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## **Hijabers' Identity Construction as Muslimah through Consumption Structures in Food Lifestyle**

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**Abstract.** The choice of a person's adopted lifestyle can define his social identity through the consumption structure. This research aims to describe how consumption structure in food lifestyle plays a role in identity construction of Muslimah by referring to Pierre Bourdieu's theory. This study discusses the construction of identity as Muslimah carried out by the Hijabersmom Community as one of the biggest Islamic-based communities in Indonesia. This study used a transformative paradigm by online questionnaires and interviews for data collection. The results show their identity as a Muslimah is represented through the consumption of halal-labeled food, paying attention to the composition of foods other than those containing pork and those forbidden by Islam, choosing places to eat that are comfortable for discussing and good for taking pictures, wearing fashionable outfits by using dress codes. The construction of Muslimah identity through this consumption structure is formed due to several factors such as habitus, ideology/religious structure, and this community doctrine. For further research, the researcher suggests conducting research related to the construction of identity as indicated by the expansion of the object of research which is not limited to a religious perspective.

**Keywords.** Hijabers, muslimah, identity, food lifestyle, distinction, habitus.

### **1. Introduction**

The food lifestyle has become a trend in modern society related to aesthetics as a differentiator, as well as creating social distance (Stringfellow et al., 2013). Bourdieu (1984) specifically monitors and regards food as an arena in which lifestyle choices are used to sustain and demonstrate individual and group differences. Food lifestyle also has a variety of choices that are not limited to religious backgrounds (e.g. halal food), local and global culture also become human guidelines in creating ways to consume food.

The variety of food lifestyle choices is inseparable from the exposure to the introduction of culinary culture through mass media and social media which has a major influence as a factor in the formation of a food lifestyle (Atkins & Bowler, 2001). The media presents a choice of

food lifestyles that can be adapted in people's daily lives. Of the many choices, humans are free to choose a lifestyle in food consumption according to their individual preferences and needs. Meanwhile, if studied further, the choice of a person's adopted lifestyle can define his social identity through the consumption structure. Bourdieu (1984) asserts that food consumption is a structure other than culture and appearance that can read social distinctions. In this distinction concept, Bourdieu explains that a person performs an action that can show his class differences in society.

Distinctions will be difficult to identify because of the power and hidden interests of a group. This group will try to always distinguish itself from what is usually done by most people to maintain dominance, even as a means to accumulate other types of capital. The capital referred to by Bourdieu (1984) includes economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. Among the various types of capital, economic capital and cultural capital are the most relevant in determining the differentiation criteria for an advanced society (Haryatmoko, 2003). The struggle for capital in a social order requires a strategy of domination. To win a strategy to dominate a domain/arena, the dominant class tends to differentiate its social strata from other classes Bourdieu (1984).

In the life of society, every social class will try to distinguish itself from other classes. The upper or dominant class tends to have a behavior pattern to maintain their social class, while the lower-class tend to aspire to the class above it (Haryatmoko, 2003). To emphasize the social class distance distinction, the dominant class chooses consumption objects as a reflection of the symbolic hierarchy. For example, in eating consumption activities, the dominant class has different eating habits from the two lower classes, namely the bourgeoisie and the popular class. The upper class from childhood learned table manners, not only knowing the luxury of food taste (quality), quantity and price of food, and food presentation (Sato et al., 2016). Attitudes, how to sit, talk while eating, how to eat food, choose cutlery, use napkins, and eat food according to the menu order are instruments as well as ways to reflect social distinction (Adlin, 2006). Meanwhile, lower-class eating habits are internalized by using simpler cutlery without involving special procedures and tend not to change the quality of style (Adlin, 2006).

The strategy in food consumption activities is an effort to differentiate from other individuals or groups (Haryatmoko, 2003). However, looking at food consumption activities in the daily lives of Indonesian people, the practices in the strategy of social domination may not necessarily be seen in contrast, even the choice of codes is used subconsciously. If examined critically, every human being has the instinct to maintain and improve his position, differentiate himself, and get new positions (Bourdieu, 1990b). Struggles, tensions, and conflicts often occur at the institutional level to obtain certain positions and positions (Haryatmoko, 2003). This indicates that humans need to be recognized for their existence personally even though they are in a group. From here, the researcher then reviews the existence of domination strategies in the scope of large community groups with a large number of members. By referring to Bourdieu's thinking, the researcher sees that the use of codes in consumption activities can be utilized by a group as a form of communication whose meaning can be converted as an effort to construct identity.

One of the large Islam communities in Indonesia is named Hijabersmom Community. The community was founded in 2012 able to attract the enthusiasm of its members to join because of the widespread phenomenon of hijrah in Indonesia, plus Indonesia is the largest Muslim country with a percentage of 87.2% of the country's population. Hijabersmom Community maintains its existence by carrying out activities that show that today's Muslim women are modern lifestyles and always follow trends. Hijabersmom Community is spreading in 35 major cities in Indonesia with more than 18,000 members. One of the best branch communities is

located in Malang city, which was rewarded by the founder in November 2020. Hijabersmom Community Malang is actively holding online community activities during the pandemic, such as webinars on parenting, routine recites, sharing free food, sharing praying hijab, auctions of clothes/goods fit for use, also doing exercise.

Something interesting from this community of Muslim women is the pattern of behavior in meeting the consumption needs of their appearance. Based on the founders' background, they are famous fashion designers in Indonesia named Najua Yanti, Irna Mutiara, Hannie Hananto, and Monika Jufri. Their hijab style is fashionable by its vision and mission wants to eliminate the perception that veiled women seem old-fashioned and out of date. Preaching hijrah of wearing hijab and Islamic clothes by packaging them in a modern way. Existence in appearance is shown through the Instagram social media account @hijabersmom.hmcmalang and the privately-owned accounts of community members. They show how to dress by wear luxury accessories, visit aesthetic places, also take a photo on Instagram that show ideal and beautiful body postures.

According to (Fakhruroji & Rojati, 2017), it is not enough for a Muslim woman to only wearing a hijab but also needs exclusivity to show her existence and differentiate from other groups. The exclusivity of the community is shown from the habituation pattern of the Hijabersmom Community in Malang which displays the privileges of a Muslim woman. This is related to the statement of (Bourdieu, 1990b) which links lifestyle with habitus; that lifestyle reflects a person's habitus and at the same time becomes a systematic product of the habitus itself. Bourdieu (1990a) says that habitus includes all kinds of cultural activities which include production, perception, and evaluation of everyday practices. Habitus integrates simultaneously with all previous experiences of the individual's way of seeing and judging things by action. This habitus can analyze the symbols used to view social groups because the process explains the basis of personality. Habitus also helps to interpret reality and one's actions according to objective structures, because habitus is a product of the way humans are raised, more specifically the class position in which one is raised (Bourdieu, 1984). According to the mode of development, the habitus never stagnates, neither through time for an individual nor from one generation to the next (Harker et al., 1990).

This research leads to cultural studies. (Williams (1974) reveals that culture in cultural studies is an element in the whole way of life of a society that is complex, differentiated, contradictory, and interacting with each other. All of these things are continuously interwoven in a complex unity, namely in culture, through the system of production and reproduction of signs and messages. Stuart Hall added that culture in cultural studies is a wave of values and beliefs that bind people or certain groups. Culture is also the practices or ways of living of a group, including the way in which a society's values, beliefs, and practices are linked (Carey, 2008).

Departing from the development of communication studies that there is a contradiction between modern and postmodern thinking, it leads the researcher's point of view in placing a research position based on critical theory in the communication field. Critical theory in the postmodernism/poststructuralism group is related to cultural studies and the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies from Birmingham University (Stephen W. Littlejohn et al., 2017). In this research, the researcher views that communication can be viewed more broadly than the process of transmitting messages only, communication is defined as a culture (Carey, 2008). In accordance with the postmodernism view which emphasizes plurality, difference, heterogeneity, local/ethnic culture, and daily life experiences, this research will explore the phenomenon of communication in the form of culture in the form of a food lifestyle. Habitus is believed to be able to explain attitudes, ways, and styles through someone who carries himself.

The concept of habitus is useful to denote a system of predispositions and cultural activities learned in society that distinguishes people according to their lifestyle (Lull, 2000). Meanwhile, food lifestyle acts as a consumption structure that is displayed as a medium of communication as well as a form of habitus practice. The food lifestyle referred to here is the way of shopping, aspects of food quality, consumption situations, and purchase motives.

The researcher also considers suggestions for developing studies from previous studies to fill in the gaps in the literature. Several studies related to food communication, lifestyle, habitus have become a reference in the preparation of this thesis to contribute in the academic and practical fields. The study conducted by (Ambrasat et al., 2016) addresses the question of how people's objective living conditions and their position in the social hierarchy affect lifestyle. Data were obtained quantitatively to prove the influence between socially stratified meaning-making patterns and certain lifestyles. Furthermore, there are suggestions from previous researchers to examine the habitus and eating practices of the same social class in terms of not comparing it with other social classes (Sato et al., 2016). Lee et al. (2014) suggest to enrich the habitus and food lifestyle views of subjects who are bound in a religious teaching. In addition, from the point of view of communication science, Lizie (2015) provides an overview for communication researchers to learn about food through mapping research areas in the realm of rhetoric, public relations, media and advertising effects, and cultural studies.

## **2. Method**

The perspective in this study is based on Bourdieu's thinking in viewing social reality. Bourdieu views social reality as a representation in a multidimensional space built on the principles of differentiation or distribution governed by a set of active characteristics in the social world that are constructed and capable of providing strength (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu's thinking does not only answer about the origins and intricacies of society but also answers new questions derived from previous thinking. Researchers use a transformative paradigm which is a critical inquiry process to help unravel the illusions and realities hidden in social life (Djamba & Neuman, 2013).

This study will use two stages of research by combining a quantitative research approach as initial research data that aims to describe the phenomenon of the food lifestyle Hijabersmom Community Malang. Quantitative data was collected by distributing internet-based questionnaires via a google form to 20 members of community. Survey data is used to describe several tendencies, behaviors, and opinions of respondents (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This study uses a Likert scale technique that is often used in survey research to see the expression of attitudes or responses based on ordinal level categories (Djamba & Neuman, 2013). Respondents gave approval or disagreement to the questions with the answer choices: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Hesitate (H), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD).

The data obtained was then followed up with the second stage, qualitative data, through the interview process. The limitation of the research object is devoted to members of the Hijabersmom Community of Malang branch. Hijabersmom Community Malang is the most active branch of all Hijabersmom Community branches in Indonesia in the November 2020 period.

The sample will be selected based on the purposive sampling technique. The researcher uses a homogeneous sampling strategy, which describes similarities to study the similarity of characteristics possessed by community members. The researcher narrowed the sources based on the following criteria: (1) members of Hijabersmom Community Malang who joined for more than 5 years, (2) had a family and had children, (3) actively participated in community activities. Researchers minimize bias by triangulating techniques to examine and validate

evidence (Patton, 2015). The researchers also validate the consistency of answers from the six informants by making observations to see a picture of the activities in the field in the form of attitudes, actions, conversations, and interpersonal interactions.

### 3. Results and Analysis

#### 3.1. Hijabersmom Community Food Lifestyle

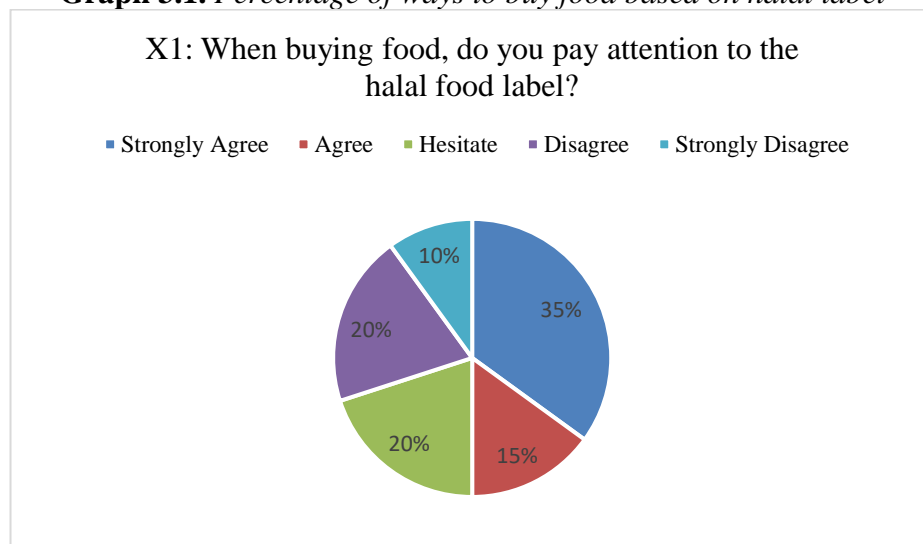
The results of this study describe the food lifestyle of the Hijabersmom Community in Malang through four indicators in the elements of a food lifestyle, namely ways to buy food, aspects of food quality, consumption situations, and purchase motives. The following is a graph of the survey results from 13 items of questions asked.

##### 3.1.1. Ways to buy food

This element is indicated by three question items as follows:

In question item X1, the highest result of the answer shows that 35% of respondents strongly agree in paying attention to halal labels when buying food as shown in the graph below.

**Graph 3.1.** *Percentage of ways to buy food based on halal label*

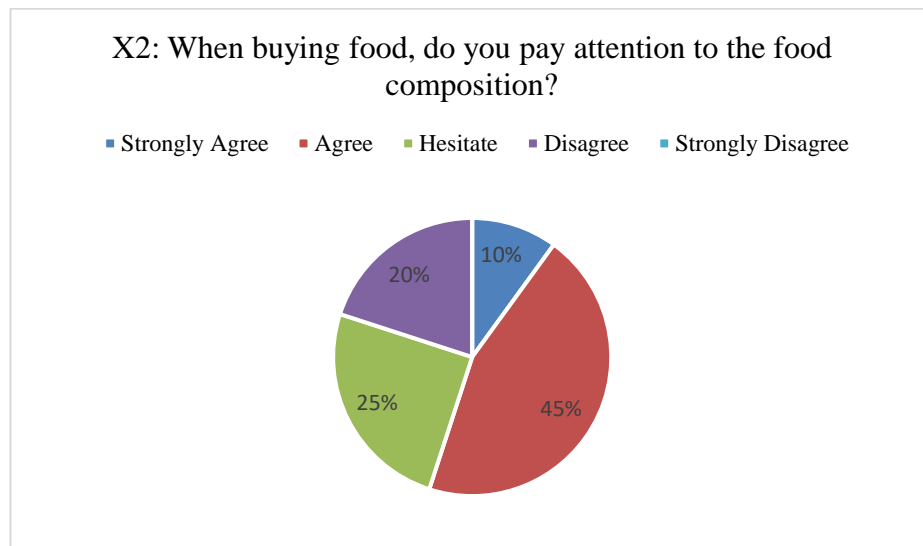


Source: managed by researchers (2021)

The respondents who agreed as many as 15% of respondents. Meanwhile, those who expressed hesitation and disagreed showed the same percentage, as many as 20% of respondents. The remaining 10% of respondents stated strongly disagree. Based on this description, it can be seen that the halal label on food is something that Hijabersmom Community Malang pays attention to in buying food activities.

Furthermore, the food lifestyle element, how to buy food, appears in the question item X2 with the percentage results according to the following graph.

**Graph 3.2.** *Percentage of ways to buy food based on the composition*

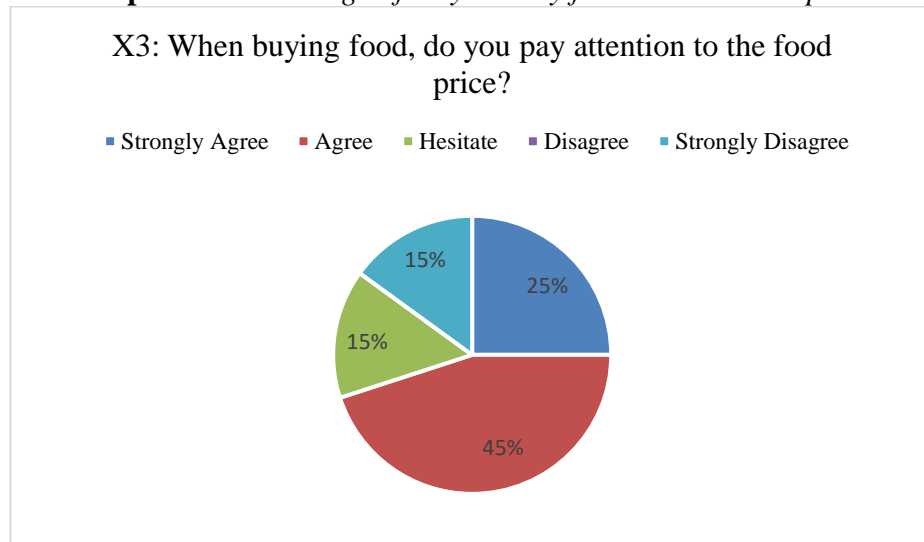


Source: managed by researchers (2021)

The data shows that most respondents agree that the composition needs to be considered when buying food. The highest score was obtained at an agreement with as much as 45% of respondents. No one voted strongly for an answer. 25% of respondents expressed hesitation in paying attention to the composition in buying food. This percentage is not much different from the answer that does not agree, which is 20%. Those who chose the answer strongly disagreed by 10%. It means that food composition is something that members of the Hijabersmom Community Malang pay attention to in their food consumption lifestyle, even though it is not a top priority as in question item X1 regarding halal food labels. Up to this item, the halal label represents Islamic products is a special concern of this community. As a community that departs from the label "Hijabers" as a representation of Muslim women, Hijabersmom Community Malang strengthens its identity by choosing halal food consumption according to religious teachings.

In question item X3 about the price of food, the highest percentage was obtained from the agreement answers as much as 45% as shown in the graph below.

**Graph 3.3.** *Percentage of ways to buy food based on the price*



Source: managed by researchers (2021)

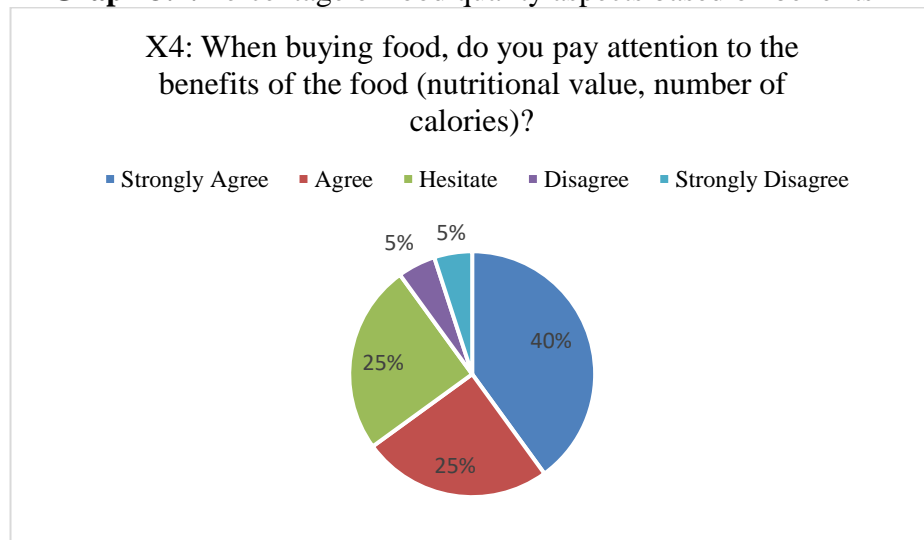
While those who answered strongly agreed there were 25% of respondents, the answers were hesitant and disagreed with the same percentage of 15%. Meanwhile, none of the respondents answered disagree. The results of these data indicate that respondents pay attention to food prices in their food consumption lifestyle.

### 3.1.2. Food Quality Aspect

This element is indicated by four-question items as follows:

The results of the answers to the X4 question items that shown in the graph below.

**Graph 3.4.** *Percentage of food quality aspects based on benefits*

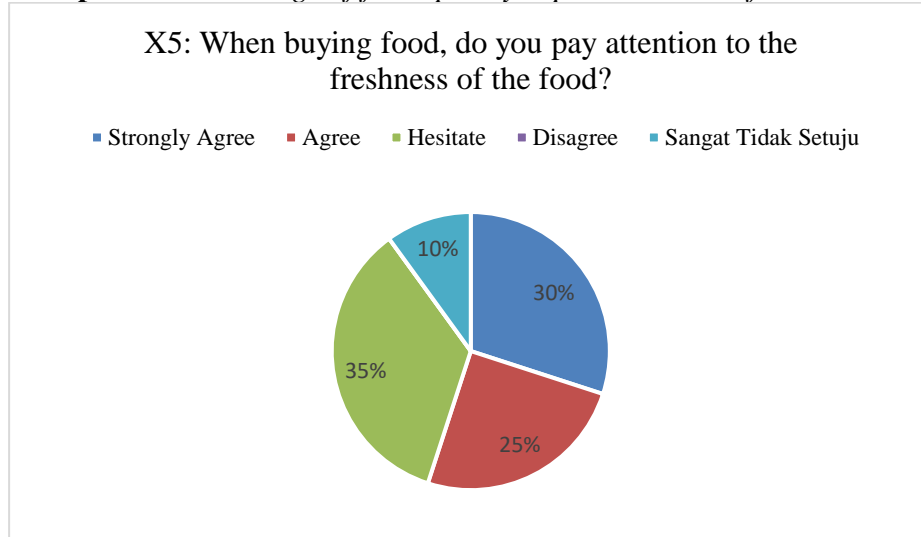


Source: managed by researchers (2021)

As many as 40% of respondents answered strongly agree to pay attention to the benefits when buying food. As for the answers to agree and hesitate, they found the same number, each of which was 25%. The same value is also shown in the answers to disagree and strongly disagree, each at 5%.

Furthermore, the food lifestyle element in the aspect of food quality is indicated by data from question item X5 about the level of food freshness. The following is a graph of the results of data collection.

**Graph 3.5.** *Percentage of food quality aspects based on freshness level*

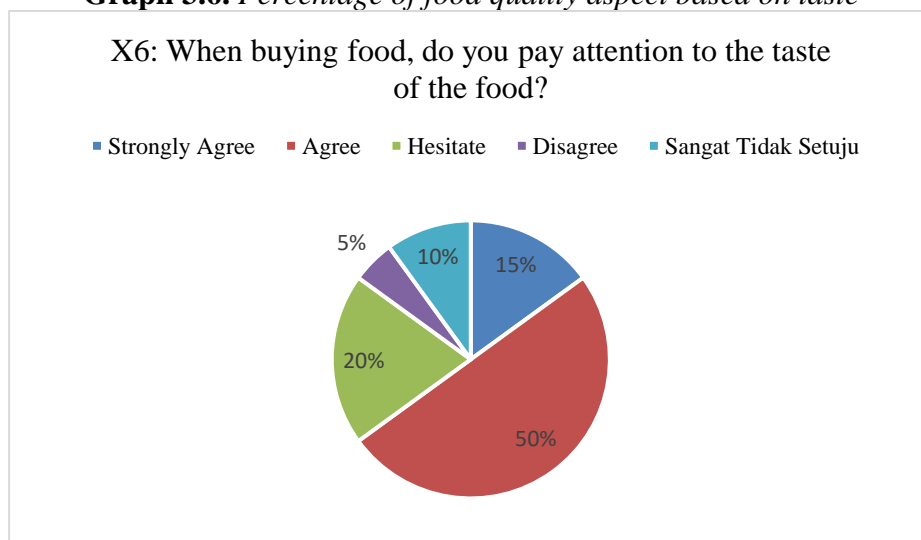


Source: managed by researchers (2021)

The highest value is shown in the answer strongly agree that as much as 30%, who answered agree as much as 25% of respondents, 35% of respondents answered hesitate, and 10% of respondents answered strongly disagree. None of the respondents answered disagree.

Furthermore, on question item X6 about the taste of food, the results can be seen in the following graph.

**Graph 3.6.** *Percentage of food quality aspect based on taste*



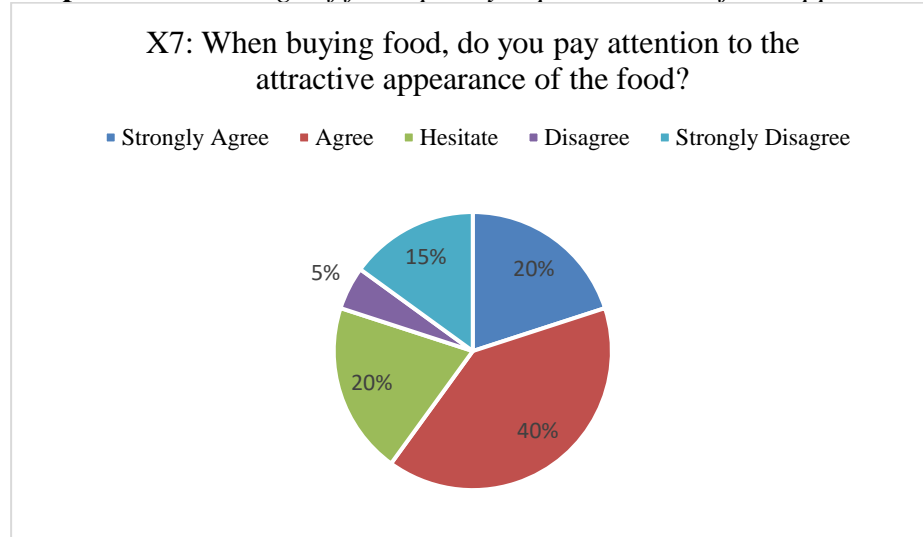
Source: managed by researchers (2021)

The results of the survey showed that the highest score was 50% of respondents who agreed that the food taste is considered when buying food. As many as 15% of respondents said they

strongly agree, supporting the statement that the Hijabersmom Community Malang pays attention to aspects of food quality.

The final question item on the aspect of food quality can be seen through the graph below.

**Graph 3.7.** *Percentage of food quality aspect based on food appearance*



Source: managed by researchers (2021)

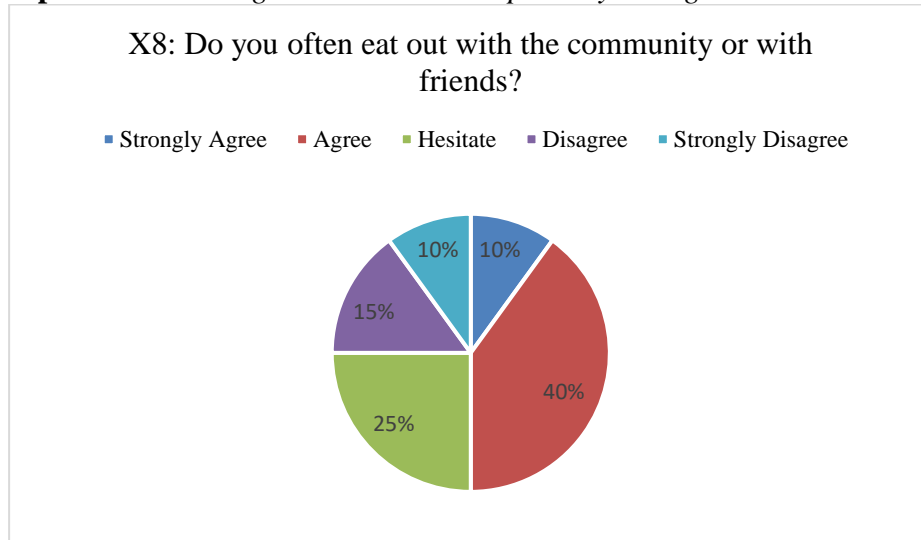
The highest score on question X7 which states that the appearance of food is a matter of concern when buying food is in the agree to answer with a percentage of 40% and is supported by 20% of respondents who strongly agree. The rest answered undecided as much as 20%, the answers disagree as much as 5%, and 15% stated strongly disagree. Through the results of this data, it can be stated that the Hijabersmom Malang Community pays attention to the aesthetics of food in a food lifestyle.

### 3.1.3. Consumption Situation

This element is indicated by four-question items as follows:

The graph below is the answers to item X8 regarding the intensity of eating with the community.

**Graph 3.8.** *Percentage situation consumption by eating with the community*

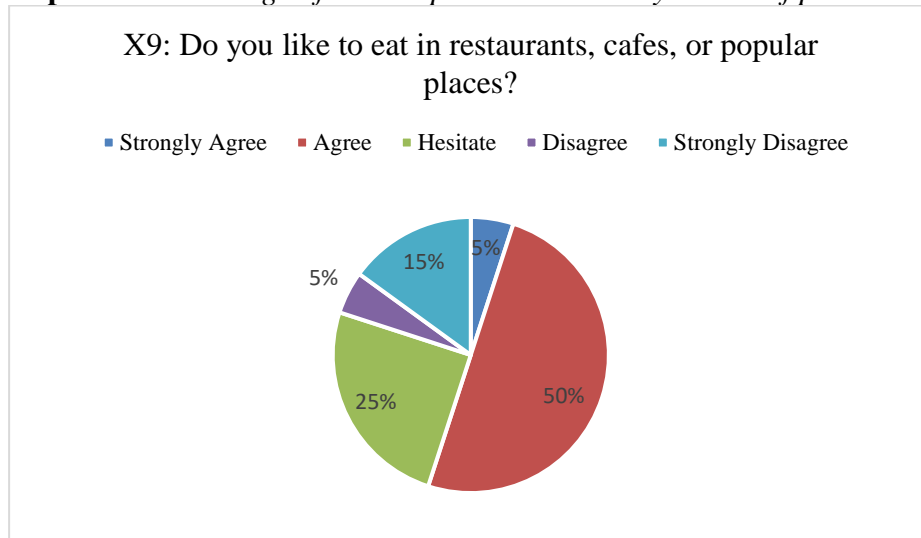


Source: managed by researchers (2021)

From the data showed that 40% of respondents answered agree and supported by the answer of 10% of respondents who strongly agree that they often eat out of the house with the community or friends. This shows that the Hijabersmom Community Malang member often has spent time together to eat. This data strengthens the statement from the informants during the pre-survey that the Hijabersmom Community Malang often holds non-formal meetings which always filled with eating together. The remaining 25% of respondents answered undecided, 15% of respondents answered disagree, and 10% answered strongly disagree.

Furthermore, the element of the consumption situation in the food lifestyle is shown in question item X9 which states that most of the Hijabersmom Community Malang agree that they like to eat at restaurants, cafes, or hits places with a percentage of 50% and 5% of respondents answered strongly agree. The graph below showed that 25% of respondents answered hesitate, 5% of respondents answered disagree, 15% of respondents answered strongly disagree.

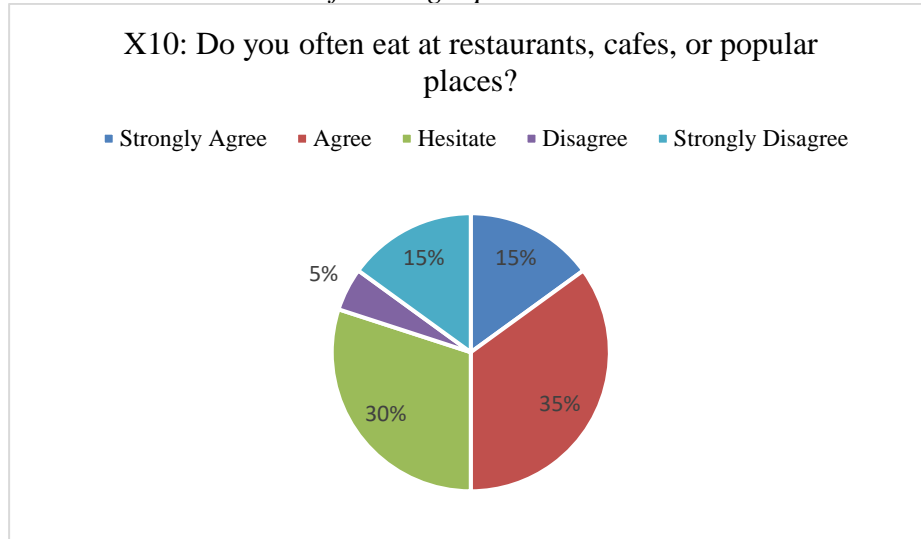
**Graph 3.9.** *Percentage of consumption situations by choice of place to eat*



Source: managed by researchers (2021)

In the question item X10, the data results can be seen in the following graph.

**Graph 3.10.** *Percentage of consumption situations based on the intensity of visiting a place to eat*

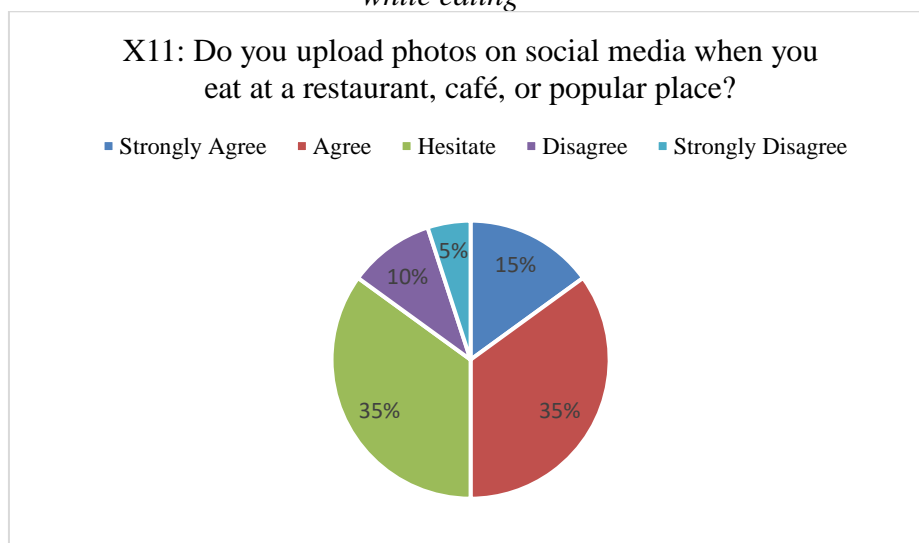


Source: managed by researchers (2021)

Concerning question item X9, question X10 explains the intensity of eating at restaurants, cafes, or hits places. The results of the data show that 35% of respondents answered agree and 15% strongly agree. The respondents who answered in hesitation as much as 30%, 5% answered disagree, and 15% answered strongly disagree. This strengthens the answer to question item X9, so it can be said that the Hijabersmom Community Malang likes and often eats together in restaurants, cafes, or popular places.

The next question in item X11 stated that the Hijabersmom Community Malang mostly uploaded photos on social media when eating at restaurants, cafes, or popular places. The results showed in the graph below.

**Graph 3.11.** *Percentage of consumption situations based on the habit of taking pictures while eating*



Source: managed by researchers (2021)

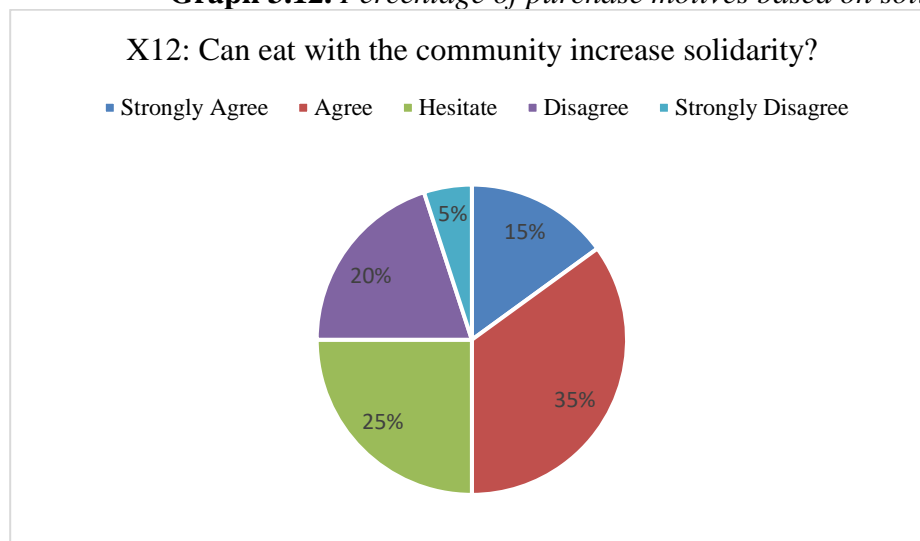
As many as 35% of respondents answered agree and 15% of respondents answered strongly agree to upload photos on social media when eating at restaurants, cafes, or popular places. Meanwhile, 35% of respondents answered hesitate, 10% of respondents answered disagree, and 5% of respondents answered strongly disagree. The data obtained shows that 50% of respondents upload photos on social media when eating at restaurants, cafes, or places of hits with an accumulation of the number of answers strongly agree and agree. The 35% hesitation answers indicate that they sometimes do, meaning that the most answer tends to be the habit of uploading photos on social media.

#### 3.1.4. Purchase Motive

This element is indicated by two question items as follows:

The graph below shows the answer to question item X12 which states that eating with the community can increase solidarity.

**Graph 3.12.** *Percentage of purchase motives based on solidarity*

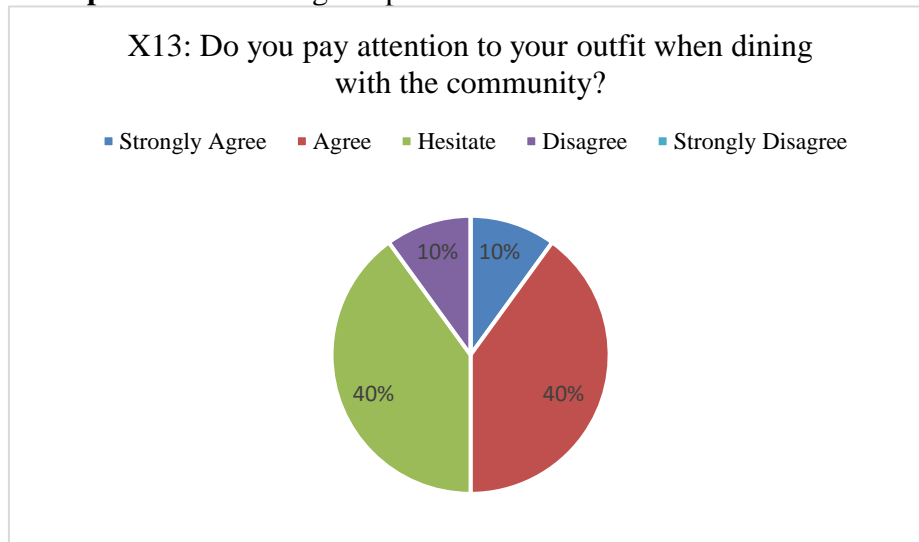


Source: managed by researchers (2021)

As many as 35% of respondents answered agree and 15% of respondents answered strongly agree that eating with the community can increase solidarity. In addition, 25% of respondents answered undecided, 20% answered disagree, and 5% of respondents answered strongly disagree. If reviewed on the graph, it can be seen that 50% of the respondents answered strongly agree and agree. With the accumulation of this amount, the tendency to agree that eating together with the community can increase solidarity is quite high, because there is still a portion of undecided answers of 25% which indicates that it can lead to an agree or disagree answer.

Question item X13 states that appearance is considered when eating with the community. Here is the graph.

**Graph 3.13.** Percentage of purchase motives based on outfit when eating



Source: managed by researchers (2021)

The value on the graph shows the same number, 40% of respondents who answered strongly agree and hesitate in paying attention to outfit when eating with the community. The percentage gain on the answers strongly agree and disagree are 10% each. This indicates that the tendency to pay attention to outfits is high with the calculation of answers strongly agree and agree amounting to 50%.

### 3.2. Construction of Muslimah Identity Based on Consumption Structure

The pattern of consumption of food labeled halal by Hijabersmom Community Malang can be interpreted as a way to show or even strengthen their identity as Muslimah. This hijabs community was formed to accommodate Muslimah in exchanging insights about society (*hablum minannas*) and increasing piety (*hablum minallah*). Concerning the vision and mission of increasing devotion to Allah, consumption patterns of products that contain Islamic values will make a Muslim/Muslimah have a high spiritual spirit (Fealy & White, 2008). Agustina (2015) also stated that the consumption pattern of Muslim women in Indonesia has also increased, driven by the desire to use goods as a status symbol.

Furthermore, the status obtained is not only as a religious person but also shows the level of obedience. This is relevant to the research conducted by Mohsen et al. (2018) that the presence of religious symbols in food packaging has a positive and significant effect on consumers with high religiosity while consumers with low religiosity do not tend to buy these products. It doesn't just only the food, but the Islamic religion-based schools, clothing, cosmetics, household products take advantage of the sensibility of Islamic values for the benefit of capitalism by entering the Muslim market.

In the diversity of Islamic-based lifestyle choices, a vague ideology emerged religious but still trendy or religious but still fashionable (Hendariningrum & Susilo, 2008). Based on this ideology, the phenomenon of being a dynamic Muslim woman and fashionable is increasingly popular. As is the case with Hijabersmom Community Malang, they pay attention to their appearance by using dress code when eating together. In addition, they also choose places to eat at popular places that are good for taking pictures accompanied by other agendas besides eating with the community, such as taking pictures together and uploading them on social media. With a series of food consumption activities carried out, the researchers saw an effort to

show their identity as a Muslimah version of the Hijabersmom Community strengthened by their existence on social media.

The identity involves aspects of similarities and differences or also called distinctions. Without realizing it, this distinction appears in the social sphere as a result of differences in the habitus of each individual and group (Tomlinson, 2003). Distinction according to (Bourdieu, 1984) shows how preferences in food, fashion, and culture classify a taste that reflects the image of class separation to match expectations and how the dominant class is viewed in the hierarchy of power. Therefore, the description of the social class of the Hijabersmom Community Malang group can be seen through food, appearance, and culture which are used as power strategies in the differentiation process through meaning and relationships which are reflected in the choice of tastes. Distinction efforts made by this community are related to the statement of choosing a place to eat, attention to food quality, and quantity or price of food.

Consumption structures in a food lifestyle cannot be seen as a normal phenomenon. According to (Baudrillard, 2011), the consumption process can be analyzed from the perspective of two fundamental aspects. First, consumption is a process of significance and communication. Consumption is a system of exchange based on the code of consumption practices and taking their meaning. Thus, consumption can be interpreted as a stage in the communication process as stated by (Bourdieu, 1984) that consumption is an act of interpreting or decoding that requires practical mastery of code. A series of elements in the food lifestyle have shown the consumption practice of Hijabersmom Community Malang as a means to communicate. What is meant in this case is how they use food as a symbol in communicating. Food consumption is a process of significance and communication and lifestyle that appears to shift mass consumption. Food is positioned as a symbol used in communication (Lizie, 2015). Someone will play find the code then decipher the message on the food. Second, consumption can be a process of social classification and differentiation. Objects or signs are positioned as significant differences in a code, as well as determinants of power in social distribution (knowledge, power, culture, etc.). Mastery of this code is obtained from habitus habituation.

#### **4. Findings**

Appearance is part of the food lifestyle, but here the researcher tries to describe the findings that the appearance consumption structure is an important thing in defining the identity of the Hijabersmom Community. They use a dress code which is a form of their cohesiveness at every event with directions from the leader. Judging from the journey of this community, the leader has the power to direct his community. In the past, there was a stigma that this community was called a socialite community because it tended to fashion show activities. Community activities uploaded on social media further reinforce this stigma. Currently they are trying to change their image by uploading more religious activities on Instagram. They filter the content uploaded on community accounts also member accounts. The goal is to maintain the good name of the community and be a reminder to every member that 'Hijabersmom' will be attached to them. So this is what makes them feel there is a significant change when joining the community from the way they look. In practice, they have not been consistent in choosing the type of hijab to wear because they have their meaning of hijab.

The construction of Muslimah identity through this consumption structure is formed due to several factors, first is habitus which they have conditions of existence before joining the community. Not all members of the Hijabersmom Community are Muslimah by birth, some are converts, some were previously not wearing hijab, some were going to non-Muslim schools. Second is the ideology/structure related to the religious activities carried out, the religion book they studied, the religion teacher who accompanies recitation. Third, there is a doctrine from

the leader who has the power to direct the community towards various activities like fashion, religion, or society. Although each branch leader has the authority to regulate the communities, the central Hijabersmom Community also has a role in making the main regulations. One of their regulation is conducting intense supervision related to activities carried out online and offline.

## 5. Conclusion

Of the three consumption structures proposed by Bourdieu (fashion, food, and culture), the most prominent in Hijabersmom Community Malang are food and fashion lifestyle. In the process of constructing their identity, the structure of food consumption and fashion plays a role as a means of communication. Identity as a Muslimah is represented through the consumption of halal-labeled food, paying attention to the composition of foods other than those containing pork and those forbidden by Islam, choosing places to eat that are comfortable for discussing and good for taking pictures, wearing fashionable outfits by using dress codes. By the vision and mission of the Hijabersmom Community, they uphold the ideology that hijab is not a barrier to continue working. This is reinforced by a series of activities uploaded through their social media accounts by increasing social and religious activities. The construction of Muslimah identity through this consumption structure is formed due to several factors such as habitus, ideology/religious structure, and community doctrine.

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