

HALAL INFLUENCERS: A REPRESENTATION OF THE TREND OF HALAL-FOOD CONSUMPTION AMONG THE INDONESIAN MUSLIM MIDDLE CLASS

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Abstract

Nowadays, the interest of the world's Muslim community in the consumption of halal food has increased. As a country with the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia has played important roles in halal-food consumption with attractive trends in the making. In this case, the role of halal influencers on social media is absolute significant in which their presences have shed light on the issue and influenced the trends . This research intends to track the strategy and impact of Muslim influencers in fostering cultural aspects of of halal-food consumption in Indonesia, particularly among Generation Z. This study employed a qualitative approach by using netnography through some influencers' accounts, such as @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id. The findings showed that halal-food influencers could lead generation Z through the trend of halalness into the rules and resources in order to form a new Muslim middle class in encouraging the halal ecosystem in Indonesia.

Keywords: Halal influencers; Halal-food consumption; Muslim society; Social media

Abstrak

Dewasa ini, minat masyarakat Muslim dunia terhadap konsumsi makanan halal telah meningkat. Indonesia, meskipun merupakan negara dengan jumlah penduduk Muslim terbesar di dunia, konsumsi makanan halal telah berkembang menjadi sebuah trend di kalangan Muslim. Hal ini tidak lepas dari pengaruh halal influencer di sosial media. Penelitian ini bermaksud untuk melacak strategi dan dampak influencer Muslim dalam menumbuhkan budaya konsumsi halal di Indonesia, khususnya di kalangan generasi Z. Penelitian dilakukan dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui netnografi, menelusuri akun-akun halal influencer, seperti @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, dan @anca.id. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa influencer Muslim mampu menggiring generasi Z melalui trend konsumsi halal ke dalam rules dan resource yang mereka harapkan dapat menjadi sarana pembentukan kelas menengah Muslim baru untuk mendorong ekosistem halal di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Halal influencer; Konsumsi makanan halal; Masyarakat muslim; Sosial media

A. INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses about the phenomenon of Muslim influencers on social media who bring the discourse of *halal*-food consumption culture as a form of negotiation of the Muslim middle class with modernization through new media technology. The term influencer in question is Muslims middle-class who are popular through their consistent activities on social media platforms. Its role is seen as having a significant influence on the audience, in this case the wider community. The role played is not limited to religious understanding of food consumption based on Islamic values, but also as a form of response to popular and cultural consumption habits in Indonesia. This study is different from most studies of *halal*-food consumption culture with previous new media that tend to discuss categorization, commodification, and trends in the consumption of Islamic products. The focus of this study is on the aspirations of influencers in internalizing religious understanding of *halal*-food consumption to other generations and classes on Instagram.

The modern-oriented lifestyle of the Muslim middle class shows a change in the Islamic way of life (Sukardani, Setianingrum, and Wibisono 2018). The Muslim middle class in Malaysia was shaped by government design through The New Economic Policy (NEP) program. They were given higher education to Europe in the hope of boosting the country's economy by studying the principles of consumerization. They are educated, have jobs, earn well, have relatively high consumptive power, and have a lifestyle that refers to Islamic values (Fischer 2011). A similar Muslim middle class in Indonesia emerged in urban areas after the new order period. Its emergence was formed through the religious understanding of Islam which became popular through television, magazines, and other media (Rakhmani 2016).

The consumptive Muslim middle class lifestyle then developed into a culture of consumption with Islamic values in every aspect of its life. With the challenges of globalization and the influx of other cultures, the boundaries of Islam are not without their constraints. In Malaysia, ethnic Chinese with a culture of pig consumption and other Malay ordinary communities that are more resistant to Islamic consumption values are the problem and target of halalization (Fischer 2011). On the other hand, the development of a *halal* lifestyle is a reflection of religious rationality (Sukardani et al. 2018; Utami 2019). *Halal* is a guarantee for Muslims that consumer products do not go out of the corridors of Islamic values.

Unlike Malaysia, which uses consumerism in the NEP program to improve the living standards of the Muslim middle class, Indonesia still has complex obstacles to transition to the middle class (The World Bank 2021). Indonesia is still not sufficiently referred to as a middle-class country, because almost the entire Indonesian population is still a prospective middle class group, who have come out of the poor and vulnerable class, and still have not reached the level of the middle class (The World Bank 2021). According to the author, this dominance is based on consumptive power which causes product manufacturers to be reluctant to attach importance to *halal* certification.

Although the majority of Indonesia's population is Muslim (Databoks 2022) the Muslim consumption culture in Indonesia still likes traditional food. Street Food is a place that is often visited considering its affordable price, delicious taste, and close access. Interest in visiting can increase significantly when viewed from the social media that says that the service in the place is good (KNEKS 2021). This is in line with Z generation with characters who are all digital, want to know high and try to be up to date (Stillman and Stillman 2017). That generation dominates social media, especially Instagram.

In a number of areas, Street vendors gave other terms to the mention of pigs or dogs. In Yogyakarta, for example, B1 or pork and Scoo Be Doo or B2 which means dog meat. There are other terms that are difficult to recognize and show different meanings such as *kijang kota*, *kambing balap*, and *tongseng jamu* (republika.co.id 2017). On the other hand, the guarantee of *halal* guarantees cannot be known except by research and deep studies which are only known through laboratory tests (Islami et al. 2020; Wibisono et al. 2018). More contemporary innovations such as "No Pork No Lard" "All You Can Eat", "*Mukbang* Sea Food", "Susi", are more popular first in other countries. This could mean that foreign cultures that use ingredients that are not yet known to be *halal* / *haram* are gaining popularity in Indonesia. It is undeniable that social media users with Gen-Z characteristics approached him because they like to follow trends.

Influencers use social media as a contestation space for *halal* consumption. The emergence of a halal movement dominated by the middle class in the frame of piety tried to present itself to the public sphere in an expression of religious understanding. This was followed by a shift in Islamic orientation based on the process of Islamization of the new model (New Model Islamization). At the same time, this expression also results in changes in people's consumption patterns (Alam 2018).

B. METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative approach with a netnography approach (Kozinets 2010) which aims to examine the expression of Muslim influencers on Instagram regarding *halal* consumption. The relationship between the understanding of consumption and the consumption practices of al and popular cultures in Indonesia gives rise to differences in understanding of the meaning of Islamic consumption. The relationship is tested

and is very likely to break the understanding of other individuals regarding the culture of consumption in Indonesia. The Netnography approach is ethnography in cyberspace aims to provide a specific understanding of the significance and implications of internet use (Hine 2000).

The data collected in this study includes observational data sourced from Influencer accounts and their interactions of followers on Instagram. The selection of this Influencer account is based on the predicate and order that has become a trend for *halal* campaigns on Instagram recently. These accounts have also met Instagram's suspended fame requirements with verification and/or with a large number of followers who are first popular and consistently talk about a culture of halal consumption. The *Halal* Influencer accounts in question are: @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id. At the data analysis stage, this study searched for and found more specific interrelations and coherences to the actions of halal Influencer accounts with their followers. This is based on sources of theoretical beliefs, views, or prejudices. By looking at previous research and using social theories, the analysis will find the values behind the meanings behind *halal* influencers as agents of *halal*-food consumption culture. This study specifically uses the structure theory of Anthony Giddens as the theoretical basis to see the resources and rules used by halal influencers.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Muslim Influencers as Representations of the Indonesian Muslim Middle Class

The *halal* lifestyle culture emerged when there was a surge in Islamic banking expansion since the 1970s that allowed Muslims to participate in global capital and commodity markets (Kuran 2006; Tripp 2006). They call for avoiding the excessive

consumption associated with the Western culture of capitalist consumerism, as well as providing a reference to Islamic principles in modern economic practice (Kuran 2006). The appeal is a consequence of indirectly interrelated globalization (Rakhmani 2016). The Market practices and consumption of the middle class then bring space and means to the center of Islamic and Western discussions (Boubekeur 2005). In Malaysia, Indonesia, Turkey, Egypt, and India, as well as the UK, and Australia, the emergence of the Muslim middle class is an issue that is coming to the fore (Sandikci and Ger 2011). He linked Islamic principles to consumption habits (Nasr 2009; Wong 2007) which gave birth to well-known global brands by promoting the *halal* shopping experience. These Muslim consumers are conservative in value but liberal in market practice and believe it to be the driving force of modernization (Nasr 2009).

Influencer is defined as someone who creates content on social media that has a significant impact (Vaibhavi Nandagiri and Philip 2018). Muslim middle-class proselytizing in new media through the representation of Muslim influencers has the power to attract sympathy and audience interest can be represented in micro-celebrity terms, where these influencers manage to visually wrap material and shape it in such a way as to attract their loyal followers (Abidin 2016, 2018; Annisa 2018).

Micro-celebrity is an important element in producing Islamic identity among influencers symbolically, with techniques that can attract audiences, and can even form the Islamic public community itself (Abidin 2018; Beta 2019; Hasan 2009). Interestingly, micro-celebrity is used by Muslim influencers who can certainly come from class groups, including those used by the Muslim middle class. Micro-celebrity always prioritizes the intimacy or closeness of his personal life to be shared and become a consumption in public spaces (Raun 2018). In the end, Muslim

influencers play a role in translating various forms of representation through images or videos with stories and narrations through their faces, voices, and bodies in each of their photos, captions, and stories becoming a special attraction for their followers on social media (Ward 2020).

2. Understanding Muslim Consumption in the Halal Concept

Each *Madzhab* has diverse perspectives and understandings regarding the concept of *halal* and Islamic values in some countries, religious organizations are given the authority to certify *halal* products, each of which has a different concept of *halal* and understanding. In Malaysia, there are authority organizations such as the Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia (JAKIM), in Singapore there is the Majelis Ugama Islam Singapura (MUIS) and Indonesia with the MUI (Fischer 2011; Fischer and Jammes 2020) where one of the differences about *Istihalah*, which is the purification of an object contaminated with something that is illegitimate through certain processes and procedures, so that no illegitimate content is found in it (Anon 2022; Hosen 2012).

In practice, *Halal* Influencers choose MUI fatwas, *Halal* Supply Chain, and Critical Points as guidance for Islamic consumption. *First*, the *fatwa* of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) is used as a guideline because the government includes MUI in the national *halal* certification flow based on law number 33 of 2014 concerning *Halal* Product Guarantee. MUI has a vital role in deciding whether *halal* products or not. The MUI rejects anything that comes from pigs, including rejecting *Istihalah*. *Second*, the *Halal* Supply Chain is a relevant *halal* concept in facing the challenges of modernity. *Halal* Supply Chain pays attention to the possibility of cross-contamination in every supply chain, starting from livestock or plantations, slaughter processes, raw materials, warehouses, manufacturing processes, shipping, packaging, and serving. This is

what causes the concept of *halal* consumption to be rational and can be tested or traced (Tieman 2011). *Third*, the Critical Point of material, namely the possibility of potential *haram* because there are alternatives or procedures outside Islamic values that are applied and viewed more efficiently (Rashid, Supian, and Bojei 2018; Wibisono et al. 2018). Animals that can be consumed according to Islam can become *haram* if the slaughter process is not in accordance with Islamic provisions (Wahyuni et al. 2020).

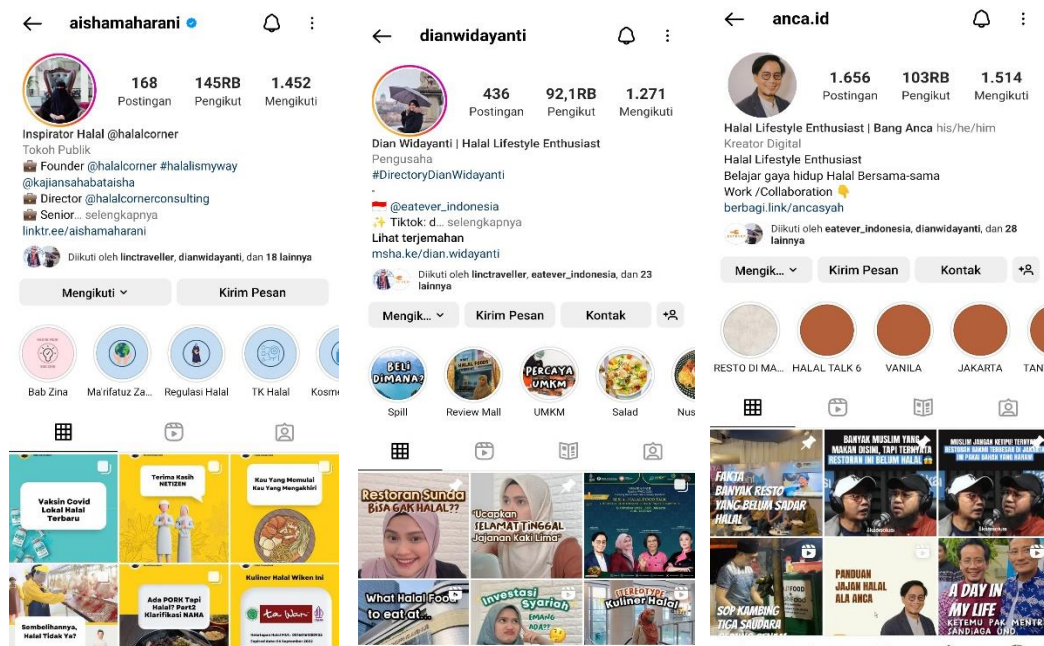
The basic knowledge that Muslims have about the concept of *halal* is a provision as a basis for choosing priorities. A Muslim can see *halal* signs that are based on *halal* certificates, halal logos, and compositions on product packaging (Awan, Siddiquei, and Haider 2015). *Halal* certification can be seen by the presence of a *halal* logo on the product packaging. To ensure that the *halal* logo is genuine, consumers can see the *halal* certification number which is usually listed under the *halal* logo on the product packaging. In addition, it is important to know the composition of the product by special terms denoting non-*halal* ingredients, such as pork, lard and others derived from pigs.

3. Aspirations of Muslim Influencers on Halal Consumption Culture on Instagram

The *Halal* Influencer is defined as an Instagram user who creates content about *halal* consumption culture (*halal* lifestyle). @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id can be categorized as *halal* influencers who are classified as micro-celebrity. This analysis uses Anthony Giddens' agency theory to examine how *Halal* Influencers internalize *halal* lifestyle to audiences on Instagram. The analysis carried out specifically is to examine the rules and resources in the influencer's *halal* accounts. The analysis becomes more interesting because Instagram users

are dominated by Z generation who are interested and use the popular contemporary consumption culture as a lifestyle.

Figure 1.
Halal Influencer Profile and Content



Source: Instagram @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id, retrieved October 7, 2022.

In Giddens structuration theory, agents have an important study in structuration contestation, namely being consistent in using rules and resources (Giddens 1981, 2003). *Halal* influencers as structuring agents apply consistency characteristics in uploading *Halal* Lifestyle content. From a social point of view, *Halal* Influencers become *Halal* Lifestyle agents because they are active and critical in the midst of the contestation of consumption culture. Instagram being used as a resource has hacked into the dimensions of time and space that anyone can access. The content uploaded by *Halal* Influencer is packaged with an interesting

contemporary style, the content contains *halal* knowledgeability based on the current context.

Halal influencers are unable to consciously have the motives to transform the definition of Muslim consumption rules. Their actions are a long process called reflexive monitoring. They build knowledgeability about what the content will be displayed, who will see it, why and what benefits they will get by uploading a post on their Instagram feed or story. From here, the rules of *halal* consumption have been internalized first in *halal* influencers.

The @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id are not just influencer agents on Instagram. They have resources and set rules that are different from other Influencers. Even similar influencers may not necessarily be able to bring a similar structure. They build accounts based on market interest, about how netizens are interested in the life of a Muslim who is adaptive and selective with his consumption. They are active almost every day in showing the *halal* lifestyle directly which is uploaded through the Instagram story feature. Choosing food on the side of the road, selectively choosing restaurants, and selectively choosing beauty tools, are all based on an understanding of *halal* consumption. This action becomes a resource point owned by the Influencer. They learn resources in the form of knowledge and understanding, experience, interesting and interactive content, communication, and material selection.

Adam Mosseri as Head of Instagram explained that the Instagram algorithm can collect information to display content that suits users (Kompas.com 2021). If someone on Instagram searches, likes, and comments on content about *halal* food or *halal* cosmetics, then Instagram will present similar content in the explore column, this is what *Halal* Influencers use.

Figure 2.
Content about Noodles that went viral
among young people "Mie Gacoan"



Source: Instagram @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id, retrieved October 8, 2022.

The content about the noodle product that is going viral and has not yet received *halal* certification has received thousands of likes and some comments. With Instagram's algorithm, the content that is currently viral makes it easy for the audience to find it even though they don't follow the influencer's *halal* account. "Gacoan" means girlfriend-boyfriend, gambling bet, or a mainstay.

When opening a discussion space through Instagram stories or feeds about food stalls or restaurants that are crowded with Muslim communities, which apparently do not have *halal* certification, audience responds in a comment and reposts to each other. Not infrequently @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id upload each other to maintain connectivity, mutual confirmation and verification of knowledge. Through interactive ways, educating each other, and giving space to followers indirectly makes them into micro-celebrity.

Figure 2.
Wholektif Story



Source: Instagram @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id, retrieved June 9, 2022.

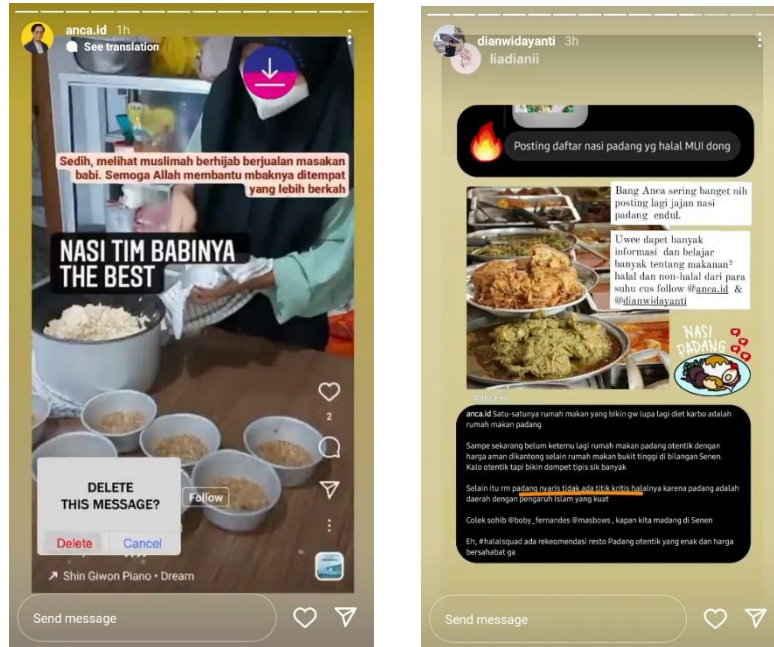
An important resource they have is knowledge and experience about *halal* products. Based on the bio description on @aishamaharani's Instagram account, he is the founder and director of @halalcorner, the business in the field of *halal* consultants. She also worked at the Institute for the Study of Food medicines and Cosmetics of the Indonesian Ulema Council (LPPOM MUI) in 1999-2012. The @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id have uploaded stories following the *Halal* Influencer and content creator training from MUI. In addition to these experiences, understanding of *halal* critical points, positive lists, popular terms, the term *haram* material in manufacture is also studied. Discussions of content such as All You Can Eat, Korean food and Japanese food among *halal*, dubious, or *haram* stalls were also shared on Instagram.

Generally, @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id provide classifications based on introductions for easy

understanding. In some cases, they suggest asking chefs, shop owners, shop assistants, or asking followers to make sure and verify the product falls into the *halal* or *haram* category. This is especially true of new food names that sound unfamiliar. The first identification that is easiest to recognize is to see whether the product or restaurant already has *halal* certification from a recognized institution or not. The list of Institutions can be seen in the List of Approved Foreign Halal Certification Bodies. *Halal* certification can be checked through the MUI application (www/halalmui.org/mui14) or the SIHALAL application (Anon n.d.) whether there is illicit contamination that is commonly used for non-critical material products (positive list) from the *halal* aspect (LPPOM n.d.).

@anca.id, in some of his stories, he was visiting a “*Warung Padang*”. In one of the posts, he said, although the products in the “*Warung Padang*” are not all on the positive list, he called it “almost no *halal* critical point” because Padang is an area where the influence of Islam is strong. @dianwidayanti agreed with this “Padang area” statement in an upload on his story. In addition to *nasi padang*, there are also *nasi garut liwet*, *ketupat sayur shirataki*, *soto cempaka putih*, *sate meranggi* ibu hj. ciganea, and many more.

Figure 3.
Story of pork rice seller wearing hijab and Halal opinion attached to Warung Padang



Source: Instagram @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id, retrieved June 20, 2022.
@anca.id and @dianwidayanti emphasize that Muslim sellers

and those who use Islamic attributes do not necessarily sell *halal* food. It can be seen from @anca.id's upload that it says "pork team rice" with the seller wearing a veil. They also uploaded information on the location of the stalls they visited such as *Bakso Damas*, *Bakso Bakar Pahlawan Trip*, and *Bakso Kota Cak Mat Malang*.

The third identification is to recognize the critical point in the product (Jaswir 2020), so in the diction of contemporary food. Like "All You Can Eat", Chinese, and Korean food are also a concern by @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id. They put a critical emphasis on: (1) the meat ingredients used are *halal* meat slaughtered in the Islamic way, (2) sauces, soups, and stir-fries, do not contain *haram* ingredients such as mirin, *angciu*, soy sauce (shoyu), and *gochujang* which contain *khomr* (alcohol). Diction that cannot indicate the halalness of products such as "No Pork No Lard", "0% Alcohol" which most likely uses *angciu*, *rhum*, baileys,

vodka, *kahlua*, brandy, whiskey, beer, cooking wine, vinegar wine, *jujeong*, soju, mirin, sake, red wine, and bourbon in their cooking. Even in simple food or drink, there is a tipping point. For example, coffee and Fish and Chips, especially kopi which adds flavor variants namely Rum as an additional flavor. In the case of french fries, @dianwidayanti post from @linctraveller, questioned the critical point on Fish and Chips in a movie theater, it turns out that the cashier admits his product uses Beer to keep it crunchy.

All resources are set by @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id so this is an indicator of professionalism and makes it a rule. Being a devout Muslim is the most important rule for them to face modernization and commodification in the public sphere. They apply strict regulations to themselves and encourage the wider community to have a *halal* lifestyle, not only food and drink, but all aspects of daily life. By applying good communication, analyzing consumption behavior, including followers in discussions, it seems as if they are positioning themselves as followers who do not know and have a great desire to find out. This is the second rule for @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id as an effort to internalize the Muslim community. The rules consistently, regularly, and continuously applied by @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, and @anca.id. It is this repetitive routine that then becomes the key to structuring. Without this routine, they would be difficult to follow and dissolve into various social contestations.

The similarities and differences resource used by each *halal* influencer are not the same. Each of them uses resource based on the experience and knowledge possessed. This affects how each of them interacts with their followers. Here's the feed in the table.

Table 1.
Resource Indicators

		@aishamaharani	@dianwidayanti	@anca.id
1.	Reference	Fatwa MUI	Fatwa MUI	Fatwa MUI
2.	Methods of Interaction with Netizens	Low Complexity	1. Medium Complexity 2. High Complexity	1. Medium Complexity 2. High Complexity
3.	Credibility	1. CEO Halal Corner; 2. Halal Auditor LPPOM-MUI 1999-2012 3. MUI Training	MUI Training	MUI Training
4.	Halal Awareness Criteria	1. Tipping point; 2. Halal Supply Chain Knowledge.	1. Tipping point; 2. Halal Supply Chain Knowledge.	1. Tipping point; 2. Halal Supply Chain Knowledge.
5.	How to ensure halal products	More on literacy-based educational content.	1. Halal Certificate 2. Composition 3. Ask the store 4. Product recommendations tend to be from well-known brands, restaurants, hotels.	1. Halal Certificate 2. Composition 3. Ask the store 4. Product recommendations are not always from well-known brands or restaurants. Examples: <i>warung padang</i> , fried rice in the carts (<i>kaki lima</i>), etc.

The above table shows that all three Influencers have a conservative value, yet liberal in terms of practice. This can be seen in his interesting and modern uploads, but still maintains value, which the MUI *fatwa* is the basis for his thinking. The interaction carried out @aishamaharani in the form of low complexity which is more dominant in interacting one way (Luik 2020), can be seen from the few back-interactions from followers who use more passive interactions. The content presented is also more about literacy education. Credibility in the form of the position he once held, making him have thousands of followers and the official verification mark from Instagram boosted the audience's trust in him.

Figure 4.

LPPOM-MUI Story about Halal Da'wah Cadres



Source: LPPOM-MUI Instagram, retrieved May 25, 2022.

Interactions on @dianwidayanti and @anca.id accounts are in the form of Medium Complexity and High Complexity (Luik 2020), in the form of comments and replying to them, posting related content, mentioning, reposting each other and even doing quizzes and surveys. In addition to *halal* certificates, the two influencers differ in education of critical points and *halal* supply chains in food product objects. @dianwidayanti tend to restaurants, well-known brands, and hotels, @anca.id tends to MSMEs and Street Vendors. Nonetheless, both say that, it is not necessarily that those without halal certificates are haram.

In addition to their actions based on knowledgeability, they have reasons formed by dominance, signification and legitimacy. Dominance appears in the form of new products that have emerged, Instagram algorithms, diversity and availability of *halal* products circulating in the form of power that regulates, restricts, gives legal consequences, and even sanctions. For example, it gives consequences for not uploading content that smells pornographic, SARA, discriminatory, or bullying. Meanwhile, signification is the meaning, understanding, and relationship obtained from the interaction of parties related to the market. For example, sorting out content that is going viral, products that are close to us but not aware of the tipping point, and approaching manufacturers, such as asking the seller about the halalness of food. Then finally, legitimacy becomes one mutually agreed value or norm such as good language, permission or approval to share information from producers, educational content, and accepting the inevitability of non-*halal* products, in the sense of being used as an option by other beliefs because it is a form of upholding religious values, unity and diversity.

The accounts @aishamaharani, @dianwidayanti, @anca.id, and other accounts connected to them, such as @halskin (*halal* skincare), @galuhachandri (halal food enthusiast), @keyvan.id

(Islamic finance), @kulinermuslim.id (*halal* food enthusiast), @its.chelsy with its movement #AyoGantiKuas, @linctraveller (*halal* traveler) are media that reconstruct the culture of consumption *halal*. The *halal* lifestyle discourse constantly contests with the old structure, with the definition of *halal* by Muslim middle-class, such as understanding the product only in terms of raw material, Muslim sellers or wearing Muslim symbols.

In addition to reflective monitoring of them based on *halal* knowledge (knowledgeability) of resources and the application of rules, they can also manage all of it at the consciousness level. This consciousness is not merely done intentionally, but also unintentionally, through the subconscious, because the values of that consciousness have been internalized in them. They have deliberately created a system to control the rules, for example determining what content is relevant to the context, or new findings that can be shared through Instagram, what can be discussed about the wrong understanding of *halal* that is commonplace, or just simply including products in the list of *halal* recommendations. When they are able to explain explicitly, through Instagram's short videos (reels), image uploads, or story uploads, that is called discursive consciousness. When several times they go to a place, look for, and ask followers where to eat *halal*, which reflects *halal* values, it is seen in them a practice consciousness.

The awareness that they do that enters at such an unintentional level is the structuration itself. This has become a habit that was previously done consciously, which then gives rise to *halal* sensitivity and concern in daily life as a *halal* lifestyle. When those who originally only created *halal* content and uploaded it on Instagram, which turned out to have a change impact, they did not realize that they had become trendsetters in Muslim society, especially young people who were more often on social

media which eventually gave rise to a new middle class of young people.

D. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The consumption culture of the Muslim middle class in Indonesia was formed from the influence of media such as TV and magazines that display Islamic behavior as a form of expression of piety. The rise of expressions of piety that appeared in the public sphere after the departure of the new order is believed to be the beginning of a freedom of expression. The Muslim class, which is both a consumer and a carrier of religious values in its consumption, encourages the global market to adjust. In Indonesia, the dominance of the existing class shows that this country is still not enough to be called a middle-class country, because almost all of Indonesia's population is still a prospective middle class, where they are the group that has come out of the poor and vulnerable class. Thus, the influence of the consumerism lifestyle of the Indonesian Muslim middle class has not been able to significantly drive the market to *halal* consumption culture.

Halal influencers as a representation of the Muslim middle class emerged and tried to encourage awareness of *halal* consumption in Indonesia through Instagram social media. They have challenges in the form of dominant popular consumption culture, cultural, the use of new media, to the dominance of the character of Z generation. *Halal* influencers are consistent with the rules and use MUI *fatwas* as the main resource in facing these challenges. In their development, they have a following of hundreds of thousands which is expected to form a new Muslim middle class among young Indonesians who pay attention to *halal* lifestyle, culture, and consumption.

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Miscellaneous

Appendix to the list of halal certification bodies List of Approved
Foreign Halal Certification Bodies,
[https://www.halalmui.org/mui14/main/page/daftar-
lembaga-sertifikasi-halal](https://www.halalmui.org/mui14/main/page/daftar-lembaga-sertifikasi-halal)

Appendix SK No: SK07/Dir/LPPOM MUI/I/13 concerning the Halal
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