



The Trend of Hijrah: New Construction of Urban Millennial Muslim Identity In Indonesia

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Abstract: The emergence of the hijrah movement in Indonesia, both in public and virtual public spaces, marks the revival of the spirit of Islam in the country. This study examines the following issues: how do urban millennial Muslim communities interpret hijrah?; what is the new construction of urban millennial Muslim identity in Indonesia?; and what is the tendency of the preferences of urban millennial Muslims towards the literacy of Islamic da'wah content? This study uses qualitative methods. The survey population was millennial Indonesian urban Muslims, while the study sample consisted of 110 urban millennial Muslims in the Greater Jakarta area. The results of the study indicate several things. First, the millennial generation of urban Muslims interpret hijrah as "changing attitudes, behavior and lifestyles in a direction that is better in accordance with Islamic values". Second, hijrah has represented an urban Muslim identity constructed as "Devout Muslims", which is characterized by the piety of individuals in public spaces, adherence to the practice of worship, and the use of religious symbols or identities inherent in the activities of urban Muslim community life. Third, in the perspective of economic sociology, hijrah is not only a religious phenomenon but also the behavior and lifestyle of contemporary urban Muslim societies. Fourth, the hijrah community is a liquid community because it is not bound by the same background (ideology or religious social organization). Fifth, the most common source of da'wah literacy followed by hijrah Muslims is YouTube (46%). The most preferred ustadz is Hanan Attaqi (45.45%).

Keywords: Hijrah; urban millennial muslims; devout muslim

Abstrak: Munculnya gerakan hijrah baik di ruang-ruang publik maupun ruang publik virtual menandai bangkitnya kembali spirit Islam Indonesia. Penelitian ini mengkaji permasalahan-permasalahan sebagai berikut: bagaimana tafsir hijrah menurut komunitas muslim milenial urban?; bagaimana konstruksi baru identitas muslim milenial urban Indonesia?; bagaimana kecenderungan preferensi generasi muslim milenial urban terhadap literasi konten dakwah Islam?. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui survei dan dokumentasi. Populasi survei adalah milenial muslim urban Indonesia, sementara sampel penelitian adalah 110 orang muslim milenial urban di wilayah Jabodetabek. Hasil penelitian menemukan beberapa hal. Pertama, generasi milenial muslim perkotaan memaknai hijrah sebagai “mengubah sikap, perilaku dan gaya hidup ke arah yang lebih baik sesuai dengan nilai-nilai Islam”. Kedua, hijrah telah merepresentasikan identitas muslim perkotaan yang terkonstruksi sebagai “Muslim Taat” yang dicirikan oleh; adanya kesalehan individu di ruang publik; ketaatan terhadap praktik peribadatan; dan penggunaan simbol-simbol atau identitas keagamaan yang melekat dalam aktivitas kehidupan masyarakat muslim urban. Ketiga, dalam perspektif sosiologi ekonomi, hijrah bukan hanya fenomena keagamaan tetapi juga berkaitan dengan perilaku dan *life style* masyarakat muslim urban kontemporer. Keempat, komunitas hijrah adalah komunitas cair karena tidak terikat pada kesamaan latar belakang (ideologi atau organisasi sosial keagamaan). Kelima, sumber literasi dakwah yang paling sering diikuti oleh pelaku hijrah adalah youtube 46%. Pilihan ustadz yang paling disukai adalah Hanan Attaqi 45,45%.

Kata Kunci: hijrah; muslim milenial urban; muslim taat

Introduction

The rapid development of information technology also contributed significantly to the shifting of the new map of Islam in Indonesia. The face of Indonesian Islam which has appeared in the colors of moderate, plural and "friendly" Islam is now overshadowed by a new variant marked by the rise of Islamic fundamentalism which has received widespread public attention. NU and Muhammadiyah, the two largest Islamic organizations that had been role models and guardians of moderate Islam in Indonesia, seem to be overwhelmed by the trend of fundamentalism or purification movements of the Qur'an and Sunnah-based Islam especially among urban communities.

Admittedly, Western views and responses to the character and role of Islam in Indonesia have shifted dramatically in the past decade. Most literature in the 20th century described the Indonesian Muslim community as

"friendly".¹ This can be understood because historically, Islam entered Indonesia through a process of cultural acculturation so as to produce an Islamic style which in contemporary terminology was popularized as "Islam Nusantara". This Islamic model that had been practiced for decades indeed tended to be dynamic and not rigid in dealing with social facts such as pluralism and its intersection with the "Islam Arab" model. It is not surprising that the world praised that Indonesian Islam was a moderate Islam that showed high tolerance.

However, this picture of friendly Islam began to change in the late 1990s when many Muslim scholars wrote of concerns over the increasing tendency of radicalism (fundamentalism). Religious conflicts such as those in Ambon, Halmahera and Poso and attacks on churches that occurred during 2000-2001 reinforced these concerns. It is not surprising that Robert Hefner wrote about the increasing power of uncivil Islam and the accompanying threats to pluralist Islamic culture.² The perception that Islam in Indonesia contains radical elements has increased especially after the Bali bombings in October 2002. Labels such as extremism, radicalism, conservatism, and fundamentalism are often embedded in Indonesian Muslims.

In contemporary developments, the current revival of Indonesia's Islamic conservatism-fundamentalism is marked by, among others, the widespread wave of hijrah among urban Muslims. The trend of hijrah, especially among urban millennial Muslims, puts a new color to Indonesian Islam. The interpretation of hijrah has undergone a transformative shift from the geographical realm as the concept of hijrah at the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW to the personal realm. The thinking construction of millennial generation thinking on hijrah in general is "changing attitudes, behavior, and lifestyles in accordance with Islamic values". The emphasis is no longer on the geographical realm, which is moving from one place to another as the meaning of hijrah during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, but has shifted to the personal realm, namely changing oneself from "not good to better according to values of Islam".

The emergence of the hijrah movement can be considered as part of the revival of the spirit of Indonesian Islam. The hijrah movement is not only stretched in public spaces but also virtual public spaces. In various mosques in elite urban housing, various majelis taklim appear and develop very significantly. In the economic sector, the emergence of various Islamic banks and business units marks the growing spirit of Islam in the public space. Various fashion festivals that highlight Muslim fashion products also show

¹ Greg Fealy and Sally White, *Ustadz Seleb: Bisnis Moral & Fatwa Online: Ragam Eksperisi Islam Indonesia Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2000), 1.

² Greg Fealy, "Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 23, no. 2 (August 1, 2001): 363.

these symptoms. The emergence of Islamic hotels, Islamic tourism, Islamic schools, and Islamic hospitals cannot be separated from the context of the rise of Indonesian Islamic spirit. This phenomenon seems to answer the spiritual anxiety experienced by Indonesian Muslims, especially the urban Muslim community.

Likewise with virtual public spaces, various propaganda content endorsed by prominent figures or initiators of hijrah is very easy to find. Television, for example, as the most popular medium for transforming public messages, often features religious programs. Greg Fealy has popularized it with the term "Ustadz Seleb" or celebrity ustadz, referring to preachers or clerics who often appear on television such as Arifin Ilham, Abdullah Gymnastiar (Aa Gym), Yusuf Mansur, and Jeffry al Bukhori. Later on came Ustadz Abdul Somad (UAS), who received very broad public attention. The widespread wave of hijrah marked the formation of new construction of Indonesian Islam, especially in urban areas.

The formulation of problems raised in this study are as follows: a). How do urban millennial Muslim communities interpret hijrah?; b). What is the new construction of urban millennial Muslim identity in Indonesia?; c). What is the tendency of the preferences of urban millennial Muslims towards the literacy of Islamic da'wah content?.

The objectives of this study are as follows: 1). To identify urban millennial Muslim community's interpretations of the concept of hijrah; 2). To identify the new construction of millennial urban Muslim identity in Indonesia; 3). To identify and explore the tendency of the preferences of urban millennial Muslims towards the literacy of Islamic da'wah content.

Studies or research on the phenomenon of hijrah, especially among millennial generation, is indeed not new. However, in general those studies discussed hijrah more as a religious behavior or phenomenon or as a popular culture which was becoming a trend especially among urban Muslims.

The following are previous studies of the hijrah phenomenon. First, the 2019 research of Muhammad Eko Anang entitled "The Hijrah Phenomenon in the Millennial Era (Study of the Hijrah Community in Surabaya)".³ This study aimed to find out about the phenomenon of hijrah that occurred among millennial generation in Surabaya through hijrah communities. It also aimed to determine the meaning of hijrah for each hijrah community, the ideology of the hijrah community and how the public viewed the hijrah community. This study also explained the various definitions of hijrah, the categories of hijrah that were relevant to each hijrah community, various activities carried out by the hijrah community and the development of the hijrah community.

³ Muhammad Eko Anang, "Fenomena Hijrah Era Milenial: Studi Tentang Komunitas Hijrah Di Surabaya" (Undergraduate Thesis, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019), 6.

The results of the study indicate that each hijrah community had a different definition and ideology about hijrah. These differences made the three hijrah communities have different activities and methods in targeting millennial generation to recruit. But all these hijrah communities had the same target, namely the millennial generation in Surabaya. Millennials in this study are young people aged 17 to 26 years. The members of each hijrah community believed an ideology that was both exclusive and inclusive. Exclusively, the ideology motivated them to get religious knowledge only from clerics of the same school; while inclusively, it urged them to recruit millennials from any background.

Second, the 2019 research of Distrian Rihlatus Sholihah entitled "The Trend of Hijrah among Millennial Muslims (Study of Ma'ani al-Hadith in the Book of Sunan al-Nasa'i by Imam Nasa'i - Index Number 4996)". This literary research examined the definitions of the trending hijrah among millennial Muslims, focusing on the study of the Prophet's Hadith and other literature.⁴ Problems raised in this study included: what was the quality and validity the hadith about the hijrah in the book of Sunan al-Nasa'i by Imam al Nasa'i - index number 4996?; how did the millennial Muslims interpret the meaning of hijrah?; and how did the millennial Muslims understand the Hadith about hijrah in the present context?.

The results showed that hijrah was interpreted as leaving all things that are bad, negative, and immoral and conditions that are not conducive, to a better state, For example the obligation to wear the hijab for women and lengthen beards for men. Hijrah is understood differently in the old days and nowadays due to the complexity of thoughts and the number of religious ideologies or schools in Islam today.

Third, the 2019 research of Suci Wahyu Fajriani and Yogi Suprayogi Sugandi entitled "Millennials' Islamic Hijrah Based on Identity-Oriented Paradigms". This study described the development of millennials' Islamic hijrah which reflects the efforts to change oneself to a better direction based on the teachings of Islam.⁵ The research method used a literature study approach by gathering information from journals, books, electronic documents, and online news. The results of this study indicate that the hijrah movement can be seen from the many public figures of Muslim women who wear the hijab and celebrities who participate in religious studies. The number of economic actors in the Muslim world are increasing, indicated among

⁴ Distrian Rihlatus Sholihah, "Trend Berhijrah Dikalangan Muslim Milenial: Kajian Ma'ani Al Hadith Dalam Kitab Sunan Al Nasa'i Karya Imam Nasa'i Nomor Indeks 4996" (Undergraduate Thesis, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019), 7.

⁵ Suci Wahyu Fajriani and Yogi Suprayogi Sugandi, "Hijrah Islami Milenial Berdasarkan Paradigma Berorientasi Identitas," *Sosioglobal : Jurnal Pemikiran dan Penelitian Sosiologi* 3, no. 2 (July 13, 2019): 79, <https://doi.org/10.24198/jsg.v3i2.21643>.

other things by the increased production capacity of Muslim clothing. The role of social media is also very significant in providing studies on Islam. Islamic hijrah among millennials is expressed through advanced ideas and a more critical and open mindset so that they can decide which actions are good and bad. There is an expressive behavior by following various Islamic studies in various areas that discuss the religion of Islam. Hijrah has placed individuals in the direction of better and more targeted life goals.

This research is very urgent to do due to the transformation or shift in the identity of Indonesian Muslims, especially among urban millennials. This transformation is marked by the widespread wave of hijrah among urban Muslim millennials. Although there have been previous studies of the phenomenon of hijrah, none of them carried out in-depth discussion of the new construction of urban Muslim identity that is geared to be built from the hijrah activities, especially among urban Muslim millennials. Previous studies also did not examine in depth about the phenomenon of hijrah seen from the perspective of economic sociology in relation to the economy of production and consumption which are interconnected behind the phenomenon of hijrah. It is at this point that this research finds its relevance in identifying new constructions of Muslim millennial urban identity through the hijrah activities as well as exploring the phenomenon of hijrah as a pop culture that is loaded with economic systems of production and consumption with modern capitalist systems.

Hijrah, Between Representation and Identity

Etymologically, the word hijrah according to the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) has three meanings: first, the move of Prophet Muhammad with some of his followers from Mecca to Medina to, among others, save themselves from the pressure of the Quraysh infidels; second, move away temporarily from one place to another for a better reason (safety, kindness, etc.); and third, change (attitude, behavior, etc.) for the better.

The phenomenon of hijrah among urban millennial Muslims can not only be seen as a religious event, but also sociologically represents a new construction of the identity of Indonesian urban Muslims. Hijrah offers a new identity because its construction of religious thought is different from that of the majority of Indonesian Muslims before. Hijrah at a certain level presents religious exclusivity and becomes the life style of urban millennials.

In the context of representation, Stuart Hall states: "Representation connects meaning and language to culture ... Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of culture".⁶ It can be said that representation is simply one way to

⁶ Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon,

produce meaning. Through representation, a meaning can be produced and exchanged by and among community members.

Representation works through a system consisting of two important components, namely concepts in mind and language. The concept in mind helps us find out the meaning of things. However, this meaning cannot be communicated without language. Language, in practice, is not always written or spoken but can be through the use of symbols or signs that represent something. In the context of hijrah, there are various symbols or signs used by the hijrah community to represent something or their identity.

The most important thing in this representation system is that groups that can produce and exchange meaning well are those whose members have the same background knowledge so as to create an (almost) same understanding.

When a community has the same experience and way of producing meaning towards something, then they will have the same view and vision in seeing an object, event or other human being. Giving meaning to others means giving existence to that person and recognizing their existence, including determining their identity. Therefore, the process of representation is very closely related to identity because someone gets an identity when his/her existence is recognized by others.

In this context, hijrah represents an identity, namely the identity of urban Muslims who have declared to make changes, in attitudes, behavior, and lifestyles in accordance with Islamic values. The construction of identity as "devout Muslims," for example, will automatically emerged when a Muslim does hijrah. This is the construction of meaning to be built from a series of hijrah activities.

Generally the theoretical framework applied in this research is sociology of economy.

In understanding the trend of hijrah, a sociological economic approach is relevant to use considering that hijrah is not a phenomenon of spirituality but rather a phenomenon that relates to the behavior and lifestyle of contemporary Muslim societies. From the perspective of economic sociology, hijrah relates to patterns of consumption and production that are part of the basic economic activities of society.

Based on the consumption theory, Don Slater explains that consumption is how humans and social actors with their needs relate to something (in this case material, symbolic goods, services, experience) that can satisfy themselves.⁷ Relating to something that can satisfy oneself can be

2nd edition (Los Angeles : Milton Keynes, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2013), 17.

⁷ Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, 1st edition (Cambridge, UK : Cambridge, MA: Polity, 1999), 25.

done in various ways, such as enjoying, watching, seeing, spending, listening, paying attention and so forth. So, the definition of consumption according to Slater is in accordance with the term consume, as quoted by Featherstone from Raymond Williams; to destroy, to use, to waste, and to exhaust.⁸

Within the scope of conventional economics, the notion of consumption refers to an act of consuming which can mean using, using, or utilizing an item or service. Anywhere, consumption is always seen as culture. Using Slater's argument, it can be said that consumption by the hijrah community or individuals is also part of the cultural process.

The consumption of objects is not merely to fulfill biological or physical needs, but it also relates to the benefits of these objects in social and cultural terms.

According to Lury, social life requires those objects, because through the acquisition, use, and exchange of objects, individuals then have a social life.⁹ Based on Lury's opinion, there are two meanings of the consumption of objects in modern or capitalist society, i.e. consumption as a differentiator between profane and sacred life and consumption as identity.

In the context of consumption as a differentiator between profane and sacred life, we can take the example of a small basket of fruit placed on the table versus a small basket of fruit placed under a haunted banyan tree. The fruit basket placed on a dining table in a house certainly means that the fruit is intended for human consumption. However, a fruit basket placed in graves, for example, have different meanings because they contain sacred values. The fruit is not for consumption but instead for the procession of offerings based on certain beliefs, despite the fact that many people end up taking the fruit and eat them.

Meanwhile, in the context of consumption as an identity, consumption of a product or service signifies a certain identity. Identity in this context is a self-statement related to space and time. Someone who uses lipstick, for example, would want to show their identity as women. She wants to be recognized by the public as a female being, not a male. Likewise in the context of hijrah, someone who decides to use religious symbols such as hijab, gamis, beard, etc., naturally wants to be recognized as a "devout Muslim" by his/her social environment.

From the perspective of production theory, the phenomenon of hijrah is also closely related to production activities as one of the basic entities of community economic activity. In the conventional economic sense as we understand it, production can be understood as the activity of making, creating, or producing an item or service.

⁸ Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, 1st edition (London ; Newbury Park, Calif: SAGE Publications Ltd, 1991), 13.

⁹ Celia Lury, *Budaya Konsumen* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1998), 16.

In the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), the word production is defined as the process of producing something. In addition, there are two other meanings of production, namely results and manufacturing. The definition of production includes all activities, including the process, that can create results, income and manufacture.¹⁰

Sociologically, referring to the ideas of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber about production, it can be understood that production is a socially organized process in which goods and services are created.

The most interesting thing in the context of hijrah is how capitalism agents also work to produce goods or services in accordance with the "market appetite" of the hijrah community. Actors of modern capitalism are highly skilled in producing the various needs of goods or services needed by the Muslim community especially in urban areas. Various fashion products, films, books and Islamic propaganda literatures sell well in the market. This is the shrewdness of capitalism in reading and capturing the tastes of the Indonesian Muslim market. This reality also marks the alliance between capitalism and Islamic fundamentalism-conservatism which at a certain point has many fundamental differences.

This study used qualitative research method. According to Saryono (2010), qualitative research is research that is used to investigate, discover, describe, and explain the quality or features of social influence that cannot be explained, measured or illustrated through a quantitative approach.

The purpose of qualitative research is to explain a phenomenon profusely by collecting as much data as possible, which shows the importance of the depth and detail of the data under study. In qualitative research, the more in-depth, thorough, and explored the data obtained, the better the quality of the research.

The procedure of conducting qualitative research is flexible in accordance with the needs, as well as the situation and conditions in the field. Broadly speaking, the types of qualitative research stages are as follows: a) Formulate the problem as the focus of research; b). Collect data in the field; c). Analyze data; d). Formulate study results; e). Make recommendations for decision making.

Research with a qualitative approach are divided into five main types, namely: phenomenology, ethnography, case study research, grounded theory, and historical research. For this research, case study research is used, i.e. a form of qualitative research that is focused on providing a detailed account of one or more cases.

Case study research is research that focuses on one unit of problem or object to produce an in-depth, rich, broad and comprehensive description. This case study discusses the characteristics of a specific entity, phenomenon,

¹⁰ Damsar, *Pengantar Sosiologi Ekonomi*, 2nd ed. (Jakarta: Kencana, 2016), 67.

individual, or society. This research usually includes many sources of data that have been collected in a certain period of time.

Case studies provide in-depth descriptions of a single "unit" in the form of individuals, groups, sites, classes, policies, programs, processes, institutions, or communities. This unit of analysis determines whether the research conducted is a case study or another form of qualitative research. Case studies can answer descriptive questions (what happened) or try to explain why something happened by looking at a process. The analysis is particularistic (focused on a particular phenomenon, situation, or event), descriptive (providing a comprehensive and information-rich picture), and heuristic (focused on providing new insights).

The case study research method examines a particular case or phenomenon that exists in society. In this case, the case study raised is the phenomenon of hijrah among urban millennial Muslims. This research was carried out in depth to study the background, circumstances, and interactions that occur in the hijrah community. Case studies are carried out on a unified system that can be in the form of a program, activity, event, or group of individuals that exist in certain circumstances or conditions.

Data collection methods in this study were carried out through surveys and documentation. Survey is a research whose main source of data and information is obtained from respondents as research samples using questionnaires as data collection instruments. The purpose of survey research is to provide a detailed description of the background, features, and characteristics of a case or event that is of a general nature.

According to Sugiyono, a survey method is defined as "research conducted using a questionnaire as a research tool carried out in large and small populations, but the data studied are data from samples taken from these populations, so that relative events, distribution, and the sociological and psychological relationship between variables are found".¹¹ In this study, the survey population is millennial Indonesian urban Muslims and the sample was 110 (one hundred and ten) urban millennial Muslims in the areas of Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Depok taken randomly.

The type of survey research method used was descriptive method, which measure certain social phenomena and explain them descriptively or narratively. The documentation was done by reviewing references that relate to research problem factors. The documents in question included books, articles, journals and other relevant references. Meanwhile, data analysis was carried out by examining all data from various sources. After being read, studied, and analyzed, the data was then reduced and interpreted.

¹¹ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2013), 11.

The Concept of Hijrah According to the Urban Millennial Muslim Community

Etymologically, the word hijrah according to the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) has three meanings: first, the move of Prophet Muhammad with some of his followers from Mecca to Medina to, among others, save themselves from the pressure of the Quraysh infidels; second, move away temporarily from one place to another for a better reason (safety, kindness, etc.); and third, change (attitude, behavior, etc.) for the better.

Millennial generation of urban Muslims interprets hijrah as "changing attitudes, behavior and lifestyles in a direction that is better aligned with Islamic religious values". Ninety seven percent of respondents agreed with this definition of hijrah.

When looked closely, the interpretation of the word "hijrah" by the urban millennial Muslim generation actually still has something to do with what is defined by the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), which is a change (attitude, behavior, etc.) towards a better direction. It's just that the emphasis tends to be on behavioral changes based on Islamic religious values or law.

This interpretation does not mean negating the definition of hijrah during the time of the Prophet Muhammad who focused on geographical migration from Makkah to Medina, or from Makkah to Habbasyah in accordance with the development of social and political life at that time. Even though it has been going on for more than 1,400 years, the concept of hijrah is still relevant to use today because it contains substantial values of improvement or change in a better direction based on Islamic values.

According to Abdul Mu'ti, the Central Leader of Muhammadiyah, the concept of hijrah as during the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW remains compulsory today and is carried out as long as it meets the requirements. First, the Muslim feels that the safety of his/her lives is threatened. In this case, hijrah is an attempt to save themselves. Second, the Muslim does not have a better life expectancy where they are. This can be caused by economic, social, political factors and so on. Third, the Muslim is sure that he/she will get better in a new place. In this context, the migration is done consciously, not as an attempt to escape or isolate themselves. These must be thought of as well as possible, including provisions that must be sufficient to be able to survive and develop in a new place. During the time of the Prophet Muhammad, this was exemplified for many years. Before the process of hijrah, the Prophet Muhammad discussed this with his friends. He also held various meetings with leaders in the city of Medina. Fourth, the hijrah process must begin with good intentions, not to commit immorality.

If those elements are not met, a Muslim is encouraged to stay in the place where he/she lives. Thus, they can build the area where he was born

and try to advance the region as part of efforts to build good relations with their fellow humans (*hablum minannas*).

Along with the development of information technology, the interpretation of hijrah underwent its own transformation. The general construction of thinking of the millennial urban Muslim generation to hijrah is "changing lives for the better based on Islamic values". The emphasis is no longer on the geographical domain, which is moving from one place to another as did the Prophet Muhammad, but shifted to the personal domain, namely changing oneself from "not good to better according to Islamic values".

In its development, the phenomenon of hijrah not only appeared in public spaces that marked the rise of Islamic spirit such as majelis taklim, mosques, schools, and centers of economic activity, but also in virtual public spaces, especially social media. On social media like Instagram, we find a lot of hijrah hashtags. Likewise with other social media such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and others.

The widespread wave of hijrah among urban Muslims is driven among others by the massive "provocation" of hijrah in virtual public spaces such as the internet or social media. On Instagram, for example, the hashtag of hijrah is very easy to find. What is quite phenomenal, for example, is the #pemudahijrah movement initiated by Ustadz Hanan Attaki, who received widespread acceptance from the urban millennial generation, especially in the city of Bandung, West Java. This movement then quickly spread to other cities because it was supported by the use of social media tools. The wave of hijrah among top celebrities also contributed to increasing public attention to the moral movement.

New Construction of Indonesian Urban Muslim Identity

In the context of representation and identity, hijrah has represented a separate identity, namely the identity of urban Muslims who have declared to make changes in attitudes, behaviors, and lifestyles towards a better direction in accordance with Islamic values. This identity eventually formed a new construction of Indonesian urban Muslims. This new construction of Indonesian urban Muslim identity can be said to be embedded in the genre of "devout Muslims".

The construction of "devout Muslims" in this context is characterized by at least three things: first, individual piety in public spaces; second, obedience to the practice of worship (especially the physical worship); and third, the use of religious symbols or identities inherent in the activities of urban Muslim community life.

One important indicator of increasing individual piety in public spaces is the spread of religious studies in urban mosques, offices, and elite housing.

The piety of individuals in the public space has even become a pop culture with the presence of majelis taklim being very popular among the urban Islamic community. Mosques in urban areas are now not only crowded by the routine practice of congregational prayer, but also enlivened with religious studies, especially Sunnah studies, a genre of contemporary da'wah that carries out the purification agenda of Islam based on the Qur'an and Hadith. Likewise with offices and elite houses that become the "land" of the new study of Sunnah propaganda.

The new construction of "devout Muslims" was formed in response to the identity crisis experienced by urban Muslims. The accelerated urban development and modernization process has eroded the spirituality dimension of Muslim societies. At this point, what is called spiritual aridity was born in which there was an imbalance between the dimensions of the worldly life and the afterlife. This lame atmosphere of mysticism and spirituality is a logical consequence of the strong grip of urban modernization and is a common symptom experienced by urban communities in many cities.

Urban modernization which often gives birth to religious secularism raises spirituality shocks for some urban Muslims. The accumulation of this problem is that many of them try to find alternative answers to the crisis of Muslim identity that they experience. In this context, hijrah is an answer and even an oasis for the aridity of spirituality experienced by the urban communities. Hijrah is the answer to the search for alternative religious thoughts and practices outside of mainstream Islam that had existed before, which is not considered to have a significant effect on lifestyle and behavior as "devout Muslims".

Along with the development of information technology, many urban Muslims are trying to find new sources of moral guidance by utilizing social media. The most common trend is looking for instant answers to questions about religion through the internet. New moral guidance sources such as Google, YouTube, Islamic internet sites, and even online fatwas become a reference for some urban Muslims who are experiencing a crisis of spiritualism. Provocation of a very aggressive hijrah in a virtual public space makes the wave of hijrah increasingly widespread among urban Muslims.

The digital transformation that is currently sweeping Indonesia has penetrated all dimensions of life, including spiritual or religious life. The current generation of urban millennial Muslims in Indonesia uses a lot of digital technology in finding new sources of moral guidance.

Economics of Production and Consumption in Hijrah

In understanding the trend of hijrah, an economic sociology approach is very relevant to use especially in relation to production and consumption activities that occur within a hijrah community. Hijrah is not only a religious

phenomenon but also related to the behavior and lifestyle of contemporary urban Muslim society. From the perspective of economic sociology, hijrah will relate to consumption and production patterns that are part of the basic economic activities of society.

Using the perspective of Don Slater's theory, consumption is always seen as culture. Thus it can be said that consumption activities in the hijrah community are also part of the cultural process. Hijrah in the life of contemporary urban society has even become a popular culture that characterizes millennial Muslims in urban areas.

Consumption, in the realm of conventional economics, is an economic activity that can mean wearing, using, or utilizing an item or service. Consumption of a product or service will represent a certain identity. Identity in this context is a statement about oneself related to space and time.

What is consumed (worn, used) by the hijrah individuals, ranging from fashion, food and drinks, banking services, tourism, education, films, to propagation of da'wah also forms part of a separate identity constructed in such a way as group identity.

In the context of consumption or fashion use, for example, hijrah cannot be separated from the use of certain fashion as part of the identity to be highlighted. What is common among urban Muslims is that starting hijrah can begin with how to use clothing in accordance with Islamic values or cover up their aurah. For women, for example, the style of dress that marks a person's hijrah movement is ones like hijabs and loose clothes covering the aurah such as gamis, abaya and kaftan.

According to the KBBI, gamis is a shirt that is leg length and a loose cut. Gamis is a dress with a design that closely resembles the body shape but remains loose. Meanwhile, the abaya is a typical Middle Eastern outfit or commonly referred to as the Arabian Gamis. Abaya itself has a simple model, wide shape and comfortable to wear, a proper Muslim clothing because it covers the body curves. Unlike the Abaya, Kaftan is a long robe with loose sleeves. Kaftan is one of the tunic clothing that was used in the era of the Ancient Persian kingdom several centuries ago. Just like the Abaya, Kaftan clothing has a loose shape with no arm pieces. At the beginning of its appearance, this one hijab fashion model was box-shaped and did not have any detail or decoration. However, over time and developments, hijab fashion is still in demand by many Muslim women because it starts to have a variety of innovations.

As for men, to mark that one has carried out the hijrah, he would wear Muslim clothes such as Galabiyya, jubbas, koko, kurta, Tawb and the like; high-water pants; and also a cap or head cover.

There is a significant change in the way the hijrah community dress themselves. Women who are used to wearing tight clothing that show off

their curves will wear more sharia clothing with loose features so as to not show their aurah. Some of them even wear veils. As for men, a popular general trend is to lengthen (maintain) the beard and shorten the pants above the ankles according to Sunnah guidance.

In terms of financial consumption (utilization of services), the hijrah community prefer Islamic banks in their economic activities to avoid *riba* or usury practices that are forbidden in the Islamic teachings. The rapid growth of Islamic banking in the last ten years marked a significant growth in the niche market of Muslims. Some hijrah individuals even completely cut off (stop) their own access to various banking services and other financial institutions, both conventional and sharia, such as bank accounts, and various types of loans, such as credit cards, mortgages, unsecured loans, leasing, etc. This is done to avoid *riba* practices as a form of obedience to religious teachings.

In terms of consumption (selection or use) of sources of *da'wah* literacy, besides routinely attending the assemblies of religious studies directly (face to face), the hijrah individuals also have a tendency to use electronic media and the internet as sources of *da'wah*. Some television and radio electronic media such as Rodja TV, Radio Fajri, and Radio Wadi has become an alternative that is widely used by hijrah community in seeking new sources of moral guidance.

In the context of food and beverage consumption, hijrah individuals begin to recognize and regularly consume various foods and drinks that contain *tibb nabawi* (Qur'an and hadith-based medical benefits). Demand for food and beverage products such as dates, *habbatus sauda*, saffran, figs, olive oil and other Islamic herbal products has increased significantly. Before hijrah, the literacy of the millennial generation of urban Muslims about "Islamic food and beverage" products was lacking, and after the migration, they are very familiar with these food and beverage products.

In the context of film consumption, several film genres that tend to be favored by the millennial generation of urban Muslims are films that contain Islamic content and spirit such as *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih*, *99 Cahaya di Langit Eropa*, *Cinta Suci Zahrana*, *Assalamualaikum Beijing*, and *Surga yang Tak Dirindukan*. The "sharia" genre film generally slip moral messages that are deemed able to soothe the minds of its audience.

Meanwhile, from the perspective of production theory, the phenomenon of hijrah is also closely related to production activities as one of the basic entities of community economic activity. Within the scope of conventional economics as we understand it, production can be understood as the activity of making, creating, or producing an item or service.

What deserves attention in the context of hijrah is how capitalism agents also work to produce goods or services in accordance with the tastes

of the hijrah individuals' market. Actors of modern capitalism are highly skilled in producing the various goods or services needed by the Muslim community, especially in urban areas. Various fashion products, food and beverages, books, films, and literacy of Islamic da'wah content sell well in the market. This is the shrewdness of capitalism in reading and capturing the tastes of the Indonesian Muslim market. This reality also marks the alliance between capitalism and Islamic conservatism-fundamentalism which at a certain point have many fundamental differences.

Islamic fundamentalism, which was once considered as something out of date, in practice can collaborate with the agents of capitalism. The emergence of Muslim Fashion Show, Islamic film festivals, halal food certification, Islamic Book Fair, Islamic banking and financial services institutions, and Islamic schools is the portrait of marriage between capitalism (modernity) and Islamic fundamentalism which in many cases are diametrically contradictory. Thus it can be said that at a certain point, capitalism with all its agents' anchor funds can also subdue religious conservatism-fundamentalism.

The picture of Islamic conservatism-fundamentalism which is united or integrated in the body of modern capitalism at least exists in several economic and business activities with many dimensions. In answering the needs of the urban millennial generation of films, for example, we can compare the films *Catatan Si Boy* and *Ayat-Ayat Cinta*. In the New Order era, the construction of urban millennial identity appeared in the figure of Boy who represented a handsome and rich young man with many girlfriends. Such construction is now present in Fahri, the leading figure in *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* who responds to everything with a benchmark of faith. In this context, modern capitalism does not seem to want to be left behind by a growing trend among urban millennial Muslims who favor sharia genre films. Film production that contains sharia narratives in its development has increased and has its own market share among urban Muslim millennials.

The shrewdness of capitalism in producing a variety of goods and services needed by the Indonesian Muslim market, especially in urban areas, has increasingly strengthened the construction of a new Indonesian urban millennial Muslim identity. Several business operators engaged in the Muslim fashion sector also enjoyed the benefits of the increasing niche market, both in the upstream and downstream sectors.

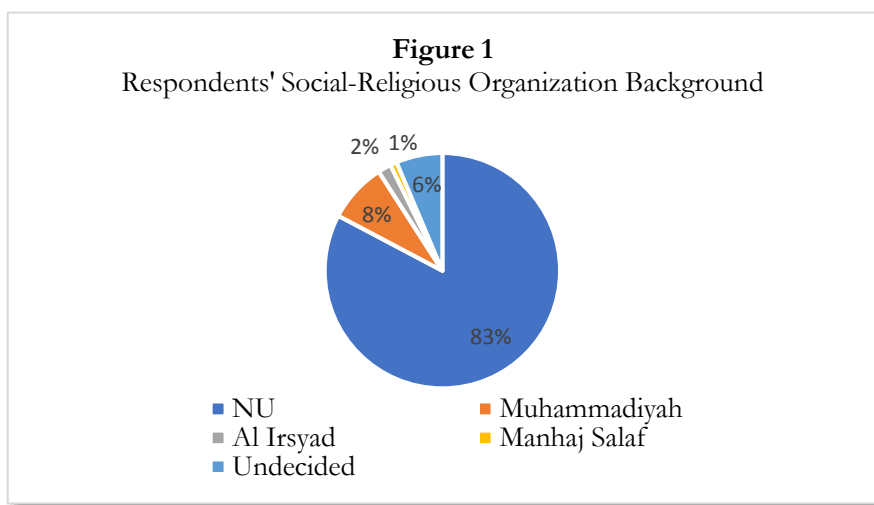
Not only in the goods and services sector, most of the hijrah individuals also often produce Islamic da'wah content such as short lectures by the clerics, summaries of thematic hadiths, sentences of advice and other moral messages. They often share Islamic content from various religious teachers through social media channels such as Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, and so on. WhatsApp groups are also often used as the media of content

distribution, making it easy for these moral messages to be quickly and widely accepted by the public.

Among the urban millennial Muslim generation, the hijrah individuals also often share contents of motivational words, such as dating prohibitions, calls for young marriage, and so on. The most common trend, especially among women who have just started to do hijrah, is to delete selfies that show their faces on social media. If they want to upload selfies, they will cover their faces with their hands or put emoticons in such a way that their faces are not exposed properly. This is done because they believe that the face is part of women's aurah that must be covered, so as not to become the indulgence or consumption of male internet users.

Preference of Urban Muslim Millennial Generation about Islamic Da'wah Content

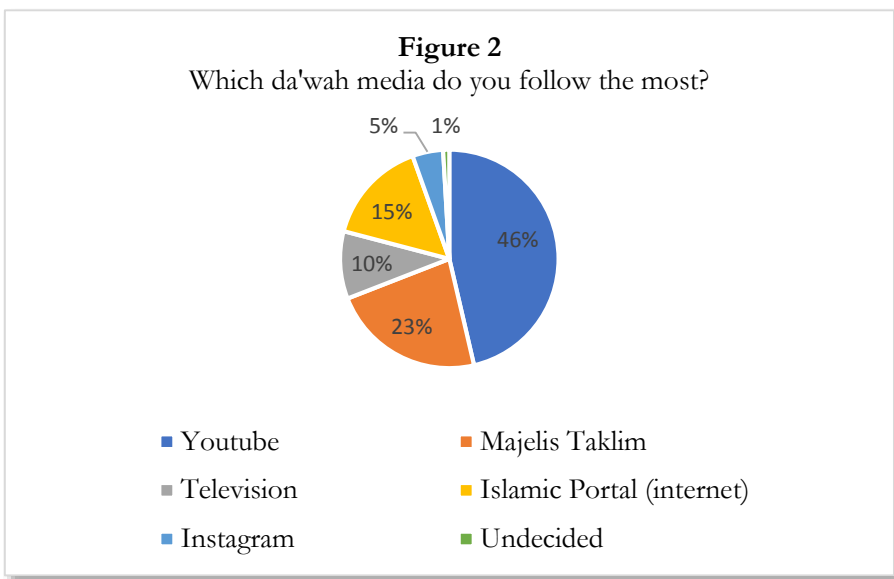
Before discussing the preferences of the millennial generation of urban Muslims about the content of Islamic da'wah, it is necessary to present the profile of the respondents, especially their socio-religious organization background in this study.



Of the 110 respondents taken randomly in the Greater Jakarta area including Bogor City, Bogor Regency, Depok City, South Tangerang City, Tangerang City, Tangerang Regency, Central Jakarta City, South Jakarta City, and West Jakarta City, 91 respondents (83%) stated that they were set in behind Nahdhatul Ulama (NU). Meanwhile 9 respondents (8%) are of Muhammadiyah, 2 respondents (2%) of Al Irsyad, 1 respondent (1%) of Manhaj Salaf, and 7 respondents (6%) said they did not know their religious organization background.

The profile of respondents as shown in Figure 1 reflects that the hijrah community is fluid because it is not tied to a common background (religious ideology/social organization). Although the goal is the same, i.e. hijrah (moving towards a better direction based on Islamic values), but the individuals do not have to come from the same background. This is important to explain that the hijrah community is heterogeneous, even though it is gathered in the same community.

Furthermore, when given the question "Which da'wah media do you follow the most?", 46% of respondents or the majority chose YouTube. Figure 2 below presents the preferences of respondents regarding da'wah media that they often follow.



After YouTube, the most followed da'wah media are majelis taklim (face-to-face teaching) (23%), Islamic portals (internet) (15%), television (10%), and Instagram (5%). Meanwhile, 1% stated that they did not know.

The preference of urban millennial Muslim generation of YouTube as the main source of their da'wah content is well understood because YouTube is an audiovisual media that is the fastest to transform messages and is easily accessed without space and time barriers by anyone who has a gadget (smartphone). YouTube is a video sharing website created by three former PayPal employees in February 2005. This website allows users to upload, watch and share videos.

In its contemporary developments, Islamic da'wah through YouTube has indeed experienced a significant increase. Some dai's or ustadzs even have their own YouTube channels that is managed professionally and have a

significant number of subscribers. Ustadz Hanan Attaki, for example, up to now has collected 1.32 million subscribers and this number will continue to grow as da'wah through YouTube gains more popularity among urban Muslim millennials.

For millennials who have time constraints, YouTube becomes their main preference as a source of moral guidance compared to, for example, majelis taklim or pengajian which require their physical presence. This does not mean that the number of majelis taklim followers, especially in urban areas, has decreased. The presence of majelis taklim is actually thriving as well, especially in elite urban housing and mosques, both in office complexes and other public facilities such as modern shopping centers. What is amazing is that the majelis taklims always attract large congregation. We can interpret this trend as an indicator of the success of the Islamic da'wah movement in the urban community.

Meanwhile, to the question "Who is the ustadz/muballigh/religious preacher that you like the most?", the majority of respondents or 45.45% chose Ustadz Hanan Attaki. Table 1 below presents the respondents' most preferred ustadzs.

Table 1. Preference of Urban Muslim Millennial Generation on Ustadz

No	Ustadz	Total	Percentage
1	Hanan Attaki	50	45.45%
2	Qurais Syihab	16	14.54%
3	Khalid Basalamah	10	9.09%
4	Felix Saw	9	8.18%
5	Abdul Somad	7	6.36%
6	Yusuf Mansur	3	2.72%
7	Adi Hidayat	3	2.72%
8	Rizieq Syihab	3	2.72%
9	Gus Miftah	1	0.90%
10	KH. Said Aqil Siradj	1	0.90%
11	Cak Nun (Emha Ainun Nadjib)	1	0.90%
12	Undecided	6	5.45%
	Total	110	100%

The popularity of Hanan Attaki illustrates that the millennial generation of urban Muslims prefers young clerics and is familiar with the world of information technology. In addition to the delivery of material that is easily accepted, Hanan Attaki is considered to be able to represent the urban millennials, making his da'wah content very popular.

Hanan Attaki is a young preacher from Aceh, a graduate of Al Azhar University in Cairo majoring in Tafsir al-Qur'an. While studying in Cairo, Egypt, Attaki joined the study group of the Qur'an and Islamic sciences and became the editor in chief of the 'Salsabila' bulletin led by a number of Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood figures.

In the city of Bandung, Hanan Attaki worked as a teacher at SQT Habiburrahman and Jendela Hati, and became the Director of Rumah Quran Salman at Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB). Also in Bandung, Attaki founded Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah or Hijrah Youth Movement in March 2015 which later became his missionary channel. Pemuda Hijrah has accounts on Instagram, Facebook and Twitter. In addition to being the founder of Pemuda Hijrah and teaching in various places, Ustadz Hanan Attaki often presents studies on Islam at the Trans Studio Mosque in Bandung.

After Hanan Attaki, the next religious teacher chosen or most liked by respondents was Qurais Syihab (14.54%), Khalid Basalamah (9.09%), Felix Siaw (8.18%), Abdul Somad or often called UAS (6.36%), Yusuf Mansyur, Adi Hidayat, and Rizieq Syihab (each 2.72%), and Gus Miftah, KH. Said Aqil Siradj, and Cak Nun (each 0.90%). Meanwhile, 6 respondents (5.45%) stated they did not know.

The cleric names chosen by the respondents can be classified into four main groups. First, the group of preachers or ustadzs that represents the Islamic culture-traditional da'wah, including Quraish Syihab, K.H. Said Agil Siradj, Gus Miftah and Cak Nun. They are generally of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) background and their da'wah market is the nahdiyyin followers in Indonesia. Second, the preacher or cleric group representing the Salafi Islamic da'wah with the main characteristic of carrying the Sunnah preaching based on the Islamic purification movement. One such preacher is Ustadz Khalid Basalamah. Third, the preachers or clerics that represent moderate Islamic da'wah. This group has similarities with the salafi preacher group because they both carry the Islamic purification movement based on the Qur'an and Hadith. However, this moderate Islamic group is more familiar with the Indonesian da'wah market because it was spearheaded by Muhammadiyah figures, one of the largest socio-religious organizations in Indonesia after Nahdhatul Ulama. This moderate Islamic da'wah group was represented by Ustadz Adi Hidayat. Fourth, the preachers or clerics who represent the da'wah of political Islam. The mention of political Islam is only to emphasize one of the agendas of this group that wants a change in the political system through the model of the khilafah as promoted by the Hizb ut-Tahrir group. This group is represented by Ustadz Felix Siaw.

As for Ustadz Hanan Attaki and Abdul Somad, although in many ways they have a good meeting point with traditional Islamic groups and moderate Islamic groups, they have a very liquid market share. Their da'wah market

niche is multi ideological. Followers of NU, Muhammadiyah and other organization easily accept the da'wah ideas of these two figures. In terms of popularity, both are regarded as celebrity preachers that are no longer bound by strict ideological barriers.

What is interesting about the preference of urban millennial Muslims towards the choice of ustadz is the fact that respondents from NU backgrounds do not necessarily all choose the ustadz or preachers from NU backgrounds. In other words, the identity (ID) of the religious social organization attached to the individual followers of NU does not represent their choice of religious teachers or Islamic da'wah contents.

This reality can be interpreted that the wave of hijrah which is popularized by groups outside of cultural-traditional Islam also received widespread acceptance from adherents of traditional-cultural Islam or NU. This reflects that the popularity of the identity (ID) of social religious organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah is relatively low among the millennial generation of urban Muslims. Although they inherited the identity (ID) of the religious social organization either genetically through their parents or because of the influence from their social and educational environment, they did not have high loyalty or fanaticism towards these religious social organizations. This also became a warning especially for NU and Muhammadiyah related to the contents of their da'wah, including the form of educational curricula, teaching and indoctrination of creed, morals and other aspects of theology that no longer "binds" their followers ideologically.

Aside from not having a strong identity (ID) of religious social organizations, generations of urban millennial Muslims seem to prefer Islamic da'wah models and content that are appropriately packaged according to the pulse of modernity, both in the form of direct Islamic studies (face to face) or through channels of information technology devices. In simple language, generations of urban millennial Muslims hope to be able to "remain cool but at the same time Islamic."

The wave of hijrah can run very rapidly, especially among urban millennial Muslims, because it is driven by religious teachers or da'wah communicators who are quite adept at reading market tastes, utilizing information technology instruments such as YouTube and other social media. Virtual public space has been transformed into an arena of unequal contestation between cultural-traditional Islamic preachers and moderate Islamic preachers in fighting for influence.

Conclusion

The widespread wave of hijrah among the Muslim millennial urban community marks the revival of the spirit of Islam in public spaces. This

phenomenon also marks a very dynamic religious expression in Indonesia after the 1998 reformation.

Hijrah is not only a moral campaign that guides behavior based on Islamic spirit and values, but has also become a life style and even popular culture among the urban Muslim community. In the perspective of popular culture, modernization, globalization, and re-Islamization are interrelated and form new religious patterns where a Muslim can become "modern and pious" at the same time.

As the development of information technology becomes more dynamic, the general trend that is happening right now is that Islamic spirit is rising in almost all segments of life. Hijrah is much loved by Indonesian urban millennial Muslims because it offers a total solution to the Muslim identity crisis they experience. This identity crisis is an accumulation of the aridity of spirituality experienced by urban Muslims due to modernity that set aside religious values from the public sphere as is common in various cities in the world.

All this time, secularism as a product of modernity has tried to separate religion from the public sphere so that religion has truly become a private domain. Individual piety in this context does not need to be actualized in the public domain and does not need to be recognized by others. This condition eventually gave birth to a lame inner atmosphere due to the dryness of the spirituality dimension in the individual followers of religion.

Hijrah in its development has formed a new construction of Indonesian urban millennial Muslim identity as a devout Muslim, a Muslim profile that is standardized with individual piety, and that piety is actualized in a broader dimension of life. Being a devout Muslim does not have to abandon all elements of modernity, but instead it can synergize with them dialectically. If all this time the big project of modernization has always tucked in the message of religious secularism, then this argument can be reversed with the belief that modernity with all its cultural anchors and technological products can strengthen the faith of the individual followers of a religion.

The information technology revolution through the internet with all its derivative products can actually be used positively to strengthen religious beliefs so that followers of religion are not trapped in an emptiness because the shock of spiritualism is often born from the products of modern culture and civilization.

In the perspective of economic sociology, the presence of hijrah community also formed a new market niche for economic activity in production and consumption. Capitalism agents can actually benefit greatly from this hijrah trend by providing a variety of products such as fashion, films, books, education, tourism to the creative economy that contains Islamic da'wah content.

Suggestions that the author can give in this study include:

1. There is a need for stakeholder support, especially the local government in the form of institutional, moral, or other kinds of support, such as granting permission to use public spaces for religious activities (Islamic da'wah).
2. The low identity (ID) of socio-religious organizations among urban millennial Muslims becomes a special note for the two major religious organizations in the country, namely NU and Muhammadiyah, to strengthen the basics of Islamic education both in aqidah and morals in accordance with their respective educational curricula.

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