

## Abstrak

Perubahan struktur okupasi di era transformasi digital turut mengubah sistem kerja *freelance fashion model* perempuan yang merupakan bagian dari *aesthetic labour* dan *gig economy*. Realitas objektif menunjukkan bahwa mereka mengalami kerentanan dan eksploitasi dalam menjalankan proses tenaga kerja. Namun, di sisi lain realitas subjektif menunjukkan bahwa *freelance fashion model* perempuan cenderung menormalisasi dan menikmati kerentanannya karena berbagai faktor yang dinegosiasikan. Melalui metode penelitian etnografi digital, peneliti mengeksplorasi realitas kerja *freelance fashion model* di Jawa Timur. Dengan tiga aras berpikir yang meliputi: *aesthetic labour*, *precariat*, dan negosiasi identitas penulis mendapati tiga hasil temuan. Pertama, meningkatnya perhatian media terhadap dunia mode akhirnya mendorong perkembangan sistem kerja yang dihadapi oleh *fashion model* dari masa ke masa, termasuk hadirnya *freelance fashion model* yang tidak terikat oleh agensi dan melakukan sistem kerja di media sosial berupa foto katalog, *endorsement* dan *affiliate*. Dalam praktik kerja *aesthetic labour*, mereka memiliki tuntutan pemeliharaan tubuh dan berpenampilan menarik, sehingga muncul berbagai tantangan dalam mencapai cita-cita tersebut. Kedua, sebagai pekerja lepas, *freelance fashion model* perempuan dikategorikan sebagai *gig economy* yang menawarkan fleksibilitas kerja. Namun, kebebasan tersebut seringkali hanya dirasakan oleh pemberi pekerja, bukan oleh pekerja. Melalui konsep *precariat* yang dikemukakan oleh Guy Standing (2011) peneliti mendapati berbagai kerentanan dan eksploitasi dihadapi oleh *freelance fashion model* perempuan yang bekerja di era digital. Ditemukan bahwa pekerjaan mereka tidak memberlakukan kontrak kerja, penghasilan yang didapatkan berbasis proyek kecil dan tidak sesuai upah minimum regional serta mereka juga terindikasi bekerja 24 jam. Sebagai pekerja lepas, mereka juga tidak memiliki jaminan sosial dan kesehatan serta tidak memiliki jaminan pensiun. Namun, di sisi lain mereka cenderung menormalisasi hal tersebut dengan alasan bekerja sesuai bakat yang dimiliki, menikmati fleksibilitas yang ditawarkan dan memperoleh ketenaran. Ketiga, Berbagai bentuk negosiasi dilakukan dalam membentuk identitas diri mereka. Dimulai dari penyusunan portofolio di media sosial agar dapat mendatangkan pekerjaan dari berbagai *brand* hingga mengkomodifikasikan gaya hidupnya agar terlihat menarik. Selain itu, mereka juga mengalami isu pergulatan dalam menegosiasikan identitasnya dalam menikmati berbagai kerentanan yang dihadapi. Dalam hal tersebut, peneliti membagi identitas yang dibangun menjadi 4, yaitu identitas sebagai profesional, perempuan, pekerja prekariat, dan "calon ibu". Dengan demikian, tulisan ini telah berkontribusi ke dalam kajian akademik dalam mengungkap *freelance fashion model* yang menikmati sistem kerja sebagai *aesthetic labour* dan kerentanannya sebagai *precariat* di era digital.

**Kata kunci:** Perempuan, *Freelance fashion model*, *Aesthetic Labour*, *Gig Economy*, Kerentanan, Negosiasi Identitas

### *Abstract*

Changes in the occupational structure in the era of digital transformation have also changed the freelance work system of female fashion models which are part of aesthetic labor and gig economy. Objective reality shows that they experience vulnerability and exploitation in carrying out labor processes. However, on the other hand, subjective reality shows that female freelance fashion models tend to normalize and enjoy such vulnerabilities due to various negotiable factors. Through digital ethnographic research methods, researchers explore the reality of freelance fashion model work in East Java. Through three levels of thinking which include: aesthetic labour, precariat, and identity negotiation, the author found three findings. First, the increasing media attention to the fashion world ultimately also encourages the development of work systems faced by fashion models from time to time, including the presence of freelance fashion models who are not bound by agencies and carry out work systems on social media in the form of catalog photos, endorsements and affiliates. In aesthetic labor work practices, they have demands for body maintenance and attractive appearance, so that various challenges arise in achieving these goals. Second, as freelancers, freelance fashion models are categorized as a gig economy that offers work flexibility. However, this freedom is often only felt by the employer, not by the worker. Through the concept of precariat proposed by Guy Standing (2011), researchers found various vulnerabilities and exploits faced by freelance fashion models who work in the digital era. It was found that their work did not enforce a work contract, the income earned was based on small projects and did not meet the regional minimum wage and they were also indicated to work 24 hours. As freelancers, they also have no social and health security and no pension security. However, on the other hand, they tend to normalize this on the grounds that they work according to their talents, enjoy the flexibility offered and gain fame. Third, various forms of negotiations are carried out in shaping their identity. Starting from the preparation of a portfolio on social media in order to bring in jobs from various brands. In addition, they also experienced the issue of struggle in negotiating their identities in enjoying the various vulnerabilities they faced. In this case, the researcher divided the identity negotiation built by freelance fashion models into 4, namely identity as a professional, women, precarious workers, and "mothers-to-be". Thus, this paper has contributed to academic studies in exposing freelance fashion models who enjoy the work system as aesthetic labor and their vulnerability as precariat in the digital era.

***Keywords: Women, Freelance Fashion Model, Aesthetic Labour, Gig Economy, Vulnerability, Identity Negotiation***