

Representation of the Meaning of the Expression of Hijrah for Urban Muslim Community through Instagram: A Virtual Ethnographic Study

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 10.33086/jic.v4i1.2852

Keywords:	Abstract:
Hijrah; Expression of Hijrah; Urban Muslim; Social Representation	The representation of the meaning of the expression of hijrah in the space of urban society is not only present in natural daily social life spaces but also in virtual spaces. The meaning of the expression hijrah in this study was traced through the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah). <i>Hijrah</i> is an interesting socio-religious phenomenon observed in urban Muslim communities. Hijrah between them is not just a spiritual phenomenon but has developed into a lifestyle trend. Hijrah has also developed into a social movement that forms a strong group identity. Through the virtual ethnographic method and the social representation theory approach, it was found that the expression of hijrah displayed on Instagram contains many meanings. First, hijrah is a persuasive tool in a business context, building account popularity and spreading religious values. Second, hijrah is a representation of self-existence. Urban communities express their physical and mental religious identity through content with #hijrah. Third, the expression through #hijrah also represents the values of self-change in terms of style of dress, changes in pious behaviour with a high sense of spirituality, positive changes in social behaviour, the realization of a harmonious family, and sensitivity to religious education and religious history. Fourth, #hijrah represents the movement of an Islamic group, especially the Salafi community.

Kata kunci:	Abstrak:
Hijrah; Ekspresi Hijrah; Muslim Urban; Representasi Sosial	Representasi makna ekspresi hijrah dalam ruang masyarakat urban tidak hanya hadir dalam ruang kehidupan sosial nyata sehari-hari, tetapi juga melalui ruang virtual. Makna ekspresi hijrah dalam penelitian ini ditelusuri melalui melalui <i>hashtag</i> hijrah (#hijrah). Hijrah merupakan fenomena sosial keagamaan yang menarik diamati pada masyarakat muslim urban. Hijrah di antara mereka tidak hanya sekedar fenomena spiritual, tetapi telah berkembang menjadi tren gaya hidup. Hijrah pun telah berkembang menjadi gerakan sosial yang membentuk identitas kelompok yang kuat. Melalui metode etnografi virtual dan pendekatan teori representasi sosial, didapatkan bahwa ekspresi hijrah yang ditampilkan melalui instagram mengandung banyak makna. <i>Pertama</i> , hijrah merupakan alat persuasif dalam konteks bisnis, membangun popularitas akun, hingga menyebarkan nilai-nilai keagamaan. <i>Kedua</i> , hijrah merupakan representasi eksistensi diri. Masyarakat urban perkotaan menuangkan identitas diri yang religius, baik secara fisik maupun batin, melalui konten-konten dengan #hijrah. <i>Ketiga</i> , ekspresi melalui #hijrah juga merepresentasikan nilai-nilai perubahan diri dalam hal gaya berpakaian, perubahan perilaku shaleh dengan rasa spiritualitas yang tinggi, perubahan perilaku sosial yang positif, perwujudan keluarga harmonis, serta kepekaan terhadap pendidikan agama dan sejarah agama. <i>Keempat</i> , #hijrah merepresentasikan gerakan suatu kelompok Islam, utamanya komunitas salafi.

Received: March 17, 2022. Revised: August 1, 2022. Accepted: September 30, 2022

1. Introduction

Today's society recognizes the term hijrah as a change in life activities from a negative state to a positive state (Abbas & Qudsy, 2019). Hijrah means leaving something, which in Arabic morphology has the original meaning of moving, leaving, ignoring, and turning away (Ibrahim, 2016). Meanwhile, in Islamic law, hijrah means to separate yourself or move from a kufr (disbelief) country to an Islamic country because you are worried about the safety of monotheism (tauhid) (Royyani, 2020; Suarni, 2017; Taqwa, 2011). The term hijrah cannot be separated from the event of the migration of the Prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. Hijrah is stated in the definition of hijrah according to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia/KBBI). According to the KBBI, hijrah has meanings, including the transfer of the Prophet Muhammad with some of his followers from Mecca to Medina to save themselves and so on from the pressure of the Quraysh infidels (Setiawan, 2019). Muslims then interpreted this event as the first year of hijriyah, which became the guideline for the calendaring of Muslims.

In the era of disruption, with the fast-paced flow of information, information technology is evolving rapidly. Islamic values have also developed (Fikri, 2019). Hijrah today is developing into a trend that continues to expand. This can be seen in one of the significant festival agendas in Indonesia, namely *hijrahfest*. *Hijrahfest* is an agenda for the Muslim youth community that claims to be Indonesia's first Muslim community event. This event goes hand in hand with the growing trend of hijrah among the community. This event was able to attract the attention of the public along with the presentation of current events involving ustadz-ustadz (Muslim Cleric) as well as national artists and identifying themselves with young people. *Hijrahfest* attracted public interest, especially millennials, so on several occasions, the tickets provided were sold out. Thus, the survey above shows that from a society's point of view, hijrah means learning and changing in the context of life and is related to one's religious experience. In everyday life, the following events are labelled as hijrah in society: a drunkard who repents, a musician who becomes a preacher, and a non-Muslim who chooses to convert to Islam. Thus, hijrah demands a new identity change for the perpetrators in the social space. Interpretation in the social space about hijrah develops into a unique thing. Hijrah is not only limited to changes in behaviour but also changes in one's outward appearance.

The role of social media in the hijrah trend in Indonesia cannot be ruled out. *Hijrahfest*, for example, uses several social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to reach the Muslim youth community. The name hijrah is consistently used on several social media accounts. Usually, these accounts are influencer accounts on social media that use religious content, especially Islam. On Instagram, several of these accounts were found, including @hijrahfest, @hijrahcinta, @shiftmedia.id (Pemuda Hijrah), @pena_hijrah, and others. These accounts use the Instagram platform as a sharing medium and have fewer than 100 thousand followers. The @hijrahfest and @shiftmedia.id accounts can have more than 1 million followers (followers). Instagram itself is the number 4 social media platform most often used by Indonesian people, after Youtube, Whats App, and Facebook

With a variety of creative content, the term hijrah is increasingly familiar on social media by the Indonesian people. Individuals in the community did not hesitate to express their "migration" events. The hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is also rife on social media (Meiranti, 2019). On the Instagram platform, as of July 28, 2021, this hashtag has been posted by 12.2 million people. It is undeniable that hijrah has also become a trend and is more content targeting the millennial generation and urban communities. Social media cannot be separated from the lifestyle of urban millennial communities. There is hardly any urban community that does not have social media. Social media is a lifestyle and is one of the tools of urban life in everyday life. Data shows that social media users are dominated by

people aged 13 to 44 years, where the age range of 25-34 years is the group that dominates activities on social media. Thus, the use of social media platforms makes the trend of hijrah increasingly hit urban communities.

This study uses virtual ethnography as an analytical knife. Ethnography is a qualitative research design in which a researcher describes and interprets the exchanged and learned patterns of cultural groups regarding values, customs, beliefs, and language (Nasrullah, 2018b). Ethnography is seen as a comprehensive analysis of the social phenomena of society because it is not only to see the current cultural reality of a group (Siddiq & Salama, 2019; Windiani & Nurul, 2016), but also to explain the past and future realities of the group (Nasrullah, 2018a). Through this method, an analysis of the expression of hijrah can be made comprehensively to produce facts from the perspective of the urban Muslim community regarding hijrah based on a broad spectrum of time.

The research was conducted by analyzing shared content using the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah). Instagram social media was chosen because of the ease of access to browse content through specific hashtags; it can help make it easier for researchers to search, map, and analyze content with the hashtag hijrah that has been spread. Instagram also provides a feature to analyze popular content with specific hashtags so that it is considered to represent a picture of its user community. The data sources in this study are content with the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) spread on Instagram social media. Technically, this content is traced using the explore feature on Instagram's social media by entering the keyword hijrah in the hashtag section. This feature has two alternative content, namely (1) content with the highest engagement based on the number of likes, views, and comments (called Top Post); and (2) the most recently shared content (called Most Recent). These two contents are the content observed in this research.

In this study, it can be concluded that with the various phenomena and trends of migration on social media, it becomes the consumption of urban communities, starting from the trend of looking for a partner online and selfie culture to consumptive behaviour in the context of shopping (Alawiyah & Liata, 2020). Likewise, regarding trends related to religious behaviour, social media cannot be separated from its influence on urban communities. Urban communities have the characteristics of sharing expressions of religious behaviour through social media, and this has an impact on the spread of religious behaviour among them (Hosen, 2021).

In another finding, the opening of information faucets through social media has more or less caused a turmoil of thought among them. The discussion between "what is right" and "what is wrong" in terms of religion is getting louder and louder in line with the use of social media in discussing this issue. The emergence of digital media amplifies various models of debate with a more significant number of masses (Sapriillah et al., 2020). This also impacts the personal character of urban Muslims, especially Generation Z (Kurniawan, 2021). However, contestation through a dialectical digital platform is needed to build a dialogical Islamic civilization through the birth of new religious creations (Sapriillah et al., 2020). This side shows the characteristics of the religious identity of urban communities that are more accommodating to modernity. The displayed religious expressions become very dynamic in line with their function as a cultural synthesis that offers a more modern and not outdated Islam.

In addition, the powerful religious expression also shows that the religious process in urban communities requires space for the expression of piety amid the loud bustle of the city, full of uncertainty, dissatisfaction, and limited space for expression. The stretch of religious expression in urban communities can birth to popular religious movements, especially in seizing the social media stage (Sapriillah et al., 2020). Various Islamic groups contest each other on this stage. The battle of narratives, discourses and fatwas also emerged from these various groups, making the space for religious expression in urban communities very diverse.

The variety of expressions of hijrah through Instagram is not only an expression without meaning but represents a construction of the meaning of hijrah in people's minds. The representation of the meaning of the expression of hijrah on social media, especially Instagram, through the search for the hashtag #hijrah is not just a behaviour controlled by trends. From the point of view of social representation theory, every individual behaviour is a creative actor in his or her social reality. This means that the hijrah behaviour displayed by people on Instagram is not only a form of human compliance with norms or trends about migration. However, furthermore, the meaning of expression through Instagram is a representation of values, motives, and experiences that describe people's meaning of hijrah.

2. Methods

The research method used is virtual ethnography. Ethnography is a qualitative research design in which a researcher describes and interprets the exchanged and learned patterns of cultural groups regarding values, customs, beliefs, and language (Nasrullah, 2018b). Ethnography is seen as a comprehensive analysis of the social phenomena of society because it is not only to see the current cultural reality of a group (Siddiq & Salama, 2019; Windiani & Nurul, 2016), but is also able to explain the past and future realities of the group (Nasrullah, 2018a). Through this method, an analysis of the expression of hijrah can be made comprehensively to produce facts from the perspective of the urban Muslim community regarding hijrah based on a broad spectrum of time.

The research was conducted by analyzing shared content using the hashtag (#hijrah) through Instagram social media. Instagram was chosen because of the ease of access to browse content through specific hashtags. It can help make it easier for researchers to search, map, and analyze content with the hashtag hijrah that has been spread. Instagram also provides a feature to analyze popular content with specific hashtags so that it is considered to represent a picture of its user community. The data sources in this study are content with the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) spread on Instagram social media. Technically, this content is traced using the explore feature on Instagram by entering the keyword hijrah in the hashtag section. This feature has two alternative content, namely (1) content with the highest engagement based on the number of likes, views, and comments (called Top Post); and (2) the most recently shared content (called Most Recent). These two contents are the content observed in this research. The observation was carried out for one week at two Instagram primetime times, namely at 11.00 – 13.00 and 19.00 – 21.00. The data is observed during that period and then stored using the print screen or record screen feature, either in the form of images or videos. The following is a flow chart of the process in this research:

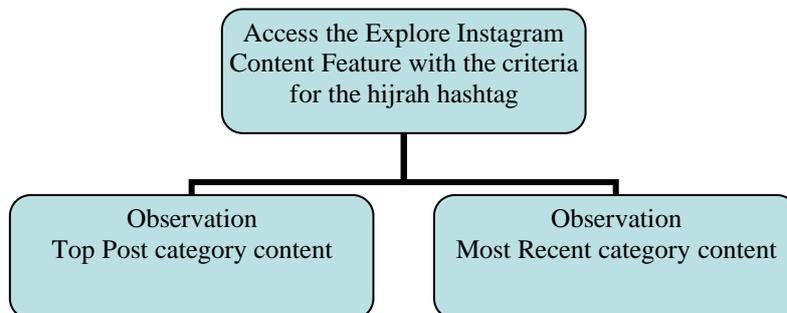


Figure 1. Research Process Flowchart

3. Result and Discussion

In the research process, there was at least 13.1 million content with the hashtag or hashtag #hijrah available through Instagram social media. For each observation, 20 content is taken from the

Top Post category and 20 from the Most Recent category. Thus, 280 contents with the hashtag hijrah were collected. Based on the analysis of the 280 content, it is classified that the hashtagged content or the hashtag hijrah is at least a representation, namely: (1) persuasive tools, (2) religious self-existence, (3) religious values, and (4) certain Islamic groups. Here is the explanation:



Figure 2. One of the content with the hashtag #hijrah as a representation of a persuasive tool

Social media, including Instagram, is not just a medium for sharing content or social media connections online. Many people also use Instagram for business. So many products from small businesses to large industries are scattered for sale through Instagram. This indicates the massive role of social media as a substantial social capital, one of which is in forming seller-buyer bonds (Alyusi, 2016). Instagram has commercially provided promotional space for its users (Alfian & Nilowardono, 2019; Khan et al., 2021).

Business development through Instagram has also entered many Muslim communities in Indonesia. This is in line with the growth of the halal industry in Indonesia. Recently, the halal industry has overgrown various fields, from culinary, fashion, tourism, and health, to cosmetics (MD & Achiria, 2020). The echo is getting louder and accompanied by social changes in halal lifestyles mushrooming in various Muslim communities. The massive "hijrah" movement that has become a trend in Muslim communities, especially urban Muslims, has also impacted increasing consumer demand for halal products (Hardiyanto et al., 2020; MD & Achiria, 2020). This increases the interest of urban youth, especially to enter the business world with an Islamic face. This can motivate more strongly along with the accompanying religious values (Anwar et al., 2019).

This situation makes the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) inseparable from the expression or behaviour of buying and selling. The hijrah hashtag (#hijrah) does not only represent religious behaviour or religious expression but also represents the persuasive behaviour of sellers to attract consumers. Content that uses the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) in the caption or message words for each content is content that contains commercial products with Islamic nuances, especially fashion. This is expected to be the entry point for consumers to make first contact by looking at their products.

However, the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is not only used as a medium for promoting Islamic products. Other products that are not relevant, such as vaccine cards or mobile phones, are sold on Instagram using the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah).

This finding confirms that the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) has a persuasive appeal that can attract the attention of many people. The hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is an effective marketing strategy in the digital world. In the Muslim community, religious content can trigger the intention of potential consumers to glance at their products, thereby increasing the opportunity to buy them (Hardiyanto et al., 2020).

In addition to containing persuasive content to attract consumers, the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is also used to increase engagement on an Instagram account. The issue of engagement is related to

comment traffic, the number of likes, and the number of followers of an account activist. The success of building engagement is critical, especially for Instagram users with the economic goals behind it. More engagement is directly proportional to the economic profit of an account (Tafesse & Wood, 2021).

In addition to economic issues, engagement is also related to the message's reach from the content created. Account activists, both individuals, organizations, and communities, also aim to broaden their influence. So, we need the right strategy, where using hashtags is one way.

In the "hijrah" community, the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) plays a vital role in increasing profits and the reach of information shared. For Islamic product accounts, the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is a weapon to reach consumers as wide as possible. Mainly consumers of halal industries. While on the accounts of movements or religious communities, the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is very useful in reaching many masses in cyberspace. This will have implications for the community and the "hijrah" movement, which is increasingly widely known by the public.

In conveying its message, an account can use explicit messages with content that directly relates to the Muslim community in question. However, it is not uncommon for messages and content to be created that are not directly related but only use creative content in the form of simple quizzes or clips of Islamic films that are widely known. The content is always accompanied by invitations to visit and follow certain accounts.

This also indicates the pragmatic meaning of the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah). In this case, the social representation of hijrah is seen as a socially helpful tool. The hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is seen as an effective marketing strategy, especially in targeting urban Muslim communities familiar with the hijrah movement on social media. At least this meaning appears in the entrepreneurial group on Instagram that sells Islamic products. In addition, this meaning of hijrah is well realized by specific movements and communities to increase their influence on the broader community. In consumer pattern behaviour, the development of the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) in product persuasion indicates a change in behaviour that is more selective in using halal or Islamic products (Fajriani, 2019).

The phenomenon of hijrah in urban Muslim communities through expressions with the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) on Instagram cannot be separated as an expression of religious identity (Fajriani, 2019). The hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is used as a religious self-existence, especially in the form of an appearance that is seen as Islamic and has piety values. The piety that appears is not only about piety in worship; furthermore, the meaning of social piety appears to be the primary meaning in the expression of the migration of urban Muslim communities (Fajriani, 2019; Haryadi & Munandar, n.d.). For urban people, self-existence through social media has a significant role. This is related to their social space, which is mostly in cyberspace. Through videos and photos, the visualisation process is the main thing in expressing migration on Instagram. The visualization process can attract followers' activities and increase the attention of others as a direct effect of the expression of self-existence (Aisyah et al., 2020).

Expressions of self-existence tend to show the importance of physical changes in emigration. Physical changes that are meant are changes in fashion or clothing styles that are identified as Muslim. This is also the existence of a firm and clear religious identity (MD & Achiria, 2020; Rofhani, 2015).

In addition to religious and physical existence, the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) also shows the personal psychological identity of its users. The existence of hijrah appears at least with a strong self-identity, surrender, and belief in oneself. This positive self-image shows that the enactment of the hijrah process on oneself can be realized not only from physical or appearance changes but also must appear in mood changes or psychological changes. Hijrah is imaged as a healthy person and has a strong mentality. In general, the echo of hijrah in the urban season raises concerns that hijrah will lose its substantive meaning because it is only seen as a symbolic transition (Addini, 2019). However,

change in behaviour, speech, and appearance (Abdullah, 2020). Changes in appearance into expressions that appear intensely through the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah). This explicitly shows that hijrah has the primary value in the form of changes in the way of dressing. Hijrah is also in the meaning of the urban Muslim community, represented as a process of physical change which is expressed through content on Instagram with various photo styles, especially selfies. The data shows that the change in appearance appears more often in the form of women wearing the hijab or veil. This indicates that the value of dressing, especially women's clothing with the veil, has repeatedly tried to be represented through the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) on Instagram (Zahara et al., 2020). This shows a systematic effort to spread the values of veiled clothing as the emigration identity of urban Muslim women. So it is not surprising that the representation of women's understanding of hijrah through the massive use of the hijab and veil continues to grow (Yurisa & Muassomah Muassomah, 2020). The representation of these clothes is often the boundary between what is shari'a and what is not.

Hijrah as a process of change is also represented as being achieved through the medium of the learning process. Of course, the learning process in question is the process of religious education so that a person finds the best path to change for himself. Hijrah messages that are shared through the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) can represent the importance of religious education as part of the representation of the meaning of hijrah in urban Muslim communities. The invitation to study at a boarding school and reopen Islamic historical stories that symbolize the glory of Islam became a critical narrative present in the dissemination of content with the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah). Education is a process of human transformation which is a process that is in line with the concept of hijrah (Abidin, 2017).

Another representation that appears through the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is the existence of harmonious family values. This content is not the dominant content to appear. However, its existence illustrates that changes in favourable conditions through hijrah are also represented in the picture of a harmonious family. These harmonious family values are reflected in the romantic and affectionate relationship between husband and wife. Family harmony is an essential point in the spread of religious values. Even the family can be the initial source of the transformation of goodness. This also happened in the early days of the Prophet's da'wah, which was carried out secretly, especially to the closest family, forming da'wah cadres and training in worship practices at the house of al-Arqam bin Abil Arqam, strengthening relationships and support for families (Nurasykim, 2019).

The phenomenon of the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) cannot be separated from the transcendent relationship between the servant and his Lord. Hijrah has the primary meaning of a process of self-change to truly get closer to God (Royyani, 2020). The expression of hijrah on Instagram also represents the same thing, where the values of religious spirituality emerge explicitly. Spiritual messages are the theme of content with the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah). As a process of human transformation, Hijrah cannot be released as part of spiritual transformation so that a servant can form a close relationship with God to find peace of heart (Royyani, 2020).

Content with the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) can spread spiritual values, starting from faith and the virtues of the afterlife, building relationships with God through prayer and values of worship. Another thing related to the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) is the meaning of a Muslim's positive behaviour and mental condition. Hijrah is not only defined as territorial migration but can also have a metaphorical meaning, namely inner and outer migration (Abbas & Qudsy, 2019). Content with the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah) represents *zuhud* (God oriented), forgiveness, humility, and full of motivation. Hijrah also represents a positive relationship between humans. So, the meaning of hijrah is not only a change in closeness to God but also a change in oneself into a human being that brings a sense of comfort to others and the environment.

The term hijrah has spread widely among urban Muslim communities. This means that hijrah is not only familiar to communities with religious backgrounds, such as groups of students or other religious activists. The term hijrah has entered various social spaces in urban areas. This is inseparable from the development of social media. Moreover, urban or urban communities have a close attachment to social media. Social media containing various hijrah content can spark the curiosity of various elements of society, especially young people from any circle, not only among students and other religious communities (Syahrin & Mustika, 2020).

Hijrah as a Representation of an Islamic Group



Figure 5. One of the content with the hashtag hijrah as a representation of an Islamic group (*Santri* group)

This condition led to a surge of hijrah, not only a surge of religious da'wah but developed into a movement with various interests, from political to economic (Hidayat et al., 2021). The trend is also getting more substantial, along with the involvement of many public figures, especially artists, in mainstreaming hijrah among the urban Muslim community. Artists build their stage so that da'wah values are linked to the entertainment stage and business commodities in it (Amna, 2019; Hosen, 2021). Certain Islamic groups can appropriately utilise the stretch of hijrah as a trend and lifestyle. The principle of this utilization at least involves spreading the teachings of a group to persuasion efforts so that certain Islamic groups can develop in society ((Hosen, 2021; Irmansyah, 2020). In other words, stretching hijrah can develop into a massive and influential digital da'wah in urban communities (Nugraha et al., 2020).

Da'wah and hijrah movements through Instagram, which are depicted through the hashtag hijrah (#hijrah), can represent the movements of certain Islamic groups. Based on the content that is spread, either implicitly or explicitly, the content of the hijrah hashtag (#hijrah) is affiliated with the Salafi Islam group. The Salafi community is present through content that displays veiled women. The community considers the syar'i hijab and veil as the most striking identity markers of the Salafi group among the various variants of hijab styles in Indonesia (Mahanani, 2017). In addition, this community also attracts attention through creative advice content, which is equipped with illustrations of faceless human images. This illustrates the middle ground between their belief about the prohibition of drawing animate creatures and the need for interesting creative content (Zain, 2018).

The Salafi community effectively utilizes social media in carrying out their da'wah (Chozin, 2013). The Salafi Muslim community can use Instagram as a medium for spreading teachings and accounts affiliated with it. The Salafi community is consistently present on primetime Instagram with content that can occupy the top post category. The Salafi group is also not left behind in seizing the stage of modernity and is even forming a new form of the religious movement called urban Salafism (Sapriillah et al., 2020). However, the Instagram space through the hijrah hashtag is not only owned by Salafi groups. The santri community, for example, also uses the hashtag as a space for expression and dissemination of its content. This makes a virtual space for contesting the ideas and thoughts of various Islamic groups.

4. Coclussion

Hijrah is an interesting socio-religious phenomenon to be observed in urban Muslim communities. Hijrah is not just a spiritual and religious phenomenon but has developed into a trend and lifestyle, including clothing, cosmetics, to culinary styles. Hijrah has also developed into a social movement that forms a strong group identity. The representation of the hijrah expression displayed on Instagram by searching for the hijrah hashtag contains various meanings, including First, hijrah is a persuasive tool in a business context, building account popularity and spreading religious values. The hashtag #hijrah can be used as an effective digital marketing strategy for achieving these goals. Second, hijrah is a representation of self-existence. Urban communities express their physical and mental religious identity through content with #hijrah. Third, the expression through the hashtag #hijrah also represents the religious values of the hijrah process. Hijrah is represented as a change in self in terms of style of dress, changes in pious behaviour with a high sense of spirituality, changes in positive social behaviour, the realization of a harmonious family, and sensitivity to religious education and religious history. Fourth, #hijrah represents the movement of an Islamic group, especially the Salafi community. The Salafi group is systematically able to use #hijrah in spreading their schools of thought and syar'i limits in their beliefs, as well as introducing accounts representing their movements. However, although the findings show the dominance of this group, another Islamic group was able to emerge, namely the santri group. This shows that a diverse Muslim community always fronts the group movement through #hijrah.

5. Acknowledgment

In this study, some parties contributed to the completion of this settlement to the end. We thank the dean and vice dean for academic & institutional fields of the ushuluddin & humanities faculty for the opportunity so that this research can be carried out. Thank you also to fellow young lecturers in the ushuluddin & humanities faculty for being discussion partners so that the research perspective is more comprehensive.

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