



The Dissemination of *Hijrah* Doctrine on Social Media: A Study of Negotiation, Contestation, and Commodification of Religion

This research examines the process of disseminating the hijrah doctrine on social media, as well as the themes and motives attached to its dissemination. This study is a literature review using a virtual ethnography research model. Through a traveling theory approach, the study finds that: First, the dissemination of the hijrah doctrine on social media is predominantly carried out and shared by urban Muslims and millennial Muslims. Second, common themes used to disseminate the hijrah doctrine include Islamic clothing, early marriage propaganda, bank interest, and motivation for building an Islamic Caliphate state. These themes are disseminated through *Hijrah Fest* events, social media study groups, the narrative of agency socialization through artists and celebrities, and Islamist literature. This study argues that the dissemination of the hijrah doctrine on social media constitutes a form of religious commodification, with a larger agenda of promoting the movement to establish an Islamic Caliphate state.

Keywords: dissemination, hijrah, negotiation, contestation.

Riset ini mengkaji proses diseminasi doktrin *hijrah* di media sosial serta tema dan motif yang disematkan untuk mendiseminasikan doktrin *hijrah* di media sosial. Riset ini merupakan studi kepustakaan dengan menggunakan model jenis riset entografi virtual. Melalui pendekatan *travelling theory*, riset ini menghasilkan temuan bahwa; *Pertama*, diseminasi doktrin hijrah di media sosial lebih banyak diusung dan diunggah oleh muslim urban dan muslim milenial. *Kedua*, tema-tema yang seringkali dijadikan alat untuk melakukan diseminasi doktrin hijrah adalah pakaian islami, propaganda nikah dini, bunga bank dan motivasi membangun negara Khilafah Islamiyah. Tema-tema tersebut didiseminasikan melalui kegiatan *Hijrah Fest*, pengajian di media sosial, narasi sosialisasi agensi melalui artis dan selebritis, dan literatur Islamisme. Riset ini berargumen bahwa diseminasi doktrin hijrah di media sosial sebagai komodifikasi agama yang di dalamnya punya agenda besar sebagai gerakan membangun negara Khilafah Islamiyah.

Kata Kunci: diseminasi, hijrah, negosiasi, kontestasi.

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Introduction

As seen by shifts in fashion trends and religious displays on social media, the term “*hijrah*” has gained popularity among millennial Muslims. Men display their appearance with beards and ankle-length pants, typically with remarks like “self reminder.”¹ Women commonly share pictures of themselves wearing *syar’i* (sharia compliant) *hijabs* or *niqabs* in hues like purple and black. The Arabic words *anā*, *antum*, *akhī*, and *ukhtī* are frequently used to enhance these images.² The de-privatization of religion since the Reform Era³, which has resurrected religious expression through social movements, Sharia laws, and popular culture—a trend that had been suppressed throughout the New Order regime—is reflected in the rising popularity of *hijrah* on social media.⁴ As evident from occasions like the *Hijrah Fest*, held in Jakarta in 2018 dan 2019, contestation over religious authority has also gotten more intense.

Hijrah Fest is a platform for *da’wah* to the youth, presented in a trendy format and endorsed by celebrities and artists who claim to have gone through *hijrah*. The event features celebrity preachers and social media influencers, including those who spread the *hijrah* doctrine; the indoctrination focuses mainly on changes in

physical appearance as a paradigm shift from a secular to an Islamic lifestyle. *Hijrah Fest* has also become a space for Islamization, with 200 booths representing the Muslim industry and showcasing fashion brands, Muslim streetwear, and sharia business classrooms.⁵ The phenomenon of Islamization with the ethical value of “sharia,” apart from being referred to as “Islamic commodification,” also points to signs of a conservative turn.⁶ Behind this is the impetus of the Middle East, which preaches a conservative version of Islam on social media and publishes Islamist literature.

Academic studies of *hijrah* are inclined to associate this theme with the Prophet Muhammad’s migration from Mecca to Medina. However, only few studies have addressed the propagation of *hijrah* as an aspect of religious identity through social media. In general, *hijrah* studies take three general themes. The positive evaluation of the concept of *hijrah* is first embodied in the works of Thiyas⁷, Zahara⁸, and Hamudy⁹. These studies emphasize *hijrah* as a process by which the millennial generation can identify with religious values through social media, apart from being a process for self-realization. For instance, a critical analysis of the doctrine of *hijrah*, where the research conducted

¹ Yuyun Sunesti, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Muhammad Najib Azca, “Young Salafi-Niqabi and Hijrah: Agency and Identity Negotiation,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (2018): 174–175.

² Wasisto Raharjo Jati, “Islam Populer Sebagai Pencarian Identitas Muslim Kelas Menengah Indonesia,” *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 5, no. 1 (2015): 153.

³ Jose Cassanova, *Public Religion in the Modern World* (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1994), 13–15.

⁴ Wahyudi Akmaliah Muhammad and Khelmy K Pribadi, “Anak Muda, Radikalisme, dan Budaya Populer,” *Jurnal Maarif* 8, no. 1 (2013): 135–142; Mutohharun Jinan, “New Media dan Pergeseran Otoritas Keagamaan Islam di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 10, no. 1 (2012): 200–205.

⁵ Muhammad Subarkah, “Membeludaknya Hijrah Fest: Milenial Tak Peduli Islam?,” *Republika.Co.Id*, last modified 2018, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita/pi1176385/membeludaknya-hijrah-fest-milenial-tak-peduli-islam>.

⁶ Abdur Rozaki, “Komodifikasi Islam (Kesalehan dan Pergulatan Identitas di Ruang Publik),” *Jurnal Dakwah:*

Media Dakwah dan Komunikasi Islam 14, no. 2 (2013): 201; Greg Fealy and Sally White, “Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia,” in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, vol. 89 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2008), 26; Martin van Bruinessen, *Conservative Turn: Islam Indonesia dalam Ancaman Fundamentalisme* (Bandung: Mizan Media Utama, 2014), 12.

⁷ Thiyas Tono Taufiq, Royanulloh Royanulloh, and Komari Komari, “Tren Hijrah Muslim Perkotaan di Media Sosial: Konstruksi, Representasi dan Ragam Ekspresi,” *Fikrah* 10, no. 2 (2022): 355–376.

⁸ Mila Nabila Zahara, Dadan Wildan, and Siti Komariah, “Gerakan Hijrah: Pencarian Identitas untuk Muslim Milenial di Era Digital,” *Indonesian Journal of Sociology, Education, and Development* 2, no. 1 (2020): 52–65.

⁹ Nurul Annisa Hamudy and Moh. Ilham A. Hamudy, “Hijrah Movement in Indonesia: Shifting Concept and Implementation in Religiosity,” *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 4, no. 2 (2020): 133–150.





by Annisa¹⁰, Amna¹¹, and Irfansyah¹² typifies *hijrah* as false religiosity leading to radicalism, and questions the commodification of religion for popularity by celebrities. Thirdly, research into the typological differences of *hijrah*, as outlined by Triana¹³, Sunesti¹⁴, and Peter¹⁵, examines the various forms of *hijrah* that are motivated by individual reasons and experiences, ranging from the donning of the niqab to *hijrah* events associated with the rhetoric of extremist organizations.

In contrast to previous studies, this research focuses on how the *hijrah* doctrine spreads through social media and attracts the millennial generation. The first question to be addressed is how the process of *hijrah* dissemination occurs on social media, thus influencing millennial lifestyles. Second, what are the main themes raised in the *hijrah* movement on social media, and what are their motives? Third, what are the implications of the dissemination of the *hijrah* doctrine when it is widely promoted on social media by its actors, such as celebrities and social media preachers, leading to the commodification of religion in the digital era?

This study argues that promoting the doctrine of *hijrah* should be acknowledged as an expression of religious enthusiasm. However, if the call for *hijrah* is exclusively focused on reinforcing religious identity, such an approach necessitates anticipation, particularly since religious militancy does not necessarily require confrontational methods. When a crystallized *hijrah* identity encounters other groups perceived as less devout in Islam, accompanied by hate speech, the risk of religious disharmony, social disintegration, culminating in religion-based

conflict, significantly escalates. Furthermore, the “religiously active” group, which aspires to establish an Islamic caliphate (*khilāfah Islāmiyyah*) due to their perceived subjugation by secular states, represents a generation influenced by this *hijrah* doctrine. This research, therefore, aims to demonstrate that the propagation of *hijrah* without an inclusive approach in the digital era—characterized by boundaryless interaction—can trigger deeper social polarization.

To address the three research questions posed in this study, we used two theoretical frameworks: travelling theory and face negotiation theory. Rooted in the Qur’an and hadith, the epistemology of *hijrah*, inevitably involves interpretative reasoning. The term *hijrah* is subsequently discussed and disseminated in the public sphere. Edward Said, in *travelling theory*, posits that ideas not only move between individuals but also across situations and periods. This process entails four stages: the birth of the idea (*point of origins*), the dissemination of the idea (*distance transversed*), the encounter of ideas (*encounter stage*), and the acceptance of ideas (*transformations*), which serve as the framework for the findings of this research.¹⁶

Conversely, Face Negotiation Theory, introduced by Stella Ting-Toomey, helps to understand how individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds perform “facework” to protect their social image. This theory is particularly relevant for mapping the dialectics between traditional and contemporary religious authorities, as well as for uncovering the political, social, and economic capital that facilitates the

¹⁰ Firly Annisa, “Hijrah Milenial: Antara Kesalehan dan Populism,” *Maarif* 13, no. 1 (June 20, 2018): 38–54.

¹¹ Afina Amna, “Hijrah Artis Sebagai Komodifikasi Agama,” *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* 13, no. 2 (2019): 331–350.

¹² Azhar Irfansyah, “Berdakwah di Era Neoliberal: Tealah Depolitisasi Hijrah dalam Unggahan Media Sosial Pemuda Hijrah,” *Jurnal Komunikasi, Masyarakat dan Keamanan* 3, no. 1 (May 2, 2021): 42–64.

¹³ Windy Triana et al., *Hijrah: Tren Keberagamaan Kaum Milenial di Indonesia* (Jakarta: PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2021).

¹⁴ Yuyun Sunesti, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Muhammad Najib Azca, “Young Salafi-Niqabi and Hijrah: Agency and Identity Negotiation,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (2018): 173–198.

¹⁵ Hilary A. Sarat St Peter, “From Hijrah to Khilafah: Rhetoric, Redemption, and ISIL’s Recruitment Strategy,” *International Journal of Communication* 13 (2019): 510–527.

¹⁶ Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 226.





dissemination of the *hijrah* doctrine among the digital generation.¹⁷

This study adopts a virtual ethnographic model to uncover factual or non-factual realities within computer-mediated communication among members of online virtual communities.¹⁸ The focus is on social media users, including millennials, artists, celebrities, performers, and social media preachers (*ustad medsos*) who have publicly embraced *hijrah* on these platforms. Social media preachers are renowned for their distinctive use of social media to propagate Islamic teachings; however, in the current global context, they often function more as marketers, motivators, and presenters, as noted by Greg Fealy.¹⁹ The research centers on the public arena of social media, exploring themes commonly associated with the *hijrah* movement, such as marriage, *ta'aruf* (Islamic courtship), *hijab syar'i* (Sharia-compliant hijab), shortened trousers, interest-free banking, and the transition from secular to Islamic lifestyles. Social media platforms examined include YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and others used by the research subjects to showcase forms of dissemination, construction, promotion, and propaganda of the *hijrah* doctrine.

Urban Muslims and Millennial Muslims: The Origins of *Hijrah* Popularity in the Digital Era

The dissemination of the *hijrah* doctrine as a social phenomenon can be traced back to its popularity among two segments of society: urban Muslims and millennial Muslims. Urban Muslims, residing in modern environments, often yearn for a stronger sense of religiosity.²⁰

They tend to adopt a strict, textual interpretation of Islamic teachings, applying these strict interpretations to various aspects of life. Sometimes, this leads to intolerance and disharmony when these interpretations clash with societal norms.²¹ This dynamic drives them to express what they perceive as Islamic culture in all aspects of life, including their lifestyle choices.

The lifestyle of urban Muslims is characterized by a dual form of consumerism: material and spiritual. Materially, this is evident in the increasing availability of Islamic-themed products such as sharia-compliant clothing, Sharia-compliant hotels, prophetic medicine (*tib al-nabāwī*), and even sharia-compliant housing plots. Spiritually, this consumerism manifests in phenomena like religious soap operas, social media preachers, and *dhikr* gatherings organized by prominent *habaib* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad).²² This consumer-driven lifestyle often evolves into a form of Islamic hedonism, where piety is measured by the consumption of Islamic commodities. Individuals who do not conform to Islamic norms, such as wearing a hijab or beard, are often perceived as less pious. Such phenomena are frequently observed on social media and serve as the precursor to the spread of the *hijrah* doctrine.

The characteristics of urban Muslims in the digital era have intersected with what is commonly referred to as the “millennial generation.” According to Karl Mannheim’s generation theory, introduced in 1923, millennials are individuals born between 1980 and 2000, a period aligned with the modern era.²³ Also

¹⁷ Morissan, *Teori Komunikasi Individu hingga Massa* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2013), 155.

¹⁸ Rulli Nasrullah, *Etnografi Virtual: Riset Komunikasi, Budaya, dan Sioteknologi di Internet* (Bandung: Sempiosa, 2018), 5–8.

¹⁹ Greg Fealy, *Ustad Seleb: Bisnis Moral dan Fatwa Online* (Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2012), 3–5.

²⁰ Adrika F Aini, “Muslim Urban dan Muslim Tradisional,” last modified 2020, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://artikula.id/adrika/muslim-urban-dan-muslim-tradisional/>.

²¹ Sumanto Al Qurtuby, “Komunitas ‘Islam Kampung’ versus Jamaah ‘Islam Kota,’” *DW*, last modified 2020, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://www.dw.com/id/komunitas-islam-kampung-versus-jamaah-islam-kota/a-52527047>.

²² M. Endy Saputro, “Everyday Qur’an di Era Post-Konsumerisme Muslim,” *Mutawātir: Jurnal Keilmuan Tafsir Hadis* 5, no. 2 (2015): 180–181.

²³ Muhammad Sarkoni, “Generasi Muslim Milenial dan Relevansinya dalam Pendidikan Islam” (UIN Raden Intan Lampung, 2021), 18.





known as Generation Y, Generation Me, or Echo Boomers, this group shares demographic similarities with the subsequent Generation Z, comprising individuals born between 1997 and 2012, who are now approximately 23 years old. However, millennials exhibit distinct traits, particularly in their approach to religiosity and lifestyle.²⁴

First, in terms of lifestyle, millennials tend to adopt a modern, elegant, and simple fashion sense while retaining their identity as Muslims.²⁵ As digital natives, they have grown up surrounded by digital culture and information technology,²⁶ making smartphones and other digital devices integral to their daily lives. This generation is frequently labeled as innovators, as they rely heavily on technology to introduce new ideas and solutions in various aspects of life, such as education and work.²⁷

Second, in terms of mindset, millennials are more critical and confident in expressing their opinions,²⁸ often challenging conventional norms.²⁹ They display a strong sense of self-assurance, particularly when it comes to breaking societal rules or redefining boundaries. For them, procedures can sometimes be viewed as barriers to creativity. Nevertheless, they continue to innovate and create in their own unique ways. Additionally, millennials tend to gravitate toward instant solutions,³⁰ a tendency shaped by technological advancements that offer unparalleled convenience in many areas of life.

As a generation deeply embedded in digital native culture, millennials are frequently exposed to cybermedia.³¹ This digital-native background significantly shapes their mindset. However, without a strong foundation in religious understanding, they are more susceptible to ideologies that may deviate from mainstream teachings, whether radical or liberal. This vulnerability is compounded by the phenomenon of the “click generation,” characterized by a lack of media literacy. Members of this generation often share divisive news, information, or content on social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter/X, WhatsApp, and Instagram without verifying its accuracy. Consequently, they may inadvertently spread misinformation that serves the interests of certain groups.³²

Being habituated with social media, this new generation of millennials has definitely provided fertile ground for ideas and indoctrination upon which *hijrah* can grow and prosper. In fact, as such, the *hijrah* movement has grown with this very generation and has gained full steam that is beyond their control. Having a millennial characteristic, they actively participated in spreading and publishing the *hijrah* narrative both through offline and online space expressed through ideas, behaviors, and appearances shared on social media. Thus, the *hijrah* discourse

²⁴ Moh Dahlan, “Geneologi Islamisme di Kalangan Muslim Millennial Indonesia,” *El-Afkar: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman dan Tafsir Hadis* 9, no. 1 (June 25, 2020): 17.

²⁵ Sarkoni, “Generasi Muslim Milenial dan Relevansinya dalam Pendidikan Islam,” 20.

²⁶ Dahlan, “Geneologi Islamisme di Kalangan Muslim Millennial Indonesia,” 6.

²⁷ Hardika, Eny Nur Aisyah, and Imam Gunawan, *Transformasi Belajar Generasi Milenial* (Malang: Universitas Negeri Malang, 2018), 7–8.

²⁸ Natasya Virginia Leuwol, “Smart is an Art - Pembentukan Karakter Milenial Melek Teknologi dan Cerdas Bernarasi dalam Media Sosial,” *Journal of Dedication to Papua Community* 4, no. 1 (June 30, 2021): 15.

²⁹ Yoris Sebastian and Amran Dilla, *Generasi Langgas: Millennials Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gagas Media, 2016), 43.

³⁰ Sarkoni, “Generasi Muslim Milenial dan Relevansinya dalam Pendidikan Islam,” 21.

³¹ Dahlan, “Geneologi Islamisme di Kalangan Muslim Millennial Indonesia,” 6; Iffah Azzahro Aulia, Rian Vebrianto, and Iqbal Miftakhul Mujtahid, “Analisis Tingkat Literasi Digital Generasi Milenial dalam Mencegah Cyber Crime,” *Milenial: Journal for Teachers and Learning* 3, no. 1 (July 31, 2022): 16.

³² Muhammad Candra Syahputra, “Jihad Santri Millennial Melawan Radikalisme: Studi Gerakan Arus Informasi Santri Nusantara di Media Sosial,” *Jurnal Islam Nusantara* 4, no. 1 (October 1, 2020): 70.





and movement keep working within millennials with the help of information technology access.³³

Channels of *Hijrah* Dissemination

Within the *hijrah* phenomenon among Indonesian Muslim youth, several channels play an important role in facilitating this “distance transversed” stage of urban and millennial Muslims' movement from religious anxiety to a deeper commitment. One prominent channel is large-scale events such as *Hijrah Fest*, which combines Islamic preaching with a marketplace for Islamic products and services catering to Sharia-compliant lifestyles. Through social media, popular “social media preachers” (ustad medsos) lectures are easily accessible to young people, quickly and conveniently, on the teachings of *hijrah*. Public figures who have embraced *hijrah* also give the movement a broader face by sharing their personal stories, thereby making the pathway to an Islamic life more attractive. Literature concerning Islamism with a focus on *hijrah* also enriches the understanding through books putting forth *hijrah* values as a guiding tool in life, available on both physical and electronic shelves.

Hijrah Fest is a youth-oriented Islamic event presented in a trendy format and endorsed by celebrities and public figures who have embraced *hijrah*. The event is highly festive, featuring prominent “celebrity preachers” (ustad seleb) and “social media preachers” (ustad medsos)³⁴, such as AA Gym, as well as younger preachers with millions of followers on social media, including Abdul Somad, Adi Hidayat, Hanan Attaki, Felix Y. Siaw, Salim A. Fillah, and others. The inaugural *Hijrah Fest* was held in 2018 at the Jakarta Convention Center (JCC). As such,

it has become one of the most effective platforms for disseminating the *hijrah* doctrine widely propagated on social media.

In addition to its spiritual mission, *Hijrah Fest* serves as a venue for Islamic lifestyle promotion. The event features approximately 200 booths showcasing products from the Islamic fashion and apparel industry. For instance, the 2019 *Hijrah Fest* offered private classes on Sharia-compliant business for Muslims seeking to invest their wealth in accordance with Islamic principles. The event also incorporates matchmaking activities (*ta'aruf*) designed to attract and engage millennial Muslims further.³⁵ Through such initiatives, *Hijrah Fest* reinforces the belief among urban and millennial Muslims that *hijrah* is the ultimate solution to transitioning from a non-Islamic lifestyle to a future aligned with Islamic values.

On social media, the widespread influence of the *hijrah* phenomenon among young people is largely driven by sermons and lectures delivered by “celebrity preachers” and “social media preachers,” who are regarded as new authorities in religious discourse. Figures such as Hanan Attaki (7.1 million followers), Syafiq Riza Basalamah (886,000 followers), Khalid Basalamah (885,000 followers), Oemar Mita (635,000 followers), Felix Siau (3.8 million followers), Abdul Somad (9.6 million followers), and Adi Hidayat (2 million followers), according to data from CNN Indonesia, are among the key individuals fueling the *hijrah* movement.³⁶ Their presence on social media reinforces the appeal of the *hijrah* movement, especially among young audiences who view them as credible religious authorities and relatable “virtual spiritual mentors.”³⁷

³³ Zahara, Wildan, and Komariah, “Gerakan Hijrah: Pencarian Identitas Untuk Muslim Milenial di Era Digital,” 55–56.

³⁴ Fealy, *Ustad Seleb: Bisnis Moral dan Fatwa Online*, 3–5.

³⁵ HijrahFest, “Hijrahfest - The Greatest Hijrah Event,” last modified 2018, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://hijrahfest.com/>.

³⁶ CNNIndonesia, “Infografis: Deretan Ustad di Balik Geliat Hijrah Anak Muda,” last modified 2019, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190708060636-23-409980/infografis-deretan-ustaz-di-balik-geliat-hijrah-anak-muda>.

³⁷ Arnis Rachmadhani, “Otoritas Keagamaan di Era Media Baru; Dakwah Gus Mus di Media Sosial,”





What makes these preachers successful in drawing the attention of younger generations is their good communication skills, which are aligned with public speaking theories, hence enabling them to deliver the message in a manner most appropriate for millennials. Most of them completed their study in the Middle East, allowing them to present Salafi teachings in a straightforward and practical language.³⁸ It then becomes easy for the millennials in search of identity to connect with the religious messages being disseminated on social media. These “celebrity preachers” share *hijrah* content on WhatsApp, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter/X that not only engages their audience but is also widely redistributed, creating a huge wave in the digital dissemination of *hijrah* doctrines.³⁹

1. Narratives of Agency Socialization

Widespread dissemination of the doctrine of *hijrah* is further highlighted by agency socialization narratives. This approach involves public figures such as artists and celebrities narrating their personal journeys, often highlighting their troubled pasts and their eventual transformation through *hijrah*. Being public figures, they hold extraordinary power in indoctrinating and disseminating *hijrah* teachings to their followers. This factor could explain the immense spread of *hijrah* narratives on platforms such as social media. Public figures, artists, and celebrities are often intentionally positioned as agents of *hijrah* narratives. For instance, Peggy Melati Sukma shared her

struggles with inner turmoil at the peak of her entertainment career. Her mentor’s advice to learn about the life of Khadijah led to a significant change in her life. Similarly, Dewi Sandra, a former singer, publicly declared her decision to leave her old job. She emphasized self-assessment, advocating for leaving behind what is necessary and continuing with self-improvement.

The presence of artists and celebrities on social media has been deliberately framed as a means of narrating and promoting the *hijrah* doctrine. Peggy Melati Sukma, for instance, shared her experience of inner unrest at the peak of her fame in the entertainment industry. She recounted being encouraged by a mentor to study the life of Khadijah, which marked a turning point and solidified her decision to embrace *hijrah*.⁴⁰ Similarly, Dewi Sandra, who had long left her career as a singer, expressed her firm resolve to avoid returning to the music industry. She emphasized self-assessment, stating that what should be abandoned must be left behind, while continuing to pursue what aligns with personal growth and self-improvement.⁴¹

Male public figures have also become prominent agents in disseminating *hijrah* doctrine. Teuku Wisnu, for instance, reflected on the emptiness he felt despite reaching the peak of his career. He revealed that true peace came from the Qur'an,⁴² which provided the solace he sought. Similarly, Ari Untung shared how he experienced the greatness of the Qur'an while exploring other religious texts. He admitted to

Panangkaran: *Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Masyarakat* 5, no. 2 (2021): 152.

³⁸ Triana et al., *Hijrah: Tren Keberagamaan Kaum Milenial di Indonesia*, 148–149.

³⁹ Zahrina Sanni Musahadah and Sulis Triyono, “Fenomena Hijrah di Indonesia: Konten Persuasif Dalam Instagram,” *Retorika: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajarannya* 12, no. 2 (August 15, 2019): 117–27.

⁴⁰ Desi Puspasari, “Menikah, Cerai, dan Hidup Kacau, Titik Hijrahnya Peggy Melati Sukma,” *Hot.Detik.Com*, last modified 2018, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://hot.detik.com/celeb/d-4039593/menikah-cerai-dan-hidup-kacau-titik-hijrahnya-peggy-melati-sukma>.

⁴¹ Ratu Syra Quirinno, “Kisah Hijrah Dewi Sandra Mantap Tinggalkan Dunia Musik: Enggak Kangen Nyanyi,” last modified 2022, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://muslim.okezone.com/read/2022/03/14/621/2561460/kisah-hijrah-dewi-sandra-mantap-tinggalkan-dunia-musik-enggak-kangen-nyanyi>.

⁴² Aisyah Nursyamsi, “Teuku Wisnu Ungkap Alasan Memutuskan Hijrah, Ingat Dosa Saat Banyak Orang Terdekat Meninggal,” last modified 2021, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://www.tribunnews.com/seleb/2021/11/19/teuku-wisnu-ungkap-alasan-memutuskan-hijrah-ingat-dosa-saat-banyak-orang-terdekat-meninggal>.





being on the verge of apostasy during his relationship with a partner of a different faith. However, a spiritual awakening reaffirmed his belief in the Qur'an, which he recognized as a divine safeguard for his faith.⁴³ These examples illustrate how agency socialization serves as a powerful mechanism for the widespread dissemination of *hijrah* doctrine.

2. Islamic Literature

The extensive publication of books on *hijrah* has played a significant role in spreading its doctrine among readers, particularly students and young adults.⁴⁴ This phenomenon illustrates that *hijrah* doctrine is disseminated not only through sermons and videos but also through Islamic literature, often affiliated with Salafi groups.

Thematically, *hijrah* literature can be divided into two categories: fiction and non-fiction. Fictional works, such as novels, often narrate personal journeys of transformation. For example, *Hijrah Asmara* by Madun Anwar and Sukma El-Qatrunnada depicts Ara's struggle to reconcile with betrayal by her partner and best friend. After experiencing this betrayal, Ara learns significant lessons. Upon meeting Arman, who rejects the concept of dating, Ara begins to understand that in Islam, relationships are not based on dating but on *ta'aruf* (a formal process of getting to know one another for marriage).⁴⁵ Similarly, *Hijrah Itu Cinta* by Abay Adhitya follows the story of Senja, a social media

influencer, and Satria, a skateboarder, whose relationship dissolves after a betrayal when Satria traps Senja in a compromising situation at a hotel. The experience prompts Senja to embrace a more pious path, eventually finding solace with Fajar, her childhood protector and true love.⁴⁶

The dissemination of *hijrah* through Islamist literature occurs via several methods. First, books are analyzed and discussed, as seen with Peneleh Malang activists on Monday, February 24, 2020, who conducted a discussion on Aji Dedi Mulawarman's book, *2024 Hijrah Untuk Negeri*, with Fattah Hidayat serving as the main discussant.⁴⁷ Second, books are reviewed, such as Yeti Islamawati's review of Abay Adhitya's *Hijrah Itu Cinta*.⁴⁸ Third, these books are widely sold, both offline and online. Beyond conventional bookstores, anyone can purchase these books through various e-commerce platforms. Simply searching for "Buku Hijrah" in the search bar provides instant access to information about the books, including prices and customer reviews.

Dissemination of Hijrah Themes: Social Encounters and Transformations

1. Islamic Clothing

Dress styles and models are often linked to religious practices by *salafi* proponents advocating for the *hijrah* movement. A person's religious identity and piety are frequently assessed based on their attire. Over the past decade, dress styles associated with religion have

⁴³ Muhammad Ilman Nafi'an, "Hijrah Arie Untung Saat Mendalami Kitab Agama Lain," *Dream.Co.Id*, last modified 2018, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://www.dream.co.id/orbit/arie-untung-dulu-aku-hampir-dimurtadkan-180402t.html>.

⁴⁴ Najib Kailani, "Perkembangan Literatur Islamisme Populer Di Indonesia: Apropriasi, Adaptasi Dan Genre," in *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Milenial; Transmisi, Apropriasi Dan Kontestasi*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana UIN Sunana Kalijaga Press, 2019), 143.

⁴⁵ Madun Anwar and Sukma El-Qatrunnada, *Hijrah Asmara* (Surabaya: Loka Media, 2019), 1–310.

⁴⁶ Abay Adhitya, *Hijrah Itu Cinta; Pantaskah Seorang Pendosa Mendapatkan Jodoh Terbaik?* (Yogyakarta: Bentang Pustaka, 2018), 1–284.

⁴⁷ Dwi Febriana, "Bedah Buku '2024: Hijrah Untuk Negeri', Aktivis Peneleh Jabodetabek Ajak Khalayak Umum Bersikap Kritis Terhadap Konstruksi Dunia Terkini," *Koranpeneleh.Id*, last modified 2022, accessed February 2, 2024, <https://koranpeneleh.id/2022/02/21/bedah-buku-2024-hijrah-untuk-negeri-aktivis-peneleh-jabodetabek-ajak-khalayak-umum-bersikap-kritis-terhadap-konstruksi-dunia-terkini/>.

⁴⁸ Yeti Islamawati, "Perjuangan Dalam Perjalanan Hijrah - Resensi Buku Hijrah Itu Cinta," *Kabar Madura* (Pamekasan, August 1, 2019), <https://yetiislamawati.blogspot.com/2020/05/resensi-buku-hijrah-itu-cinta.html>.





taken root among young people and numerous celebrities. As such, adopting Islamic attire and accessories is often seen as the first step toward engaging with the *hijrah* movement and understanding its broader meanings. This phenomenon also focuses on new converts (*mualaf*), who are often among the primary targets of this transformation.

The dissemination of Islamic identity among Muslims has increasingly narrowed to focus on attire, such as the *hijab* and *niqab*. For the *hijrah* movement, the use of these garments is often emphasized as both a guideline and a requirement of Islamic teachings. A recent trend on social media platforms has spotlighted the *niqab*—a veil covering the face—as well as the ankle pants worn by men as symbolic of *hijrah*. Platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, TikTok, and various websites frequently feature calls to adopt an Islamic lifestyle, wear modest clothing, and, in some cases, practice exclusivity in interactions with others.

A one-minute video posted by the YouTube channel *Pemuda FF* depicted a scene of a *niqab*-wearing woman helping another woman don a *niqab* as part of her *hijrah* journey. The video, titled “Subhānallāh: The *Hijrah* Process of a *Niqab*-Wearing Woman,” received overwhelmingly positive feedback from viewers. Comments included expressions of gratitude, admiration, emotional responses, and prayers for steadfastness on Allah’s path. Among the 300 comments, there were virtually no objections, indicating that such practices are widely accepted and considered legitimate within Islamic teachings, making them beyond reproach by fellow Muslims.⁴⁹

A similar narrative emerged on the YouTube channel *Qudwah Squad*, which shared the

challenges faced by a newly *hijrah*-adopting woman. In the video, the woman, wearing a *niqab*, explained, “Since I started my *hijrah*, my friends began to distance themselves, saying I’m not as cheerful anymore.” The responses from viewers mirrored those of the previous video, with exclusively positive remarks filling the comment section.⁵⁰ Supportive messages such as “Stay strong in your *dakwah*,” “May you be blessed,” and “May your struggles be for Allah alone” dominated the comments.

The phenomenon of the *niqab* also prominently features on Instagram, with memes, captions, and hashtags themed around *hijrah*, *niqab*, and Islamic identity shaping a significant discourse in the process of Islamic personal transformation. One notable account, *cadar_indonesia_cantik*, actively encourages followers to adopt the *niqab* as part of their *hijrah*. For instance, a Reel posted on October 5, 2021, captioned with “Assālamu’alaikum. Muslim women are truly special,” exemplifies this trend.

The use of quotes to promote wearing the *niqab* is particularly prevalent in propagating what is described as the “pure” Islamic dress code. These quotes often appear not only as direct invitations but also as motivational statements and memes. For instance: 1) Meme: “This is not just a *hijab*; it is our key to Paradise.”, 2) Motivational statement: “Dear sister, the sun does not lose its beauty when covered by clouds. Similarly, your beauty does not fade when you wear the *hijab*.” 3) Invitation: “Islam teaches you to cover, not merely to wrap.”⁵¹

Reading such statements, one might feel encouraged to reflect on the urgency of wearing a *niqab*. At first glance, these messages appear highly motivational, touching, and even logical. However, ironically, while they aim to inspire and encourage personal improvement, they also

⁴⁹ *Pemuda FF, Subhanallah Proses Hijrah Perempuan Bercadar*, 2018,

<https://www.youtube.com/@pemudaff7805/videos>.

⁵⁰ Rizal Mupahlamiko, *Cadar Episode 1-Tantangan Hijrah* (Jawa Barat: Qudwah Squad, 2022), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8e5bRPxMVyU>.

⁵¹ Rheza Aditiya Gradianto, “30 Kata-Kata Mutiara Islam Tentang Hijab, Menjadikanmu Muslimah Yang Lebih Baik,” last modified 2021, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://www.bola.com/ragam/read/4361055/30-kata-kata-mutiara-islam-tentang-hijab-menjadikanmu-muslimah-yang-lebih-baik>.





have the potential to provoke readers. This arises from the emphasis and dissemination of Islamic teachings being narrowly focused on a single aspect, thereby overlooking the broader scope of shari'ah principles, which encompass more than merely covering certain parts of the body, which are supposed to be covered.

Despite differing opinions among scholars regarding the niqab, it is essential to understand that wearing niqab is not an absolute dogma. Historically, face-covering garments were used long before the advent of Islam. In ancient Persia, Zoroastrian women wore such coverings, as did pre-Islamic Arab societies. Thus, framing the niqab as an intrinsic component of shari'ah is a misconception. Islam does not prescribe attire that imposes unnecessary difficulty on women in their social lives. Given that women are increasingly present in public spheres, they should adopt an inclusive approach rather than isolating themselves from their surroundings. The notion that the niqab is inherently a part of shari'ah and therefore obligatory has taken root among segments of Indonesia's Muslim women, particularly those associated with the *hijrah* movement. This belief requires critical reassessment. The niqab, as a trend and lifestyle choice among Muslim women, should not be conflicted with religious obligations. Furthermore, using religion as a facade to justify personal trends and lifestyles under the banner of *hijrah* is problematic. Such practices risk reducing the essence of *hijrah* to a mere superficial identity rather than a holistic spiritual transformation rooted in comprehensive Islamic values.⁵²

2. The Propaganda of Early Marriage

In addition to adopting Islamic attire, the promotion of early marriage has become another

central doctrine within the *hijrah* movement, justified by various reasons. Individuals engaging in early marriage frequently use social media platforms to propagate this ideology by showcasing the romantic aspects of their relationships. These displays often captivate netizens, portraying such couples as ideal, deeply affectionate, and filled with "sweet romanticism."⁵³ Despite conflicting with Law No. 16 of 2019 concerning the legal marriage age requirements of 19 years for women and 21 years for men, this propaganda continues to flourish and is prominently displayed in public spaces.

Hijrah communities, such as Terang Jakarta, Kajian Musyawarah, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, and Pemuda *Hijrah* SHIFT, actively promote early marriage, both offline and online. These communities hold various programs to captivate the millennial generation, ranging from formal, institutionalized initiatives to informal, non-institutionalized efforts. For example, matchmaking is facilitated through events like "Curriculum Vitae Exchanges" organized by Kajian Musyawarah and Pemuda *Hijrah*, or through structured programs such as "Terang Ta'aruf" hosted by the *Hijrah* Terang Jakarta community.⁵⁴

However, these campaigns rarely, if ever, consider or present an objective discussion of the negative consequences of early marriage. As a result, it is unsurprising that the prevalence of early marriages in Indonesia continues to rise annually. The adverse effects of early marriage span psychological, sociological, and biological dimensions. Psychologically, early marriages often lead to mental health challenges due to economic pressures and emotional instability, which may result in family disharmony and domestic violence (DV). On a social level, these pressures can strain relationships within

⁵² Toha Andiko, "Larangan Bercadar di Perguruan Tinggi Perspektif Sadd Al-Dzari'ah," *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 22, no. 1 (2018): 114–117; Amiruddin and Hafid, "Cadar Perempuan Madura; Konstruksi Makna dan Motif Penggunaan Cadar Bagi Perempuan Madura," *Al-Manhaj: Journal of Indonesian Islamic Family Law* 4, no. 2 (2022): 193–195.

⁵³ Siti Fathimah, "Propaganda Pernikahan Dini di Media Sosial," last modified 2020, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://arrahim.id/sf/propaganda-pernikahan-dini-di-media-sosial/>.

⁵⁴ Triana et al., *Hijrah: Tren Keberagamaan Kaum Milenial di Indonesia*, 12.





communities, including interactions with neighbors.⁵⁵

The most significant biological impacts include heightened risks of hypertension and maternal mortality, as well as the increased likelihood of giving birth to stunted children. This, in turn, affects the productivity and cognitive development of future generations.⁵⁶ These biological issues stem from the underdeveloped reproductive systems of young women, as their bodies are not yet fully prepared to bear children. The maturation of female reproductive organs typically occurs between the ages of 12 and 20, making pregnancies at younger ages particularly risky.⁵⁷

3. Bank Interest

The *hijrah* movement is often understood as an effort to purify oneself by fully obeying God's commandments and avoiding His prohibitions, which includes keeping away from *riba* (usury). In Indonesia, the *riba*-based economic system, primarily through conventional banks, significantly influences the nation's economy via interest-based loan services. Recently, images have circulated on social media and even on billboards quoting a prophetic hadith stating that a single dirham of *riba* carries a greater sin than committing adultery 36 times. Even more disturbing is the claim that *riba* has 72 doors, the least severe of which is equivalent to committing incest with one's mother. However, upon examining the transmission of these hadiths, scholars have debated their authenticity. Investigations reveal that the hadiths describing the sin of *riba* as greater than that of adultery

have weak chains of narration (*sanad*) and unreliable content (*matn*).⁵⁸

Regarding bank interest, Islamic scholars differ in their interpretations of its ruling. These differences can be categorized into two groups. The first is the Neo-Revivalist group, represented by figures such as Abu al-A'la al-Maududi and Sayyid Qutb, who adopt a textual approach in discussing the issue of *riba* (including bank interest). The second group comprises Modernists like Fazlur Rahman, Muhammad Asad, Said al-Najjar, and Abd al-Mun'im al-Namir, who emphasize moral considerations in understanding the prohibition of *riba*.

These two groups differ on ascertaining the juridical reasoning (*'illat*) for the verdict concerning bank interest. The former group uses the *'illat* of *ziyadah*, which literally means excess; thus, they equate bank interest to *riba* because any excess beyond the principal loan amount constitutes *riba* and is therefore prohibited (*haram*). In contrast, the second group uses the *'illat* of *zulm* (injustice or oppression), arguing that the rational basis for the prohibition of *riba* lies in its inherent injustice, as reflected in the Quranic injunction: "*Lā taẓlimūn wa lā tuẓlamūn*" ("Do not wrong, and you will not be wronged"). Consequently, if bank interest does not impose an undue burden or involve elements of injustice, it is not classified as *riba* and is not deemed prohibited (*haram*).⁵⁹

One of the famous preachers currently trending on social media, KH. Bahaudin Nur Salim—better known as Gus Baha—commented on the issue of bank interest. Gus Baha acknowledged that banks are part of modern life

⁵⁵ R. M Mahrus Alie et al., "Dampak Stres Pada Psikologis Perempuan Setelah Menikah di Usia Dini," *Jurnal Ekuivalensi* 8, no. 1 (2022): 141–142; Dini Fadilah, "Tinjauan Dampak Pernikahan Dini dari Berbagai Aspek," *Pamator Journal* 14, no. 2 (2021): 90; Elok Nuriyatur Rosyidah and Ariefika Listya, "Infografis Dampak Fisik dan Psikologis Pernikahan Dini Bagi Remaja Perempuan," *Visual Heritage: Jurnal Kreasi Seni dan Budaya* 1, no. 03 (2019): 199–200.

⁵⁶ Clara Dewanti, Vita Ratnasari, and Agnes Tuti Rumiaty, "Pemodelan Faktor-Faktor yang Memengaruhi Status Balita Stunting di Provinsi Jawa Timur

Menggunakan Regresi Probit Biner," *Jurnal Sains dan Seni ITS* 8, no. 2 (2020): 134.

⁵⁷ Akhiruddin, "Dampak Pernikahan Usia Muda (Studi Kasus di Desa Mattirowalie Kecamatan Libureng Kabupaten Bone)," *Mahkamah* 1, no. 1 (2016): 209.

⁵⁸ Nadirsyah Hosen, "Benarkah Dosa Riba Lebih Berat dari Berzina?," last modified 2018, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://nadirhosen.net/tsaqofah/syariah/benarkah-dosa-riba-lebih-berat-dari-berzina/>.

⁵⁹ Nurhadi, "Bunga Bank antara Halal dan Haram," *Nur El-Islam* 4, no. 2 (2017): 64–69.





and thus very hard to avoid in today's monetary system. While he agreed with scholars who categorize *riba* as haram, since indeed *riba* is prohibited, he also underlined that the statement of some scholars that bank interest is *riba* is not necessarily true. Gus Baha delivered this when giving a sermon snippet uploaded to the TikTok account @ghofur_baaqil on March 30, 2022. In the same sermon, Gus Baha elaborated on the opinions of certain scholars known for their strict stance on banking matters, including his own teachers. Additionally, another perspective was shared on the TikTok account @kajian_series_saf in a video of a Q&A session featuring Ustaz Abdul Somad. When asked by an audience member about solutions for avoiding bank interest, Ustaz Abdul Somad proposed Islamic banking as an alternative. He emphasized that the contractual principles in Islamic banks differ from those in conventional banks. As a result, the trend of transitioning from conventional to Islamic banking has been widely promoted and adopted within the *hijrah* movement.

Given that the issue of bank interest remains a subject of scholarly disagreement (*khilāfiyah*), it is inappropriate to reject or attack opposing views by relying on hadiths whose accuracy, credibility, and validity—whether in terms of their chain of transmission (*sanad*) or content (*matn*)—are still debated. In reality, the permissibility of bank interest is supported by its own set of arguments and practical benefits, which are often unavailable in other loan models. Consequently, conventional bank interest and the economic systems that rely on it remain viable alternatives for many individuals and institutions.

4. *Khilafah Islamiyah* (Islamic Caliphate)

The *hijrah* movement is inseparable from the broader macrostructural contexts of society,

economy, and politics. This movement emerged as a response to past governmental policies. Toward the end of the New Order regime, Indonesia experienced a resurgence of Islamization.⁶⁰ As an attempt to strengthen its waning political power, the Soeharto administration sought alliances with Islamic groups, including those on the far right, as new political allies. However, it was not until 2013 that the Indonesian public widely recognized extremist groups. While these groups and their Islamist agendas had existed previously, the *hijrah* trend, which later became a medium and tool for their proselytization efforts, was yet to emerge. It was within this context that external groups began promoting a new Islamic political system, commonly referred to as the *Khilafah Islamiyah* project.

Khilafah Islamiyah, or the Islamic Caliphate, is a governmental concept that has recently been incessantly advocated and demanded by segments of the Muslim community, particularly within the *hijrah* movement. Although this concept originated in Arab nations, its role and genealogy in Indonesia have been relatively limited. The revival of demands for a state system based on Islamic sharia can be viewed as a response to the perceived failures of secular nationalism.⁶¹ However, within the *hijrah* movement, there is a divergence in responses to the concept of an Islamic Caliphate. Two main factions have emerged: First, those within the *hijrah* movement who support the idea of a nationalistic framework. Second, those who advocate for the establishment of Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia.⁶²

This ideological typology of Islamism has contributed to the emergence of *Khilafah Islamiyah* as a new trend among Indonesia's youth.⁶³ For example, a group of young Muslims

⁶⁰ Sahran Saputra, Pujiati, and Muba Simanihuruk, "Gerakan Hijrah Kaum Muda Muslim di Medan (Studi Kasus Gerakan Komunitas Sahabat Hijrahkuu)," *JUPIIS: Jurnal Pendidikan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial* (2020): 24.

⁶¹ Ajat Sudrajat, "Khilafah Islamiyah dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Informasi* 35, no. 2 (2009): 4–7.

⁶² Triana et al., *Hijrah: Tren Keberagaman Kaum Milenial di Indonesia*, 65–74.

⁶³ Muhammad Zaki, "Makna Hijrah Pada Anggota Gerakan #Indonesiatanpapacaran," *ORASI: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 12, no. 1 (July 12, 2021): 23–40.





in Medan established an Islamic community named *Sahabat Hijrahku* (My Hijrah Friends). This community serves as a platform for young Muslims seeking to deepen their understanding of *hijrah*, with a particular focus on the *hijrah* movement. As an Islamist-ideological community, *Sahabat Hijrahku* aims to promote the establishment of an Islamic government system. However, they do not oppose the existing democratic framework. Instead, they acknowledge their obligation as citizens to respect the prevailing system while emphasizing Islam's contributions to the country's sociopolitical sphere.⁶⁴

Sahabat Hijrahku has become a non-coercive community in engaging millennials with its activities, unlike any other *hijrah* movement communities. Memberships are accepted, joined, or recruited into *Sahabat Hijrahku* voluntarily, without any force or threats of intimidation. The main objective in this community is to advance personal improvement through the means of returning to the Qur'anic and Hadith instructions. It aims to foster the spirit of *hijrah* by encouraging Islamic values and common principles. However, though this community does not refuse or reject the democratic system, if its growth is left unchecked, it will create a generation of conservative and ideologically Islamist individuals. This generation might become susceptible to the Khilafah Islamiyah discourse, which threatens to undermine Indonesia's unitary state system (NKRI).

The Khilafah Islamiyah theme represents one of the most provocative ideas propagated by the *hijrah* movement, especially among those suffering from economic hardship. In the movement's discourse, it is often argued that the solution for economic struggle lies in substituting the democratic system with an

Islamic caliphate. The backbone of their argument is their claim that poverty in Indonesia—cultural or structural—is a result of the absence of Khilafah system to prevent corruption, collusion, and nepotism.⁶⁵

However, regardless of the arguments presented, the project of establishing a Khilafah Islamiyah remains an illusory state system. This is due to several reasons. First, the notion of a religiously mandated Islamic caliphate lacks support in classical Islamic literature (*ulama salaf*). Conservative and Islamist groups often manipulate texts to create the impression that establishing a caliphate is obligatory, thus fostering the perception that an absolute and authoritarian leadership is necessary for governing a state.⁶⁶ Second, there is no perfect or effective model of a caliphate in practice. No caliphate has endured long enough to inclusively integrate all societal elements under its governance. The history of such systems is distorted by internal conflicts and bloodshed. For instance, even the long-standing Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties faced significant internal violence, including fratricide, driven by struggles for power.

Conclusion

As aforementioned, the dissemination of *hijrah* doctrines on social media occurs through various activities that are widely experienced. Among these is the *Hijrah Fest*, a trendy proselytization event targeting young audiences, endorsed by celebrities and artists who publicly declare their commitment to *hijrah*. The prevalence of the *hijrah* phenomenon among youth is further reinforced by religious teachings on social media, most often disseminated by emerging religious authorities such as celebrity preachers and social media influencers. This

⁶⁴ Saputra, Pujiati, and Simanihuruk, "Gerakan Hijrah Kaum Muda Muslim di Medan (Studi Kasus Gerakan Komunitas Sahabat Hijrahku)," 27–28.

⁶⁵ Aji Salam, "Islam Mengatasi Kemiskinan," *Al-Wa'ie Official*, last modified 2021, accessed May 14, 2024, <https://alwaie.net/opini/islam-mengatasi-kemiskinan/>.

⁶⁶ Nadirsyah Hosen, "Khilafah Islam, Fiktif!," last modified 2016, accessed January 18, 2023, <https://nadirhosen.net/artikel-isnet/262-khilafah-islam-fiktif/>.





widespread dissemination is also facilitated through narratives of public figures, particularly celebrities, sharing their personal transformations from troubled pasts to a state of *hijrah*. Additionally, the publication of numerous books on *hijrah* has played a significant role in extending these doctrines to readers.

The themes and motivations behind the dissemination of *hijrah* doctrines on social media are predominantly religious in nature. The author identifies four prominent themes, while acknowledging others that frequently emerge: The first is Islamic attire. The *hijrah* trend on social media is often associated with Islamic dress codes, such as face veils (niqab), ankle-length trousers, and other similar attire. The second most common theme is promotion of early marriage. This theme is presented as part of the *hijrah* doctrine, often supported by narratives like the prophetic saying, "Adultery leads to poverty." The third most predominant theme is Bank Interest. This theme is frequently linked to notions of "sharia compliance," with phrases like "from conventional to sharia-based" in order to promote transitions in financial systems. The fourth most common theme is *Khilafah Islamiyah*. This concept of governance has recently resurfaced as a declared demand among some Muslim groups. Such movements aim to reshape the world under what they perceive as the true Islamic order, disregarding local cultural contexts in the countries where Islam is practiced. This often leads to social tensions, disrupts national stability, and threatens the unity of the Republic of Indonesia.

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