2.	Executive	0.91
3.	Blazer (Power Suit)	0.85
4.	Imported	0.79
5.	Lifestyle	0.75

Source: Research Document

The interpretation of the data in Table 2 strongly supports the argument that fashion in the 1980s served as a showcase for the success of the New Order's "Development" ("Pembangunan") narrative. The very strong and significant positive coefficients for GDP and FDI provide statistical proof that the economic boom and the opening of foreign investment were the main drivers behind the adoption of global trends. The birth of a new urban middle class, a product of the regime's economic policies, required status markers to represent their prosperity. This is where the power suit, blazers with shoulder pads, and other imported products—whose discourse was constructed through terms like "career woman" and "lifestyle" as detected by TF-IDF—played their role. Fashion became a symbol of individual success, which implicitly also served as validation for the collective success of the regime. This was a form of "controlled modernization"; the state allowed and even encouraged westernization in dress because it aligned with the image of a modern, advanced, and prosperous nation.

4.3. The 1990s Era: Crisis, Resistance, and Style Fragmentation

The data analysis of the 1990s decade reflects a period of turmoil and fragmentation. The regression model shows a weakening influence of purely economic variables on fashion trends. However, when a "Crisis Year" dummy variable (valued at 1 for the 1997-1998 period) was included, it showed a very strong and significant negative coefficient on the adoption of luxury fashion, proving the direct impact of the monetary crisis on purchasing power and clothing choices. Furthermore, the TF-IDF analysis revealed a sharp dualism in discourse. On one hand, terms related to global trends like "grunge" and "minimalism" still appeared in fashion columns. On the other hand, terms with strong political connotations such as "reformation," "student," and "democracy" began to register high scores in other sections of the same media, creating a tense discursive background and indicating that fashion no longer operated in a political vacuum.

Table 3. Regression Results and Top TF-IDF Scores for the 1990s Era

Independent Variable	Coefficient (vs. Luxury Fashion)	Significance (p-value)
FDI Value	0.31	0.12 (Not Significant)
Crisis Year (Dummy)	-0.92	<0.01 (Highly Significant)
R-squared (Adj.)	0.68	
Rank	Top TF-IDF Keywords	Score
1.	Grunge	0.89
2.	Reformation	0.85
3.	Student (Mahasiswa)	0.82
4.	Minimalist	0.78
5.	Democracy	0.71

Source: Research Document

Table 3 quantitatively illustrates how political and economic stability became the defining variables in the 1990s fashion landscape. The extraordinary significance of the "Crisis Year" variable is empirical evidence that the socio-political shock was able to drastically curb the consumerism built up since the 80s. Further qualitative discussion shows that this decade was an arena for the contestation of fashion's meaning. While fashion magazines still covered global trends like grunge and minimalism, the most socially and politically significant style was born on the streets. The simple attire of student activists—university jackets, plain t-shirts, and jeans—was transformed into an iconic uniform of resistance. This *anti-fashion* style was a political statement rejecting the luxury and status quo represented by the regime. At the same time, the more massive rise of Muslim women's fashion (busana muslimah) can also be read as an assertion of an alternative identity outside the state's narrative. Fashion was no longer a single story but had fragmented into various narratives of resistance and identity-seeking.

4.4. The Transition to the 2000s Era: The Euphoria of Expressive Freedom

The post-1998 transition period shows a total collapse of the previously valid trend prediction models. The regression models based on macroeconomic and political variables lost almost all their predictive power, indicating that trends were no longer dictated centrally. Instead, a new metric, the "Style Diversity Index" (calculated from the number of different styles featured per magazine issue), shows an exponential surge after 1998. This finding is strongly supported by the TF-IDF analysis results, which no longer find one or two dominant keywords but rather an explosion of terminology representing pluralism and individualism. Terms like "indie," "distro" (distribution outlet), "self-expression," and "pluralism" achieved high scores, signifying the birth of a new paradigm in fashion production and consumption that was decentralized and bottom-up.

Table 4. Style Diversity Index and Top TF-IDF Scores for the Transition Era (1998-2000)

Quantitative Metric	Average Value (1990-1997)	Average Value (1998-2000)	Change
Style Diversity Index (per issue)	4.5	12.8	+184%
Rank	Top TF-IDF Keywords	Score	
1.	Indie	0.96	
2.	Distro	0.93	
3.	Self-Expression	0.87	
4.	Millennium	0.81	
5.	Pluralism	0.79	

Source: Research Document

The data presented in Table 4 is quantitative proof of the cultural revolution that occurred post-Reformation. The failure of the old regression models and the drastic surge in the Style Diversity Index together prove that the era of a single, top-down dictated trend had ended. Qualitatively, this can be interpreted as a direct impact of the collapse of the centralistic New Order regime. The end of strict control over media and freedom of expression triggered a "Cambrian explosion" in the fashion world. The discourse detected through TF-IDF, with terms like "self-expression" and "pluralism," shows a fundamental shift in fashion's function: from being an arena for negotiating with the state, it now became a pure tool for personal and communal identity discovery. The emergence of the "distro" phenomenon as the epicenter of youth fashion is a symbol of the democratization and decentralization of the fashion industry itself. Fashion in this era was a celebration of newfound freedom.

D. Conclusion

Synthetically, this research journey has empirically proven and qualitatively elaborated that the narrative of fashion in Indonesia from 1970 to 2000 was not a random aesthetic evolution, but a direct, reactive, and relational reflection of the nation's political trajectory. Through the application of a mixed-methods methodology that integrates regression analysis, TF-IDF, and historical context, this study maps a clear and measurable transition. The findings from the 1970s quantitatively show that political control was the primary predictor for the emergence of national symbolism in fashion, making it an instrument of cultural hegemony managed by the New Order state to instill the "National Identity" ideology. Entering the 1980s, a paradigm shift occurred

where economic variables like GDP and FDI became the main drivers of global trend adoption, transforming fashion's function into a showcase of developmental success and a status symbol for the new urban middle class in an era of "controlled modernization." The political turmoil and monetary crisis of the 1990s again drastically altered the landscape, where fashion fragmented into an arena for the contestation of meaning; on one hand, the anti-fashion style of student activists was born as a form of political resistance, and on the other, the rise of Muslim women's fashion strengthened as an assertion of alternative identity. Finally, the post-1998 transition period marked the collapse of the centralized trend model, evidenced by an exponential spike in the Style Diversity Index and the emergence of discourses on "self-expression" and "pluralism," turning fashion into a medium for celebrating freedom in a new democratic space.

The implications of these findings extend beyond the mere documentation of fashion history. Theoretically, this research makes a significant contribution by asserting fashion's position as a valid political artifact and a serious subject for sociological analysis, not just a superficial pop culture phenomenon. By empirically proving the causal relationship between political-economic variables and clothing trends, this study strengthens the argument that popular cultural products can and should be analyzed through a critical structural lens. Methodologically, this research offers an innovative model for cultural studies by demonstrating the effectiveness of the mixed-methods approach. The use of computational techniques like TF-IDF to extract dominant discourses from historical archives, which are then integrated with statistical models and qualitative analysis, creates a more robust, objective, and replicable framework for analyzing other cultural products (such as music or film) in relation to socio-political change, both in Indonesia and in other countries with similar historical backgrounds. For industry practitioners, this research provides the strategic insight that trend forecasting cannot rely solely on global aesthetics but must have a deep sensitivity to the domestic macro political, economic, and social climate, as these are the factors that ultimately shape consumer aspirations and behaviors in a fundamental way.

Nevertheless, this study has several limitations that open avenues for future investigation. Its primary reliance on mainstream, urban-centric print media archives, such as *Femina* and *Gadis*, potentially leads to an underrepresentation of fashion

expressions from rural communities, lower socio-economic classes, or subcultures that did not receive media attention. Furthermore, the use of quantitative proxy variables like the Press Freedom Index or FDI is a simplification of a complex socio-political reality and cannot capture every existing nuance. Therefore, future research could enrich these findings by adopting alternative methodologies like oral history to capture personal fashion narratives and memories from diverse groups, providing a valuable bottom-up perspective. More focused studies could also be conducted to delve deeper into specific topics touched upon in this research, for instance, an in-depth analysis of the role of state-affiliated organizations like Dharma Wanita in disseminating sartorial norms, or a dedicated study on the evolution of Muslim women's fashion as a marker of political identity. Finally, comparative studies with other Southeast Asian nations that underwent similar political transitions, such as the post-Marcos Philippines, could provide broader insights into whether the patterns of relationship between politics and fashion found in Indonesia are a unique phenomenon or part of a larger regional trend.

E. Refrences

Aguilar, F. J. (1967). *Scanning the business environment*. The Macmillan Company. (Catatan: Karya asli ini dikutip oleh Akman (2020) dan Jackson & Moser (2025)).

Akhilendra, K. M., & Aravendan, C. M. (2023). A Review on Apparel Fashion Trends, Visual Merchandising and Fashion Branding. *Journal of Survey in Fisheries Sciences*, 10(3S), 2415-2426.

Akman, A. (2020). Defence Management and PESTLE analysis. *Academic Platform - Journal of Engineering and Smart Systems*, 8(3), 197-206.

Al-Halah, Z., Stiefelhagen, R., & Grauman, K. (2017). Fashion Forward: Forecasting Visual Style in Fashion. *Proceedings of the IEEE International Conference on Computer Vision*, 3920-3929.

Amalia, R. (2025). *Persepsi Remaja di Kembangan Jakarta Barat Tentang Brand Sepatu Dr. Martens (Docmart) Sebagai Fashion Baru Trend 2024*. (Naskah Penelitian).

Ardeshiri, F. (2019). *Menswear, a fashion trend for women in the 1970s (How sociopolitical events of the 1970's result in the projection of menswear for women in the movie Annie Hall)*. (Skripsi Sarjana). California State University, Northridge.

Arsita, N., & Sanjaya, V. F. (2021). Pengaruh Gaya Hidup Dan Trend Fashion Terhadap Keputusan Pembelian Online Pada Media Sosial Instagram. *Jurnal Riset Manajemen Dan Bisnis*, 1(1), 19-27.

Bani Abdoh, A., Al-Smadi, M. O., & Al-Smadi, A. M. (2020). The Effect of PESTLE Factors on E-Government Adoption in Jordan: A Conceptual Model. *International Journal of Management*, 11(6).

Barthes, R. (1967). *The Fashion System*. Hill and Wang.

Božić, D. (2023). Objectifying SWOT and PESTLE Analysis in Hospital. *International Journal for Quality Research*, 17(1), 221–234.

Breward, C., & Gilbert, D. (2008). Anticipations of the new urban cultural economy: Fashion and the transformation of London's West End 1955-75. *The London Journal*, 31(1), 75-95.

Campos, S., & Wolf, M. (2018). (Dikutip dalam Akhilendra & Aravendan, 2023).

Clark, T. (2004). The fashion of management fashion: A surge too far? *Organization*, 11(2), 297–306.

Dalirazar, N., & Sabzi, Z. (2020). Strategic analysis of barriers and solutions to development of sustainable buildings using PESTLE technique. *Journal of Project Management*, 5(4), 211-222.

Dima, I. C., et al. (2023). A PESTLE Analysis of the E-Commerce Industry. *Ovidius University Annals, Economic Sciences Series*, XXIII(1), 221-228.

Easey, M. (Ed.). (2009). *Fashion Marketing*. John Wiley & Sons.

Eierle, B., El-Gammal, W., & Yosra, M. (2021). *External Factors and the Pricing of Audit Services: A Systematic Review of the Archival Literature using a PESTLE Analysis*. SSRN Electronic Journal.

Islam, M. R., & Mamun, A. A. (2017). Possibilities and Challenges of Implementing Renewable Energy in the Light of PESTLE & SWOT Analyses for Island Countries. *International Journal of Renewable Energy Research*, 7(2), 556-566.

Jackson, M., & Moser, C. (2025). The PESTLE in Practice: An Analysis of the success of public transportation projects in a southeastern metropolitan city. *International Management Review*, 21(1).

Khalid, S., & Rahman, H. U. (2019). Conceptual Model for the External Factors Affecting Project Performance Using PESTLE Factors. *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Sustainable Technology and Development (ICSTSD)*.

Khan, N. A., & Siddiqui, D. A. (2022). *IMPACT ANALYSIS OF PESTLE FACTORS ON RELIABILITY OF ELECTRICAL DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM*. SSRN Electronic Journal.

King, D. (2016). Groundhog day: is 1970's colour really back in fashion? *Art, Design & Communication in Higher Education*, 15(2), 191-205.

Krismajayanti, N. P. A., et al. (2025). Minat Beli Konsumen: Antara Tren, Gaya dan Kebutuhan pada Produk Fashion Gurl Bucket. *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Konseling*, 7(1).

Leman, C., Soelistyowati, A., & Purnomo, M. (2020). Dampak Fast Fashion Terhadap Lingkungan. *Seminar Nasional Riset Terapan*, 112-117.

Miller, C. M., McIntyre, S. H., & Mantrala, M. K. (1993). Toward Formalizing Fashion Theory. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 30(2), 142-157.

Pavitt, J. (2008). *Fear and Fashion in the Cold War*. V&A Publishing.

Pawar, S., & Ugale, B. (2015). PESTLE BASED EVENT DETECTION AND CLASSIFICATION. *International Journal of Research in Engineering and Technology*, 4(9), 241-244.

Putri, V. M. A., & Aesthetika, N. M. (2025). Peran Akun Instagram @Hijab.ootdstyle Sebagai Referensi Pilihan Pakaian Perempuan Muda Dalam Determinisme Teknologi. *Jurnal Riset Rumpun Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 2(1).

Ricci, F., et al. (2021). PESTLE Analysis of Cybersecurity Education. *Proceedings of the 2021 Conference on Information Technology Education*.

Rinallo, D., & Golfetto, F. (2006). Representing markets: The shaping of fashion trends by French and Italian fabric companies. *Industrial Marketing Management*, 35(7), 856-869.

Robert, I., et al. (2022). The evolution of fast fashion: a review of the research field and a look into the future. *The International Journal of Logistics Management*, 34(3), 743-774.

Saputra, A., & Feizal, M. (2023). Rancang Bangun Aplikasi Fashion Style Berbasis Website Dengan Metode Content Based Filtering. *J-SAKTI (Jurnal Sains Komputer dan Informatika)*, 7(2), 999-1008.

Steele, V. (2017). Fashion, fetish, and the new world order. *Fashion Theory*, 1(3), 291-304.

Strähle, J., & Rödel, J. (2018). Music as Key-Influencer of Fashion Trends. *Journal of Fashion Technology & Textile Engineering*, S3.

Tan, T., et al. (2012). PESTLE Analysis on Toyota Hybrid Vehicles. *Journal of Business & Economics*, 2.

Vidani, K. (2015). The Study of PESTLE Analysis in Kerala State. *International Journal of Management and Commerce Innovations*, 3(1), 164-169.

Vivek, R. (2022). A Systematic Review of the Consequences of Covid-19 Pandemic and Expansion of Pestle Framework. *Journal of Positive School Psychology*, 6(3), 2900-2907.

Walsh, K., et al. (2019). E-learning in healthcare professional education: an analysis of political, economic, social, technological, legal and environmental (PESTLE) factors. *BMJ Open*, 9.