

RECONFIGURING MUSLIM PIETY: From Urban Sufism to the *Hijrah* Movement in Contemporary Indonesia

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Abstract: This article explores the shifting landscape of Muslim piety among Indonesia’s urban middle class through an analysis of three major waves: Urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement. Drawing on theories of popular religion, ritual bricolage, and pious consumption, the study argues that contemporary piety is not a rupture from tradition but a reconfiguration shaped by digital media, moral capitalism, and symbolic authority. Employing a qualitative methodology that combines literature review, digital ethnography, and visual-narrative analysis, the article demonstrates how spiritual values are sustained through new forms of expression—ranging from motivational Islamic seminars and modest fashion to Instagram-based *da’wah* and *halâl* branding. These developments reveal a dynamic process of religious subjectivation, where Islamic devotion becomes both a personal ethic and a social performance, closely tied to class aspirations, visual aesthetics, and market logic. The article contributes to current debates on digital religion by highlighting how Indonesian Muslims construct religiosity not only through textual interpretation, but also through visual symbols, emotionally connected communities, and commercial practices. In doing so, it challenges binary narratives of secularization versus religiosity and offers a nuanced framework for understanding continuity and change in contemporary Islamic expressions.

Keywords: Urban Sufism, *hijrah* movement, *hijaber* community, ritual bricolage, muslim middle class

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Introduction

The transformation of religious expression within Indonesia's urban Muslim society over the past two decades reflects a crucial transformation at the intersection of spirituality, modernity, and the market. One of the most striking manifestations of this transformation is the emergence of the *hijrah* phenomenon—a movement generally understood as a personal shift toward a more devout lifestyle. Yet in practice, *hijrah* involves a variety of performative elements, media engagement, and consumer behaviours. This phenomenon illustrates how piety is no longer expressed solely through worship and individual practices, but increasingly through aesthetics, lifestyle choices, and participation in digital communities.¹ More recent studies also suggest that urban Muslim religiosity in Indonesia should be understood not only in relation to class formation and public piety, but also through the role of social media, Islamic consumer culture, and *hijrah*-based identity construction.² However, existing studies tend to examine these developments separately, with limited attention to their historical connections. Despite growing scholarship on *hijrah*, little attention has been given to its relationship with earlier forms of urban Islamic piety such as Urban Sufism and the *hijaber* movement.

The digital piety in Indonesia further reinforces this shift, by showing how young Muslims are increasingly constructing religious meaning through visual culture, algorithmic circulation, and emotionally engaged online communities. Studies by Eva F. Nisa,³ Martin Slama,⁴ and Mia Lövheim⁵ demonstrate that the rise of platform religiosity has enabled new forms of participation that are decentralized, gendered, and deeply intertwined with consumption. The insights are crucial for understanding why *hijrah* resonates strongly among the urban middle class, as spiritual aspirations, identity work, and digital visibility can no longer be fully accommodated by earlier forms of religious expressions. Studies indicate that digital platforms have become central in reshaping religious authority, youth piety, and *hijrah*-oriented subject formation through visibility, contestation, and online circulation.⁶

The development of the *hijrah* movement cannot be understood in isolation from the long-standing history of Islamic spirituality in Indonesia, particularly the transformation of Sufism within urban settings. From Aa Gym's massive *dzikir* gatherings to communities like the *hijaber* sisterhood and events such as HijrahFest, there is a clear continuity in how the urban Muslim middle class frames piety as part of a digitized and commodified public life.⁷ This transformation reflects a new form of popular religion, one that is no longer entirely controlled by formal religious institutions, but is increasingly shaped by public figures, digital networks, and the *halâl* lifestyle market.⁸

Urban Sufism and *hijrah* are both part of religious revitalization, but feature different patterns of piety. Urban Sufism emphasizes inner spirituality, moral development, and teacher-student relationships through *halaqah*, with charismatic authority and therapeutic nuances.⁹ In contrast, the *hijrah* movement is oriented toward digital visibility, textual symbolism, and performative expressions of piety on social media, with authority becoming more decentralized

and algorithm-amplified.¹⁰ This difference shows that *hijrah* is not a break from previous Islamic revivalism, but rather a re-actualization of piety within the framework of digital mediatization and middle-class sensibilities.

The literature on popular Islam, pious consumption, and post-Islamism suggests that contemporary religious expression can no longer be separated from the logics of media and moral capitalism.¹¹ However, much of this scholarship remains focused on symbolic visibility or political resistance. In contrast, the Indonesian context presents a unique space where religious piety coexists with symbolic capital, collective emotional, and consumption—without necessarily sacrificing its spiritual dimensions. Within this context, the concepts of material piety¹² and ritual bricolage¹³ become particularly useful in analyzing how urban Muslims reassemble religious practices within a modern configuration that is fluid, pragmatic, and yet normatively grounded.

Current studies have addressed only a few questions about how the three waves—the *hijrah* movement, the *hijaber* community, and Urban Sufism—should be understood together. Previous studies treat them as distinct phenomena, thereby failing to examine how economic logics, aesthetic practices, and spiritual values interact to reshape the religious subjectivity of the Muslim middle class. By focusing on gender-based agency and the reconfiguration of symbolic authority in the digital environment, this article addresses the differences and relationships between these three waves.

This article argues that three waves of urban Muslim piety in Indonesia—Urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement—constitute a middle-class ritual bricolage that combines Sufi values, *halâl* market logic, and digital aesthetics. This transformation reflects how piety is configured symbolically, normatively, and performatively within the framework of religious capitalism. This article used a qualitative approach based on a literature review, social media analysis, and visual documentation. This article seeks to contribute to a rereading of the continuities and changes in contemporary expressions of Muslim religiosity in Indonesia.

Based on these arguments, this article demonstrates that the three waves of urban Muslim piety in Indonesia—Urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement—reflect an ongoing reconfiguration of middle-class Islam shaped by spirituality, digital mediation, and market logics. Three interrelated research questions guide the analysis. First, how do urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement transform forms of Muslim piety among the urban middle class in Indonesia? Second, how do digital media, visual aesthetics, and market logic reshape religious authority and religious subjectivity? Third, how can the concept of ritual bricolage account for the continuity of Islamic values amid shifts in representation, authority, and the moral economy? Addressing these questions enables the article to examine continuity and change in contemporary Indonesian Muslim piety through an interpretive qualitative framework that combines literature review, digital ethnography, and visual-narrative analysis.

Method

This study uses a qualitative interpretive methodology to investigate the dynamics of piety among middle-class urban Muslims in Indonesia. Urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement are three major waves of this movement. This method is used to understand how religious meanings, identities, and moral orientations are socially constructed, represented, and negotiated within specific cultural and media contexts.¹⁴ It also allows analysis to critically examine the symbolic, representational, and socially experiential dimensions of modern religiosity within the context of digital media and moral capitalism. In this study, data was collected through visual-textual analysis of certain social media accounts, online documentaries, and television *da'wah* programs.¹⁵

Primary data sources include visual and narrative content from Instagram accounts such as @muslimah.salafy, @fiqihwanita, @Hijrahfest, and @pemudaHijrah. These accounts were purposively selected because they prominently portray forms of digital piety, symbolic authority, and *syar'ī* aesthetics that circulate among Indonesian Muslim communities. These accounts therefore serve as analytically relevant sources for observing contemporary expressions of *hijrah*-oriented religiosity.¹⁶ Additional primary materials consist of episodes from *Celebrity Hijrah* (TransTV, 2015) and *Hijrah Culture* (Narasi TV, 2020), which are treated as mediated public narratives of contemporary religiosity.¹⁷ Accordingly, the selected materials are intended to provide interpretive depth rather than generalizability,¹⁸ allowing the study to examine patterns of digital piety in contemporary urban Muslim media. Secondary sources are drawn from recent scholarly works on popular Islam, pious consumption, the Muslim middle class, and the moral economy, including those by Rachel Rinaldo, Saba Mahmood, and Greg Fealy.¹⁹

This study draws on visual ethnography and multimodal critical discourse analysis. It integrates digital visual and textual semiotic readings with analyses of discourse content, caption structures, religious quotations, and aesthetic styles.²⁰ Visual ethnography allows this study to interpret how mediated images and performances function as socially embedded forms of religious communication. Meanwhile, multimodal critical discourse analysis helps examine how visual symbols, textual narratives, and aesthetic forms articulate religious values, authority, and identity in digital spaces. This analysis focuses specifically on symbolic articulation, the decentralization of religious authority, and the reconfiguration of Islamic values within a social domain focused on aesthetics and the market.

This study focuses on visual symbols, caption structures, *syar'ī* quotations, and aesthetic styles through which the selected accounts express patterns of digital piety. It treats these elements as multimodal signs that convey religious meaning, moral values, and symbolic authority in online environments. The analysis examines how visual imagery, caption texts, and religious references interact to construct representations of piety, authority, and Muslim identity in contemporary digital culture.

Results and Discussion

Popular Religion and Pious Subjectivities

The *hijrah* phenomenon among Indonesia's urban Muslim middle class is not merely an individual transformation toward greater religiosity; it is also a complex socio-cultural expression that blends *da'wah* aesthetics, moral consumption, and the repositioning of religious authority within the logics of capitalism and digital mediation. It shows that such pious subjectivities are increasingly shaped by platform dynamics, mediated authority, and networked publics, rather than institutional transmission alone.²¹ In this sense, the *hijrah* phenomenon can be read as a platform-mediated configuration of popular religiosity, where symbolic legitimacy is produced through circulation, resonance, and repetition across digital spaces.²² To critically engage with this phenomenon, the article employs a conceptual framework that integrates three approaches: popular religion, ritual bricolage, and pious consumption.

First, the *hijrah* movement and the *hijaber* community represent contemporary forms of popular religion, namely religious expressions that are non-institutional, digitized, and grounded in socially resonant and identity-based narratives. As Knoblauch has argued, popular religion extends into public space through performativity, not merely through traditional ritual.²³ In Indonesia, *da'wah* is now primarily disseminated through social media platforms such as Instagram and YouTube, as well as *da'wah* festivals like HijrahFest, which feature celebrities as spiritual role models and promote piety as a lifestyle.²⁴ This development points to the reconfiguration of religious authority in digital environments, where legitimacy emerges through mediated presence, emotionally resonant storytelling, and community recognition rather than through formal credentials alone. Their success in building communities indicates that religious authority has become relational and symbolic, rather than solely institutional.

Second, the transformation from Urban Sufism to *hijrah* reflects the practice of ritual bricolage,²⁵ in which traditional elements—such as *dzikir*, the Prophet's *hijrah*, ulama's advice, and a simple lifestyle are reassembled into forms that align with social media dynamics, middle-class values, and visual culture. This suggests that piety does not disappear, but rather undergoes negotiation in form and meaning in order to remain relevant amid the pressures of urban modernity. The phenomenon also demonstrates that spirituality does not always move toward secularization; instead, it can become increasingly public and visual, as seen in studies of young Muslim women and the global *halâl* industry.²⁶ In this context, contemporary piety also becomes entangled with questions of taste, distinction, and ethical self-fashioning. This supports the argument that bricolage is not a symptom of religious decline but a mechanism of adaptive continuity under conditions of mediatization and moral capitalism.²⁷

Third, this phenomenon is deeply intertwined with the practice of pious consumption, which refers forms of piety that is mediated and interpreted through

consumer choices, ranging from *halâl* cosmetics and *syar'i* fashion to exclusive religious study groups held in hotels. Rachel Rinaldo has shown that middle-class Muslim women in Indonesia often use value-based consumption as a means of expressing identity, asserting social status, and signalling religious commitment.²⁸ In this context, *hijrah* cannot be separated from market logics and spiritual capitalism, which together produce a new form of religion-based moral economy.

Although the literature on popular Islam has made significant contributions to understanding transformations of piety in the digital age, much of it continues to emphasize dimensions of visibility, personal symbolization, and emotionally expressive performance. This approach often centers on public figures and visual expression as prerequisites for agency, overlooking religious expressions that are anti-figurative, anonymous, and norm-driven. This article extends existing discussions by drawing attention to forms of religious agency that do not always depend on visibility, personalization, or celebrity presence. Hence, the article's contribution lies not only in offering a periodization of urban Muslim piety, but also in repositioning the epistemological understanding of female religious agency in the mediative age. To analyze the presentation of piety across these three waves, this discussion draws on literature review, digital ethnography, and visual-narrative analysis of selected digital materials.

Building on this framework, the transformation of middle-class Muslim piety in Indonesia can be understood through three overlapping phases. The first is the rise of Urban Sufism in early 2000s, which brought Islamic spirituality into social life of the urban middle class. The second is emergence of the *hijaber* community, where piety was increasingly expressed through aesthetics, fashion, and lifestyle practices. The third is the rise of *hijrah* movement, marked by greater public visibility of religiosity, platform-mediated *da'wah*, and the growing connection between religious identity and moral economy.

Urban Sufism and the Middle-Class Turn to Piety

The first phases in this transformation can be seen in the rise of Urban Sufism in Indonesia since the early 2000s has marked a new form of piety flourishing in urban spaces, particularly among the Muslim middle class, which is experiencing social mobility, educational expansion, and cultural transformation. This phenomenon did not originate from traditional *tharîqah* orders but evolved from study groups (*pengajian*), thematic *halaqah*, and popular religious figures which responded to the spiritual needs of modern, connected, and globally exposed urban communities.²⁹ Studies of urban religiosity emphasize that Urban Sufism should be understood as a middle-class adaptation of Islamic spirituality rather than a marginal or transitional phenomenon. In rapidly urbanizing societies, Sufi-oriented ethics are frequently reformulated to address anxieties related to mobility, productivity, and moral self-discipline, making them particularly resonant among urban Muslims.

Unlike classical Sufism, which is esoteric and based on spiritual lineages (*bay'a*, *mursyid*, *dzikr khafî*), Urban Sufism is characterized by openness, inclusivity, and an emphasis on

practical piety that can be translated into the public social sphere.³⁰ In the Indonesian context, this concept was popularized by figures such as Aa Gym, Ustadz Jeffry al-Buchori, and the Paramadina community founded by Nurcholish Madjid.³¹ They promoted a form of spiritual guidance that was accessible, communicative, and media-friendly, tailored to the lifestyle of urban society. This form of authority reflects a mediated charisma, where religious credibility is produced through communicative skill, emotional resonance, and media circulation rather than formal Sufi lineage or institutional endorsement.³²

This transformation intersects closely with the process of santrization of the middle class,³³ a term widely used in Indonesia of Islamic norms, practices, and identities into the lifestyle of professional and educated Muslims. The concept captures a broader shift in which urban middle-class Muslims increasingly adopt forms of piety historically associated with *santri* communities. The emergence of religious study groups in exclusive venues—from five-star hotels to shopping malls—indicates that spirituality has become part of symbolic language and status markers of the middle class. Greg Fealy refers to this as aspirational piety, wherein religious devotion becomes a means for the Muslim middle class to assert moral authority and social credibility.³⁴

In this regard, Urban Sufism functions as a meeting point between spiritual needs and symbolic capital. Many public figures and Muslim professionals utilize *pengajian* forums, mass *Dzikir Akbar* events, and Islamic motivational seminars to align religious values with the demands of modern productivity.³⁵ *Dzikir* and Islamic study are no longer practiced in secluded circles, but are packaged into mass gatherings, broadcast on television, and capitalized through Islamic lifestyle products—ranging from motivational books and spiritual seminars to exclusive *umrah* travel packages. This development reflects how spirituality in urban contexts increasingly operates within broader social and cultural networks rather than remaining confined to private devotional space.

Moreover, the rise of Islamic soft power through friendly communication styles and visual media aesthetics has reinforced Urban Sufism as a lifestyle rather than merely a *marîqa* movement. Lim's study shows that many urban Muslims now turn to digital sermons and YouTube *ustâdz* as their primary sources of religious reference more so than traditional religious organizations.³⁶ This trend illustrates how religious authority is being restructured through digitalization and personal branding, while also reinforcing a logic of religious individualism packaged within a collective framework.

Urban Sufism has also paved the way for more fluid and adaptive forms of piety that engage with popular culture such as Islamic fashion, religious tourism, and professional Muslim communities, which serve as a bridge to the second wave: the rise of the *hijaber* community. Here, the shift from spiritual interiority to religious symbols and aesthetics becomes increasingly visible, simultaneously opening the space for market dynamics to shape contemporary Muslim expressions of piety.

Thus, Urban Sufism not only paved the way for more visually oriented and identity-based *hijrah* practices, but also marked a transformation in the meaning of piety—from one that is Sufi-based and esoteric to one that is expressive, public, and intertwined with the moral economy and social performativity. This wave laid the cultural and symbolic groundwork for the emergence of digital religiosity and *hijrah* branding in the subsequent era. Continuing this trend, Urban Sufism provided the ethical vocabulary, emotionally resonant style, and middle-class orientation that later enabled more visually expressive and consumptive-oriented forms of piety. While its emphasis remained on inward spirituality and moral self-discipline, the mediatization and commodification of Urban Sufism laid the cultural groundwork for *hijaber* community, where piety would increasingly be articulated through aesthetics, fashion, and digital self-presentation.

***Hijaber* Community and the Aestheticization of Piety**

The second stage in the development of urban Muslim piety in Indonesia is marked by the emergence of the *hijaber* community, a wave of young Muslim women who express their religious identity through *syar'ī* fashion, Islamic lifestyle, and digital performativity. Unlike Urban Sufism, which is rooted in Sufi spirituality and *halaqah*-based communities, the *hijaber* phenomenon is grounded in visual aesthetics, shared emotional identification, and public symbolization of religious commitment. This shift reflects a movement away from esoteric piety toward a form of religiosity that is performable, consumable, and closely linked to branding, identity, and digital social capital.³⁷ Studies of Islamic fashion show that modest dress in urban Muslim contexts functions as a visual language through which ethical commitment, social belonging, and class distinction are communicated.³⁸ Within digital environments, fashion becomes a key medium for translating piety into publicly recognizable symbols that circulate across platform communities.³⁹

Emerging in the early 2010s, the *hijaber* movement combined Islamic dress codes with global fashion trends, primarily through social media platforms like Instagram. *Hijrah* celebrities and fashion bloggers such as Dian Pelangi became central figures in representing the urban Muslimah lifestyle modern, *syar'ī*, and expressive. They did not merely offer Islamic visuality; they also produced identity discourses about Muslim women as active, professional, and economically empowered individuals. This demonstrates how religiosity has become part of the identity marketplace, where appearance serves not only as an expression of faith, but also as a medium for displaying class, choice, and moral taste.⁴⁰

The expansion of communities such as *Hijabers* Community (HC) and *Hijabers* Mom Community (HMC) shows that Muslim women's fashion is no longer merely a matter of *fiqh* interpretation, but has become a collective expression of cultural piety embedded in media consumption, public participation, and *halâl* economic logic. In one of her statements, Dian Pelangi once wrote: "*Hijab* is not just an obligation, but also an identity. We can be *syar'ī* and stylish without losing who we are".⁴¹ This statement reflects how religious norms are being reconciled with aesthetics and self-expression.

Furthermore, the growth of the *halâl* market in the fashion and cosmetics sectors has become a major driving force behind this wave. Brands such as Wardah, which declared itself a *halâl* cosmetic brand as early as 1995, have become emblematic of the successful fusion between religious ethics and modern branding logic. Wardah does not merely market its products as *halâl*; it specifically targets urban young Muslimah through beauty campaigns infused with spiritual values and *syar'î* representations. This success is reflected in its domestic market dominance, capturing 35% of Indonesia's cosmetics market by 2022, positioning Wardah as a pioneer of faith-driven branding in Southeast Asia.⁴² This value-based consumption illustrates the phenomenon of pious consumption,⁴³ where products are chosen not only for their function but also for the spiritual meanings associated with them.

However, the visually expressed piety associated with this phenomenon is not without controversy. Some critics view the *hijaber* trend as a commodification of religion, wherein piety is reduced to appearances shaped by social media algorithms, branding strategies, and moral capitalism.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, such critiques often fail to recognize that Muslim women in this context are not passive recipients. On the contrary, they actively use digital spaces to negotiate religious meanings, reconstruct identities, and access the public sphere in ways previously restricted under classical patriarchal frameworks. Within this perspective, *hijrah* expression through fashion is a form of culturally contextual agency—not merely a fleeting trend.⁴⁵

Interestingly, the *hijaber* trend has also given rise to lifestyle-affiliated communities such as the Tunnece Lover Community—a fashion-oriented group that not only sells products but also fosters social and moral solidarity among urban Muslim women. Here, we can see that performing piety through consumption does not signal passivity, but rather represents a collective, digital, and economic agency. As shown in the research of Pramiyanti & Baulch,⁴⁶ the visual narratives constructed by *hijaber* communities demonstrate efforts to bridge the tension between *syar'î* norms, middle-class expression, and digital aesthetic demands.

Thus, the second wave in the transformation of urban Muslim religiosity in Indonesia represents a significant shift – from inwardly oriented spirituality to a form of piety that is visually performed, socially curated, and embedded within the networks of the *halâl* economy. In this context, faith is not only internalized but also displayed, consumed, and articulated as part of the moral language of the contemporary Muslim middle class. This wave also creates the condition for the emergence of broader *hijrah* narratives in the subsequent phase, where piety becomes increasingly linked to social positioning, digital representation, and symbolic religious authority.

The Rise of the *Hijrah* Movement: Piety, Publicity, and Moral Economy

The emergence of the “*hijrah*” community and identity as the third wave in the transformation of urban Muslim religiosity in Indonesia represents a collective articulation of digital piety driven by emotionally resonant logics and symbolic capital, rather than formal religious institutions. Unlike the *hijaber* phase, which focused on individual visual expression and aesthetically driven *syar‘i* lifestyles, the *hijrah* movement presents itself as an emotionally connected community, a network formed through visual *da‘wah*, collective emotion, and digitally curated symbols of piety. The participation of public figures and Muslim celebrities serves as a primary resource for establishing symbolic authority, which does not derive from formal positions of religious scholarship, but from moral credibility and relatable narratives of personal transformation.⁴⁷

This movement began gaining momentum in the mid-2010s, when public figures such as Teuku Wisnu, Arie Untung, and Dude Harlino began sharing stories of personal spiritual change. The celebrity figures serve as moral exemplars, whose credibility stems from public narratives of personal transformation rather than formal religious training. Their authority is sustained through relatability, emotional testimony, and repeated circulation of personal *hijrah* stories across media platforms. One of the most visible moments of this movement was the 2018 HijrahFest in Jakarta, a visual *da‘wah* festival that combined spirituality, *halâl* lifestyle, Islamic entrepreneurship, and middle-class aesthetics into a single symbolic space. The framework of religious branding⁴⁸ shaped HijrahFest into professionally packaged and visually driven *da‘wah* ecosystem, demonstrating how Islamic values can be disseminated through the logics of market and culture.

Narratives constructed through social media reinforce the cohesion of the *hijrah* community as a digital entity. The Instagram account @hijrahfest account, for example, posted: “*Hijrah* is not just a trend, but a way home.” This statement illustrates an emotional framing of *da‘wah*, presenting religious change as a personal and existential journey rather than solely as doctrinal instruction.⁴⁹ Such representations rely less on theological argument or clerical authority and more on emotional resonance and identity narrative that speak to the spiritual aspirations of urban Muslim youth.

Women also play a central role in the *hijrah* movement, they not as passive followers but active producers of symbolic and visual narratives. Events such as Women’s Festive, initiated by Fenita Arie, highlight a form of gendered symbolic authority that repositions women as agents of visual *da‘wah* who combine self-expression, *syar‘i* values, and aesthetic performative. In an interview with Narasi TV, Fenita stated, “Fashion is my path of *da‘wah*.” This statement is not only reflected a personal conviction but also illustrates how visual piety can become socially and spiritually legitimate.⁵⁰ Recent feminist studies of digital Islam show that women’s symbolic authority often emerges through the curation of moral aesthetics, and narratives framing rather than through formal institutional roles.

Community accounts such as @pemudahijrah and @sahabatsurga.id reinforce this form of representation through a *da'wah* aesthetic that does not rely on prominent personalities but instead draws from textual authority. Inspirational quotes, calligraphy, and minimalist visual designs are used to communicate religious messages in ways that are emotionally engaging and visually consistent. In this context, *da'wah* is communicated not only through speeches or sermons but also through texts and symbols that shape how audiences interpret and experience religious meaning.⁵¹ Structurally, many of these communities also emphasize the of *wasatiyyah*,⁵² a moderate approach to *da'wah* that seeks to avoid both extremism and liberalism. Platforms such as @sahabatsurga.id use *hijrah* narrative to reach urban youth searching of spiritual stability, identity, and a sense of belonging within an increasingly fragmented moral landscape.

From the perspective of moral economy, *hijrah* communities have also created financially productive *da'wah* ecosystems. They organize Islamic business seminars, collaborate with Muslim marketplaces, and promote *halâl* products as part of a religious lifestyle. According to 2023 report DinarStandard, the contribution of religious communities to Indonesia's sharia economy has grown significantly in recent years, with *hijrah*-oriented communities emerging as one of important drivers.⁵³

Thus, *hijrah* is not merely an individual spiritual journey but also a broader social process that negotiates the boundaries between religious authority, consumption, and collective identity. The movement represents a new configuration of digital religious community – symbolic, networked, and economically embedded – where transcendental values intersect with market dynamic and media visibility. In relation to research question, the *hijrah* movement can therefore be understood as the consolidation of digital, emotional, and market-mediated forms of urban Muslim piety. These are producing a distinctly networked religious subjectivity that both extends and transforms earlier expression of middle-class religiosity.

Continuity and Change: Ritual Bricolage and the Islamic Middle Class

The phenomenon of religiosity among Indonesia's urban Muslim middle-class over the past two decades cannot be reduced to mere trends or spiritual fashion. What we have witnessed through the three waves of transformation—Urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement—is a manifestation of what Danièle Hervieu-Léger describes as ritual bricolage: the reassembling of elements from religious tradition into forms that better align with contemporary sociocultural conditions.⁵⁴ Within these transformations lies a continuity of values, religious spirit, and aspirations alongside significant shifts in format, media, and modes of representation. This section connects the narratives of the three previous waves to a theoretical framework explaining how piety and Islamic identity are flexibly constructed by the urban Muslim middle class through symbolic practice, moral consumption, and representational aesthetics.

In the context of Urban Sufism, we observe the continuation of Sufi values such as *dzikir*, inner introspection, and *tazkiyatun nafs*, though these are repackaged into professional religious gatherings, spiritual retreats, and motivational seminars held in luxury hotels. This phenomenon demonstrates that the content of spiritual values is maintained, while the media context is transposed into public and middle-class social spaces.⁵⁵ This transformation does not stem from decadence but from the need to make spirituality compatible with the logic of modernity.

In the second wave, the *hijaber* community did not abandon *syar'i* principles but reframed them within visual language and consumer culture—turning Islamic fashion into a medium for expressing piety and a symbol of empowerment.⁵⁶ The visuality of the *hijabers* is not a rejection of religious norms; rather, it reaffirms Islamic values through more publicly communicative forms. In this context, modest fashion becomes an aesthetic articulation of spiritual commitments.

Meanwhile, the *hijrah* wave has expanded expressions of piety into collective movements and digital communities. Various *hijrah* groups from HijrahFest to Pemuda Hijrah serve as arenas where piety is not only a personal commitment but also a shared project to cultivate a religious society amid capitalism, media saturation, and the diversity of urban Muslim identities. Elements such as *niyyah* (intention), *tazkiyah* (self-purification), and the spirit of *da'wah* are not abandoned, rather, they are reoriented into new forms in which celebrities, entrepreneurs, and *halâl* brands signal the growing intersection between symbolic and economic logics into contemporary religiosity.⁵⁷

This process is closely intertwined with class dynamics. The Muslim middle class possesses the cultural capital necessary to navigate the complexities of modernist. They leverage higher education, social mobility, and digital literacy to access, shape, and disseminate religious values.⁵⁸ They also play a role in redefining religious authority—not solely as domain of mass organizations or senior *ulama*, but as a shared space involving inspirational figures, Instagram preachers, and value-based communities. This process gives rise to what is called decentralization symbolic authority, a condition in which religious meanings are negotiated within interactive spaces that combine values, aesthetics, and consumption.⁵⁹

The process of continuity and change in piety is far from neutral, it is saturated with agency, emotional dynamics, and social calculation. Contemporary piety among the Muslim middle-class not only reflects the persistence of Islamic values but also demonstrates the capacity to productively adapt their form without abandoning normative substance. In this sense, piety becomes a means of navigating modern life, reinforcing moral identity, and articulating religious commitment within a social environment shaped by symbolic capital.⁶⁰

Taken together, contemporary narratives of religiosity in Indonesia cannot be understood through a binary lens of old versus new. Rather, they form a mosaic of transposed values in which piety remains central yet is communicated through media and styles that resonate with the spirit of the time. This transformation demonstrates that Islam as a tradition

is not static but capable of adaptation and creative reinterpretation, particularly among the urban Muslim middle-class positioned at the center of Indonesia’s socio-cultural transformation.

To synthesize the analytical discussion above, the table presents a comparative overview of the shifting points from Urban Sufism to the *hijrah* movement, highlighting both the dimension of continuity and the mechanisms through which piety has been reconfigured across these waves within Indonesia’s urban Muslim middle class. These three waves should be understood not as a sequential stage, but as overlapping and coexisting formations that continue to interact within the religious landscape.

Table of Key Shifts from Urban Sufism to the *Hijrah* Movement

Analytical Dimension	Urban Sufism	<i>Hijaber</i> Community	<i>Hijrah</i> Movement	Mode of Shift
Orientation of Piety	Inward spirituality, moral self-discipline	Visual self-expression through modest fashion	Collective moral transformation and <i>da'wah</i> identity	From inward cultivation to mediated ethical performance
Religious Authority	Charismatic spiritual mentor	Influencer-based symbolic authority	Decentralized, emotionally resonant, and textual authority	From personal charisma to networked symbolic authority
Media and Aesthetics	<i>Halaqah</i> , mass <i>dzikir</i> , television <i>da'wah</i>	Instagram-based fashion and lifestyle aesthetic	Digital platforms, <i>da'wah</i> festival, minimalist visuals	Mediatization and aesthetic simplification of piety
Gender Agency	Women as participants in spiritual communities	Women as visible agents of visual piety	Women as producers of symbolic and visual <i>da'wah</i>	Reconfiguration of female agency and authority
Market Logic	Limited commodification	Integration with halal fashion and cosmetics	Full incorporation into the halal economy and entrepreneurship	Expansion of piety into the moral economy
Continuity Mechanism	Preservation of Sufi ethics	Re-articulation through aesthetic	Reassembly of ethics, texts, and <i>da'wah</i>	Ritual bricolage rather than rupture

The table above illustrates the shift from Urban Sufism to the *hijrah* movement. In addition to changes in religious styles, there has also been a restructuring of how Indonesia’s urban Muslim middle class expresses, conveys, and justifies their piety. While the values of piety remain the same, the way they are displayed has undergone

significant changes. Urban Sufism places greater emphasis on personal spiritual practice; the *hijab* community displays piety through dress and lifestyle, while the *hijrah* movement brings piety into the realm of collective moral movement and digital media.

The table also demonstrates a shift in religious authority from charismatic spiritual figures to decentralized forms of symbolic authority rooted in visibility, emotional resonance, and media reach. At the same time, fashion, branding, and *halâl* entrepreneurship increasingly drawing piety into market-oriented practices. This interconnectedness suggests that religious expression among the urban Muslim middle-class takes place not only in ritual and moral spaces, but also through consumption practices, lifestyles formation, and the *halâl* economy. These transformations expand women's participation in public religious life through visibility and community-based organizations, while also introducing new moral expectations, aesthetic pressures, and class-based distinctions. Therefore, the continuity between the three waves of urban Muslim devotional expressions—Urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement—is not static; rather it is a process of reshaping Islamic values that are continually being selected, negotiated, and debated amidst changes in the economy, media, and urban life.

In this article, ritual bricolage is analytically distinguished from concepts such as hybridity or religious commodification. While hybridity often emphasizes cultural mixing and commodification foregrounds market absorption, ritual bricolage highlights the reassembly of normative religious element—texts, ethics and practices—into the new configuration without presupposing a loss of moral authority or spiritual intentionality.

Conclusion

This article asserts that the *hijrah* phenomenon within Indonesia's urban Muslim society is not a sudden or isolated occurrence, but rather a continuation of a long-standing transformation of religiosity—one that has been re-mediated through digital platforms, market logic, and middle-class dynamics. By tracing three key waves; Urban Sufism, the *hijaber* community, and the *hijrah* movement, this study demonstrates that piety is not a static entity, but a continually negotiated expression of values shaped by the contexts of modernity and moral capitalism.

The primary contribution of this article lies in highlighting how the process of ritual bricolage actively operates within Indonesia's urban Muslim milieu. Through this lens, it becomes clear that Sufi values, *syar'i* norms, and the spirit of *da'wah* have not disappeared; instead, they have been reassembled into formats that are more communicative, aesthetic, and adaptive to new social structures. In this sense, continuity and change are not dichotomous but coexistential dynamics that reflect both spiritual depth and openness to contemporary modes of representation.

The theoretical implications of these findings enrich our understanding of popular religion, pious consumption, and symbolic authority in contemporary Islam. This article

shows that religious authority is no longer centralized within formal institutions, but is distributed across celebrity figures, digital communities, and *halâl* ecosystems that combine affect, performance, and symbolic capital. More specifically, this study demonstrates that mediated visibility, emotionally resonant engagement, and symbolic performance increasingly shape religious authority, alongside sometimes beyond formal institution. It also indicates an epistemological shift in how truth, piety, and Islamic identity are constructed in a digitized public sphere. This study does not claim to represent Indonesian Muslim society as a whole, but offers an analytical account of urban middle-class religiosity as a situated case through which broader dynamics of digital piety and moral economy can be examined.

At the same time, digital piety carries important social consequences: it expands women's participation and fosters new form of moral community, while also generating aesthetic expectations, new modes of self-regulation, and class-coded distinctions in Muslim public life. Furthermore, this study shows that the transformations of Indonesian Muslim piety involves not only shifts in religious expression, but also changing configurations of religious power. As Islamic values circulate through digital media, consumer culture, and middle-class lifestyles, Muslim communities continuously negotiated authority, legitimacy, and belonging within a mediatized and marketized Islamic public sphere. Understanding these dynamics is therefore essential for explaining how contemporary Muslim societies maintain spiritual continuity amid the changing infrastructures of modern social life.

Future research might focus on intra-community dynamics, gender relations, and the political implications of increasingly globalized digital piety. Moreover, it is crucial to explore how working-class Muslims or non-urban communities respond to and produce alternative forms of religiosity beyond the dominant middle-class framework. In an ever-evolving Islamic landscape, such studies are essential for balancing the discourse between spirituality, mediation, and structures of power in contemporary Muslim societies.

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