

THE HIJRAH PHENOMENON ON INSTAGRAM: An Analysis of Hadith Memes in Religious and Social Transformation

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Abstrak

Fenomena hijrah di Instagram telah melahirkan ekosistem meme hadis yang berkembang secara masif dan menjadi salah satu media utama penyebaran pesan-pesan keagamaan di kalangan muslim Indonesia. Namun kajian mengenai fenomena ini masih cenderung terfokus pada aspek komunikasi digital dan belum banyak dianalisis secara integratif melalui perspektif ilmu hadis dan akhlak tasawuf. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis tipologi meme hadis hijrah di Instagram, mengevaluasi tingkat otentisitas hadis yang digunakan, serta mengkaji implikasinya terhadap transformasi sosial keagamaan dalam komunitas hijrah. Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan analisis konten tematik terhadap meme-meme hadis yang beredar melalui tagar #hadishijrah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hadis-hadis yang dominan digunakan dalam meme hijrah umumnya berstatus sahih atau hasan. Namun dalam proses mediatisasi, terjadi pergeseran framing dari orientasi transformasi spiritual dan pembinaan akhlak menuju konstruksi identitas religius yang lebih menonjolkan simbol-simbol kesalehan visual. Kondisi ini menyebabkan sebagian nilai akhlak tasawuf, seperti keikhlasan, muhasabah, dan tazkiyat al-nafs, mengalami penyederhanaan makna. Penelitian ini juga menemukan adanya gejala komodifikasi hadis serta pergeseran otoritas keagamaan dari institusi tradisional kepada aktor-aktor digital non akademis. Temuan ini berkontribusi dalam pengembangan kerangka analitis yang mengintegrasikan studi hadis, akhlak tasawuf, dan media digital dalam memahami dinamika keberagamaan muslim kontemporer.

Kata Kunci: Hijrah, Instagram, Akhlak Tasawuf, Transformasi Sosial Keagamaan

Abstract

The migration phenomenon on Instagram has given rise to a massive ecosystem of hadith memes, becoming a primary medium for disseminating religious messages among Indonesian Muslims. However, studies on this phenomenon tend to focus on digital communication and have not yet received integrative analysis from the perspectives of hadith science and Sufism. This study aims to analyze the typology of hadith memes on Instagram, evaluate the authenticity of the hadith used, and examine their implications for socio-religious transformation within the hijrah community. The study employed a qualitative method with a thematic content analysis approach to hadith memes circulating through the hashtag #hadishijrah. The results show that the hadiths predominantly used in hijrah memes are generally considered authentic or hasan. However, during the mediatization process, there has been a shift in framing from an orientation toward spiritual transformation and moral development toward the construction of a religious identity that emphasizes visual symbols of piety. This condition has led to a simplification of some Sufism moral values, such as sincerity, self-reflection, and tazkiyat al-nafs. This research also found signs of the commodification of hadith and a shift in religious authority from traditional institutions to non-academic digital actors. These findings contribute to the development of an analytical framework that integrates hadith studies, Sufism, and digital media to understand the dynamics of contemporary muslim religiosity.

Keywords: Hijrah, Instagram, Sufi Ethics, Religious and Social Transformation

INTRODUCTION

Social media have significantly transformed patterns of religious communication, including the ways in which Muslims obtain, understand, and disseminate Islamic knowledge. Instagram has become an important digital space for the formation of contemporary religious expression because it enables religious messages to be presented in concise, attractive, and easily shareable visual forms. In this context, hadith is not only presented as a normative source of Islamic teachings but has also been transformed into digital communication materials through images, short quotations, infographics, and memes. Firmansyah and Rizki (2023) demonstrate that Instagram has developed into an important medium for Islamic preaching, enabling hadith to reach broader audiences through the interactive characteristics of digital communication.

One religious phenomenon that has developed alongside the growing use of social media is the hijrah movement. The phenomenon of hijrah, particularly among younger generations, is no longer limited to personal spiritual transformation but has also developed into a social identity expressed through symbols, lifestyles, language, and religious practices in digital public spaces. Annisa (2018) shows that hijrah among millennials is closely associated with the construction of piety and the formation of social identity. Instagram has subsequently become an important space for this process because it allows religious experiences and identities to be produced and consumed through persuasive visual content (Musahadah & Triyono, 2019).

Within this digital ecosystem, hadith memes occupy an interesting yet problematic position. On the one hand, presenting hadith through memes can make religious messages more accessible, communicative, and appealing to social media users. On the other hand, reducing hadith to visual formats may eliminate historical context, textual meaning, and the scholarly explanations surrounding them. This issue is particularly important because hadith is a source of Islamic teachings supported by complex traditions of verification and interpretation. When hadith is separated from its context and packaged into brief messages designed to attract users' attention, there is a possibility of *decontextualization* that may influence how religious messages are understood. The development of social media algorithms, which tend to provide greater visibility to visually and emotionally engaging content, further reinforces this problem (Amin, 2025).

Another issue concerns the meaning of hijrah itself. Substantively, hijrah should not be limited to symbolic or identity-based change but should be oriented toward behavioral transformation and character development. Khamim (2022) emphasizes the importance of the Sufi dimension within the hijrah movement so that transformation does not remain merely formal but also reaches the inner dimension and character formation. In the context of social media, there is a possibility of a shift from substantive piety toward performative piety, in which religious expression emphasizes social recognition and self-presentation rather than authentic moral transformation. Therefore, the relationship between hadith memes, the construction of hijrah identity, and religious and social transformation requires more critical examination.

Several previous studies have examined the use of hadith and Islamic preaching on Instagram. Bakar and Manik (2024), for example, analyzed hadith content concerning women on religious Instagram accounts and identified particular strategies used to increase audience engagement

and attract followers. However, their study focused more on content strategies and gender issues than on the authenticity of hadith and its implications for religious and social transformation. Sembiring and Manik (2025) examined the values of hadith in Buya Syakur's Sufi advice on Instagram and found that the platform can serve as an effective space for Islamic preaching. Nevertheless, their study focused on a single religious figure and did not examine the dynamics of the hijrah community more broadly.

Another study by Manik et al. (2025) examined the use of hadith in the Islamic preaching content of Naisa Alifia Yuriza's Instagram account. This study provides an important perspective on the use of hadith by Muslim influencers but does not situate hadith memes within the broader ecosystem of the hijrah movement as a collective religious and social phenomenon. Meanwhile, Rizaldi (2023) identified tendencies toward the commodification and instrumentalization of hadith on the social media account of the Musawarah study community. Suganda and Fahmi (2025) similarly demonstrated that hadith can be commodified on social media for commercial purposes. These studies indicate that hadith in digital spaces does not function solely as a source of religious messages but may also be utilized to construct social and economic interests.

On the other hand, Musahadah and Triyono (2019) examined the hijrah phenomenon and persuasive content on Instagram by emphasizing rhetorical strategies and their social influence. Mika (2026) more specifically examined the representation of hadith in Instagram memes from the perspective of Salafism and digital propaganda. Nevertheless, that study focused on Salafism as a specific ideological entity. Thus, there remains an opportunity to understand hadith memes within the hijrah phenomenon as a broader and cross-group religious and social movement.

Based on these previous studies, a research gap remains in the limited integration of meme analysis as a form of visual communication with the study of religious and social transformation within the hijrah phenomenon. Previous studies have tended to focus on preaching strategies, hadith commodification, particular religious figures, or specific religious groups. The dimensions of morality and Sufism as important indicators of religious transformation have also received insufficient attention. Therefore, this study offers a novel approach by integrating digital hadith studies, meme analysis, the hijrah phenomenon, and an ethical-Sufi perspective to examine how hadith messages are constructed and utilized to shape religious and social transformation on Instagram.

This study aims to analyze the phenomenon of hadith memes within the Instagram hijrah ecosystem, particularly in terms of the form and contextualization of hadith presentation, the ethical and Sufi values constructed within the content, and its contribution to religious and social transformation. The study also seeks to determine whether hadith memes function as a medium that encourages substantive moral transformation or instead primarily produce forms of performative piety influenced by the logic of social media popularity. Academically, this study is expected to contribute to the development of digital hadith studies and religious communication. Practically, it may provide insights for digital preachers, hijrah communities, and religious institutions in developing the dissemination of hadith content that is more contextual, academically responsible, and oriented toward character formation.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach using a thematic content analysis design to examine the hijrah phenomenon on Instagram through hadith memes circulating as representations of contemporary religious discourse in digital spaces. This approach was selected because the study focuses not only on the presence of hadith-related content but also on how hadith is represented, contextualized, and communicated through visual and textual elements in the Instagram environment.

The research data consisted of Instagram posts containing quotations, visual representations, or interpretations of hadith related to the theme of hijrah. Data were collected through systematic searches using the hashtag #hadishijrah, complemented by searches for relevant keywords associated with hijrah and hadith. The data sources included posts published by individual accounts as well as religious institutions and Islamic preaching accounts that actively produce religious content. To ensure relevance, the study applied several inclusion criteria: (1) the post was publicly accessible on Instagram; (2) the content explicitly referred to, quoted, or interpreted a hadith concerning hijrah; (3) the post contained visual or textual characteristics of a meme, such as short quotations, images, graphic designs, or combinations of text and visual elements; and (4) the content was situated within the broader discourse of Islamic preaching or hijrah. Posts that did not contain a clear reference to hadith or were unrelated to the discourse of hijrah were excluded from the dataset.

Data collection involved identifying relevant posts, documenting their textual and visual components, recording the account characteristics and publication information, and organizing the materials into an analytical dataset. Particular attention was given to the wording of hadith quotations, accompanying captions, visual symbols, religious messages, and the ways in which the content framed hijrah as an individual or collective religious practice.

The collected data were analyzed thematically through several stages. First, the data were reduced by selecting posts that met the established criteria. Second, the selected memes were categorized according to their dominant themes and representational patterns, including the construction of hijrah, moral transformation, religious identity, and expressions of piety. Third, the textual and visual elements were interpreted in relation to the representation and contextualization of hadith. Finally, the findings were examined to identify recurring patterns and their implications for religious and social transformation within the digital hijrah discourse on Instagram. This analytical process enabled the study to assess whether hadith memes function primarily as instruments of substantive religious and moral transformation or as forms of performative religious expression shaped by the communicative logic of social media.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

TYOLOGY OF HADITH MEMES ON INSTAGRAM

An examination of content using the hashtag #hadishijrah on Instagram reveals that hadith memes appear in various typologies, representing new ways of conveying religious messages in digital

media. Based on the findings, these memes can be classified into several forms: spiritual motivational memes emphasizing the process of hijrah and self-improvement, normative-educational memes oriented toward conveying religious teachings textually, personal reflective memes connecting hadith with individual spiritual experiences, and social-humanistic memes emphasizing ethical values and relationships among Muslims. The meme posts can be seen in the following figures.



Figure 1. Instagram Post by @saqu.or.id

The first meme, uploaded by the @saqu.or.id account, presents a highly structured visual construction. The main title, “Hijrah Itu Proses Bukan Instan” (“Hijrah Is a Process, Not an Instant Change”), is written using two layers of typography: orange lettering for the words “Hijrah Itu Proses” and bold dark-green lettering for “Bukan Instan.” This visual arrangement creates the message that hijrah is not an instantaneous transformation but a process or journey. The post contains a translation of a hadith narrated by al-Bukhari concerning intention: “Indeed, deeds are judged according to intentions, and every person will receive what he intended.” This hadith is unquestionably authentic and classified as sahih, with a very strong chain of transmission (Al-‘Ashqalani, 2008; Al-Kasymiri, 2005; Al-Bukhārī, 1993).

Textually, the use of this hadith can be considered appropriate. However, what requires further examination is how a hadith concerning intention is reframed within the narrative of hijrah as a “process.” Consequently, a theological message concerning the universal importance of sincerity in every deed is narrowed into a motivational message specifically directed toward the hijrah community.

The selection of the hadith on intention is highly relevant and significant because the concepts of sincerity and intention constitute fundamental foundations in the Sufi tradition, distinguishing outward deeds from genuine inner transformation. Imam al-Ghazali emphasizes that

intention is the spirit of every deed; without a sound intention, religious activities lack genuine spiritual value (Al-Ghazali, 2004).

The meme from @saqu.or.id can therefore be considered successful in capturing the essence of Sufism, which emphasizes the inner dimension of hijrah. Nevertheless, visually, the meme depicts a veiled woman holding the Qur'an against the background of a crowd, which paradoxically emphasizes the outward expression of hijrah rather than the inner dimension conveyed by the quoted hadith. The tension between the verbal message—intention and inner transformation—and the visual message—appearance-based identity—reflects one of the fundamental paradoxes in hijrah hadith memes: the hadith text calls for inner depth, while the visual representation encourages identification through outward appearance.

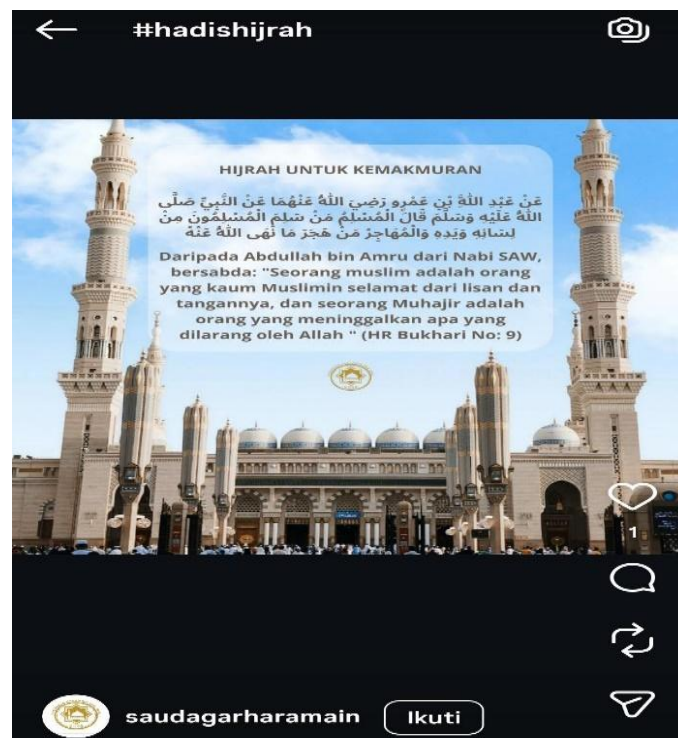


Figure 2. Instagram Post by @saudagarharamain

The second meme from @saudagarharamain contains a hadith narrated by Abdullah ibn Amr and recorded in *Sabih al-Bukhari*, hadith number 9. The Arabic text and its translation state that a true Muslim is one from whose tongue and hand other Muslims are safe, while a true *Muhajir* is one who abandons what Allah has prohibited. This hadith is authentic and recorded in *Sabih al-Bukhari* through an authentic chain of transmission from Abdullah ibn Amr ibn al-'Ash (Al-Bukhārī, 1993).

The use of this hadith in the context of hijrah is highly appropriate because it explicitly redefines the concept of *Muhajir* from a physical meaning—migration from Mecca to Medina—to a moral-ethical meaning, namely abandoning what Allah has prohibited. This provides a strong normative foundation for understanding contemporary hijrah as behavioral transformation (Al-Kasymiri, 2005).

This meme belongs to the category of authentic hadith with appropriate contextualization, a typology that is relatively uncommon within the ecosystem of hijrah hadith memes on Instagram.

However, the absence of an explanation of the historical context of the hadith means that audiences receive only its final message without understanding the depth of meaning underlying it.

Semantically, there is a significant tension between the title and the content of the hadith. The hadith discusses the definition of a Muslim and a *Mubajir* in terms of morality and self-control, whereas the title emphasizes “prosperity” as the objective of hijrah. The identity of the @saudagarharamain account further reinforces the interpretation that a hadith about hijrah is being used as spiritual legitimization for commercial activities. From the perspective of the sociology of religion, this represents a classic example of the instrumentalization of religious texts for economic interests (Garwan, 2020). From the perspective of Sufi ethics, this phenomenon directly relates to the issue of intention and sincerity: is hijrah genuinely oriented toward closeness to Allah, or has it been commodified as spiritual branding to gain consumer trust? This meme represents a typology that may be described as an “authentic hadith meme with commercial framing,” in which the authenticity of the text is preserved, but its presentation shifts toward interests beyond the spiritual substance of the hadith itself.

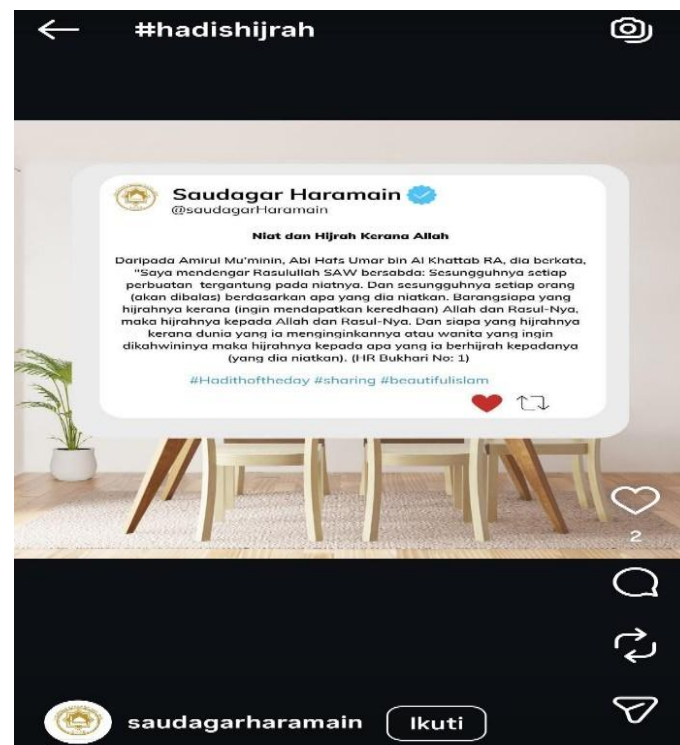


Figure 3. Instagram Post by @saudagarharamain

The third meme presents a different visual format, using a screenshot resembling a Twitter post, with a minimalist and aesthetic dining-room background. The hadith presented is the hadith concerning intention narrated by Umar ibn al-Khattab and recorded in *Sahih al-Bukhari* (Al-Bukhārī, 1993). It is the same hadith cited in the first meme, but this version is presented more comprehensively by identifying the narrator, Amir al-Mu'minin Abu Hafs Umar ibn al-Khattab, and including the complete context of the hadith, including the statement that whoever migrates for worldly gain or for a woman will receive only what he migrated for (Al-ʿAshqalani, 2008).

The more complete presentation indicates a higher level of hadith literacy than that found in the first meme because the second part of the hadith on intention—which is frequently omitted from other memes—is precisely where its critical message lies: an incorrect intention undermines the spiritual value of hijrah. The meme also provides verification information by including the hadith number, making it easier for audiences to trace the original source.

This third meme contains the deepest message among the memes examined. The statement that migration undertaken for worldly purposes or for a woman results only in a worldly migration constitutes a direct critique of superficial forms of hijrah. This Prophetic warning is particularly relevant in the Instagram context because the motivation for hijrah may become intertwined with social aspirations, trends, or self-presentation (Taufiq & Komari, 2020).

The meme was uploaded by an account with a business background which, in the previous meme, associated hijrah with economic prosperity. This creates a significant irony: an account that implicitly uses hijrah as a commercial instrument uploads a hadith that explicitly criticizes worldly motivations for hijrah. Such a phenomenon illustrates the complexity of the Instagram hadith meme ecosystem, in which religious content that is textually authentic and spiritually meaningful may be positioned within an account and narrative that are not entirely consistent with the spirit of the hadith (Fernando et al., 2023). This typology can therefore be categorized as an authentic hadith meme with contextual contradiction.



Figure 4. Instagram Post by @saudagarharamain

The fourth meme contains a hadith narrated by Anas RA and recorded in *Sahih al-Bukhari*, hadith number 13: “None of you truly believes until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself.” This hadith is authentic and transmitted through a strong chain in *Sahih al-Bukhari* and *Sahih Muslim* (Al-Naisābūrī, 1955). It is also among the foundational hadiths of Islamic social ethics (Al-Nawawī, 1976). The meme uses the simplest and most elegant design among the posts examined,

featuring a textured cream background, Arabic text in the center, its translation below, and decorative quotation marks. This format reflects a more academic aesthetic, emphasizing the text as the primary element without excessive visual distractions. The inclusion of the Arabic text and hadith number indicates a more rigorous presentation standard than memes that provide only translations, making this content relatively easier to verify for audiences with hadith literacy.

Unlike the first three memes, which explicitly use the term “hijrah” in their titles or framing, the fourth meme addresses the theme of *mahabbah* and brotherhood, which appears less directly connected to hijrah. However, from the perspective of Sufi ethics, its deeper significance lies precisely in the fact that genuine hijrah should not end with changes in appearance or individual identity but should lead to relational transformation—the ability to love others as oneself (Syamsuri, 2023). This hadith can be interpreted as the *maqasid* or ultimate objective of the hijrah process: a person who has genuinely undertaken hijrah should demonstrate social ethics characterized by universal love (*mahabbah*) (Al-Kasymiri, 2007). The fourth meme thus represents a typology that is substantively rich from the perspective of Sufism: an authentic hadith meme with implicit thematic relevance, in which its connection to hijrah is not explicitly stated but instead touches upon the transformative essence of hijrah as a journey toward moral and spiritual perfection.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION THROUGH HIJRAH MEMES

Collectively, the four memes circulating under the hashtag #hadishijrah on Instagram demonstrate how the platform has become a complex and multilayered arena for constructing Islamic identity. Hijrah identity on Instagram is constructed not merely through statements of theological belief but through an interplay of hadith texts, visual aesthetics, and motivational narratives that reinforce one another. The first meme from saqu.or.id illustrates this mechanism of identity construction. The image of a veiled woman holding the Qur'an, accompanied by lanterns and a crowd, functions as a visual marker of an idealized hijrah identity, while the hadith concerning intention provides its spiritual legitimization. Such memes operate by defining the boundaries of group identity: who is considered to have undertaken hijrah and what that identity should look like. Instagram thus functions not only as a medium for disseminating religious messages but also as a mechanism for producing collective identity that standardizes outward symbols of hijrah, including clothing, visual styles, and even graphic design aesthetics, as markers of community membership (Mahanani & Putri, 2019).

The construction of hijrah identity on Instagram also operates through mechanisms of self-presentation before an audience. Hijrah hadith memes, when reposted or saved by users, function as public identity statements. The @saudagarharamain account, which uploaded three of the memes identified in this study, demonstrates another dimension of this identity construction: the combination of spiritual and economic identities. By posting hadith concerning hijrah, intention, and *ukhunnwah*, a business-oriented account simultaneously constructs an image of itself as an entity concerned not only with material profit but also with spiritual depth. This phenomenon illustrates how hijrah identity on Instagram can become hybrid and transactional; it functions not only as an

expression of religious conviction but also as a form of social capital. Such identity construction does not necessarily occur consciously, yet its impact on the community's religious understanding is significant: hijrah may gradually be reduced from an inner spiritual journey to an identity label that can be displayed (Rahman et al., 2021).

The third meme from @saudagarharamain, which presents the hadith on intention in its complete form, including the critical statement concerning worldly motivations for hijrah, demonstrates the most substantial Sufi content because it directly addresses the concepts of sincerity and *muraqabah*. In the Sufi tradition, sincerity (*ikhlas*) is one of the most difficult spiritual stations to attain because it requires complete freedom from motivations other than Allah, including social motivations such as the desire for recognition within a hijrah community (Ardiyani, 2018). The fourth meme, which contains the hadith about loving others as oneself, also addresses a profound dimension of Sufi ethics, namely *mahabbah*. Within the hierarchy of Sufi spiritual stations, *mahabbah* represents one of the highest stages of the spiritual journey. Although these two memes circulate within an Instagram ecosystem characterized by visual distractions, they nevertheless contain Sufi messages that are as profound as those taught in classical religious instruction.

Taken collectively, the four memes also reveal a concerning tendency from the perspective of Sufi ethics: the externalization of spirituality, whereby inner Sufi values are presented in a format that encourages outward rather than inward orientation. The first meme provides the clearest example, as the verbal message concerning intention and inner transformation is juxtaposed with a visual emphasis on outward identity. In classical Sufi thought, *rjya'* or ostentation is among the most dangerous diseases of the heart because an act may appear to be worship outwardly while remaining spiritually empty inwardly (Fauzi, 2022). When a hadith about intention and sincerity functions as content that increases an account's followers, a profound irony emerges: a hadith teaching inner sincerity is being used in a medium that structurally encourages social performativity. In this context, hijrah hadith memes on Instagram need to be critically examined not only in terms of their textual content but also in terms of how Instagram structurally shapes the ways in which these hadiths are received and practiced.

The dissemination of hadith through meme formats on Instagram produces social impacts that contain both significant positive and negative potentials. Hijrah hadith memes circulating under the hashtag #hadishijrah have successfully expanded access to Prophetic traditions among people who may never have directly opened a hadith collection. The hadith concerning intention in *Sahih al-Bukhari*, hadith number 1, which for centuries was primarily known among students of Islamic studies and scholars, can now be accessed by anyone using Instagram. For Indonesian Muslims whose formal hadith literacy may be limited, this development has considerable potential as a form of Islamic preaching. As demonstrated by the second meme from @saudagarharamain, which includes Arabic text and a hadith number, some Instagram hadith memes provide verifiable information and encourage audiences to consult primary sources. Accounts such as saqu.or.id, which operates within the context of Qur'anic education, also demonstrate that the hijrah hadith meme ecosystem is not entirely dominated by commercial actors but also includes religious institutions committed to content accuracy.

The negative consequences of hijrah hadith memes on Instagram cannot be ignored, particularly regarding the fragmentation of religious authority and the superficial understanding of hadith that may result. When hadith is presented in meme form and detached from its chain of transmission, commentaries, and scholarly debates concerning its implications, audiences receive only the surface of the hadith without its broader intellectual context. In the memes posted by @saudagarharamain, there is a clear risk of commodifying hijrah identity. Communities formed around hijrah hadith memes on Instagram can become target markets for products labeled as Islamic, meaning that a spiritual movement that should liberate individuals from excessive attachment to worldly concerns may instead entangle them in religiously framed consumerism. A deeper social consequence is the formation of exclusive standards of hijrah: individuals who do not conform to Instagram's visual standards of hijrah may be marginalized from the community, even though the hadiths circulated through these memes emphasize universal values such as sincere intention, compassion, and self-control rather than outward appearance.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DA'WAH AND COMMODIFICATION

The memes circulating under the hashtag #hadishijrah clearly reveal how religion has undergone a systematic process of commodification within Instagram's hijrah content ecosystem. Religious commodification refers to the process through which sacred religious values and symbols are transformed into commodities that can be exchanged within market logic (Batu, 2024). This process is particularly evident in the content posted by @saudagarharamain. Three of the four memes identified in this study originated from an account whose primary identity is a commercial enterprise selling products associated with the Haramain, yet it consistently uses hadith concerning hijrah, intention, and *ukhummah* as its primary content. The hadith in *Sahih al-Bukhari* concerning intention, the hadith defining the *Muhajir*, and the hadith concerning the perfection of faith through love for others are all selected, designed, and posted within a commercial account. Logically, this suggests that religious content also functions as an instrument for building consumer trust and supporting commercial interests.

The commodification of hijrah hadith on Instagram does not occur only at the individual-account level but has also developed into a broader hijrah content industry with its own patterns of production, distribution, and consumption. The first meme from saqu.or.id demonstrates another dimension of this commodification. Although the account is associated with Qur'anic education, its highly structured meme design, prominent institutional branding, aesthetic combination of typography, and emotionally engaging visual selection indicate that the production of hadith content on Instagram has entered the logic of the creative industry. Prophetic traditions are now produced according to principles of graphic design and algorithmic visibility. Such commodification is not necessarily consciously intended by content creators. They may genuinely intend to engage in Islamic preaching, yet they may unconsciously submit the selection, framing, and distribution of hadith to digital mechanisms. Consequently, the Instagram meme ecosystem may not present a balanced

representation of the hadith tradition but instead favor hadiths compatible with Instagram aesthetics and the preferences of hijrah communities (Muntazori & Sunarto, 2020).

The hijrah hadith meme phenomenon on Instagram also represents one of the most fundamental shifts in the history of contemporary Islamic religious authority: the disruption of scholarly authority by new actors operating within digital spaces. Traditionally, the legitimacy to transmit the sayings of the Prophet was acquired through a long and rigorous process. A *muhaddith* was expected to master disciplines such as *rijal al-hadith*, *sanad*, *jarb wa ta'dil*, and possess scholarly authorization (*ijazah*) from teachers whose chains of transmission could be traced back to earlier transmitters (Muhid, 2019). Such authority was hierarchical, verified, and connected to established scholarly institutions. Within the Instagram ecosystem examined in this study, however, authority to disseminate hadith no longer requires such scholarly qualifications. The @saudagarharamain account can disseminate hadith from *Sahih al-Bukhari* to thousands of followers without any visible mechanism of scholarly verification. Indeed, the account is among the most productive in creating hadith memes, yet there is no indication of direct involvement by hadith scholars or academics in the content-curation process.

The disruption of religious authority through hijrah hadith memes on Instagram also produces serious epistemological consequences for hadith understanding among hijrah communities. When Instagram users receive hadith memes from accounts such as @saudagarharamain or saqu.or.id, they often lack the contextual resources needed to determine whether the hadith has been presented completely, whether its translation is accurate, whether its context is appropriate, or whether scholars have offered differing interpretations. The absence of such mechanisms creates what may be termed “authority by popularity”: the more frequently a hadith meme is reposted, the more valid and authoritative it is perceived to be by a wider audience, regardless of scholarly verification (Alfani & Anwar, 2024). The four memes examined in this study happen to contain authentic hadiths whose sources can be verified, but this does not mean that the broader hijrah hadith meme ecosystem can automatically be regarded as reliable in terms of accuracy. Precisely because some memes are presented in an apparently academic format, audiences may be inclined to trust all hadith-related content without distinguishing between authentic, weak, or fabricated traditions. The disruption of religious authority on Instagram therefore affects not only who has the right to disseminate hadith but also how audiences construct epistemological trust in religious texts consumed in their everyday digital lives.

The Instagram hijrah hadith meme ecosystem also contains significant preaching potential that should not simply be dismissed. The four memes examined in this study provide several indications of how this potential could be optimized responsibly. The second meme from @saudagarharamain, which presents the hadith defining the *Mubajir* together with the complete Arabic text, a relatively accurate translation, and a specific hadith number, demonstrates that the meme format is compatible with minimum standards for responsible hadith presentation. Hadiths previously accessible primarily to educated audiences can now reach millions of Instagram users from diverse educational backgrounds. The visual format, which places Arabic text alongside its translation, may indirectly introduce non-specialist audiences to the Arabic wording of hadith,

potentially stimulating curiosity and encouraging further study. This potential is particularly significant given the increasing penetration of Instagram among Indonesian youth, making the platform a strategic space for digital hadith preaching when managed through an appropriate methodology (Aziz, 2020).

Optimizing the preaching potential of hadith on Instagram requires serious attention to the structural challenges identified in this study. The hijrah hadith meme ecosystem requires the active involvement of hadith scholars and academics who possess sufficient digital literacy to produce content that is simultaneously authentic, contextual, and aesthetically appealing. The four memes examined demonstrate that textual accuracy alone is insufficient; expertise in framing, contextualization, and visual presentation is also required to ensure that the substance of the hadith is not distorted. Hadiths that are complex and require extensive contextual explanation tend to be less competitive within Instagram's algorithmic environment. Therefore, digital hadith preachers need to develop creative methodologies that preserve depth without sacrificing accessibility. In addition, a digital hadith literacy ecosystem needs to be developed among Muslim Instagram users, enabling audiences not merely to consume and repost hadith memes but also to question their sources, examine their contexts, and critically understand their implications. Without systematic efforts, hijrah hadith memes on Instagram will remain caught between an unresolved tension: on the one hand, their potential as a widely accessible medium for Islamic preaching, and on the other, their risk of producing superficial, fragmented, and easily commodified understandings of religion.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the phenomenon of hijrah hadith memes on Instagram represents a contemporary religious and social reality that simultaneously functions as a democratic medium of *da'wah* and an arena of religious commodification with the potential to distort religious understanding. Textually, the hadiths identified in this study are authentic and verifiable. However, their presentation is frequently accompanied by narrative and visual framing that shifts the orientation of hijrah from inner spiritual transformation toward the construction of outward religious identity. Consequently, the ethical and Sufi values underlying the hadiths are at risk of being reduced to visual symbols of piety that are consumed and reproduced through social media. This study contributes to the development of an integrative analytical perspective that brings together *'ulum al-hadith*, Sufi ethics, and digital media studies. This perspective highlights that the disruption of religious authority in the digital era is not merely sociological but also epistemological, as it changes the ways in which Muslim communities construct trust in and interpret normative religious texts. In this context, the popularity and circulation of hadith memes cannot be regarded as sufficient indicators of religious validity or authority. The findings also have several important implications. Future research should examine the authenticity and representation of digital hadith across different social media platforms and develop a standardized digital hadith literacy index as an evaluative instrument. The findings further emphasize the need for active involvement of digitally literate hadith scholars and academics in

the Instagram content ecosystem, accompanied by ethical guidelines for producing hadith memes that establish minimum standards for source verification, contextual completeness, and responsible framing. This study is limited by its relatively small dataset, consisting of four memes from two Instagram accounts. Therefore, the findings cannot comprehensively represent the broader landscape of hijrah hadith memes on Instagram. Nevertheless, the study demonstrates that the central challenge of hadith *da'wah* in the digital era lies not primarily in the technology itself, but in the capacity of Muslim communities to ensure that virality does not come at the expense of depth, and that Instagram aesthetics do not undermine the authenticity of a hadith scholarly tradition developed over fourteen centuries.

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