

***Hijrah* and changing religious preferences in contemporary Islamic legal practice**

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This research examines how urban Muslim communities in Purwokerto understand and practice religion in the area of *muamalah* (social relationships between people). Religious practice in urban Muslim communities is different from other religious communities. The intersection between the reality of modernity, Islamicity, and identity provides a model for distinguishing contemporary Muslim religious practices. This study is based on field research employing a phenomenological approach. Participatory observation was used to collect data from two mosques in Purwokerto City: the General Soedirman Grand Mosque and the Gelora Indah Mosque. Both mosques serve as the hub of religious discourse for Purwokerto's urban Muslim community, and they host a variety of religious studies on a regular basis. In-depth interviews were performed with worshippers from the two mosques by the researchers. Secondary data is derived from studies, journals, books, and other sources. This article concludes that urban Muslim identity is manifested in the shift away from usury practices and the choice of halal products. Studies in urban mosques and social media cannot isolate the rhetoric from the social formation of urban Muslims. In this environment, *hijrah* (shifting paradigm) has emerged as one of the trends that give rise to new nuances and views of any Islamic

legal concept that is an annotated version of older works. Because of these shifts in preferences, the discipline of Islamic law, particularly *fiqh muamalah*, has become one of the most important areas for the expression of religious experience in the lives of urban Muslims.

Penelitian ini mengkaji persoalan pemahaman dan praktik keberagamaan pada masyarakat Muslim perkotaan di Purwokerto dalam bidang muamalah. Realitas keberagamaan pada masyarakat Muslim perkotaan memiliki karakter yang berbeda dengan komunitas keberagamaan lainnya. Pertautan antara realitas kemodernan, keislaman, dan identitas menjadikan satu model distingsi praktik keberagamaan Muslim kontemporer. Kajian ini berdasarkan riset lapangan dengan pendekatan fenomenologis. Data diperoleh dengan observasi partisipatif pada dua masjid di Kota Purwokerto, yaitu Masjid Besar Jenderal Soedirman dan Masjid Gelora Indah. Kedua masjid tersebut menjadi basis produksi diskursus keagamaan bagi masyarakat muslim perkotaan di Purwokerto dan secara rutin menggelar sejumlah kajian keagamaan. Peneliti melakukan wawancara mendalam terhadap jamaah pengajian dari dua masjid tersebut. Data sekunder berasal dari penelitian, jurnal, buku, dan lainnya. Artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa identitas muslim urban ditunjukkan dengan melakukan hijrah dari praktik yang mengandung unsur riba dan pemilihan produk halal. Diskursus tersebut tidak lepas dari konstruksi sosial Muslim perkotaan melalui kajian-kajian di masjid-masjid perkotaan tersebut dan media sosial yang dimilikinya. Dalam konteks ini, *hijrah*, menjadi salah satu trend dalam melahirkan nuansa dan perspektif baru dari setiap pemikiran hukum Islam yang secara nasab merupakan anotasi dari karya lama. Perubahan preferensi sebagaimana tersebut telah menempatkan disiplin hukum Islam, yang secara spesifik *fiqh muamalah*, menjadi salah satu ruang ekspresi pengalaman agama yang begitu penting dalam kehidupan orang Muslim perkotaan.

Keywords: *halal; hijrah; muamalah preferences; urban muslims; usury.*

Introduction

Muamalah (i.e., social relationships between people) is not only an everyday activity for a Muslim that is unrelated to Islamic beliefs and teachings. Religion is closely linked to moral and economic action (Kirchmaier, Prüfer and Trautmann, 2018). For a Muslim, *muamalah* is an important issue that is tied to and bound by religious laws, particularly in the field of *fiqh* (Aryanti, 2017). As a result, religion inevitably plays a key role in Muslims' preferences in their daily lives, in communicating, doing business, and making transactions (Junaidi, 2021), particularly among urban Muslims. Even with such a great effort to exercise religious understanding, there is a tendency among urban Muslims to display symbols and conduct that represent their religious understanding; this type of movement is commonly referred to as *hijrah* (shifting paradigm).

The phenomenon of *hijrah* impacts the Muslim community's attitude on life, lifestyle, and preferences in various facets of life, particularly among urban Muslims (Nurani and Adinugraha, 2022). When motivated by the spirit of *hijrah* of Indonesian Muslims, the consideration of religiosity of Indonesian Muslims to consume halal products develops. Additionally, the variables of religiosity, Islamic branding, persuasive marketing, product quality, appetite, and price are empirically accepted (Yuliani and Alif, 2022, p. 20).

Several researchers with varying interests have researched the *hijrah* phenomena. Some of these areas of study include: the study of *hijrah* among celebrities and economic branding of Muslim lifestyles (Lyansari, 2019) and (Sunaryanto, Rizal and Zulkifli, 2022), *hijrah* and changes in consumption behavior (Yuliani and Alif, 2022), *hijrah* activist group response to music (Qomaruzzaman and Busro, 2021), ideology and religiosity of the *hijrah* community in Indonesia (Hidayat, Sholihin and Wanto, 2020), the development of *hijrah* among millennial Muslims (Fajriani, 2019), *hijrah* as a religious existence (Ayuningtyas *et al.*, 2022), and *hijrah* as a shift in the concept and implementation of religiosity (Hamudy and Hamudy, 2020).

Studies on urban Muslim communities and their *muamalah* preferences have also been conducted. These include ethnography of the religious aspirations of urban communities (Burchardt and Westendorp, 2018), religious architecture of urban communities (de Wildt *et al.*, 2019), study on preferences for sharia housing (Sunesti and Putri, 2022), hijab as a model (Hassim, 2014), hijab among Muslimah workers (Abdelhadi, 2019), studies on preferences for digital literacy (Prihatini and Muhid, 2021), preferences for halal food (Junaidi, 2021), (Amalia, Sosianika and Suhartanto, 2020), (Ayyub, 2015) and (Baran, 2022), acceptance of halal products by urban communities (Manan *et al.*, 2019), preference for halal cosmetics (Abd Rahman, Asrarhaghghi and Ab Rahman, 2015) (Hashim and Musa, 2014) and (Sutono, 2017). Dzulfikar, Santosa and Gunanto (2022) examined preferences in *crowdfunding platforms*; Khoiriyah (2020) investigated preferences for waqf; Khoiriyah, Paramita and Pangestu (2019) explored preferences for worker recruitment; Zainal and Samsulhadi (2022) examined preferences for educational institutions; and Cesur and Mocan (2018) and Hidayah (2021) examined choice and education preferences. Studies on financial institutions were conducted by Abduh, Ramjaun and Mustaqim (2018) and Iqbal, Nisha

and Rashid (2018). Surprisingly, Islamic financial institutions are not the major preference in the Muslim population according to Ullah (2014) and Khan, Hassan and Shahid (2008).

There have also been many studies related to preferences and considerations for halal products. For example, there are studies on awareness of halal products (Kurniawati and Savitri, 2019) and (Novitasari *et al.*, 2021), preferences for halal products (Hong *et al.*, 2020), fulfillment of halal and good needs (Nafis, 2019), preferences for halal cuisine in urban communities (Samad *et al.*, 2022), knowledge of halal products and considerations in food purchases (Billah, Rahman and Hossain, 2020; Musthofa and Burhanudin, 2021; Chong *et al.*, 2022), and factors affecting the Muslim community's awareness of halal products (Yasid, Farhan and Andriansyah, 2016).

This study investigates the *muamalah* behavior of urban Muslim communities in relation to two major issues: their preference for halal products and their aversion to usury. This study investigates the shift in understanding, particularly as it relates to *fiqh muamalah*, and how this understanding is implemented in urban settings. This study is significant because it is an endeavor to map the varied practices of urban communities in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of urban religious behavior in modern times. This study also shows how religion influences the conduct of modern urban culture.

This study was carried out at Purwokerto for two main reasons. To begin, Purwokerto is advantageously placed between two main provincial cities, West Java and Yogyakarta Special Region. These two major cities have the potential to affect it culturally and economically. Second, religiously-economically-politically, Purwokerto city is home to a variety of religious organizations, both mainstream (e.g., Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah) and non-mainstream (e.g., al-Irsyad and Salafi). The economic expansion of Arab communities is quite substantial, not only economically, but also religiously and politically.

Method

This is a field study with a descriptive qualitative research design. This researcher collects data in three ways: observation, interviews, and documentation. Inductive analysis is the conceptual construct used in research analysis. Researchers create categories of diverse themes and data patterns based on comments on existing data. The approach employed is phenomenological.

The researchers observed two urban mosques: the Great Mosque of Jenderal Soedirman and the Gelora Indah Purwokerto Mosque. Both mosques serve as the primary source of Islamic discourse for Purwokerto's urban Muslim communities. Aside from its central location, the mosque hosts a variety of studies on a regular basis. The researchers acquired data through interviews in addition to participatory observation. The acquired data is examined using the content analysis approach, which is a strategy for establishing repeatable and reliable inferences by paying attention to the context (Krippendorff, 2004). The analysis was carried out in the following steps: First, map the premise of usury and halal products in Purwokerto city's Muslim community. Second, investigate how the Muslims in Banyumas City perceive usury and halal products. Third, examine how Purwokerto city residents have applied their knowledge of usury and halal products. This is a qualitative study that employs inductive analysis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2009, p. 272). The researcher made categories of various themes and certain patterns from the data. This study employs a phenomenological approach, adopting Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman's social construction theory to examine how social reality changes as a result of adjusting to shifting sociocultural dynamics. This theory is used to examine the development of Islamic law, which is based on three frameworks: diversity, change, and continuity. These three frameworks serve as the foundation for the establishment of plurality of identities in the formation of Islamic law (Hallaq, 2001).

Hijrah and the religious practices of urban muslims

The concept of *hijrah* can be deduced linguistically (etymologically) from the term *hajara*, which refers to relocation, abandonment, and departure (Ambari *et al.*, 2005, p. 20). Abū al-Faḍl Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad bin Mukrim bin Manzūr mentions that *hijrah* means *al-ḥuruj minal arḍ ilal arḍ* (moving from one place to another) (Manzūr, 1968, p. 250). Thus, the definition of *hijrah* etymologically is the movement from one position or condition to another.

In its evolution, the meaning of *hijrah* has shifted in orientation. *Hijrah* is frequently understood in terms of symbolic rather than substantive meanings. Sunesti *et al.*, for example, investigate urban youth's knowledge of *hijrah*. The use of *Niqab* (a cloth that covers the face of a Muslim woman) demonstrates the meaning of *hijrah*. This is also inextricably linked to efforts to reconcile urban Muslims with the social reality that surrounds them,

as well as the supremacy of religious agents who espouse the concept of *hijrah* (Sunesti, Hasan and Azca, 2018). This was also emphasized by Lyansari, who saw the development of *hijrah* understanding that developed on social media. The role of social media has a major influence on the construction of urban Muslims' understanding of *hijrah* (Lyansari, 2019). Furthermore, the conservative understanding model is inextricably linked to the understanding model conveyed by the media (Juliansyahzen, 2023).

A number of researchers are also interested in the urban Muslim religious approach that stresses symbolism. Lengauer, for example, investigates the phenomenon of religion in Bandung's Muslim minority. When the spirit of religion, modernity, and identity collide, a new religious model emerges. The media can also be used to spread the spirit and increase devotion (Lengauer, 2018). Similarly, Qomaruzzaman and Busro view music as a more complex manifestation of religiosity. *Da'wah* (invitation to Islam) is communicated through music by urban Muslim groups. They later referred to this as the Islamization of music (Qomaruzzaman and Busro, 2021).

Thus, *hijrah* is seen not just as a type of movement from one condition to a better condition, particularly in terms of religious essence. In its evolution, the idea of *hijrah* has become increasingly symbolic by exhibiting religious identity in public settings such as fashion choices, employment selection, and even school location selection for children. For urban Muslim populations, religious identity has become the foundation and point of departure.

Religious identity becomes an important issue for certain metropolitan populations, even to the point of having to display certain symbols in order to make that identity visible. Religious identity in the city is not only materially mediated, but religious experience and practice are influenced by the materiality of religion. Material objects take on the meaning of religion (Burchardt and Westendorp, 2018, p. 164). Although just physical representations, religious symbols have specific meanings and significance for religious believers and have become a symbol of religious transformation (de Wildt *et al.*, 2019). Urban religious aspirations are not always part of or inspired by the politics of (ethno-)religious affiliation or identity. Rather, they pursue desired goals and demonstrate a desire to be a subject of a particular religion that promotes personality ethics (Hirschkind, 2006).

M. Burchardt and M. Westendorp observe that urban religion has two dimensions: material and metaphysical. Both explain the diversity of urban religious practices (Burchardt and Westendorp, 2018, p. 171). Religious materiality, such as places of worship, iconic objects, or religious symbols, should not be limited to meaning carriers; they play a part in the formation of that meaning (Keane, 2007). Meanwhile, the immateriality of religion includes various aspects, such as understanding, belief, motivation, values of justice, equality, and education. In term of education, urban communities tend to have more attention (Hidayah, 2021, p. 216). However, both the materiality and immateriality of religion serve to shape the “pious identity” of the religious community (Rijal, 2020).

Religion and the urban environment have always been intricately linked, with religion altering, defining, and giving meaning to the environment (Ram and Gutman, 2017, p. 4). This is especially true among the middle class. In the era of globalization, the Indonesian Muslim middle class continues to experience a resurgence, especially in the socio-economic class. The lifestyle they exhibit combines Islam with the lifestyle of the bourgeois class (in this study called the religious bourgeois class). Their lifestyle is consumptive in the construction of the religious bourgeoisie (Sunaryanto, Rizal and Zulkifli, 2022, p. 64). The Muslim middle class displays different parts of Islam in their daily lives, such as the trendy and stylish hijab trend among Muslim women and popular celebrities. In practicing Islam, these women recognize the relevance of religious principles in their daily lives and are more open to global fashion trends (Yuswohadi as cited in Hidayah, 2021, p. 218).

Preferences of religious understanding and practice of Purwokerto City community

Religious understanding and practice are inextricably linked to the roles of the structures that surround them (Adib, 2012). Moreover, the role of religious narrators is important for understanding Muslim religious practices (Flowerree, 2017; Sunesti, Hasan and Azca, 2018). If viewed solely from the standpoint of the structure or the agent, it will almost surely have implications for a less objective interpretation.

The presence of a variety of urban mosques, such as the General Soedirman Grand Mosque, Gelora Indah Purwokerto Mosque, Fatimatuzzahra Mosque, and mosques of affluent Muslim housing, demonstrates the reality of religious development in Purwokerto

urban communities. Every day, these urban mosques actively conduct routine studies. In fact, there are courses and studies specifically designed for Muslim women, such as studies related to religious understanding in the context of *fiqh* (Islamic law).

In addition to routine studies, urban mosques also organize thematic religious studies by inviting national figures such as Shaykh Ahmad al-Mishry, Ustadzah Oki Setiana Dewi, Ustadz Salim A. Fillah, and so on. In addition to material delivery, the study format allows attendees to raise questions about religious issues, including economics.

Changes in religious preferences

1. Resistance to usury

Usury is a prominent issue and an object of concern in various studies conducted in urban mosques in Purwokerto. The study of usury is frequently discussed in a specific topic and often in other talks that include usury content. The study model, which culminates in a question-and-answer session, is often used to explore the issue of usury. It has also been understood to be conveyed by a number of studies based on this model.

Based on the findings of the fieldwork and interviews with numerous informants, multiple facts were discovered concerning the articulation of *hijrah* understanding of usury among middle-class Muslim communities in Purwokerto. This is demonstrated by an informant named Desi (48 years old) (Desi, 2022). Looking at the classification of middle-class sketches, Desi can be included in the settler category. This category is a flower who already has stability in life but has a limited educational background and tends to be phobic about the development of technology and information. Desi is a former employee of a conventional bank in Purwokerto.

Desi is quite intense and passionate about attending numerous religious studies organized by Purwokerto's urban mosques as a structure that develops people's religious knowledge. This is obvious from her statement, which is as follows (Desi, 2022):

“Yes, all the mosques are connected, the preacher is the same, traveling around, Monday Darussalam mosque near Niaga tourism hotel, Tuesday routine at Fatimatussabra Mosque (MAFAZA), Wednesday Jensoed Mosque, Thursday Bhayangkara mosque near Moro, Friday at MAFAZA again, Saturday at Gelora Indah. In Jensoed there is a Fiqhunnisa study, called NGABAH

(Ngaji bakda Dhuba), the committee, the team is the same, the Akhwat Bergerak team, there is a WA Group, there the mosque recitation information is always shared, then the minutes from the studies at Gelora Indah Mosque and Bhayangkara Mosque are always shared, if in other mosques there are no minutes. Ustadz who filled in the mosques were Ustadzah Estifa, Ustadz Mintaraga who was very detailed when explaining sharia economics, then Ustad Sunbadi, a UMP lecturer who dared to voice the right things, and other Ustadz. This is now today at this mosque (Gelora Indah), usually there are many, this is a little maybe there are activities outside, and there are also akhwat-akhwat who are Tabi's group, they don't want it if the one who fills in is male, that's why at the Jensuu Mosque there are many because the one who fills in is Ustadzah, if at Bhayangkara too, if the ustadz fills in, the place is closed using a partition. (In Gelora Indah, there is no partition). Before the lecture, in Bhayangkara there is a tahsin halaqah first, if you want to register, and later there is a test first. Like in Jensoed there are also halaqahs, but if you want to join the WA group first so that we know the information".

Desi's motivation to participate in a series of religious studies conducted by Purwokerto's urban mosques stemmed from an awareness of the importance of religious knowledge. Desi saw that many people were going down the wrong path due to a lack of religious education. Based on this perception, Desi advised everyone she knew to engage in various religious studies and to continue to strive to make every step in our lives in accordance with Shari'a rather than being uninformed and taking the wrong path (Desi, 2022).

Desi tends to have a rigid understanding of usury. To use a phrase from Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, Desi's theology, which she learned through a sequence of religious studies in mosques, seems to have undergone internalization and re-externalization in her life (Berger, 1991). Desi was willing to leave her employment in opposition of the usury behavior that took place because she firmly denounced it. This is evident from what she said, which is as follows (Desi, 2022):

"Then avoid usury. I used to work at BPR, at that time I already had 2 children, after following the studies in the recitation in these mosques, and I had attended a special "Islamic Banking" training, the program at that time for one year (about 7-10 years ago before resigning from work), which was held by Akhwat Bergerak, my heart was stirred, finally I chose to resign, and had applied to Islamic banking, but was too old, now I am a housewife".

Afif's articulation of usury is "fluctuating" in its practical level. Afif, as a middle-class individual working to improve the economy on the one hand and attempting to live a life with a strong religious foundation on the other, finds himself in a dilemma when confronted with the concept of riba' in Islam. This boils down to his realization that (Afif, 2022):

“If we save at the bank, there are actually many choices. There is something that if we save there, if we don’t take our money, it can increase. It’s not bad. Yes, the increase is not much, but it’s still not bad. It’s not like we’re the ones doing the work (laughs). Well. I saved my money there. But later I heard that that’s not allowed for Muslims. They say it’s haram. So that’s how it is. It’s still like lowering my ego and desire not to save at the usual bank anymore”.

Usury is closely linked to the economic activities of society, especially in the banking world. It is associated with bank interest (Tektona, Susanti and Septianto, 2020). From the point of view of Islamic law, the case of this institution is to be classified as a problem of *ijtihadīyah* (interpretation and reasoning) (Renie, 2021). Usury is actually a *qoth’i* (definitive) sharia issue. However, the classification of bank interest as usury is a *z’hanni* (speculative) issue that falls under the purview of *ijtihadīyah*. This issue cannot be separated from the disagreements among Islamic scholars as a class of *ijtihadīyah* issues. Interest and contract enforcement are essential issues in finance, especially in banking; this feature has led to disagreements among Islamic scholars in resolving the issue (Lazuardi and Santosa, 2020, p. 141). Usury is one of the most highlighted aspects in Islamic economic practice. It is a restriction that is constantly emphasized in Islamic economics (Hunt-Ahmed, 2013, p. 1), because by using the word *wa harrama al-riba* (usury is prohibited), the prohibition is normatively emphasized.

The urban Muslim community has a cautious view on usury. Usury-themed studies get embedded in people’s minds and constitute rules for daily *muamalah* practices (Hariyanto, 2019). This may be seen in their response to the relevance of Islamic banks, despite the fact that they are still not entirely compliant with Islamic standards. For example, Mr. Fiki’s response argues that Islamic banks remain in the Western system as long as they are overseen by Bank Indonesia. To avoid the problem of usury in the bank, he chose the *wadi’ab* (deposit) scheme instead of *mudarabah* (trustee finance) when selecting the form of savings in an Islamic bank. According to him, the *wadi’ab* system is safer from usury because it is based solely on custody, with no element of increase to the principal (Fiki, 2022).

This was also done by Desi, a former conventional banking employee who decided to leave a system that she believed violated sharia regulations. This cannot be separated from the number of studies she took part in at various metropolitan mosques (Desi, 2022). In addition

to Dewi, Faisal has the similar inclination to close conventional banking accounts and open Islamic banking accounts. According to him, the presence of Islamic banking has attempted to enforce sharia provisions in banking issues, notwithstanding certain challenges.

The issue of usury is presented not only directly through studies, but also through bulletins distributed in these mosques. For example, in the Purwokerto Info Study Bulletin, Ustadz Muhammad Nur Ichwan Muslim, ST discussed the impact of usury on society and the economy (Ichwan, 2022).

This material is cited as an example of the doctrine disseminated in the construction of religious knowledge of Purwokerto's middle-class Muslim groups. These data explain that the religious preferences depicted by some of the informants above became one of the strong markers that even though the understanding of usury that originated from the process of self-internalization as religious knowledge, then experienced paradigm shifts through adaptation to the developments that occurred. In other words, the religious understanding that results from internalization with a pattern of self-identification as a member of a religious study gradually evolves with understandings that continue to emerge in social reality.

2. Preference for halal products

Desi falls into the "cautious" group when it comes to halal-labeled products. Desi is concerned that carelessly purchasing something that is not labeled halal will have an influence on Desi's life. Desi mentions that "*everything that enters the body if it is haram will have an impact on the blessing of life*" (Desi, 2022). Therefore, there are many considerations that Desi makes when shopping at the supermarket. The aspect that Desi considers in this case is the "presence or absence" of a halal label on a product.

An informant named Afif (28 years old) provides a different perspective. He recently graduated from one of Purwokerto's universities and currently works as a designer and in the advertising department of a real estate company. In the middle class sketch, Afif falls into two categories: climbers (a group of factory workers, salesmen, etc. who are trying to improve their economic status) and followers (young people who need role models to find and present their existence and identity).

Afif's tendency to attend religious studies at the mosque is similar to Irma's in the

previous section. Afif only attends religious studies when there are topics that he finds fascinating and relevant to his interests. Attendance at religious studies is often low intensity. Afif relies more on social media for religious information. Afif's development of an understanding of *hijrah* through numerous studies in both traditional religious studies and social media is leading to a gradual transformation. With regard to religion, Afif stated that (Afif, 2022):

“A full migration from a life that is far from the corridors of sharia is difficult mas. Only certain people can do that. That's why, in my opinion, the move must be gradual. You can't just move directly to a life that is all about Shari'ah. Yes, it is important to live a sharia-compliant life. But everyone has their own level of ability”.

When it comes to preferring halal-labeled products, Afif is not as strict as the previous informant, Desi. Afif believes that goods that are needed for daily living do not fall into a category that is clearly forbidden in Islam (Afif, 2022). Therefore, choosing to buy Halal-labeled products is not a consideration that needs to be thoughtfully considered.

With the passage of time, public knowledge of product quality grows, as does the desire to consume and use halal products (Fauzi, 2022, p. 1). The selection and use of halal products is influenced by various factors, such as brand image, price, halal certification, and concern for halal products (Norvadewi *et al.*, 2021). While religiosity is perhaps the most pertinent aspect (Djunaidi *et al.*, 2021, pp. 180-181), the consumption of halal products is now also a lifestyle choice (Rachbini, 2018, p. 29).

Certain Muslim communities have a dire need for halal products and are even willing to pay more for halal products (Shahid, Ahmed and Hasan, 2018). A sufficient comprehension of and knowledge of religion undoubtedly supports this. Muslim customers who are well-informed about halal practices are highly curious about the halalness of the foods they consume (Musthofa and Burhanudin, 2021, p. 94). Muslim awareness of halal consumption may stem from their religious convictions (Ambali and Bakar, 2014). Thus, religious beliefs help people make informed decisions about whether to buy halal food (Yasid, Farhan and Andriansyah, 2016, p. 29).

The consumption of halal food on the basis of faith and taqwa, because following the commands of Allah is an act of worship that brings rewards and benefits in this world and

in the hereafter (Kurniawati and Savitri, 2019, p. 522). Even Morrow noted that “eating is a matter of faith in Islam” (Morrow, 2014, p. 150). Halal awareness measures how well Muslims understand matters related to the idea of halal. Knowing what is appropriate for consumption and how it is produced are examples of this knowledge. For both consumers and producers, knowing the halal status of a product according to Islamic halal criteria can be a prerequisite (Nofianti and Rofiqoh, 2019, p. 17).

In essence, using or consuming halal products is a responsibility shared by both consumers and producers (Santoso and Lestari, 2017). It is critical to ensure that products are halal in order to uphold producers’ and consumers’ rights. Manufacturers must make sure that halal and ethical manufacturing practices are implemented in their production processes (Nafis, 2019, p. 3).

The widespread occurrence of numerous goods with the halal certification is not an unusual occurrence (Qotadah *et al.*, 2022). The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) had long since certified the halal label on every product submitted for use in a variety of food and beverage products (Jafar, 2022). The halal labeling then started to expand and focus on many industries. Halal labeling has expanded beyond food to include a variety of products, particularly in the cosmetics and travel industries (Susetyo *et al.*, 2019). The Halal cosmetics market has enormous potential to drive the Halal economy. Considering that the branding of halal cosmetics is substantial enough to position the value of halal provides new insights to strengthen the halal economy (Hashim and Musa, 2014).

In Indonesia, the halal cosmetics market is likewise growing at a rapid pace. In addition, Indonesia ranks second among countries that buy halal cosmetics, spending a total of US\$4 billion out of the US\$66 billion in global pharmaceutical sales (Surur, 2022, p. 69). For instance, the Wardah cosmetic brand, which began as a home business, successfully evolved into one of the market leaders in Indonesia for cosmetics after receiving a halal certification from MUI. Other cosmetic companies like Mustika Ratu, Martha Tilaar, Loreal Indonesia, Zoya, and Mazaya followed suit.

The manufacturers’ understanding of the growing religious consciousness in the Indonesian Muslim market is what led to this type of labeling (halal) (Ali and Purwandi, 2019, p. 163). For Indonesian Muslims, an item bearing a MUI halal certification denotes

that it is safe and convenient to use, and more significantly, that it must represent an image of Islam (Waluyo, 2020). The existence of halal tourism is a recent phenomena, much like cosmetics. This idea relates to vacation travel services that are designed in accordance with religious standards, guidelines, and advice while remaining sensitive to people's individual preferences. This is demonstrated by the existence of sharia hotels with designated prayer rooms, separate swimming pools, and no alcohol service. All of these services serve as a selling point for producers as well as providing a sense of comfort and security for the community.

These insights are gained from the recitation groups in the Muslim urban areas of Purwokerto. As a result of socio-religious reconstruction phenomena spread by religious story agents such as *ustadz* (Islamic preachers), religious knowledge is acquired through recitation groups. Consequently, religious understanding can be acquired both through personal experience and self-internalization as well as through cognitively constructive concepts derived from the environment in which it exists, specifically the recitation group. This tendency, which is referred to as *hijrah* in the current fashion, is a component of strengthening changes in the religious preferences of urban Muslim groups in Purwokerto.

Urban community preferences: from substantive to artificial Islamic law

People's understanding, including their understanding of religion according to Islamic law, is shaped and influenced by the social structure that surrounds them. This kind of understanding is one of the determining aspects in the development of Islamic law, which operates dynamically in the relationship of searching for a model that modifies cross-cultural translation as it travels. Different intellectual traditions have emerged as a result of the wide range of reactions and different points of view. This difference made it much more likely for a variety of identities to take shape during the development of Islamic law (Muslehuddin, 1984, 381). The development of modern reality then causes changes in the culture of the book. As a result, new interpretations of Islamic law appear in every generation and develop into a genealogical network as society changes (Hallaq, 2001; Liebesney, 1989; Fuad, 2013; Sirry, 2015).

Interviews with a variety of informants yielded responses that corroborated the

information provided by *ustadz* in urban mosques. Urban mosques, *ustadz* as religious narrators, and mosque-owned media such as bulletins and social media have resulted in an artificial representation of Islamic law.

This reality, in its theoretical structure, indicates that Islamic law has developed as a living law in society (Riskia, 2022). What is different is that, as previously stated, recitation groups in urban Muslim societies have prevailed in terms of the spirit and components of the teachings that are the strongest when compared to other disciplines of study. In simpler terms, Islamic law mixes with the reality of diverse communal life, so that the discourse of Islamic law dynamically produces new nuances and viewpoints. In this regard, *hijrah* becomes one of the trends in spawning new nuances and viewpoints of any Islamic legal concept that is an annotation of the old work.

As noted above, the discipline of Islamic law, especially *fiqh muamalah*, has become one of the most important venues for the expression of religious experience in the lives of urban Muslims. Such details also show that the parallelism of contemporary Islamic legal thought may begin with the practice of reading and following religious preferences as they develop into trends (Hooker, 2013). For instance, Muslims in metropolitan areas are increasingly joining recitation groups, as is the case in Purwokerto's urban areas.

The assertion that urban Muslim identity is demonstrated through *hijrah*, through activities that include components of usury and the choice of halal goods, is based on the reality of these developments. Through research in these urban mosques and their social media, the discourse and social construction of urban Muslims cannot be separated. Muthmainah's study examines how the intention to purchase food is influenced by religion, halal awareness, the presence of halal certification, and the composition of the food. The study shows an important correlation between buyer interest and religiosity. A person will follow the laws prescribed by sharia if he or she believes in his or her religion. As a result, the practice of halal consumption is an integral part of implementing religious obedience and has become a way of life so that all facets of daily life are governed by religious rules (Mutmainah, 2018, p. 46).

It is therefore possible to conclude that the face of *fiqh muamalah* in urban society is in an artificial understanding through diversity studies in some communities, such as mosques and other surau. The paradigm of urban Muslim communities is changing as a

result of a pattern of change based on the expanding social reality and cognitively delivered religious narrative agents. In this context, the long-acquired knowledge of certain religious discourses, derived from internal sources of knowledge, changes in tandem with the social construction of its external sources. To demonstrate the power of religious reasoning in urban Muslim societies, the concept of “*hijrah*” is used to create religious understanding. What takes place is the emergence of movements and behavioral symbols in specific groups, the use of urban mosques, and social media.

Conclusion

Islamic law interacts with the reality of diverse community life in such a way that it constantly introduces new nuances and viewpoints. *Hijrah* has emerged in this environment as one of the trends for generating new subtleties and viewpoints in any Islamic legal concept that is a commentary on earlier works. The discipline of Islamic law, especially *fiqh muamalah*, has been positioned in one of the places of expression of religious experience that is so essential in the lives of urban Muslims as a result of the changes in preferences described above.

According to the description above, there are three key points: First, the definition of *hijrah* in economic terms is understood as an effort to transition from a Western economic system to an Islamic economic system (non-usury), although some people believe that there have already been positive steps. In addition, the economic application of *hijrah* is the selection of halal-certified products. Second, the understanding and practice of economic *muamalah* cannot be separated from the structures and agencies that surround it. Third, the urban Muslim religious model is the result of a confluence of three entities at once, namely modernity, Islam, and identity. In the aspect of identity, the pattern of change is built on the growing social reality and utilized by religious narrative agents (Islamic preachers) with cognitive delivery to lead the paradigm of urban Muslim society.

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