

# HIJRAH AND RECTIFICATION OF MUSLIM IDENTITY: The Case of Campus Da'wah Activists in Pontianak City

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**Abstract:** From its inception, hijrah in Islamic tradition referred to the Prophet Muhammad's geographical migration from a perilous environment to a place of peace. Over time, however, hijrah has evolved to encompass broader notions of transformation, including shifts in lifestyle, adoption of Islamic attire, and changes in social relationships. These developments illustrate that hijrah is a fluid and multifaceted concept. It explores how these activists experience and manage hijrah in terms of acceptance and supervision. Key questions addressed include: How do campus da'wah activists construct and sustain their identity through hijrah in the context of modernity? What role does the state play in shaping religious life? The article argues that hijrah represents not only a journey of self-improvement but also a subtle form of resistance to state influence in regulating religious practices, particularly as communities navigate the negative aspects of modernity. The interplay between hijrah, the state, and modernity is characterized by selective engagement, prioritizing lifestyle changes over ideological shifts. Using Peter L. Berger's social construction framework—encompassing externalization, objectification, and internalization—the article concludes that the spirit of hijrah within this framework significantly shapes perspectives on the state's role in religious affairs.

**Keywords:** Hijrah; identity, state role, Islamic thought, modernity.

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## Introduction

This article outlines how human beings who have migrated carry out the rectification and maintenance of identity as Muslims in the context of the modernity challenges.<sup>1</sup> The topic is focus to the response to the connection between religion and the state in the piety discourse in the public space. This article focuses on understanding the phenomenon of *hijrah* (Islamic migration) take place among campus da'wah activists in terms of its influence and interpretation. The discourse of *hijrah*, on the one hand, becomes a means of defense, but on the other hand, it becomes a new perspective on modernity, especially the role of the state.<sup>2</sup>

Referring to the research results carried out by Center for Islamic Studies and Societies-*Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat* (PPIM) UIN Jakarta in collaboration with Convey Indonesia in 2020 with the title "Religious Trends of Contemporary Hijrah Movement-*Tren Keberagaman Gerakan Hijrah Kontemporer*," established four typologies of contemporary *hijrah* movements, namely; (1) Pure *Salafi*. (2) Accommodating *Salafi*.<sup>3</sup> (3) Non-*Salafi* conservatives. (4) Islamist.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, there are various responses to contemporary issues such as gender, tolerance, and nationality issues, all of these *hijrah* groups grew up in the spirit of the framework of religious conservatism. The unity of their mission is also to endeavor to be a better individual or person.

The concern finding of this research explains that *hijrah* is part of an intensification of religious conversions towards belief, which then turns from individual experience or practice to a communal movement. Furthermore, the shift is developing among the urban middle class, especially among the younger generatio.<sup>5</sup> However, the results of this study do not further explain the implications of the typology division.

*Hijrah*<sup>6</sup> has initially been a geographical movement, from unsafe to safer. It comes from Arabic, which means excursion (journey) or movement between regions (migration). The early history of *hijrah* occurred during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, who traveled to migrate from Mecca to Medina. *Hijrah* is also a reference for determining the Islamic calendar system that follows the circulation of the moon. It is increasingly used in expressions involving the yearning to shift from one state to another.

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<sup>1</sup>Muhammad Khalid Mas'ud, Armando Salvatore, and Martin Van Bruinessen, *Islam and Modernity: Key Issues and Debates* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2009),4.

<sup>2</sup> Sinisa Malesevic, *Identity as Ideology: Understanding Ethnicity and Nationalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 83-84.

<sup>3</sup> The term accommodating Salafi stands for a Salafi community that shows a willing attitude towards modern values.

<sup>4</sup>This research was carried out in Bandung and Jakarta by taking five examples of hijrah movement groups; namely, Pemuda Hijrah Shift (Bandung), Kajian Musawarah (Jakarta), Yuk Ngaji (Jakarta), The Stranger al-Ghuroba (Jakarta), and Terang Jakarta (Jakarta) Kamaruddin Amin, "Launching Penelitian PPIM - Tren Keberagaman Gerakan Hijrah Kontemporer," 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X-TBG9Rlk4Q..>

Changes in identity that totality marks the spirit of *hijrah* as the theological basis for changing into a better person.

On the other hand, modernity's influence has made *hijrah* as a new trend of religiosity that has influenced social styles and patterns, specifically young urban Muslims millennials<sup>7</sup> and students at university.<sup>8</sup> In urban millennials, the influence of *hijrah* tends to be open. Not infrequently, celebrities or artists are often the main attractiveness and patron.<sup>9</sup> For instance, senior artists are Gito Rollies and Harry Moekti. At the same time, the younger generation includes Peggy Melati Sukma, Teuku Wisnu, Irwansyah, Sakti Ari Senoguitarist for Sheila on 7, to Derry Sulaiman-former guitarist for Betrayer, and countless others. Even though the former artists are not prototypes to describe the extent of the influence and implications of *hijrah*, slightly they have highlighted that the *hijrah* behavior and the artist's lifestyle are not in accordance.<sup>10</sup>

Nowadays, the word of *hijrah* has become a new term, engaging, and seeks to adapt to the current situation. This fact is made easier because of the support of social media that is able to reach a wider influence and has become an alternative for spreading *hijrah* messages.<sup>11</sup> *Hijrah*, in the end, is no longer just a history product of the early centuries of Islam, but it has become a unique trend and lifestyle today.<sup>12</sup> The meaning of *hijrah* has shifted from its original communal and geographical purpose to an individual

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<sup>5</sup>Imam Mustofa et al., "Hijrah and Changing Religious Preferences in Contemporary Islamic Legal Practice," *Ijtihad/ : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 23, no. 1 (July 12, 2023): 116–17, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v23i1.115-138>.

<sup>6</sup>*Hijrah* means migration or withdrawal, which refers to the migration of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD. *Hijrah* in the modern era is also used to fight against colonialism to the consolidation of authority.

<sup>7</sup>Hamzah Fansuri, "On the Road of Hijrah: Contesting Identity through Urban Mobilities in Contemporary Indonesian Muslims," *Archipel*, no. 105 (July 15, 2023): 115–16, <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.3485>.

<sup>8</sup>Hasse Jubba et al., "The Hijrah Phenomenon in Tertiary Education in Indonesian: A Multidimensional Analysis of Moderate Religious Values," *Al-Ulum* 21, no. 1 (June 25, 2021): 28–29, <https://doi.org/10.30603/au.v21i1.2173>.

<sup>9</sup>Ulvah Nur'aeni and Arfian Hikmat Ramdan, "Ideological Contestation on Youtube Between Salafi and Nahdhatul 'Ulama in Indonesia," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies* 7, no. 1 (June 30, 2023): 29, <https://doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v7i1.15244>.

<sup>10</sup>M. Nafi et al., "The Hijrah Trend Among Indonesian Celebrities in the Perspective of Psychology of Religion," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Colloquium on Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies, ICIS 2020, 20-21 October 2020, Jakarta, Indonesia* (Proceedings of the 3rd International Colloquium on Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies, ICIS 2020, 20-21 October 2020, Jakarta, Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia: EAI, 2021), 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.20-10-2020.2305176>.

<sup>11</sup>The current condition, *hijrah*, refers to a form of resistance to the politics of secularism, capitalism, socialism, and modernization or westernization "Oxford Islamic Studies," accessed December 22, 2021, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e841..>

<sup>12</sup>Gonul Pultar, *Imagined Identities: Identity Formation in the Age Globalization* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 300-304.

effort to become more devout (good) than the previous condition, which includes lifestyle, dress, and social association.<sup>13</sup>

Some Muslim groups have interpreted *hijrah* to adapt it to their daily lifestyle and interactions in social life.<sup>14</sup> For instance, Sufi groups interpret *hijrah* as a spiritual journey to return to the owner as well as free themselves from material dependence while living a worldly life. This process of liberating oneself is considered as a path for self-purification to gain love from God. Others have made *hijrah* an ethical foundation for *jihad* to fight against colonialism and colonialism. In the end, the various meanings of *hijrah* have been able to form a new identity as a symbol of resistance to unfavorable social situations.<sup>15</sup> Even a *hijrah* is a form of resistance to social conditions full of corruption, collusion, and nepotism. In short, it includes the process of mental transformation, self-improvement, and social system reform.<sup>16</sup>

The importance of the influence of *hijrah* is also reflected in attire or dress.<sup>17</sup> Nowadays, many types of men and women Muslim outfit religious label as the clothing brand, such as *syar'i* (following sharia) clothing.<sup>18</sup> The indicator of this brand is a large shape that extends down to cover the ankles for Muslim women, while long pants are above the ankles for Muslim men, called *cingkrang* pants. Therefore, *hijrah* basically also includes the application of religious values in attire or dress as well as a symbol of resistance to modernity.

Furthermore, the term *hijrah* also affects the social lifestyle. It emerged as the principle that regulates social life to become more Islamic.<sup>19</sup> For instance, avoid dating. Dating is a

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<sup>13</sup>Rahmad Hidayat, Muhammad Sholihin, and Deri Wanto, 'The Hijrah Communities and Religious Superficiality: Ideology and Religiosity of the Islamic Hijrah Communities on Social Media', *Journal of Population and Social Studies (JPSS)* 29 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.25133/JPSSv292021.008>, 108-138.

<sup>14</sup>Muhammad Ridha Basri, "Gejala Hijrah di Indonesia: Transformasi dari Islamisme Fundamentalisme Menuju Islamisme Populer," *MAARIF* 17, no. 2 (January 24, 2023): 32–33, <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v17i2.193>.

<sup>15</sup>Wahyudi Akmaliah, 'The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement', in *The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2020), 141-142.

<sup>16</sup> Syah Wardi and Mohd. Yusri bin Jusoh, "Mandailing Ulama in Modern Malaysia: The Intellectual Network and Works of Shaykh 'Abd Al-Qâdir Al-Mandîlî," *Nahrasiyah: Journal of Aceh and Malay Archipelago Heritage* 1, no. 1 (2023): 84–105, <https://doi.org/10.47766/nahrasiyah.v1i1.1906>; Mhd. Syahnan, Muhammad Iqbal, and Ja'far Ja'far, "Al Washliyah Fatwa Council's Response to Contemporary Islamic Issues," *Journal of Indonesian Ulama* 01, no. 01 (2023): 1–19.

<sup>17</sup>Fansuri, "On the Road of Hijrah," 119.

<sup>18</sup>Maghfur Ahmad, Siti Mumun Muniroh, and Shinta Nurani, "Niqab, Protest Movement, and the Salafization of Indonesian Islam," *QJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 9, no. 2 (December 31, 2021): 424–26, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qjijis.v9i2.8195>.

<sup>19</sup>Syamsul Rijal, "Pursuing Hijrah to Salafi Path: Urban Muslim Youth and the Quest for Self-Transformation in Indonesia," *Contemporary Islam*, August 10, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-024-00564-x>.

symbol of un-Islamic social life. Even one of the principles of *hijrah* is to do not open up to individual relationships in the name of courtship. Because, for supporters of *hijrah*, courtship is the first way to adultery. The most recommended way is to speed up the marriage or get married at a young age.<sup>20</sup> This response then formed various groups such as the “Indonesia Without Dating-Indonesia *Tanpa Pacaran* (ITP)” or “Singles To Halal-Jomblo *Sampai Halal* (JSH)” Movement.

From the three manifestations of the *hijrah* -lifestyle, dress, and association - have shown that today’s young generation is quite creative and adapts by using religious terms that seem rigid and traditional to become more existential and contemporary. *Hijrah*’s proponents are more accessible and responsible in expressing their religious behavior. *Hijrah* is not just religious rhetoric but becomes the basis of axiology to create a more Islamic life and considers modernity’s influence.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, it is an expression of adjustment through reforming a new identity as a response to modernity.

The meaning context of *hijrah* in the Qur’an and Hadith contains physical movement and mental change. While on the other hand, *hijrah* also gets a broader definition. Watt, for example, emphasized that although linguistically *hijrah* means running, this understanding is not entirely correct.<sup>22</sup> Watt strengthens his argument by concluding that *hijrah* denotes the occurrence of “the separation of the person from his or her family and clan,” not merely a “geographical displacement”. Watt’s explanation wants to show that *hijrah* also has a sociological and psychological impact. Sociologically, it affects the uprooting of a person from his family, group, and ethnicity.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, in the tribal structure in the Arab area at that time, it was very exalting and maintaining the kinship system based on ethnicity (*Ashabiyyah*). While psychologically, people who emigrate must be separated from their nuclear families. These two experiences of separation indicate that *hijrah* has the potential to form a new identity, as happened to Muslim immigrants in European countries. However, Watt’s interpretation, of course, offers more than just a linguistic meaning of *hijrah*. It is undeniable that this interpretation has neglected the study of *hijrah*, which includes various historical realities and the doctrine that drives it.

Among campus da’wah activists, *hijrah* is pretty popular and becomes a means of forming self-identity and social philanthropy movements. For instance, *hijrah* becomes a

<sup>20</sup>Rahman Rahman et al., “Nikah Muda: The Hijrah Movement of Anti-Dating Communities from Progressive to Conservative in Indonesia (A Critical Study of Hadith),” *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, February 29, 2024, 68–70, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol23.iss1.art3>.

<sup>21</sup>Rahman et al., 135–36.

<sup>22</sup>Watt Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1961), 91.

<sup>23</sup>Tribe is the place where the (source) of the order of social values develops in the community. Every individual perceives a friendship relationship, not only because of the family himself but also because of ethnicity. In this feeling, it defends the community when they are under attack, even fight for desperately.

new way of looking at different past and present behaviors. It has also been able to form social solidarity in response to the concerns of fellow Muslims. This is the main view among campus da'wah activists to understand it in the current socio-political situation further, especially the context of the diversity and plurality of society in Pontianak.

The questions are how higher education da'wah activists to rectify their identities through *hijrah* as they adapt to the modernity challenges? What are the implications of this identity rectification for their views towards the role of the state in religious affairs? This article argues that *hijrah* is a not only an opportunity for self-improvement, but also a covert form of resistance to the state that governs the community's religious life in response to the detrimental impacts of modernity.

There are various works of literature on the study of the phenomenon of *hijrah* in the university. For instance, according to Mualimin, *hijrah* as a movement involves integrating pop culture through social media networks as well as creating handicraft products and other accessories with Islamic imagery. He explains the concept of *hijrah* inferred among students at private and state universities contain three meanings: physical, mindful, and spiritual *hijrah*. Physical migration starts from changing the way you dress to daily interactions. Mindful *hijrah* means orientation is no longer merely worldly but strengthens the goal of the hereafter. Finally, spiritual *hijrah* is accountability in the hereafter for all actions while still alive.<sup>24</sup> On a broader aspect, Zahara on *hijrah* movement in millennial Muslim explains *hijrah* as a successful strategy in spreading Islam. According to her, the success of *hijrah* as a means of da'wah lies in a cultural approach that combines normative and historical values in its interpretation.<sup>25</sup>

In the international context, Laura Sabater Zamora explores the context of *hijrah* in the European Muslim Women's Migration when they travelled to Syria for joining with ISIS. He argues that the occurrence of *hijrah* is due to push and pull factors. The driving factors are self-identity in Europe, discrimination in Europe and the coreligionist in the attack. While the pull factors such as brotherhood, religious orders and state-building, financial security, marriage and adventure.<sup>26</sup>

There are two major theories regarding *hijrah*; interpretation as a form of flight and arbitration theory. According to Bashier, the theory of escape has created a negative

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<sup>24</sup>Mualimin et al., "The Hijrah Phenomenon in Indonesia: A Case Study Among Students in Public and Private Universities in Lampung Province on Sumatra Island," in *Proceedings of the 3rd Universitas Lampung International Conference on Social Sciences (ULICoSS 2022)*, ed. Ryzal Perdana et al., vol. 740, Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (Paris: Atlantis Press SARL, 2023), 398–99, [https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-046-6\\_40](https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-046-6_40).

<sup>25</sup>Mila Nabila Zahara, Dadan Wildan, and Siti Komariah, "Gerakan Hijrah: Pencarian Identitas untuk Muslim Milenial di Era Digital," n.d., 56–57.

<sup>26</sup>Laura Sabater Zamora, *Hijrah: Answering to the Call of the Caliphate (Analysis of European Muslim Women's Migration to Syria to Join ISIS)* (Denmark: Aalborg University, 2016), 17-22.

connotation to the event of *hijrah* because flight means fear and despair. Of course, this interpretation ignores the opposite view that *hijrah* only occurs if it is supported by strong faith and belief, not out of fear and despair because those migrated people had to free themselves from all pre-Islamic norms and customs even though they had to lose the wealth and prosperity they had while in Mecca. Thus, *hijrah* is no longer a transcendental religious event but a picture of the inability to face pressure and persecution in its place of origin.<sup>27</sup>

Meanwhile, the arbitration theory refers to the case of resolving conflicts between the Aus and Khajraz tribes as a result of the seizure of oasis territories or water sources. These two tribes have been involved in a protracted conflict and have sacrificed many lives. As if not finding a settlement point, the *hijrah* is a necessary momentum in the history of resolving the conflict between these two tribes. The Prophet Muhammad was invited to Medina as an arbitrator to help resolve political tensions between the tribes. Nevertheless, the glorification of *hijrah* in the interpretation of this arbitration seems to ignore other historical efforts in the history of the Aus and Khajraz tribes.

To strengthen his argument, Bashier based it on two significant events written by Ibn Ishaq in the book of Muhammad's biography (*sirah*). First, the incident of the first Oath of al-'Aqabah, and the second Oath of al-'Aqabah.<sup>28</sup> Even though it still raises many doubts, the agreement has at least become the basis that *hijrah* is a way to resolve tribal tensions in Medina to achieve the prophetic mission in creating the unity of the community or ummah. In doing so, *hijrah* has turned the Arabian Peninsula into an essential issue for the surrounding area, both politically and socially. *Hijrah* has inspired the exodus of Muslims in the future in expanding Islamic political power.

According to Thomas K. Gugler, the phenomenon of *hijrah* as a “*sunnaization*” movement is the re-establishment and reconstruction of daily life referred to the actions of Muhammad and the Salaf scholars as mentioned in the hadith narrative. This *sunnaization* is apolitical which can be understood as the privatization or individualization of political re-Islamization.<sup>29</sup> In doing so, there are three important elements regarding *hijrah*, modernization, and the reshaping of Muslim identity, namely the idea of modernity, the media, and globalization, that allow the interpretation of Islam to integrate different Islamic identities.

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<sup>27</sup>Zakaria Bashier, *The Political Implications of the Hijra* (Slough, Berks: The Muslim Institute for Research and Planning, 1977), 36.

<sup>28</sup>Watt, *Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 92-93.

<sup>29</sup>Thomas K Gugler, “Public Religiosity, Parrots of Paradise and the Symbols of the Super-Muslim: Sunna and Sunnaization in Islamic Missionary Movements.,” *Islam In A Globalized World: Negotiating Faultlines Gurgaon: ImprintOne*, 2010, 101.

Identity is related to the expression that connects attitudes and behavior in specific roles that provide meaning and hope.<sup>30</sup> The role affects how much effort must be made to complete it. Identity and role giving meaning to each other are two things that are related and complementary. Identity requires the effort of the role, while the role will strengthen the identity to define the self and the group. For this reason, the theoretical framework in this article focuses on identity theory, which took place more concern on processes and relationships within the group itself.

## Methodology

This article adopts the theoretical framework of social construction initiated by Peter L. Berger with three identification elements: externalization, objectivation, and internalization. The internalization process occurs through receiving information through various media and trying to become part of the trend of the information. Furthermore, the externalization process takes place in recitations and support from closest friends who are part of the *hijrah* movement. Finally, objectivation occurs in the form of institutionalization or institutionalization of Muslim identity through online and offline study groups. Furthermore, the understanding of *hijrah* in the social construction is explored in three main topics; refuse to date, cover their genitals and marry young as the manifestation of Islamic teachings that promote virtue in both the earth and the hereafter.

Meanwhile, the method of this research is a phenomenological study with analytical descriptive characteristics.<sup>31</sup> The primary sources of data are nine campus da'wah student activists spread across universities in Pontianak City. The data was collected through interviews and observations. Informants were selected based on their position and influence within each campus da'wah organisation. Furthermore, the various data sources are analysed using a method called inductive analysis within the framework of social construction theory.

The article's structure describes three sub-discussions: externalization between adaptation and openness, objectivation between choosing and taking, internalization within the guidance framework, and an ignorant state. In our opinion, this structure is sufficient to describe the dynamics of interpretation of *hijrah* among campus da'wah activists with a response to the impact of modernity which makes the state its central point.

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<sup>30</sup>S Stryker and Burke, P J, 'The Past, Present and Future of Identity Theory', *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63 (2000), 284-286.

<sup>31</sup>Earl Babbie, *The Basics of Social Research*, 5th ed. (USA: Wadsworth: Cengage Learning, 2011), 329.



## Results and Discussion

### Externalization between Adaptation and Openness

Externalization is self-adaptation to the social environment and response to knowledge from the world of ideas to the real world. Externalization is also an adaptation process that is outside of humans through self-expression both physically and mentally. Every human being experiences a process of openness, not only trying to understand him or herself but also finding him or herself in the ongoing social environment and already existing in the previous social structure. In summary, at the externalization stage, society is a human product.

Oktaviani (19), for instance, receives information on migration through social media, such as lectures. There is a strong connection between the ideas she gets from her lectures and her circumstances. The lecture is like a mirror and becomes a reflection to improve oneself. This adjustment occurred because Lili's knowledge of the *hijrah* themes was not very deep. For her, information about the ongoing social conditions she obtained from various discussions and opinions of people spread on social media became a means to fulfill her *hijrah* needs. That is, the results of the lecture have constructed the meaning of the *hijrah*. On the one hand, there is an urge to migrate, while on the other hand, social media has provided the material needs for *hijrah*.

Meanwhile, R. Ramayani (22) and D. Ramayanti (21) both of whom received information on migration while in high school (SMA). This acceptance also reflects the need for Riska and Devi to improve themselves. For them, they consider *hijrah* as a representation of themselves who have made many mistakes. Therefore, Riska, Devi, and Lili, the three of them, made an effort to adapt the process with the tendency of the *hijrah* phenomenon as a new perspective to respond to social situations by adjusting to improve themselves. So, the adaptation of the two takes place not by isolating themselves but by being open. Another form of forthcoming adaptation is also reflected in the acceptance of *hijrah* by Desanti (20). The trick is to clarify-*tabayyun* every time he gets an invitation to move from her seniors in the organizational institutions, he participates in. For instance, paying attention to people behaviors who have made the *hijrah* first to what extent there has been a change in the person who invited them.

If Ramayani, Ramayanti, and Oktaviani make adaptations through verification of various information, while Desanti refers more to behavior that has previously migrated. So far, it is illustrated that the externalization of the three adapts through adjustment by placing themselves as part of a better social environment. We think this adaptation is flexible. This adaptation also gives birth to symbolic behavior, how to understand the behavior of the surrounding environment, and reflects openness in understanding oneself. In short, externalization has given birth to adaptation and openness to their perspective on social life around them.

The social situation in question always follows the condition of marginalized Muslims. This exclusive view was born to build the belief that those who migrate are part of improving the condition of Muslims in the future. The imagined community conception of the future of Muslims -as described by Ben Anderson in *Imagine community*.<sup>32</sup> This solidarity is formed from the expressions of the *hijrah* language. At least there is a common language expression among *hijrah* activists that the unity of Muslims is shown by citing the same sources of lectures, uniform religious rituals, and clothing symbols used.

Likewise, E. O. Andini (20) and Attiqah (19) are also open to various information on migration to improve themselves for the better. This openness is shown by continuing to use the indicators of quotations from Islamic sources. According to Andini, the Qur'an and Hadith must be true, so all the reasons that use the two propositions will also be genuine. We think that Andini's externalization is open but limited, apply only the sources of the Qur'an and the Prophet instructions.

The exact process is also carried out by C. Arta (19), who bases acceptance through internal encouragement without ignoring that *hijrah* is a trend. This adjustment is in response to the prestige of *hijrah*, which is currently popular among young people. Arta has made careful adjustments. Nevertheless, Arta and other *hijrah* activists have adapted to the development of the *hijrah* trend without losing their grip on their own identity.

A slightly different externalization effort was carried out by Koko (20), who adapted to the *hijrah* trend through indicators of comfort or discomfort. Koko assumes that the movement of *hijrah* is not just a behavior change but must also be accompanied by convenience. Convenience means trying to achieve God's promise, which states that those who emigrate will have many friends and extensive sustenance. It is the same with Ramayanti, who migrated because of an inner urge to change for the better by considering the experience of social situations that she had experienced. This reflection has strengthened their externalization through open adaptation.

## **Objectivation between Adaptation and Engaging**

Objectivation is a process of institutionalization and legitimacy of a series of adaptations that take place during externalization. Objectivation begins to move to make the previous externalization processes into objects and to perceive things as reality. To that end, objectivation involves interaction, consensus, and habituation. Objectivation of ideas takes place through a process of social interaction and is done repeatedly.<sup>33</sup> The process of objectivation can last a long time, across generations and across different spaces and times. In short, at the objectivation stage, society is a product of objective reality.

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<sup>32</sup>Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Komunitas-Komunitas Terbayang* (Yogyakarta: Insist Press and Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 3-7.

<sup>33</sup>Peter L Berger and Thomas Lukhman, *Tafsir Sosial Atas Kenyataan* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), 248.

There is no one objectivation process that can be a measure for another individual's objectivation. Each of them works according to the circumstances of the social environment they face. For instance, L. Oktaviani uses adaptation and engaging as her objectivation framework. For this reason, Lili does not rely on the objectivation of her *hijrah* behavior in a particular community. Still, she strives to be independent by sticking to the guidance of her conscience. According to her, conscience is a tool to make choices and make those choices. However, conscience's guidance depends on various important knowledge and information about *hijrah* received through recitations. This means that Oktaviani does not define himself as a particular group identity but remains part of the *hijrah* trend independently and flexibly. The most prominent behavior in the objectivation of her *hijrah* is to leave the courtship that he had done three years ago and improve the way he dresses to become more secretive.

In our opinion, even though Lili does objectivation openly and independently in her *hijrah* identity, she also adapts herself to the surrounding environment, which has made a consensus in staying away from dating. The consensus seems to be the glue identity for anyone who migrates without joining a particular group. Meanwhile, Ramayani is trying to do objectivation by making the trend of *hijrah* as a capital to re-promote Muslims. Riska expressed another opinion. *Hijrah* for Riska contains the meaning of interaction that strengthens the brotherhood of fellow Muslims who are starting to weaken. *Hijrah* is also a consensus to equate the attitudes and behavior of Muslims as a reflection of the unity of the ummah. And *hijrah* is also habituated to following Islamic teachings that are sourced from the Qur'an and the Prophet's narratives. According to Riska, *hijrah* is an anchor for the progress of Muslims to rise from adversity and backwardness that has been going on so far.

Unlike the previous Oktaviani, that Ramayani joined the *hijrah* study groups to strengthen and motivate each other. Oktaviani also joined social media to get support from friends who both made the *hijrah*. The support of these close friends, who share the same idea, is an important part of the criticism of the state's neglect of the religious affairs of Muslims. The objectivation of *hijrah* is through online and offline study groups as a form of affirmation that *hijrah* is an institution that strengthens piety in facing this life.<sup>34</sup> The similarity between the two is that the objectivation of behavior starts from improving the way of dressing and maintaining association with non-*mahram* (not part of family members).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Apri Kurniasih and Moch. Khafidz Fuad Raya, "Digitalizing Da'wah and Religious Authorities in Contemporary Indonesia: After the Fall of Religious Leader," *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies* 6, no. 1 (August 19, 2022): 84–85, <https://doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v6i1.9660>.

<sup>35</sup>Mibtadin Mibtadin, "Hijra Community and Religious Moderation Among Millennials in Soloraya," *Al-Balagh/ : Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (December 28, 2023): 199–201, <https://doi.org/10.22515/albalagh.v8i2.7592>.

Meanwhile, Desanti, Arta, and Andini choose and take through consideration of the common good, personal and surroundings. Because consideration of benefit is a form of expression of social purity, for this reason, the three of them are very active in joining a campus da'wah organization to help objectify the values of *hijrah* that they understand. For the three of them, the support from friends who share one principle is the principal capital for the sustainability of the *hijrah* they are currently undertaking. Arta even believes that the success of the *hijrah* is primarily determined by the habituation of the surrounding environment that influences it. In short, objectivation is the embodiment of benefit by realizing the values of *hijrah*. For instance, Desanti tries her best to maintain her faith from sleeping to waking up. One form of faith is to carry out daily practices. Even wearing socks, she must still be cared for if *Ikhwan* (Islamic man calling) is in a room, maintaining eating and sleeping patterns that must also be adjusted to Islamic law by her. It is different from Andini, who uses morality as the highest objectivation measure of *hijrah* in everyday life.

As for Koko and Ramayanti, even though they also use an adaptation and engaging attitude, they need to suit the attitude measure used to their basic character. If in the externalization aspect, Koko uses comfort, while in objectivation, Koko uses pleasure. Koko's joining with a social organization engaged in religion is based on a sense of joy. Based on his argumentation, objectivation, which includes consensus, interaction, and habituation, must be based on pleasure. Meanwhile, Ramayanti pays more attention to interactions in objectifying the meaning of *hijrah* that she believes in. Furthermore, she recounted his experience in the *hijrah* process. "Once upon a time, I prayed in the mosque. Then after the prayer, I would like to greet the left-right side woman. When I put my hand to my left woman who was wearing a veil (*cadar*), she looked at me rather cynically and arrogantly. I feel their gazes are less friendly. Even though I only asked for a handshake. I was not comfortable with people like that." In the end, both Koko and Ramayanti made pleasure and comfort the basis for their *hijrah* objectivation process.

## **Internalization in the Framework of Guidance**

Internalization is the process of concentration of diversity and difference into the subjective consciousness of individuals. The peak of internalization is forming a new identity through a series of reflections on previous externalization and objectivation efforts. Identity is a particular condition that arises from the dialectic between the individual and society. In short, internalization is the formation of awareness of each individual through interaction, consensus, and community habituation. There is no individual identity without being influenced and shaped by society. That is, humans are products of culture.

For instance, Oktaviani uses the sentence of guidance to explain and assess herself and others who have not made the *hijrah*. Guidance from Allah (*hidayah*) is the keyword

as an ethical standard whether someone has migrated or not. It is also a reason for da'wah for anyone who is considered not to have migrated. Even though *hijrah* is abstract, it is objectified through the study groups that it participates in. The same thing was also expressed by Ramayani, Ramayanti, and Desanti, who considered *hijrah* a form of true Muslim identities. The three of them also use the sentence that they have not received guidance for those who have not emigrated. For them, that praying for those who have not received advice is an obligation in migrating. They use an inward-looking perspective to understand the structure of the world outside the *hijrah*. Expecting that other people can migrate and be in the social system of *hijrah* is a perspective that forms identity is not entirely exclusive. This is because they pray more than force them to judge behavior outside of the concept of *hijrah*.

We believe that individual identity through *hijrah* is not entirely within the power of societal discourse, but a theological side supports it. For instance, refusing to date, improving the way of dressing, and getting married at young age as internalization elements to see whether each individual has received guidance or not. Enjelin Okta Andini and Attiqah summarized it in a sentence, "leaving immorality and obeying Allah". According to Andini, Allah can turn hearts over whether they can get guidance or not. This thought is strengthened by Koko. He calls it a "feel" of test. *Hijrah* for Koko is a choice so that life can be calm and elevate the self-esteem.<sup>36</sup>

The Islamic migration that occurred among campus da'wah activists has experienced sedimentation and legitimacy. Sedimentation is when several experiences have been deposited and become part of an intersubjective memory because they share the same experiences and images. Like dressing, covering the body and getting married at a young age show sedimentation.

However, what is no less important is that sedimentation has gained legitimacy to turn into identity. Legitimacy has two functions: a basis for interpreting objective reality and helping make interpretations that are widely accepted. The apparent legitimacy of the previous informant's statement shows that *hijrah* has a social and theological basis as an identity as well as a perspective that can be widely accepted and become common sense. Common sense is shared knowledge in normal routine activities, is self-explanatory, and takes place in everyday life.<sup>37</sup> Everyone thinks that there is no problem with *hijrah*. In fact, all informants turn *hijrah* as a standard of ethical policy in society to become better individuals. *Hijrah* does not create new laws in society, but *hijrah* has become a means to regulate actions on being a good and obedient Muslim.

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<sup>36</sup>Rochimah - Imawati and Eka Ade Lestari, "Understanding 'Contemporary Hijrah' Phenomenon: A Study of the Effect of Religiosity on Self-Esteem," *Psikoislamika/ : Jurnal Psikologi Dan Psikologi Islam* 19, no. 2 (December 30, 2022): 501–2, <https://doi.org/10.18860/psikoislamika.v19i2.15381>.

<sup>37</sup>Taufiqur Rahman et al., "Hijrah and the Articulation of Islamic Identity of Indonesian Millennials on Instagram," *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 37, no. 2 (June 30, 2021): 166, <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2021-3702-10>.

## The Religious Problem and The Neglect State

The debate that has been going heretofore is a criticism of the state which often interferes in the private affairs of citizens.<sup>38</sup> The interference is related to issues of human relations such as violations and crimes, and religious matters. For a group of people, religious affairs are matters of the relationship between the individual and his/her God. Thus, the state does not need to take care of this issue.

However, the debate received extra attention from the *hijrah* activists. On the one hand, they tend to improve themselves rather than regulate the religious life of others, but on the other hand, they tend to be numb to the state's situation.<sup>39</sup> According to some of them, the state still pays little attention to the condition of Muslims. The state actually contributes to worsening the moral situation of Muslims by allowing various "wars of thought" to occur in Indonesia.

In our opinion, the response to the state shows criticism that is carried out quietly. This criticism is manifested in the form of symbolic self-improvement by ignoring the affairs being carried out by the state. A strong tendency is that the *hijrah* activists view the current social situation of Muslims due to the state's neglect of the moral and moral development of the Indonesian nation.

For instance, Riska Ramayani argues that the state is also responsible for this condition. The application of Islamic law must be followed by state intervention. According to her, the state must provide regulations that follow the Qur'an and hadith. For this reason, she admits that the state's involvement in the actualisation of Sharia is essential. In short, Islamic law requires the role of the state. Therefore, because, according to her, the state has been neglecting it all this time, then *hijrah* is the best way for Riska to implement the actual sharia. *Hijrah* is a form of silent resistance carried out by Riska to respond to the current condition of Indonesian Muslims.

While Oktaviani views the state apathetically as an answer to the state's responsibility which often hurts and even divides Muslims. Lili uses the Islamic Defense Action-*Aksi Bela Islam* (ABI) as her perspective on the state's role so far. A relatively moderate opinion is shown by Desanti, who hopes that the state must be present to take care of the morals of the young generation of Indonesia. The reason is that Islam is the majority religion in Indonesia. Nevertheless, it still maintains tolerance for differences between religions.

Andini and Ramayanti notice that the state is still too restrictive of da'wah in online media. According to both, the state should give freedom to da'wah anywhere as long as

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<sup>38</sup>Abdul Manan et al., "Educational and Social Constructions of the Sharia Implementation in Aceh, Indonesia," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 47, no. 1 (2023): 44–45, <http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v47i1.923>.

<sup>39</sup>Afrida Arinal Muna, "Religious Expression of Hijrah Celebrity: Accommodating Protest and Political Economy of Public Piety," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies* 6, no. 1 (July 4, 2020): 92–94, [https://doi.org/10.30983/islam\\_realitas.v6i1.3154](https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v6i1.3154).

it does not interfere with other religions. In fact, the state should pay attention to and facilitate groups with disabilities to be able to access adequate religious knowledge. However, all informants stated firmly that all these interventions did not have to change the state's ideology into an Islamic state.

Of course, this silent resistance was not a form of disobedience or rebellion against the state, moreover, when it leads to treason. This attitude is a moral appeal to the current social conditions, where the state has a more significant role of responsibility. In our opinion, what is very interesting is that the choice of the concept of the state does not affect the process of enforcing Islamic law.<sup>40</sup> At least, they believe that Muslim people can enforce Islamic law without becoming a religious state. In our opinion, this belief is an essential social capital to emphasize that certain religions should not contradict the principles of a democratic state adopted in Indonesia.

Koko, for instance, strengthened state intervention on the sociological grounds that, in fact, Muslims in Indonesia have many sects. Thus, this fact has the potential to cause tension. Thinks that, in the context of diversity, the state presence protects young people's freedom to express their opinions and learn their religion. The anxiety is especially important given the fear of state intervention in an arbitrary manner. In doing so, the government's actions in closing certain accounts even though these sites have provided information on religious knowledge. Even further, Koko argues that internal divisions among Muslims result from the state ignoring its role and function in religious affairs.

We argue that this implicit resistance can be assumed in two contexts: first, the context of participation, namely strengthening the internal foundation to build Islamic readiness. Self-preparation is part of this participatory context. Carelessness of the state is responded to positively through self-improvement. When the state does not provide clear directions in responding to the religion of its people, *hijrah* activists come with various social activities that carry religious values.<sup>41</sup> In essence, the line of expression of state neglect is manifested through religious media. Once again, this attitude shows that religion and the state are two interrelated sides.

Second, the context of representation, namely the caring attitude of Muslims by making themselves, represents the people's downturn. Campus da'wah activists make *hijrah* an essential part of building the future of Muslims.<sup>42</sup> This attitude, of course,

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<sup>40</sup>Khoirul Anam, Abdul Kadir, and Aunur Rofiq, "Interpretation and Internalization of Moderation Values in Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 47, no. 2 (December 26, 2023): 239–40, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v47i2.1081>.

<sup>41</sup>Elly Yulawati, "Youth Participation in Religious Activities and Nation Character Development in Indonesia," *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 39, no. 3 (September 30, 2023): 550–51, <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2023-3903-30>.

<sup>42</sup>Raymond William Baker, *One Islam, Many Muslim Worlds: Spirituality, Identity, and Resistance Across Islamic Lands*, Religion and Global Politics (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2–4.

tends to be exclusive but has implications for respect for religion or a different perspective from others. This representational context supports the future state through self-preparation based on religious teachings. If readers want to say that this representative context is preparation for promoting the for encouraging the development of an Islamic state, a more in-depth analysis may be needed.

According to Kamali, *hijrah* has become the way of transforming oneself and socially, both physically and mentally, to seek hope for a greater life. The teachings of the morality of *hijrah* emphasize that religious persecution is a form of violation of religious freedom.<sup>43</sup> Some Muslim groups have also interpreted *hijrah* in various ways. For instance, Sufi groups interpret *hijrah* as a spiritual journey to return to the owner as well as free themselves from material dependence while living a worldly life. This process of liberating oneself is considered the way for self-purification to gain love from God. Some of them have made *hijrah* an ethical basis to fight colonialism. It is a way of *jihad* against colonialism. Even a *hijrah* is a form of resistance to social conditions full of corruption, collusion, and nepotism. Furthermore, the situation was used by groups to form a certain identity as a symbol of resistance to groups already established at that time. In essence, *hijrah* is a mental transformation process, self-improvement and social system reform.

## Conclusion

*Hijrah* is no longer just a religious term but has developed into social behavior. There is a essential for identity rectification as a Muslim, which is constantly changing and adapting. Of course, these rectification often clash with social interests on the one hand and life as citizens on the other hand.

There is a strong reason why the term *hijrah* is popular among campus da'wah (Islamic preaching) activists in Pontianak City. First, because the language of *hijrah* provides an alternative new identity to the way of being Muslim, which is different from Islam with a lifestyle that they previously rejected. Second, because the concept of *hijrah* provides a sense of security and certainty in carrying out Islamic teachings. Third, it is because the concept of *hijrah* offers an easy way to practice Islam.

Furthermore, the three reasons above guarantee how to carry out the perfect teachings of Islam (*kaffah*). This perfection is a condition for living a new identity as a "true Muslim". Even though it is not systematic, for Islamic campus da'wah activists, the perfect understanding of Islam is to practice Islam sincerely. That is, the sincerity of Islam is not in the interpretation of rationality but it is serious in behavior and actions.

In the end, this new identity has implications for strengthening religious tolerance in Pontianak City. This reinforcement is reflected in the appreciation of differences in

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<sup>43</sup>Mohammad Hashim Kamali, "The Significance of Hijrah in Islam," *Islam and Civilisational Renewal Journal* 5, no. 1 (2014).



attitudes and views. The campus da'wah Muslim activists use *hijrah* as a means of actualization and self-improvement. This effort is a strong reason not to worry too much about differences in social issues. This perspective tends to be inward-looking to elevate the quality of a socially pious daily life.

The migration influence, the formation of identity, and its relation to religious tolerance occur in many places, such as immigrant groups in Europe to transmigration groups from one region to another. Even identity formation also appears in a smaller scope, such as in the workplace, public service spaces in health, education, and transportation. How the adaptation and resistance form, in our opinion, this issue needs further research.

There are various arguments about the relationship between identity, religion, and modernity. Identity is constructed based on what happened and should have happened in the past and shows the diversity that there is no one authoritative way to achieve this construction. This statement further emphasizes that identity is not a given construction but is formed from understanding the whole social situation through individual interaction and self-adaptation.

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