

Contemporary Hijrah Movement in Indonesia

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CONVEY REPORT

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Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT | iii

Table of Contents | v

Background | 1

 Research Focus and Methodology | 4

Research Subject Profile | 9

 Yuk Ngaji | 9

 Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT) (Hijrah Youth Community) | 11

 Terang Jakarta (The Bright Jakarta) | 13

 Kajian Muda Sakinah Mawaddah Warahmah (Musawarah) | 14

 The Strangers Al-Ghuroba | 16

Definition and Concept | 19

Literature Review and Analysis Framework | 21

 Hijrah Reinterpretation | 21

 Hijrah and Religious Conversion | 23

 Islam in the virtual world | 24

 Conservatism and Gender Issue | 25

Research Findings and Analysis | 27

 Reinterpretation of the Hijrah Meaning | 27

 Discussion on the Khilafah and the Formal Application of Islamic Sharia | 47

 Relations with Non-Muslims and Non-Muslim Leadership | 48

Violence in the Name of Religion	50
Issues of Women	50
The Role of Men and Women in the Household	55
Strategy for Sharing Ideas and Community Promotion	58
Discussion	69
Conclusion	70
Recommendation	70
BIBLIOGRAPHY	73

Background

Religious conservatism has become a global phenomenon with various forms in the last decade. In Indonesia, the latest trend that emerged is the phenomenon of Hijrah (a spiritual change or journey of individuals to be pious). The concept of Hijrah refers to the migration by the Prophet SAW and his followers from Mecca to Medina to avoid the oppression of the infidels, which is interpreted as returning to a new one and more spiritually oriented sense. Today, Hijrah is interpreted as a change in a Muslim to be more religious than before.

In a modern context, the term Hijrah has been widely used. Extremist Islamic groups, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda also use the word Hijrah in different meanings (Schulze & Liow, 2019; Uberman & Shay, 2016). ISIS uses Hijrah as a propaganda tool to attract more followers from various countries and turn them into combatants in ISIS territory. Thus, extremist groups interpret Hijrah as migration from an area called Dar Al-Harb to Dar Al-Islam, or Dar Al-Islam to Islamic State for those who come from Muslim countries (Schulze & Liow, 2019). The extremist group's interpretation of Hijrah is different from the new phenomenon of Hijrah in Indonesia, which views Hijrah as a spiritual and non-physical change.

In Indonesia, the group that can be considered as the precursor of the hijrah movement is the Darul Arqam movement in the 1990s. This movement adopted the Arab way of life in the 17th century and embodied the Muslim "back to nature" movement. Besides Darul Arqam, other Islamic groups associated with the hijrah movement are the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Tarbiyah movement, and the Salafism movement. They use various methods and strategies to attract young people

(Puspasari, 2018, *The Changing Face of Indonesian Islam* - *The Diplomat*, 2019).

The hijrah movement in the last decade has gained significant popularity, with many celebrities involved. Some of them are popular celebrity couple such as Teuku Wisnu and Shiren Sungkar, Irwansyah and Zaskia Sungkar, Arie Untung and Fenita Arie, Dimas Seto and Dini Aminarti, Dude Herlino and Alyssa Soebandono, and many other celebrities. They also popularized the hijrah movement through social media platforms. The hijrah movement is echoed through essential activities such as the Hijrah Festival in 2018, which presents some Islam-based hijrah community and business groups like Islamic housing, Islamic banks, and halal culinary (Hasan, 2019). This hijrah movement is usually filled with young people who have basic or no religious knowledge. However, right after they hijrah, the young people tend to do da'wah or convey religious messages just like some religious figures do even though they still have limited knowledge. As a result, this had led to a polemic (KPI rebuked five Vi's Statement Polemic, 2020; Teuku Wisnu in 2015 due to his statement saying that sending Al-Fatihah to people who died is Bid'ah which means initiating something without any precedent). Another interesting point is that members of the hijrah movement also come from non-religious-based communities, such as musicians, bikers, street soccer players, and parkour groups. This type of member is commonly found in the Pemuda Hijrah (Hijrah of Youth) community based in Bandung.

The initial observation of this study shows that more than 50 hijrah communities spread across two cities, Jakarta and Bandung, with a diverse number of followers. Meanwhile, the easiest way to see the hijrah community's influence is by looking at the number of followers on social media. Among 50 communities observed in this study, it was revealed that the community with the most followers was SHIFT or Pemuda Hijrah in Bandung, with more than 2 million followers on Instagram. Then, it was followed by the Kajian Musawarah with 870 thousand followers, Dare to Hijrah with 175 thousand followers, and The Stranger Ghuraba with 120 thousand followers. Among the 50 Hijrah communities, some of them joined the female segment called the Hijabers Community and the Niqab Squad. These two communities also have a large number of followers that reached 115 thousand followers and 528 thousand followers.

Based on the hijrah movement survey conducted by the IDN Research Institute, it was found that 72.8% of individuals who did hijrah are young adults or commonly known as the millennial generation (Noormega, 2019). They chose this movement

because they show their followers a way to maintain their religious (Islamic) commitment while at the same time they can still engage with modern culture. This is the reason why the hijrah movement is so attractive to millennial groups. On the other hand, this also proves that the attention of leading Islamic organizations, especially Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah is still lack in spreading Islamic values through online or social media approaches.

In this research context, the initial assessment was conducted through a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) on the SHIFT hijrah community or Pemuda Hijrah on March 13-14, 2020, in Bandung as one of the centers for the development of the hijrah movement in Indonesia. From FGD, it was found that Pemuda Hijrah used a market analysis strategy that was categorized as the targeted market. They classified the movement's targets into four categories: those who are still apathetic to those already fanatic about religion. They finally developed two figures based on these characteristics: a virtual figure and a familiar figure to young people who appeal to the millennial group. The market analysis generated by this group is interesting to observe and reveal the strategy of spreading the idea of hijrah.

In general, the hijrah movement brings positive influence as an effort to achieve a better life based on Islamic principles. However, this movement is vulnerable to exclusivity and intolerance (The Changing Face of Indonesian Islam - The Diplomat, 2019). This tendency can be seen from their preaching content by promoting more conservative interpretations of Islamic teachings, such as supporting the implementation of Islamic law, developing exclusive Islamic housing, and imposing the strict use of Islamic financial institutions and banking.

Another issue related to the hijrah community is their members' limited knowledge of religion. When they encourage young people to be more religious, they do not have a capable figure in answering all questions about Islamic values deeply. This situation makes the movement vulnerable to infiltration by understandings that can backlash the values of tolerance and respect for differences.

For this reason, it is essential to understand this hijrah movement, especially in the aspects of motivation and the basis for millennial interest in the campaign, for example, teaching values and norms, teaching dissemination strategies, and the spectrum diversity of the hijrah movement. Also, no study describes the hijrah movement and its typology in detail. Knowledge of these matters enable policymakers or supporters of religious moderation to determine attitudes and take regular steps in response to this movement. Apart from this, an explanation can also be obtained about the

setback of the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia in adopting methods of da'wah that are attractive to millennials.

Therefore, this research will explore the hijrah movement to develop a capacity-building program for moderate youth based on those issues. Thus, through this research, it is hoped that the possibility of spreading ideas that are contrary to the moderation value of religion can be prevented and balanced with more reasonable efforts to spread the concept of religious moderation.

Research Focus and Methodology

This research is focused on explaining the contemporary hijrah phenomenon in Indonesia, the direction of movement, religious orientation, and how hijrah has become popular among millennials. For this reason, the research is directed to answer the following questions:

1. What is the typology and spectrum of the hijrah movement in Indonesia? Do different groups also have different agendas, norms and values, religious affiliation, religious references, and practices?
2. How do hijrah groups understand and respond to contemporary issues such as democracy, statehood, pluralism, and the efforts to fight religious extremism?
3. How do the hijrah groups view the role of women and issues related to women?
4. What strategies are used by hijrah groups to attract followers from millennials?

This research is qualitative research that relies on text and visual analysis of videos and images on Youtube, Instagram, and in-depth interviews. The study was conducted in five communities, which were selected from 50 hijrah communities on the internet. The five communities are Terang Jakarta, Kajian Musawarah, the Strangers Al Ghuroba, Yuk Ngaji, and Pemuda Hijrah. These five communities are based in Jakarta and Bandung. These two locations were chosen because it is strategic for the emergence of religious communities that fills various religious patterns in Indonesia.

FIGURE I



(The Number of Social Media Followers of Hijrah Community in November 2020)

The content analysis was conducted on Instagram and Youtube, which consisted of 1237 Instagram content and 180 videos on Youtube. Meanwhile, in-depth interviews were conducted with 24 community figures and followers, consisting of 16 men and 8 women (table 1 & graph 1). Informants were selected by using snowballing techniques. The data obtained were analyzed using thematic content analysis by finding narrative patterns extracted from interviews with respondents about the themes in the research questions. Data collection was conducted for two months, from September to October 2020. The names of the informants who came from the followers of this study were given pseudonyms. Exceptions were made for community leaders who were generally well-known and whose names were clearly stated. The following is the distribution of the followers of the five hijrah communities:

Table I
Research Subject

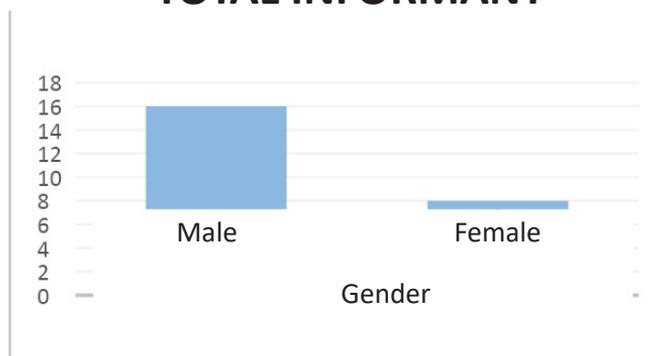
Hijrah Community	Notes
Yuk Ngaji	Four female followers; Two male followers; One Ustadz from outside of the community.
Total: three males, four females	

Kajian Musawarah	5	One organizer; One follower Syariah Friend and Taubaters; One participant of kajian from artist hijrah; One president of Remaja Masjid Bintaro (Remisya); and one EO Hijrah fest team
Total: four males, one female		
Terang Jakarta	7	Two male followers; Two female followers; one Ustaz/speaker; one speaker of Terang Taaruf program; and one chief of community founder
Total: five male, two female		
SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah	3	One Ustaz; One male follower; and one community force
Total: three males		
The Strangers Al Ghuroba	2	One male from the organizer of Komuji Bandung; and one female organizer of Komuji Jakarta
Total: one male, one female		
Total	24	

Graphic I

The comparison of male and female informants' number from the hijrah community

TOTAL INFORMANT



The most important thing that needs to be conveyed in this research is that content analysis becomes an alternative strategy due to the difficulty of getting informants for in-depth interviews and focused group discussions. The two problems faced are: First, the condition of the COVID-19 pandemic, which makes research mobility very limited, and second, the figures in the hijrah community are reluctant to be interviewed and to accept the FGD invitation. For the Pemuda Hijrah and Terang Jakarta communities, the research team successfully interviewed community founding figures, but not with prominent figure (Ustadz). Meanwhile, for the Kajian Musawah and Yuk Ngaji communities, the research team could only interview their followers. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba Community is the most difficult to reach. This Salafi-based community tends to be closed. For this reason, the team only found information and perspectives about this community from the KOMUJI Community as an assessment of da'wah community groups that had similar issues related to the meaning of hijrah. Meanwhile, the female character that plays the role of Ustazah / tutor was not successfully interviewed in this research.

Research Subject Profile

Yuk Ngaji

The Yuk Ngaji community was found on July 9, 2016. In 2018, the distribution of followers of this community included 15 cities in Indonesia and three countries (Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Turkey). This community is fronted by Felix Siaw and his four other friends, namely Husain Assadi, Cahyo Ahmad Irsyad, Ihsanul Muttaqin, and Abietyasakti. Felix Siaw is an influential figure in this community. He converted from the Chinese faith to Islam, who later became the most often invited figure in giving religious lectures. In his study on the Yuk Ngaji community, Weng (2018) sees Felix's strength in becoming an attractive figure because he is a convert who comes from Chinese ethnicity.

Since the preaching of the Yuk Ngaji targeted young people, this community packages its activities by following young people's interests. As stated by Husein Assadi, one of the reasons why the founder initiates this community was because it responded to "the trend of young people wanted to start their life with Islam" (Remind Me, 2019). Along the way, Yuk Ngaji makes a different tagline every year. The tagline that is created reflects the journey of the hijrah of individuals who join the community. In the first year, Yuk Ngaji created the theme "The Power of Ngaji (learning)". According to Husain Assadi, this theme became a movement to invite people to learn about Islam. Furthermore, Husain Assadi explained that Yuk Ngaji invites his followers to deepen Islam as the primary foundation for their transformation into better personalities. He added that Felix Siau became a role model for the community because of his

extraordinary changes after studying Islam (Remind Me, 2019).

In the second year, Yuk Ngaji made the tagline “The Miracle of Hijrah”. This tagline is to show togetherness in hijrah by “increasing knowledge and having more friends”. Togetherness and ukhuwah (brotherhood) are one of the critical aspects of the Yuk Ngaji style hijrah. On another occasion, Felix Siau explained that togetherness is needed to maintain an individual’s *istiqamah* (consistency) in hijrah. In the third year, the tagline was “Share Your Happiness”, which means to share happiness after doing the hijrah. Also, Yuk Ngaji popularized the *Teman Hijrah* (hijrah friend) hashtag to show that the Yuk Ngaji community and other hijrah communities are a platform where people can build the *ukhuwah* and doing hijrah together. This hashtag shows the main purpose of establishing the hijrah community to facilitate individuals in doing hijrah (Remind Me, 2019).

Compared to other hijrah communities, Yuk Ngaji is quite active in uploading content on social media platforms like Instagram and Youtube. In just one day, Yuk Ngaji can upload more than two contents on Instagram. All content created is original and not reposted. Usually, the later content that is created is content to promote online lectures on Youtube. On Youtube, Yuk Ngaji uploads short videos about certain themes or live lectures, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, the activities of Yuk Ngaji became more active, with a live lecture on Youtube conducted twice a week, on Saturday and Sunday.

The themes raised in the online lecture are more focused on the issues among young people, such as dating, K-Pop, and others. On several occasions, the themes raised were a response to issues that currently popular. For example, in the 6 September 2020 study, Yuk Ngaji responded to a statement from the Minister of Religious Affairs, Fachrul Razi, who said that “good-looking” children become agents of spreading the seeds of radicalism to places of worship. Furthermore, on September 5, 2020, Yuk Ngaji discussed the word “Anjay” (Indonesian slang word), which had become a public polemic because it was considered an inappropriate curse (Yuk Ngaji Community, 2020b).

The Yuk Ngaji emblem takes an unconventional form, as Husein Assadi admits. The form of contact with the pointed hollow above reflects a callout that speaks inward, which means “speaking in” or “awareness from within” (Remind Me, 2019). That way, Yuk Ngaji invites its followers to have an awareness of religion, including being critical of religion. It was emphasized by Weemar Aditya, one of the Yuk Ngaji figures by saying that *Hujjah* (evidence) is needed in religion (Yuk Ngaji Community, 2020a).

Currently, Yuk Ngaji already has 38 regional official accounts developed by FAST alumni, those are

@yukngajiaceh.official;	@yukngajijakbar;	@yukngajipalembang;
@yukngajibali.id;	@yukngajijaksel;	@yukngajipalu;
@yuk_ngaji_balikpapan;	@yukngajijaktim;	@yukngajipku;
@yukngaji_bandungkota;	@yukngajijogja;	@yukngajisamarinda;
@yukngajibjb;	@yukngajikp;	@Yukngajisemarang;
@yukngajibjm;	@yukngajilamongan;	@yukngajisololo;
@yukngajibatam;	@yukngajilampung;	@yukngaji.sby;
@yukngajibekasi;	@yukngajilombok;	@yukngajibelitung;
@yukngajibintaro;	@yukngajimagelang;	@yukngajijakpusid; Mojokerto;
@yukngajibogor;	@yukngajimakassar;	@yukngajimjk;
@yukngajicibubur;	@yukngajimlg; yukngaji.medan;	@yukngajibsd.
@yukngaji_ds;	@yukngajipdg; Palangkaraya	
@yukngaji.depok;	@AnakMesjid.id;	

The following are social media platform owned by Yuk Ngaji communities:

Website : <https://yukngaji.id/>

Instagram : @YukNgajiid | Followers: 542K

YouTube : @KomunitasYukNgaji | Subscribers: 159 K

Facebook : Yuk Ngaji ID | Followers: 70.113

Twitter : @YukNgaji | Followers: 200

Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT) (Hijrah Youth Community)

Pemuda Hijrah was officially established in March 2015. The presence of this community itself has been initiated through religious lecture activities at the al-Latief Mosque in Bandung since 2008. Since 2008, Ustaz Hanan Attaki, commonly known as UHA, routinely has been giving a lecture at the mosques located at Jalan Saninten Number 2, Cihapit, Bandung Wetan Bandung City. Among participants of the religious preaching, many young people consistently follow UHA's Islamic lecture, and one of them is Fani Krismandar or Inong, who recently raised this community together with UHA. Being encouraged to invite more young people in Bandung to be more religious, the participation of these young people was then embraced to be more involved in da'wah activities around citizens of Bandung.

Relying on the strategy of embracing the young community and utilizing the typical da'wah model of this age group, Pemuda Hijrah has become one of the most influential hijrah communities in Bandung, even nationally. In its da'wah activities, Pemuda Hijrah provides many leading roles for the young community to be actively

involved. The da'wah model that removes the barrier between preachers and the target community at the same time is based on a trend approach and youth hobbies combined with da'wah narratives that can be accepted by young people, making this hijrah community very popular among the 'hijrah' youths in the city of Bandung. Furthermore, the youthful appearance that is different from the figure of Ustadz in general, the willingness to sit together and 'greet' them that is often displayed by UHA and other teachers makes the Islamic mission of this community more acceptable to young people.

The existence of the Hijrah Youth Community or SHIFT is an oasis for the young community in Bandung (as well as young people from various other regions) who wish to change their quality of life to be better than before (hijrah). With its various programs and routine da'wah activities, this community provides a space to deepen Islamic knowledge for young people to actualize themselves in their daily lives. As a result, hundreds of young people from the City of Bandung and its surrounding districts/cities consistently attended various program and lecture activities organized by the community. Also, the Islamic da'wah content of this community always appears on social media platforms.

As a young Muslim community, Pemuda Hijrah has many programs to instill Islamic values in its community. On its online page pemudahijrah.id, there are at least four main programs namely Barisan Bangun Negeri (BBN), Message-Trend, LessWaste SHIFT, and Teras Tahfidz. Youth Hijrah regularly conducts Islamic studies typical of young people such as sharing and tarawih, sharing nights, weekend shifts, ladies day, or qiyamullail (praying Tahjud at midnight). Some of the teachers who usually provide teaching besides UHA are Ustadz Salim A. Fillah, Ustadz Darlis Fajar, Ustadz Imam Nuryanto, Ustadz Nur Ihsan Jundullah, Ustadz Nasrullah, and Umi Haneen Akira.

Meanwhile, the author's research found that the topics presented in the study of the Hijrah Youth Community were more focused on motivation to conduct religious obligations (fardhu worship such as prayer), being kind towards others, and tend to avoid fiqh (science of Islamic law) debates in their studies. The diversity of backgrounds, activities, and hobbies of young people and the desire to build a sense of love for Islam seems to be the reason behind the dominance of simple presentation and practical topics provided.

Adjusting to the development of information technology and the tendency of millennial youth, the Hijrah Youth Community da'wah activities also actively use online pages and social media to spread community information, programs, regular

lectures, and motivation message of hijrah. Taking a strategy of embracing young people based on their trends and hobbies and the use of social media has inevitably made the Hijrah Youth Community gain high popularity in the hijrah communities of Bandung and other cities in the country.

The following are social media platforms owned by the Pemuda Hijrah community:

Website : <https://pemudahijrah.id/>

Instagram : @shifmedia.id | Followers: 1.9 juta

YouTube : @shiftmedia | Subscribers: 469.000

Terang Jakarta (The Bright Jakarta)

Terang Jakarta Community is a sharia-based Islamic community engaged in da'wah, social, cultural, and social economy. Dimas Wibisono and Hendra Bayu founded this community on April 4, 2016. The advisors of the Terang Jakarta community are Abu Fida and Abi Makki. Their members reach 61,000 (Instagram), primarily artists, presenters, and Disk Jockeys (DJs). Several factors encouraged Dimas and Bayu to establish the Terang Jakarta community, one of them is to provide a new space for young people who had dark experiences in the past, such as former drug addicts, gamblers, drunks, and others, to learn Islam, in casual gatherings such as in the cafes, malls, and other places.

Intan Sakinah's (2018) research results show that the Terang Jakarta Community uses persuasive da'wah strategies such as psychodynamic strategy, sociocultural strategy, and meaning construction strategy from Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach. This psychodynamic da'wah strategy can be seen from the delivery of da'wah through Instagram, which displays the experiences of former drug addicts who change into devoted Muslim women. Experiences like this can psychologically encourage other young people with dark pasts to change. The orientation of the Terang Jakarta community which emphasizes "Adab (behavior) before knowledge" has also inspired many followers to do hijrah, because they think Islam is easy.

Meanwhile, Terang Jakarta also uses a socio-cultural strategy implemented through new media such as Instagram, WhatsApp, and other social media platforms. The Terang Jakarta Management introduces rules of good behavior in using Instagram or WhatsApp as well as rules for doing business. These rules form the basis for a general way of behaving. Meanwhile, in terms of meaning construction strategy, Terang Jakarta uses WhatsApp videos, Instagram, and others to influence and shape the views of young people about Islam.

The community's da'wah strategy is based not only on online media but also on face-to-face because they think social media is only early judging. Therefore, offline activities are significant for them. Some of their programs are Routine Review; Learn to Read Quran (BBQ); Back for Good; Reciting the History of the Prophet every Tuesday; Sedekah Jumat (Friday Giving) every Friday; Friday Sales; Halal Education Program; UKM TJ; Pre-Marriage Consultation and Marriage Issues; My hijrah; Taaruf Way; and Bright Aftercare Jakarta. The monthly routine lecture is usually delivered by Abu Fida, Abu Makki, Umi Makki, and others. They also conduct online lectures via WhatsApp and Telegram with thousands of members.

Terang Jakarta also has an attractive strategy for recruiting new members. One of them is by distributing attractive invitations similar to party invitations so that young people do not realize that the contents are *tausiyah* (religious preaching). Moreover, the lecture was held in a café at Pondok Indah Mall. Dimas admits, "some who arrive early may feel like they are trapped (Damaledo, 2017)."

One of the interesting issues studied by Terang Jakarta is terrorism. One of the videos displayed on his Instagram contains the info, "Terrorism is not Islam. Terrorism does not exist in Islamic teachings. Islam is a peaceful religion, rather than we have the wrong understanding of jihad, which is confusing, we better jihad in the way of Allah by taking care of the children (with special needs) candidates of heaven's occupant" (Sakinah, 2018). Another issue they studied was about injustice and inequality and how a Muslim should behave in responding to discrimination and prejudice and other issues.

The following are the social media platforms owned by the Terang Jakarta community:

Instagram : @terangjakarta | Followers: 64.5K

YouTube : @terangjakarta | Subscribers: 3.980

Kajian Muda Sakinah Mawaddah Warahmah (Musawarah)

The Kajian Musawarah comes from the celebrities' community that was found in 2011. These celebrities want to leave their old life to a new life under the auspices of Islamic teachings or popularly known as hijrah. This forum was made as a means of gathering as well as a medium to gain religious knowledge so that the participants could become better individuals. Some of the initiators of this community are Teuku Wisnu, Arie Untung, and Dimas Seto. Even though it is classified as a community, membership in this community tends to be exclusive and closed; even though it

is not stated explicitly, the members-only consist of artists and public figures. The celebrities who joined this community include; Irwansyah, Shiren Sungkar, Zaskia Sungkar, Jihan Fahira, Primus, Mario Irwinsyah, Fenita Arie Untung, Dhini Amiarti, Baim Wong, Dewi Sandra, Ricky Harun, Tommy Kurniawan, Virgoun, Sahrul Gunawan, Dude Harlino, Alyssa Soebandono, Tika Ramlan, and many other celebrities. Regarding the exclusivity issue, Arie Untung argued that this was done so that they could focus on following the Islamic lecture, something that they cannot get if they take part in a public lecture. "Many of my friends feel they need to learn, but they cannot do it in public places. Because I'm afraid it's disturbing, for example, there could be many people asking for the photos, so they can't really focus on the lecture, right?" Arie Untung explained.

Started with preaching in the mosques in several regions and cities, they also use social media to share the experiences of their members. The lecture in this community also invites Ustadz as a speaker as uploaded on the Youtube channel "Kajian Musawarah" which has 267 thousand subscribers; an Instagram account "Kajian Musawarah" with 871 thousand followers; and the Kajian Musawarah Facebook account with 43 thousand followers. The most recent is the Musawarah Twitter account, which has 109 followers. However, their activities need guidance, so they started to ask the ulama (religious scholars) like Ustaz Adi Hidayat and Ustaz Abdul Somad by inviting them as preachers to understand Islam.

From various contents on social media, there are two types of the lecture held by this community. The first is a closed lecture which is only attended by celebrities. The second one is an open lecture followed by the wider community. At the beginning of 2019, Raffi Ahmad facilitated the Kajian Musawarah to hold an Islamic lecture at his home, and celebrities only attended this activity. Meanwhile, the study of da'wah, which is open to the public, is usually held at the Mesjid Raya Kebayoran Residences Complex. The material of preaching or messages conveyed by this community is about the entire teachings of Islam sourced from the Al-Quran and Hadith regarding daily life and teachings of Fiqh. Besides, this community is also active in voicing issues in the community, including zero waste, distribution of aid for disasters, natural disasters and the current pandemic, Qurbani activities, and other religious and social activities.

Besides being a hijrah platform, this community is also a means of developing its members' businesses. Starting from their need to fulfill their hijrah clothing, Muslim fashion brands emerged from these hijrah celebrities such as everyday dress styles for women, men, children, to formal wear and wedding dresses. Among them is the

clothing line Meccanism, managed by Zaskia Adya Mecca, and Gerai Hawa by Shireen Sungkar. The existence of this business is because most of these celebrities have left the entertainment industry and decided to manage their own business. Therefore, this community business continues to grow. The managed business has penetrated the culinary sector, which is known as contemporary celebrities' cakes in various regions in Indonesia, as a form of regional special culinary. This business was firstly initiated by Teuku Wisnu, who opened a Malang Strudel outlet in Malang in 2014. Since then, other contemporary souvenir shops belonging to celebrities have sprung up under the same management, namely Jannah Corp, founded by Zaskia Sungkar. Another business sector that Jannah Corp. also covers is tour and travel. The Umrah trip accompanied by an owner who is also a celebrity seems to be a strong marketing strategy in attracting public interest.

The community also successfully conducted the first Hijrah Festival 2018 in several cities in Indonesia based on the idea of Arie Untung. The gathering event for the hijrah community from various circles was held by inviting the scholars and Ustadz, featured talk shows, and exhibitions of different products, such as fashion, culinary, Islamic property, beauty and health products, education and other products. The event received a good reaction from the public and the support of public figures. Therefore, in the second year, 2019, the festival was opened by the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan. However, in 2020, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this activity was conducted online via Youtube channel, with the theme "HijrahFest from Home". Even though this community seems to be exclusive, it appeals to the public because the figures in this community are quite well-known figures.

The following are the social media platforms owned by the Musawarah Study community:

Instagram : @kajianmusawarah | Followers: 871.000

YouTube : @kajianmusawarah | Subscribers: 267.000

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba is a group of hijrah reciters with pure Salafi beliefs. It was created in 2012 by a group of indie band musicians who have hijrah and completely abandoned music to be a good Muslim. The da'wah movement began to expand and affect many people started in 2014.

The preaching approach of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba is carried out by using symbols of popular culture and social media campaigns that attract young people's attention. Also, the method used is to invite young people to build awareness of "personal safety" to provide the hereafter. Many things are being embraced to transform them into a new person to be more religious and leave their previous identity before the hijrah. One of the widespread calls for da'wah is to believe that music is a product of jahiliyyah (people who live in the age of ignorance) that can neglect and distance oneself from faith. Therefore, music is considered haram (forbidden) for them.

In general, their posts on social media always include a reference to the website rumaysho.com; muslim.or.id; muslimah.or.id; almanhaj.or.id; Konsultasisyariah.com. It is known that this website is a Salafi media. Some of the Ustadz who often become the Islamic lecturer are Mizan Qudsiyah, LC for the study of Fiqh; Dr. Erwandi Tarmizi, MA for the study of Muamalah / Economics; and Ustaz Sofyan Chalid Ruray for a study of faith. Apart from these three studies, another study that is often discussed is about young marriage. The books that are regularly discussed in studies are the Book of Umdah al-Ahkam.

This community also uses several hadiths that can be considered as guidelines for community members. Among them are: first, the hadith narrated by Bukhari, which says, "There will be among my people a people who legalize adultery, silk for men, khamr (alcoholic drink) and musical instruments". Second, the hadith narrated by Abu Hanifah explains that listening to the songs is classified as a sin. Third, the hadith narrated by At-Thabrani about the slander at the end of time, which reads: "It will happen at the end of time, that humans will drown into the earth, be showered with stones, and change their appearance, that is if they have seen (halal) singer and the legalization of khamr" (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2016c).

Some of the popular Indonesian musicians who hijrah with this community include Alfi or Bani Muhammad Mustar (The Upstairs band's basist), Beni (the Upstairs band's drummer), Andi Ashari or Andri Lemes (vocalist of the Rumah Sakit band), and Madmor or Akhmad Abu Taqo (Purgatory band).

The home base of this community is located at Masjid Nurul Iman Blok M Square LT 7 and Masjid WTC Jenderal Sudirman. The following are the contacts and social media accounts of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community:

WA : 0821-6075-6075
 Email : thestrangers415@gmail.com
 FB Page : fb.com/majelisthestrangers

CONVEY Indonesia
PPIM UIN Jakarta - UNDP Indonesia

Telegram : t.me/thestrangers

Instagram : [@thestrangersalghuroba](https://www.instagram.com/thestrangersalghuroba) | Followers: 119.000

Youtube : [youtube.com/thestrangersalghuroba](https://www.youtube.com/thestrangersalghuroba) | Subscribers: 53.300

Definition and Concept

In explaining the typology of the movement, we need at least three concepts that emerge in this study, namely conservatism, Salafism, and Islamism.

Conservatism in this study refers to Martin van Bruinessen (2013) and Hasyim, Sebastian, and Arifianto (Sebastian et al., 2020). Bruinessen defines a conservative religious attitude as: "The various currents that reject modernist, liberal or progressive re-interpretations of Islamic teachings and adhere to established doctrines and social order. Conservatives notably object to the idea of gender equality and challenges established authority and modern hermeneutical approaches to scripture. There are conservatives among traditionalist as well as reformist Muslims (i.e., in Nahdlatul Ulama as well as Muhammadiyah), just as there are liberals and progressives in both camps. From this definition, it can be seen that conservative tendencies can be in the forms of rejection of the modernist, liberal and progressive interpretation of Islamic teachings, adherence to established doctrines and social orders rejects the idea of gender equality and rejects the modern hermeneutic approach to sacred religious texts. This conservative attitude can take space in traditional and reformist Muslim communities, just like in liberal and progressive attitudes.

Meanwhile, Sebastian et al. (2020) highlighted conservatism in Islam in Indonesia as: "A combination of normative and practical issues derived from Islamic texts that promote literal and exclusive compliance towards Shari'ah (Islamic moral ethics, and the adaptation of a more literal understanding of Islam within Indonesia's political and legal structure). The opposite concept of Islamic conservatism is Islamic modernism or liberalism, which promotes a contextual and inclusive interpretation of Islam". From

this point of view, conservatism in Islam is understood as a practical and normative combination that derives from Islamic texts and promotes literal and exclusive adherence to sharia, as opposed to the contextual and inclusive interpretation of Islamic teachings.

The terminology of Salafism refers to the Salafi religious understanding, which emphasizes three main elements such as using the Qur'an and Hadith textually, willing to live like in the time of the Prophet, and understanding primary religious teaching just like in the Salaf al-Salihin era that commonly known as the three early generations of Islam. Some claim that Salafism is a religious belief close to Wahabi ideology, but others argue that it is more about purifying Islam. The Salafi categorization in this study refers to Wiktorowicz (2006), who classified Salafis into three categories: Quietist Salafis, political Salafis, and Salafi jihadi. Similarly, Wahid (2014) divided Salafis into three categories: Salafi purists, Salafi Haraki, and Salafi jihadi.

Meanwhile, Islamism is an Islamic political movement termed by Tibi (2012) as "religionized politics". Islamism itself is defined as a movement that is considered as a failure, as Roy (1996) mentioned, "the failure of political Islam". However, Roy's thesis received criticism, including from Bassam Tibi, who revealed that Islamism's failure does not necessarily end. Islamism takes a different form. Bassam Tibi then divided Islamism into two forms, namely institutional Islamists and jihadi Islamists. The difference between the two is only in the method used to realize its goals with or without violence. Also, institutional Islamists operate in the context of the state or carry out Islamization from within the state. According to Tibi (2012), one example that fits the characteristics of institutional Islamists is the Justice and Development Party or *Adelet ve Kalkinma Partisi* (AKP) in Turkey. Furthermore, another form of Islamism is moving outside the state, taking a violent or non-violent approach. The last one is said to have "quietist" approaches and characteristics (Mozaffari, 2007). One thing that all Islamist groups share is the belief that "Islam is a solution" (*al-Islam huwa al-Hal*) (Muhtadi, 2009).

According to Tibi, equating Islamism with revivalism is not appropriate because Islamism is not something new (Tibi, 2012). Islamism invites the glorious history of Islam by realizing political Islamization that involves the "imagined umma", or what Anderson calls the "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006; Tibi, 2012) by carrying out political Islam as the goal.

Literature Review and Analysis Framework

Hijrah Reinterpretation

By looking at the characteristics of the hijrah trend in Indonesia, the hijrah movement is not completely new. This movement is an extension of Islamic revivalism, which began to surface in the Reformation era after the fall of the New Order. However, in those early days, the term hijrah was not popular or even has not been used to identify the developing movement as it is now. Several groups promoting a similar discourse include Darul Arqam, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, the Tarbiyah movement, Jama'ah Tabligh, and Salafism. What makes this movement different from previous ones is the new approach used which is more attractive to young people, or popularly known as millennial groups, such as the use of social media with a more modern look and caption.

It is rather challenging to determine when the term hijrah begins to use to describe the return of an individual to a more devout Muslim. Tracing previous studies on trends in the contemporary hijrah movement shows that interest in studies related to this issue began in 2017 (Prasanti & Indriani, 2017; Saefullah, 2017; Setiawan, 2017). Meanwhile, these studies also show that hijrah groups began to emerge in at least 2014 (Saefullah, 2017). Studies conducted before that year did not mention the term hijrah at all, although they examined the groups currently referred to as the hijrah group (Beta, 2014; Nisa, 2013).

At the same time, the terminology of hijrah was adopted by extremist groups such as ISIS, which associate it with the jihadist movement (Schulze & Liow, 2019;

Uberman & Shay, 2016). ISIS uses the term hijrah to attract followers from various countries to fight in Syria. Hijrah propaganda is disseminated through social media and newsletters (Dabiq) which are also published online (Schulze & Liow, 2019). That way, ISIS can easily influence millennial groups who are fond of using digital media online.

In the Indonesian context, historically, the term hijrah was popularized by Darul Islam and Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo who proposed the hijrah policy in the face of the Dutch colonialists. However, this proposal was rejected with the consequence of limiting the Islamic Syarikat Party movement which was considered less moderate (Formichi, 2010; Van Bruinessen, 2002). In the 1980s, the word hijrah was again used by followers of the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII). The teachings about hijrah are well recorded in a book written by Abdul Qadir Baraja entitled "Jihad and Hijrah". In this case, hijrah is interpreted as an effort to escape from the enemy of Islam when it happened during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In practice, followers of NII exiled themselves to Malaysia (Van Bruinessen, 2002).

The use of hijrah term for self-exile is also used by GAM (Free Aceh Movement) followers. Hijrah is done to avoid persecution due to conflict. However, this migration is only temporary for them, so they will return when things are considered safe (Missbach, 2017). This is the form of hijrah conducted by the Prophet Muhammad SAW, who at one time, he and his followers returned to conquer Mecca. The same definition is used by followers of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) in the Philippines. The conflict between the MNLF and the government made MNLF followers exile themselves abroad. The journey undertaken is not the final destination because returning to their country is part of the hijrah cycle (Abubakar, 1999).

From this explanation, it can be seen that different groups have reinterpreted the hijrah with various meanings. There are at least two ways of interpreting hijrah, namely political meaning for group interests and spiritual meaning. The spiritual meaning is used by the new hijrah movement, which is a personal thing, but later becomes a collective movement whose influence becomes significant in the social order. Besides, it appears that the hijrah is interpreted according to the group's interests. This can be a concern when the hijrah is given a meaning to justify intolerance or violence in the name of religion. Therefore, the understanding of the meaning of hijrah by groups that call themselves the hijrah movement is crucial.

Hijrah and Religious Conversion

Although the term of hijrah movement tends to be exclusive in Indonesia, the phenomenon of changing a Muslim into a more religious figure is not exclusive. This is a global phenomenon with various names. For example, Roy (2004), who studies a similar phenomenon in the UK, calls it a Muslim “born-again” by borrowing the term from Christian’s “born-again”. Roy explained that “born again” refers to “someone who suddenly makes his belief the core principle of his whole life” (Roy, 2004). Amelia Blom also uses a similar term in her studies in Pakistan, and Marloes Janson in the Gambia (Blom, 2017; Janson, 2014). Ali Kose, who conducted a study in the UK, called this phenomenon an intra-faith conversion. The definition of the term, according to Kose, is “the process whereby an individual makes a dramatically renewed commitment to their existing faith tradition, and their religious identity and conviction become altered, changed, stimulated, strengthened, energized, revived, and invigorated” (Kose, 2012). Furthermore, Sophie Gilliat Ray called it the term “rediscovering Islam” or reinventing Islam (Gilliat-Ray, 2010).

These terms then converge to a more general term in religious studies, namely conversion. Rambo’s conversion is divided into inter-religious conversion and conversion within one religious tradition (Rambo, 1999). The latter represents the meaning of hijrah. Paloutzian et al., Then called it intensification, which means a form of conversion where a person or group of people does not move from one faith community to another but becomes more obedient, passionate, and committed to the beliefs they already adhere to (Paloutzian et al., 1999). Besides, Ulman added that a person who goes through conversion experiences self-transformation and becomes a new individual (Paloutzian et al., 1999).

The next question is, what drives a person to convert? Some of the studies mentioned above reveal that several things motivate a person to convert. First, it is due to dissatisfaction with previous religious practices, which are generally taught in families (Blom, 2017; Janson, 2014; Kose, 2012; Roy, 2004). For example, young people in Pakistan feel that the path of Sufism chosen by their parents is not a representation of authentic Islamic practice (Blom, 2017). Then, young people who are the third generation of Muslim immigrants in Britain feel that their parents’ practice of Islam is far from authentic Islam (Roy, 2004). This anxiety makes it easy to accept teachings that claim to return to the original teachings of Islam. The second is the individual’s traumatic experience. This can be in the form of psychological difficulties and bad experiences that make individuals look for alternative solutions and inner peace. Then,

reconversion and strengthening of religious commitment become an option. The third is criticism or resistance to hegemony and modern culture which is considered to carry hedonism. This is also what Hikmawan Saefullah found among the hijrah punk group in Bandung (Saefullah, 2017).

Islam in the virtual world

Another vital framework in studying the contemporary hijrah movement is the Islamization of cyberspace, considering that this movement is widely active and popular in the virtual world. Islamization on social media is seen as a bottom-up Islamization effort or from the bottom. This means that the process of Islamization has moved from being legalistic towards Islamization socially and culturally (Abdullah & Osman, 2018; Fealy, 2005). The shift in promoting piety in the public sphere from the real world to the virtual world requires a wider reach and transcends traditional boundaries including conventional religious authorities (Alfitri, 2015; Bunt, 2018; Campbell, 2007; Turner, 2007). This also makes conservatism is easier to spread via the internet (Anderson, 2006; Eickelman & Anderson, 2003).

Several previous studies revealed the trend of conservatism in cyberspace. Abdullah & Osman (2018) show that after the fall of the New Order, the Islamization of Indonesia through the media took various forms. The offer of conservative teaching is one of them. It means that all kinds of religious expressions become fluid and no one of them is dominant. However, the PPIM research findings say another. The Islamic narrative that dominates cyberspace in Indonesia today is conservative (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2020).

As explained above, the dominance of conservative narratives may be due to the fragmentation of religious authority in these new media (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003). The figure of a character becomes something that is no longer considered necessary by the recipient of the message. If, for example, in the NU and Muhammadiyah traditions, figures with religious authority have qualified Islamic knowledge obtained through deep Islamic education. On social media, this is no longer important. Cyber explorers feel sufficient with the information obtained regardless of who the messenger is.

In addition, social media has created new public spaces where religious norms and values can flourish. Dayana Lengauer said that public space in social media further strengthens the social ties of the Muslim community (Lengauer, 2018). Lengauer explains that the concept of 'imagined community' proposed by (Anderson, 2006) becomes more real with more intimate interactions through social media. It is also

possible to form a close community that transcends boundaries of distance and space.

Conservatism and Gender Issue

In this research, gender issues are seen concerning religious conservatism. Initially, conservatism on gender issues was only related to politics, for example, the involvement of women in general elections. However, in its development, a conservative attitude in gender issues has also emerged among religious conservatives. Conservative views of diversity tend to be resistant to gender issues. Therefore, conservatives are often labeled as anti-gender. This anti-gender attitude is evident in the efforts of religious conservative movements to oppose the decisions of the World Conference on Women in Cairo (1994) and Beijing (1995) (Kourou, 2020).

According to Rosie Campbell and Silvia Erzeel (Celis & Childs, 2012), the anti-gender attitude of this conservative group is embraced by various right-wing, populist, and traditionalist political and religious actors. Regarding gender issues, conservatives tend to place women in the domestic sphere and limit women's access to public spaces because motherhood is the main ideology instilled in its followers. This view is supported by the research of Ahmad and Sen (2018) which found that women in conservative Muslim families in Bangladesh tend not to have formal jobs that can increase economic welfare due to low motivation and opportunities for women to work in public spaces.

Conservatives emphasize that there are differences between men and women to complement each other rather than fighting for the issue of equality (Campbell and Erzeel in Celis & Childs, 2012). The similarity of viewpoints by conservative religious groups is a reproduction of thought because the social habits and practices adopted by religious leaders refer to the life of the Salaf al-Sholeh era. Both concepts are proposed by Bourdieu (1977).

Research Findings and Analysis

Reinterpretation of the Hijrah Meaning

Before discussing the typology, spectrum, and contemporary hijrah movements, it is necessary to discuss the current meaning of hijrah. In general, the hijrah community in this study interpreted as a spiritual change or individual change to be a better person by obeying the teachings of Islam more. Some equate hijrah with repentance, such as the Hijrah Youth community, and some are not, like the Terang Jakarta. According to Ustadz Abu Fida, from Terang Jakarta, hijrah is not only always a change from bad to good, but also from good to better. He explained:

“Hijrah does not have to be from bad to good, but from good to better, that is also called hijrah. From being better to be istiqomah (maintaining the good deeds), it is also hijrah. Because Rasulullah said that Kullukum Musafirun which means we are all travelers. Travels also mean hijrah! hijrah...! hijrah! Living in this world doesn't mean we have to think about the world only. This is only a bus stop, not a terminal. This is just a transit. Therefore, as long as we live in this world, we can multiply our acts of worship because it will be our provision in the afterlife ...” (Bagas Alghafiqi, 2017).

As a basis for hijrah, the Pemuda Hijrah community uses the hadith from Imam Nasa'i as evidence:

“Amr ibn Ali has informed us, and he said; Yahya has informed us from Isma’il from ‘Amir from Abdullah ibn’ Amr, he said; “I heard Rasulullah Sallallahu ‘alaihi wasallam said:” A Muslim is a person whose tongue and hands are safe for all Muslims, and a person who did hijrah is a person who leaves what Allah forbid”. (HR. Imam Nasa’i)

Meanwhile, Ustaz Adi Hidayat, from the Kajian Musawahar community, emphasized that the goal of the hijrah was to become a *khoiru of the ummah* as mentioned in the QS. Ali Imran: 110. The basis of the hadith was also conveyed by Ustaz Adi Hidayat and Ustaz Abdus Somad through the hadith “*Wal muhajir man hajara maa nahallahu ‘anhu*” (a person who did hijrah is a person who leaves what Allah SWT forbid). Similarly, Ustaz Abi Makki said:

“The characteristic of a believer is a hijrah. If someone doesn’t have faith, it is not considered hijrah. The real meaning of hijrah is the transformation of an individual to be a better person. That person is called muhajir (someone who did hijrah). So, someone who used to have a bad character becomes good; he is muhajir. From those who were not wearing the hijab to someone who covers themselves completely, that is also called muhajir. Those who previously did not pray in the congregation became the ones who always attend congregation prayer also called muhajir. Those who did not invest finally wanted to invest are muhajir. Those who reluctant to read the Quran before then wanted to read the Quran is muhajir too.”

Meanwhile, the Yuk Ngaji community took QS. Annisa: 100 as the basis for hijrah. The verse reads:

“Whoever emigrates in the cause of Allah will find many safe havens and bountiful resources throughout the earth. Those who leave their homes and die while migrating to Allah and His Messenger—their reward has already been secured with Allah. And Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful”.

Based on this verse, hijrah is interpreted as a strong commitment to the religion adhered. This is similar to what is called intra-faith conversion and religious intensification. Concerning patterns of change after the hijrah, these four communities have different perspectives:

First, related to individual change, The Stranger Al-Ghuroba requires a total change of the individual by becoming a new individual, being religious, and leaving immorality before the hijrah. Ustadz Ahmad Zanuddin, Lc said:

"I moved from disobedience to obedience. Sin does not take a person out of faith. But sin reduces a person from his faith"(The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2017b).

One of the popular da'wah among young people is the hijrah community believes that music is a product of jahiliyyah that can neglect a person from remembering Allah. Ustaz Abu Yahya Badrusalam, Lc. explained music uploaded on YouTube by the Strangers Al Ghuroba in a tausiah (Islamic preaching) about (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2016c).

"That is the real Islam preached by Prophet SAW to his people. It forbids something none other because it leads to something that Allah dislikes even if there is no harm from music unless it prevents us from dhikr to Allah that is already bad enough" (Ustaz Abu Yahya Badrusalam, Lc).

In conclusion, the hijrah community, The Strangers Al Ghuroba thinks that I music is haram. In addition to that, in terms of dress, The Strangers Al Ghuroba is pushing for a change in how they dress, such as men should wear trousers over the ankles and women should cover their heads with long veils.



(Instagram The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, promoting the lecture about music prohibition, November 9, 2016)

This is different from the other four communities. Personal change through hijrah does not necessarily require a transformation into a new individual. It can be seen that other communities besides the Strangers Al Ghuroba have made pop culture and trends, such as music, K-POP, skateboarding, etc., as media for preaching. For example, the Kajian Musawarah's followers, who were celebrities, did not immediately abandon their arts after hijrah. They even use their arts as capital in preaching. In the Yuk Ngaji Community, things like K-Pop and Games are the theme of discussion and promotion of study events even though what is being discussed is about slowly leaving things that are considered useless towards more valuable things.

From their outfit, the figures in these four communities showing the trendy style of dressing, like wearing skullcaps or t-shirts, even during preaching activities. Women wear long headscarves, but in fashionable styles, and even they can choose bright colors. In other words, they can still be trendy as long as they are in the corridor of sharia (Islamic law). In the Hijrah Youth community, Ustaz Hanan Attaki is known for his appearance wearing skullcaps and skateboarding. In the Yuk Ngaji community, the characters wear t-shirts and flip-flops at da'wah events. Even Cahyo, one of the Ustadz, said that what they were doing was "deconstructing the way of da'wah" that adapted to the tastes of young people (YukNgaji, 2017) In the Kajian Musawarah community, the followers, which most of them are artists, generally wear fashionable clothes and remain trendy.

Second, the spiritual hijrah is followed by the hijrah in shari'a. Hijrah in shari'a is leaving practices that are not based on Shari'a. In the Yuk Ngaji, Pemuda Hijrah, and Kajian Musawarah communities, when it is explained about Hijrah, it also emphasizes the need to leave haram and syubhat (doubtful) deeds. In this case, they mention a change from dating to marriage and a change from work that contains usury to lawful work. Related to this, several figures and followers of the community hijrah became entrepreneurs. One of the choices is related to efforts to obtain halal sustenance (MJS WTC Jakarta, 2018).

Third, the hijrah is followed by the acceptance of Islam as 'kaffah' (entirely), including the political system. This provision exclusively exists in the YukNgaji community. Felix Siau said that in hijrah, three things are needed to stay istiqomah (consistent), and those are faith, ukhuwah (brotherhood), and sharia. Faith becomes the reason and basis for someone when deciding to hijrah. In other words, faith is the answer to the question "why hijrah?" The next process is ukhuwah (brotherhood). Ukhuwah is also interpreted as a supportive environment. With ukhuwah, hijrah is done together (in

congregation). Thus, each individual feels that someone is accompanying them in the hijrah journey. The third is sharia. Sharia is interpreted as a system or state that creates a supportive environment for hijrah. The state has the power to prohibit and eliminate evil. With the existence of the Shari'a, there will be a prohibition against immoral acts. Furthermore, according to Felix, these rules also encourage individuals to do hijrah (YukNgaji, 2016a, 2017).

The discussion about sharia will ultimately be related to the form of leadership and governance that the Yuk Ngaji community is hoping for. An Islamic form of government can only apply to sharia. In this case, Yuk Ngaji calls the caliphate the ideal form of government. Felix Siau explained that:

"If Islamic rules are going to be implemented, it means that the government must be an Islamic government" (Felix Siau, 2018b)

Fourth, there is an obligation to preach when you already hijrah. This was only conveyed by YukNgaji. When someone decided to hijrah, Felix explains:

"There is a set of Islamic thoughts that when installed on a Muslim, these Muslims will transform into individuals who change humans" (Felix Siau, 2018a)

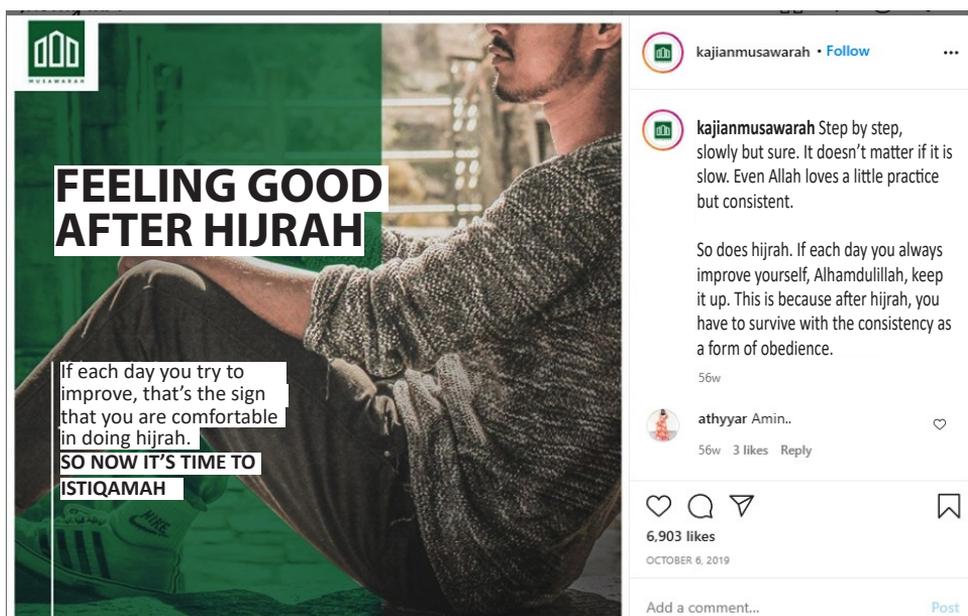
Felix continued:

"Being a Muslim means you make a difference. What change? Change for oneself, change for others, change for society, even change for the country and change for the world as well. Suppose you claim to be a Muslim, you already understand Islam and have brought Islam, but you don't want to change a people. That is problematic." (Felix Siau, 2018a)

Regarding the obligation to preach, it was also conveyed in the offline lecture of Yuk Ngaji. Some of the followers interviewed in this study explained how they preached through social media. Harry (pseudonym), a Yuk Ngaji follower, for example, deliberately created content to be uploaded to his Instagram account (Harry, Personal Communication, 29 October 2020). Likewise, with Safira and Zhifa (pseudonyms), even if they cannot create their content, they will repost the hijrah Instagram accounts' content. The next problem is related to references when creating da'wah content. Without any religious references used, Harry, Safira, and Zhifa admitted that they did not like reading. They rely on what was conveyed by Ustadz as a reference in religion and also in preaching. From this, it is clear why individuals who claim to be committed

to hijrah talk about religion in the public sphere.

Fifth, in addition to what being conveyed by Yuk Ngaji, istiqomah is also emphasized by Ustaz Adi Hidayat. One solution to maintain istiqomah in hijrah is to create groups that can support each other. This support includes when someone leaves their profession and becomes an entrepreneur. It is where the role of the community is relied on to provide support. Abu Fida, from Terang Jakarta, defines hijrah as a continuous process of changing attitudes to behavior. The basic hijrah is the transformation from having a bad attitude and behavior to having a good one. The next hijrah is from good attitudes and behavior to better attitudes and behaviors. The highest hijrah is understood as the process of maintaining perfect attitudes and behavior continuously (istiqomah) (Bagas Alghafiqi, 2017).



Typology of the Contemporary Hijrah Movement in Indonesia

By exploring the meaning of hijrah in the five communities, its core teachings, and movement patterns, this research finds two typologies of the hijrah movement, conservative and Islamist. Four communities fall into the conservative category such as Terang Jakarta, Pemuda Hijrah, Kajian Musawarah, and The Strangers Al-Ghuroba. Meanwhile, YukNgaji falls into the Islamist category.

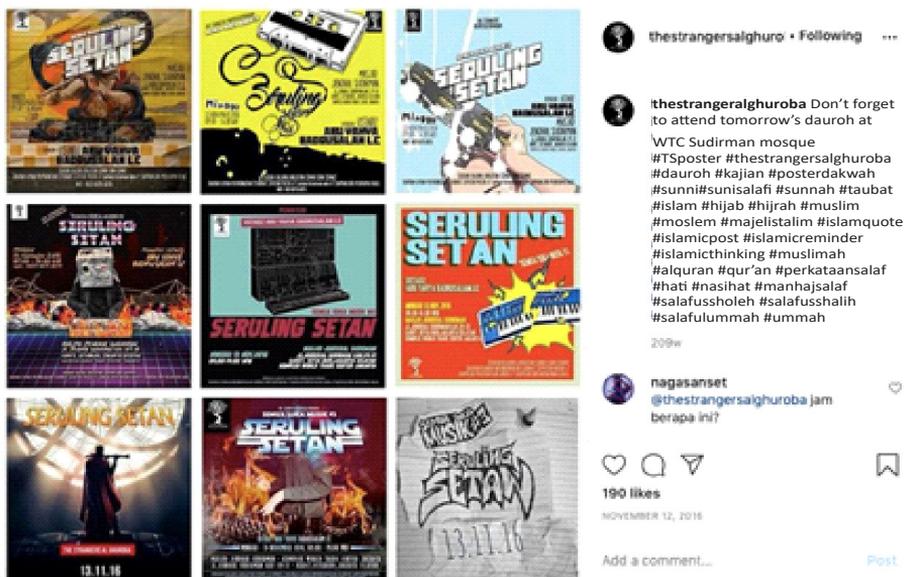
a. Conservatives: Salafis and Non-Salafists

As explained in the sub discussion of definitions and concepts, conservative groups reject modernist, liberal, or progressive interpretations of Islamic teachings and maintain a standard doctrine and social order. The conservative group in this study does not make politics a community agenda, which makes it different from Islamists. The conservatism of the five hijrah communities can be seen in how they respond to contemporary issues such as nationalism and the state, leadership, relations with non-Muslims, and issues related to women, as will be discussed later in this report.

Furthermore, looking at the reference sources used and also how the four hijrah communities define themselves, this conservative group is further divided into two, Salafi and non-Salafi. The word Salafi is still understood in different meanings. Some stated that their religious beliefs were close to Wahabi ideology, but some stated that they were more towards purifying Islam. The Salafi movement is often connoted as a movement that develops an ideology less accommodating to the socio-cultural and socio-historical conditions of society. Thus, this Salafi movement often creates community conflicts (Noorhaidi, 2005: 23-84). In general, Salafis emphasize three main elements such as using the Qur'an and Hadith textually, wanting to live like in the time of the Prophet, and understanding basic religious practices as in the Salafus Salihin era or known as the first three generations of Islam.

Pure Salafi Communities: The Strangers Al-Ghuroba

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba falls into the category of pure Salafi. This community displays the Salafi identity on their social media, and all ustadz who lead the lecture activities were Salafist ustadz. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba forbids music and images that resemble Allah's creations. Therefore, the images displayed on The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's Instagram page do not show faces. Furthermore, women are shown wearing veils and dark clothes.



thestrangersalghuro • Following ...

thestrangeralghuroba Don't forget to attend tomorrow's dauroh at WTC Sudirman mosque #TSposter #thestrangersalghuroba #dauroh #kajian #posterdakwah #sunnih#sunisalafih #sunnah #taubat #islam #hijab #hijrah #muslim #moslem #majelstallim #islamquote #islamicpost #islamicreminder #islamicthinking #muslimah #alquran #qur'an #perkataanalaf #hati #nasihat #manhajsalaf #salafussholeh #salafusshalih #salafulummah #ummah

209w

naganset @thestrangersalghuroba jam berapa inf?

190 likes
 NOVEMBER 12, 2015

Add a comment... Post



thestrangersalghuro • Following ...

thestrangeralghuroba Bismillah

Alhamdulillah veil switch program is back. Switching the trendy veil worn by the visitors BlockM Square to a longer veil are being offered for free. And all praises to Allah that some of our sisters enthusiastically try the niqab and they glad to wear it. May this initial step is a form of love to syariat with the the longer veil as the first wasilah. And finally, we hope that everyone can be istiqomah (consitent)

190 likes
 DECEMBER 7, 2015

Add a comment... Post

(Instagram The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, type of poster display with pop culture nuances without showing human faces, November 12, 2016)

Music, pictures, and the way women dress show how this community interprets the hadith texts literally. Several hadiths are considered as guidelines, among others: The hadith narrated by Bukhari said that “There will be among my people one of you who commits adultery, silk for men, khamr and musical instruments”. Second, the hadith

narrated by Abu Hanifah explains that listening to music is classified as a sin. Third, the hadith narrated by At-Thabrani regarding the slander of the end of time, that said: "It will happen in the end times, humans drowned in the earth, were showered with stones, and changed their appearance, that is, if they have seen (made it halal) musical instruments, singers and legalizing khamr" (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2016a).

In addition, one of the figures emphasizes avoiding and keeping away from cases of syubhat (doubtful). This is based on the hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslim that said, "Verily what is lawful is clear and what is haram is clear. Between the two are serious matters which are not known to the crowd. So whoever is afraid of syubhat means he has saved his religion and honor. Whoever falls into the case of syubhat will fall into the case forbidden as a shepherd, herding her back around a field that is forbidden to enter. Know that every king has prohibitions and Allah's prohibitions are what He forbids. Know that there is a lump of flesh within if it is good the whole body is good and if it is bad the whole body is bad; notice that it is the heart" (History of Bukhari and Muslim) (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2016a).

Also, several books that appear to be frequently used by figures are hadith books such as the Arba'in Nawawi Book, Umdah al-Ahkam, and Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim. Studies of the Umdah al-Ahkam book are routinely delivered by Ustaz Mizan Qudsiyah. In The Strangers YouTube content uploaded on March 3, 2016, Ustaz Mizan explained that the book was written by Abu Muhammad Abdul Ghani ibn Abdul Wahid al Magdisi contains legal summaries narrated by Bukhari and Muslim (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2016b).

Some of the Ustaz who often become the lecturer are Mizan Qudsiyah, Lc, Abu Yahya for the study of Fiqh; Dr. Erwandi Tarmizi, MA for muamalah studies; and Ustaz Sofyan Chalid Ruray for a study of faith. Meanwhile, other Ustaz were seen filling in several studies such as Ustaz Abdurrahman Thoyyib; Dr. Ustaz Musyaffa Ad Dariny MA; Ustaz Najmi Umar Bakkar; Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin Al Banjary, Lc; Ustaz Badru Salam, Lc; Ustaz Zaenal Abidin; Ustaz Subhan Bawazier; Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin; Ustaz Maududi Abdullah, Lc; Dr. Ustaz Arifin Badri; Ustaz Abuz Zubair Hawaary; Ustaz Abdullah Zaen, MA; and Ustaz Muhammad Nuzul Dzikri, Lc.

Accommodative Salafi: Terang Jakarta

The Terang Jakarta Community is a community that is quite different from the number of communities studied in this research. This community can be categorized as a Salafi community using Islamic literature, which refers to Salafi books and the use

of very literal Islamic sources. It can be seen from the content of Ustaz and Ustazah's lectures which tend to emphasize textual arguments without being based on the views of a particular interpreter. The references they use are generally Wahabi books, as admitted by Ustaz Taufik al-Miftah in an online interview. They also emphasized the Salaf al-Saleh, which can be seen from their study of the Shirah Nabawiyah, which has been routinely carried out for several years.

A number of scholars books who are close to Salafi / Wahabi are used as references for studies such as Shaykh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (Kitab al-Tauhid) and Shaykh Muhammad bin Shalih al-'Utsaimin (al-Qaul al-Mufid 'al Kitab al-Tauhid) , including books written by other scholars such as Tafsir Ibn Katsir, Tafsir Ath-Tabari / Tafsir Jami'ul Bayan fit Tafsiril Qur'an by Ibn Jarir Ath-Tabari (Tafsir bil Ma'tsur), Hadith al-Arba'in An -Nabawiyah Imam Nawawi and others. As stated by Ustaz Taufik Al Miftah:

"We take a light book such as Tafseer of Ibn Kathir, Ath-Thobari, and Fiqh with four madhabs. The hadith is also light, Arbainnabawi. The Tauhid is from the book of Shaykh Muhammad Abdul Wahhab (Shaykh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, pen.). There is also Shaykh Uthaimin (pen.)." (Ustaz Taufiq al-Miftah, 27 October 2020).

Nevertheless, the Terang Jakarta community is very open and accommodating to modern issues. The Characteristics of Terang Jakarta are not accommodated by the categorization proposed by both Wictorowitz (2006) and Wahid (2012). For this reason, this study invited Terang Jakarta an accommodative Salafi, which refers to a community having an understanding of Salafism. However, it is very open to modern values. The Terang Jakarta Community, which is also a Salafi, shows accommodating characteristics in one's journey to hijrah. Being religious, for this community, does not mean having to give up worldly things altogether. The figures in the Terang Jakarta community show a style that looks very trendy.

Various social scientists in America have frequently used the term of religious accommodation; researchers have used it at the Office for Equality and Diversity at East Carolina University. This religious accommodation is interpreted as any form of adjustment to the work environment to allow employees to adhere to their religious beliefs. The need for religious accommodation arises when a person's religious beliefs, observances, or practices conflict with specific duties or requirements of the job or application process. The same term has also been used by Eileen P. Kelly in her article entitled Accommodating Religious Expression in the Workplace (Kelly, 2008). Thus, religious accommodation can be interpreted as an effort to resolve conflicts

experienced by employees related to clashes between spiritual practices and duties in their offices without causing difficulties for the employer.

The term accommodation is also widely used by communication scientists, especially about Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), a theory that provides a framework that aims to predict and explain many adjustments made by individuals to create, maintain or reduce the social distance in interactions between people. Meanwhile, various studies on religious accommodation also have been widely carried out but are more related to efforts to find solutions to the clash between religious practices and workplace rules. This religious accommodation is widely practiced by minority Muslim groups in Canada, America, and Europe.



Source: Terang Jakarta, "How to Deal with All the Injustice and Inequality of the World as A Muslim -- Ustaz Abu Fida, June 19, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d8sxcg2yJeF4&feature=youtu.be>

Non-Salafi Conservatives: Kajian Musawarah and Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT)

The Kajian Musawarah Community declares that they are not a Salafi-based community. It can also be seen that all ustadz who were invited to their lecture activities were not Salafi ustadz. Based on the results of analysis content on Instagram and Youtube accounts, Kajian Musawarah is a hijrah community that sufficiently accommodates the existence of women in the hijrah movement. This is reflected in the many photos and videos of the Kajian Musawarah program, which were also published on the social media accounts of the Kajian Musawarah. This is certainly different from other hijrah communities, especially those with strict Salafi beliefs, which do not allow women to take pictures and be published to the public because non-mahrams will see them.



(Instagram Kajian Musawarah, the face photo is clearly visible, December 27, 2010)

Similar to Kajian Musawarah, the SHIFT community emphasize that they are not a Salafi-based community. The religious references commonly used are referring to Muslim community teaching in general. This study also did not tend to Salafism either from discussions with community figures and followers or from the content uploads in their social media. It is still uncertain about finding out whether the SHIFT community is included in the category of the Salafi movement or a modification of the Salafi. This is because the interviewee cannot give adequate information about this community. Inong stated that the one with the capacity to answer this question is Ustaz Hanan Attaki (Fani Krismandar, Personal Communication, October 27, 2020). However, until now, access to get an interview with Ustadz Hanan is still not possible. Furthermore, the answer cannot be found in their content posted on Instagram or Youtube. Even though at the beginning of its establishment, SHIFT often invited Ustaz Rahmat Baequni to lecture specifically about the end of the era (Pemuda Hijrah on Instagram, 2015). Ustaz Rahmat Baequni's style of thought and dress tended to be Salafi. However, since 2016, Ustaz Rahmat Baequni no longer gives the lecture at Pemuda Hijrah; even Ustadz Rahmat Baequni's video recording speech is no longer

available on the SHIFT Youtube account.



MASJID AL LATHIIF & SHIFT PRESENTI

Kajian Futuristik SUPAT Al-Kahfi

BERSAMA

USTADS RAHMAT BAEQUNI

WAKTU : SENIN, 21 RAJAB 1436 H | 11 MEI 2015, 18.00 S/D 20.30

TEMPAT : MASJID AL LATHIIF JL SANINTEN NO 2 BANDUNG

shiftmedia.id • Follow

shiftmedia.id [Predicting the Future through surah Al-Kahfi]
According to Al-Qur'an and Hadits, Allah SWT and Rasulullah SAW have given proofs of the signs of end of times.
Everything that is currently happening is by Allah's permission. It is our duty as humans to learn from this guidance to avoid hell and enter His heaven.
In this session, we will discuss what the trial of the Dajjal is. Further, what has been mentioned in some hadiths will be the most severe trial and only a few are...

145 likes
MAY 11, 2015

Log in to like or comment.

The Yuk Ngaji community falls into the Islamist category because it clearly makes politics a part of the hijrah. According to Felix Siau, hijrah requires Islam with Kaffah which means accepting everything that Islam teaches, including politics. Felix Siau explained that there are three things supporting istiqomah in hijrah, namely faith, ukhuwah, and sharia. Sharia is a system or state that creates a supportive environment for the hijrah. The state has the power to prohibit and eliminate evil. With the existence of the Shari'a, there will be a prohibition against immoral acts. Furthermore, according to Felix, these rules also encourage individuals to do hijrah (YukNgaji Community, 2016a, 2017).

b. Islamist: Yuk Ngaji

The Yuk Ngaji community adopts *Khilafah* political system. Felix Siau clearly explains this in several videos. In the Islamic book review of Rahmatan Lil Alamin, the *Khalifah* is a system established by Allah. Felix Xiau explained that:

"A trustworthy leadership system is a Khalifah. When we accuse Islam of not having a distinctive leadership system, that the Prophet did not bring down a distinctive leadership system is tantamount to accusing Allah of not bringing down a perfect Islam. It is the same as we accuse the Prophet of not exemplifying a comprehensive and perfect. So Islam is perfect. There is no need for additional, reduction, or change.

We don't need an outside concept. We only need a concept from Islam because this is a perfect concept that does not need to be added, subtracted, and changed. As for the Wasilah, the way it is applied may change, it is even obligatory to change according to the times (Komunitas YukNgaji, 2015)."

It is clear that the Khilafah ideas promoted by Yuk Ngaji are a continuation of the Khilafah struggle of HizbutTahrir Indonesia (HTI). This is because Yuk Ngaji figures are also HTI figures, such as Felix Siau, the most well-known of them. Likewise, the reference book, *Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin*, was extracted from the *Discourses on Political and Spiritual Islam* book by Hafidz Abdurrahman, known as one of the prominent figures of HTI in Indonesia (Felix Siau, 2018a).



The message of the Khalifah was still conveyed even after the Indonesian government banned HTI in July 2017 by issuing Government Regulation in Lieu of Law (Perppu) Number 2 of 2017.

Views on Contemporary Issues

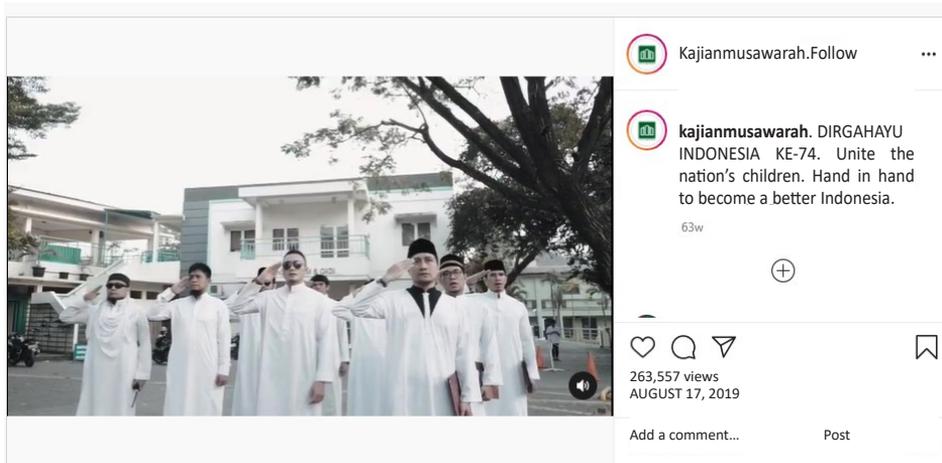
This section will explain how the views of the five *Hijrah* communities towards contemporary issues such as nationalism, sharia economics, and also women's issues. The discussion of these matters will be able to show better and confirm the typology of the contemporary *Hijrah* movements developing in Indonesia.

Nationalism and Nationality

The commitment to the nationality of the five Hijrah communities is shown in different ways. The Kajian Musawarah Community makes nationalism one of their identities. In the Terang Jakarta and Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT) communities, nationalism becomes a core of discussion delivered on social media, posters, and or videos. Meanwhile, in the Yuk Ngaji community, although they firmly show support for the Khalifah, nationalism and love for the country are topics that have appeared several times in their upload. This topic is discussed more critically by Yuk Ngaji, considering that support for the caliphate is often identified as aspects contrary to the commitment to nationality and also nationalism. The Strangers Al Ghuroba community, which tends to be *Salafi*, does not show any posts supporting the nationalism issue. However, none of them rejected or opposed.

Furthermore, the four *Hijrah* communities joined an organization called BarisanBangunNegeri (BBN). BBN was formed by nine Ustadz from the hijrah community consisting of Ustadz Abdul Somad, Habib Muhammad bin Anis, Umar Mita, Felix Siauw, Salim A. Fillah, Hannan Attaki, Ustadz Lukmanul Hakim, and Ustadz Adi Hidayat (YukNgaji Community, 2019c). BBN activities are focused on social and environmental activities. Some of their actions respond quickly to natural disasters and support a less waste lifestyle as a form of concern for environmental issues. The involvement of figures from the four *Hijrah* communities in the formation of BBN led the community to become part of it.

The Kajian Musawarah Community identifies itself as a religious-nationalist. This community shows religious-nationalist branding with posts showing the figures saluting the flag by wearing a robe as a symbol of religiosity. Other things clearly shown are the need to respect differences, including political matters.



Movers and followers of the Kajian Musawarah community also showed their support for Pancasila. For example, Teddy (pseudonym), who acts as a community mobilizer, said:

“In my opinion, as a layman who is not very expert, Pancasila has facilitated the voice of religion in its first precept, namely the One Godhead. The following precepts have also presented religious teachings, the second precept, and others. Furthermore, the following precepts already have Islamic values. A concept of one state ideology is quite complete” (Teddy, Personal Communication, 26 October 2020).

This was agreed by Harris (pseudonym), a community follower, who stated that the first precept of Pancasila already contained Islamic values. (Harris, Personal Communication, 23 October 2020).

Meanwhile, analysis of the Terang Jakarta community’s posters and videos shows that it teaches the values of nationalism. At the Youth Pledge Day commemoration, the community held Tabligh Akbar with the theme Tabligh Akbar YIFest 2018 “Islam Youth as a Milestone of National Unity. It was held on 7 October 2020 presenting four Ustadz, namely Abu Fida, OemarMita, Ahmad Ridwan, and Deden M. Makyaruddin. Terang Jakarta at that time collaborated with Mizan, Basnaz, Wardah, and others. Apart from that, this community also includes pictures of the Garuda bird and red and white flags on some posters as part of their acceptance of nationalism and love for the country. The caption stated:

“Are you sure you are free? Are you sure that our life today is independent? What kind of independence? Freedom when practicing amarma’rufnahimunkar (encouraging good deeds and preventing wrongdoings)? Or are you free when you commit immorality? What exactly does freedom mean in Islam? Are we free to do whatever we want? Are we free when we pass through the gates of heaven? Including which are we? Let’s move to become a truly independent generation. And we find out what the meaning of freedom in Islam is, brother!”(Bright IG Jakarta)

This activity is one of the advantages of the millennial Hijrah community because it utilizes the commemoration of national holidays for Islamic reflective activities. Interestingly, the word Merdeka (freedom), which is usually connoted with freedom from colonialism, is contextualized into Islam’s independence.

RSVP
bit.ly/BFGBoysTalk
30 seats only

Sponsored by
IUP

FRIDAY, 17 AUGUST 2018
15:30

ELEVEN TREES
INTAN UJUNG STREET NO. 11, CILANDAK,
SOUTH JAKARTA

Instagram post content:

terangjakarta • Follow

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

Yakin sudah merdeka?

Yakin bahwa apa yang kita jalani dalam kehidupan sehari - hari sudah bisa kita katakan merdeka?

Merdeka yang seperti apa? Merdeka ketika menjalankan amar ma'ruf nahi munkar?

Atau merdeka ketika melakukan kemaksiatan?

Apa sih sebenarnya makna merdeka menurut islam? Apakah yang bebas melakukan apapun yg kita inginkan?

124 likes
AUGUST 16, 2018

Add a comment... Post

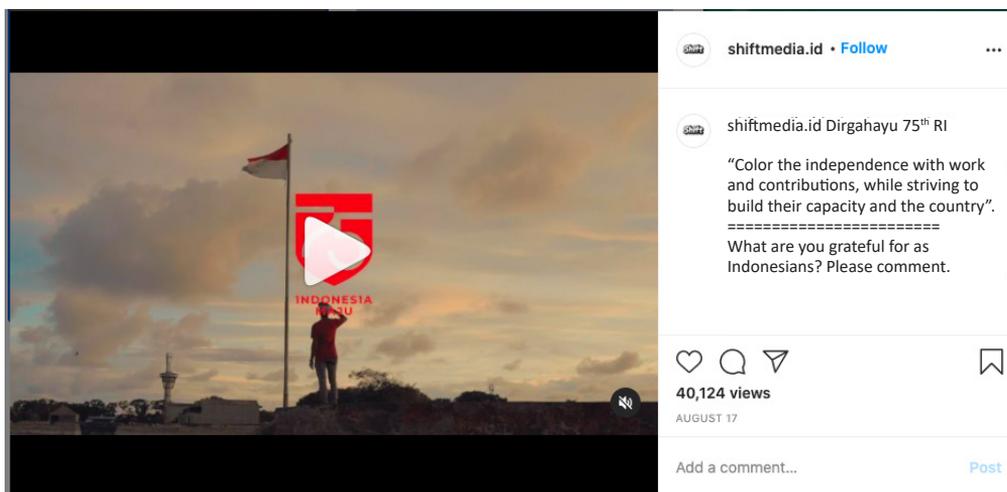
Whether Pancasila is in line with Islam, Ustadz Taufik al Miftah clearly stated that the five points of Pancasila are relevant to Islam.

“Obviously, it is a belief in the one and only God. How could it be un-Islamic? Moreover, the five precepts reflect the Prophet’s morals: humanity, unity, and justice. All of those are

morals. It is impossible that it is not part of Islam. The history of independence cannot be separated from the struggle of the ulama as well. So, Pancasila is reflected in the morals (of us) as Muslims". (Taufik al-Miftah, Personal Communication, 10 October 2020).

The symbolic and ceremonial attitude of SHIFT's nationalism can be seen in several activities and posts when they celebrate national holidays. One of them is a routine post on the independence day of the Republic of Indonesia. It can be observed that, in one of the posts, a young man in casual clothes is saluting the red-and-white flag (Indonesian national flag). According to SHIFT, independence must be filled with work and contribution by striving for the country continuously. In their Instagram caption, they said:

"Color the independence with work and contributions, while striving to build their capacity and the country" (@shiftmedia.id, 17 August 2020).



In addition, in one of Ustaz Hanan Attaki's preachings entitled "The Present Youth Pledge," it seems that he tried to present the spirit of youth in the past to be followed by today's youth, but with different narratives and motivations. The narrative conveyed by Ustaz Hanan was that the contribution of youth to the nation was one of them by making the mosque prosperous and enlivening the Taklim assemblies (Shift Media, 2017)

Meanwhile, in the Yuk Ngaji community, which tends to be Islamist, nationalism is shown by social activities and posts on social media. This community not only shows support but also criticism of the issue of nationalism. In the Barisan Bangun Negeri Less Waste activity, Weimar Aditya, the figure of Yuk Ngaji, shouted: "Those who love the country raise your hands! Takbir!" (YukNgaji Community, 2019c)

For example, nationality issues can also be seen when Yuk Ngaji responded to the presidential election. In the video entitled Dear Mr. Next President, Weemar Aditya conveyed his hopes for the Indonesian presidential candidate, although he did not mention whom to support (YukNgaji Community, 2019b). The following is a quote by WeemarAditya:

"Guide us with the Qur'an. Guide us with the Sunnah. Fight for us. People pray and are loyal. We don't care how much we know until we care how much we know".(YukNgaji Community, 2019b)

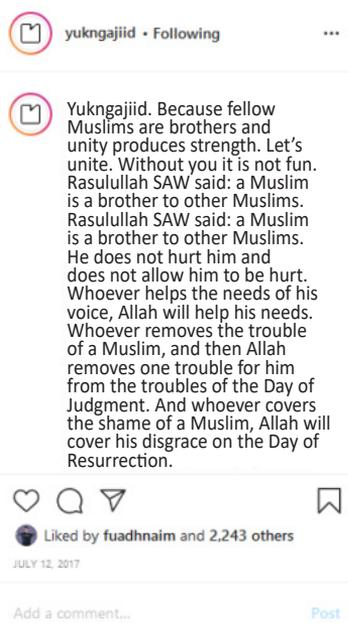
However, a critic towards the issue of nationalism raised in a society with the slogan "I am Indonesia, I am Pancasila!". In one of the Youtube discussions, it was revealed that the slogan was used to make an impression that certain groups are more nationalist than others. When discussing this, Felix Siau associated it with the issue of radicalism that was sticking out. He said that:

"Everything that has not been proven is often being judged as wrong and radical. But everything that has been proven to torment is not said to be radical. Why? Because "I am Indonesian, I am Pancasila!" (YukNgaji Community, 2020c).

This statement seemed to respond to the prohibition of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, in which Felix Siau and also several Yuk Ngaji figures were part of the organization. The prohibition of Hizbut Tahrir was due to its Khalifah ideology which was considered incompatible with Pancasila. Messages about the Khalifah are still becoming the core of discussion in the Yuk Ngaji community even though the government disbanded HTI in July 2017. During this period of disbandment, there were not many Yuk Ngaji posts that responded. Only the following Instagram post shows a response to the event:



Whatever
**YOUR SECT,
I AM
YOUR BROTHER**
المسلم أخو المسلم لا يظلمه ولا يخذله ولا يسلمه



More clearly, the caption of the post is as follows:

Because fellow Muslims are brothers and unity produces strength, Let's unite. Without you, it is not fun. Rasulullah SAW said: a Muslim is a brother to other Muslims. Rasulullah SAW said: a Muslim is a brother to other Muslims. He does not hurt them and does not allow him to be hurt. Whoever helps the needs of his voice, Allah will alleviate his needs. Whoever removes the trouble of a Muslim, and then Allah removes one trouble for him from the troubles of the Day of Judgment. And whoever covers the shame of a Muslim, Allah will cover his disgrace on the Day of Resurrection. (HR Bukhari, Shahih Bukhari No. 2262)(@yukngajiid, 12 July 2017).

In the Strangers Al Ghuroba community, there has been no discussion of democracy or other political issues until now. However, on several occasions published on The Strangers Al Ghuroba YouTube, Ustaz Subhan Bawazier emphasized that as a nation, Indonesia should love the country and uphold the values of Pancasila (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2017c).

Discussion on the Khilafah and the Formal Application of Islamic Sharia

The support for the Khilafah is explicitly shown only by the Yuk Ngaji community. Discussions about the Khilafah are hardly found in all community uploads other than Yuk Ngaji. Discussions about the Khilafah were obtained through interviews with figures and followers of several hijrah communities. From the interview, it was revealed that although acknowledging that the Khilafah is part of the existing tradition in Islam, this does not mean that this system is the only political system that must be implemented, especially in the current national context. For example, a founder of the Jakarta Terang community, Dimas Wibisono, said:

“At TJ, we never discussed this theme. For me, now Islamic Sharia has proven to be good in many sectors. However, if the Khilafah system can be comprehensive, another aspect must get attention too. If it’s the best, then go ahead, but in practice, it’s not easy. Ideally, in my opinion, the Khilafah system: All use Islamic law. In Indonesia, the process is still long”. (Dimas Wibisono, Personal Communication, 23 October 2020).

Somewhat different from Dimas, Taufik al-Miftah refused to answer questions about the Khilafah system in an in-depth interview. Firmly, he conveyed that the hijrah must be kaffah (entirely) but it does not have to be interpreted as Khilafah. Meanwhile, Kang Sani, one of the Terang Ta’aruf ustadz, actually has a slightly different view of the Khilafah. According to him, the people in our country are very plural that it is difficult to implement the Khilafah system. (Kang Sani Budi, Personal Communication, October 22, 2020).

A SHIFT follower, Deddy Akbar (pseudonym), said: *“As Muslims, it is the moment to establish a Khilafah as a solution to the nation’s problems, but the challenge is to find the appropriate Khilafah especially in Indonesia”* (Deddy Akbar, Personal Communication, October 20, 2020). Then regarding the implementation of Islamic Syarikat, Inong said, *“From an Islamic point of view, after the shahada, we must follow Islamic law.”*

In the Kajian Musawarah community lecture, it can be concluded that Ustadz’s views on contemporary issues such as democracy, plurality, and statehood tend to be in line with the Indonesian constitution in general. For example, on the issue of democracy, UAH stated that if a system brings benefits, then the system can be

used (Samudera Ilmu, 2018). Meanwhile, UAS said that democracy would be good if the majority of voters voted for or in favor of goodness. However, UAS stated that democracy could be used during the transition period; if the system is already running well, it can shift to the Khilafah. This statement is quite harsh and vulnerable to suggest ideas that are not acceptable to the state, but due to the limited content of the analysis, the information that can be conveyed is limited (Fodamara TV, 2016a).

In the Strangers Al Ghuroba community, no discussion harshly emphasizes the implementation of the Khilafah and Islamic sharia. On one occasion, Ustaz Subhan Bawazier once said that Indonesian Mas the largest Muslim country, it is necessary to emulate Arabia. As stated by Ustaz Subhan Bawazier: *"We will try the example of Arab countries, Islamic countries. Foreigners may open a business there, but it is owned (business ownership) of Arabs. Not in us (Indonesia). So it is very dangerous. Finally, we may mortgage our aqidah (faith)"*. (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2017a)

Relations with Non-Muslims and Non-Muslim Leadership

The five hijrah communities show openness to relations with non-Muslims. It is understandable because they generally come from the urban middle class who are accustomed to relations with plural societies. However, several things are not agreed upon regarding matters that are considered closely related to the principles of values taught by religion, including the congratulations of the holidays for non-Muslims and non-Muslim leadership.

Ustaz Abdul Somad gave an example of how the Prophet lived side by side with non-Muslims. For the SHIFT community, connecting with non-Muslims is part of the dissemination of Islam. Likewise, the Terang Jakarta community admits that there are also non-Muslim followers. Dimas, board of Bright Jakarta:

"Many of our members are non-Muslims. They come to our lecture. Some come to the zoom meeting. We have held international lectures as well as many non-Muslim friends. They just want to look for a comfortable group first. Just guide them if they want to study again with us. But, personally, I don't know them. Usually, his friends are our friends. There is a covert in our board members. TJ is that light (Dimas Wibisono, Personal Communication, October 23, 2020)

Meanwhile, non-Muslim leadership is considered closely related to Islamic principles. For the Yuk Ngaji community that supports the Khilafah system, of course,

non-Muslim leadership is not acceptable. Other communities, although not carrying the Khilafah, still oppose non-Muslim leadership.

Ustadz Adi Hidayat has repeatedly emphasized a statement, "I do not speak politics, but only convey the teachings of the Qur'an (Taman Surga TV, 2017). According to him, talking about Al-Maidah verse 51 has something to do with 14 other verses in the Qur'an with similar meanings. Meanwhile, the verses that discuss leaders are 15 verses. In the Qur'an, there are only five verses regarding haram (anything forbidden by Islamic law) food, but it is not questioned, and we tend to obey. Meanwhile, 15 verses about leaders are widely debated and some even made wild interpretations by those who are not knowledgeable. Apostles, friends, tabi'in, and scholars agree they should not criticize others, including their religion. *Lakum diinukum waliyadain*. However, if you want to choose an Islamic leader, it is under law protection. And vice versa, if there is an area in Indonesia where the majority of the people are non-Muslim who do not agree not to elect a Muslim leader, then we should not be angry because it is protected by law (Taman Surga TV, 2017).

On the other hand, Ustadz Abdul Somad made quite a statement regarding non-Muslim leaders. First of all, he quoted a verse about the prohibition of choosing a kafir (non-Muslim) leader, which means, "O you who believe, do not take the Jews and Christians as your leaders; some of them are leaders for others. Whoever among you takes them to be the leader, and then actually that person belongs to their class. Indeed, Allah does not guide the wrongdoers". UAS expressly states that those who elect a kafir leader will become kafir, because, in the verse, it is said that they are part of the group (Fodamara TV, 2016b).

Ustadz Fatih Karim from Terang Jakarta emphasized:

"This sense of diversity will come out when Muslims want to actualize their Islamic desires. For example, it is haram to have a non-Muslim as a leader, and then they shout, "Wow, you have to be aware, you have to understand! We are diverse. The Bhineka (unity in diversity) is not valid unless non-Muslims become leaders for Muslims". This is called pluralism. It is what Islam rejects. Therefore, Islam really understands what diversity means. Islam understands plurality, but Islam rejects what is called pluralism. What is pluralism? An understanding generalizes that all religions are the same so that Islam cannot regulate Muslims. Is it wrong for a Muslim to say that it is haram to choose a kafir leader? Is it wrong? Isn't that status haram (forbidden)? Isn't it true that a Muslim cannot be led by a leader of the state

who is kufr or a head of a region who is kufr? Therefore, a friend of Quran lovers said that diversity is strange wherever you are. Those who promote diversity or have an organization of Bhineka are the ones who are the most anti-diversity" (Love Quran TV, 2017).

From this statement, it can be seen that the issue of non-Muslim leadership is an issue related to the principles of belief based on the holy book. So it will be difficult for Hijrah communities to accept non-Muslim leadership.

Violence in the Name of Religion

The five hijrah communities agree that violence in the name of religion is not acceptable, even backlash with Islamic values. For example, for Inong from SHIFT, terrorism and acts of violence in the name of religion are committed by individuals. In addition, Ustaz Abu Fida, from Terang Jakarta, said that jihad in the context of today's society should no longer be interpreted as committing violence such as terrorist groups, but jihad in terms of helping vulnerable groups, including people with disabilities. (*Terang Jakarta on Instagram: "Terrorism is not Islamic teaching @ abufida.Tj #TerangJakarta #GueIslamGueKeren," 2018*).

Yuk Ngaji firmly rejects violence in any form and to anyone. However, when responding to radicalism, Yuk Ngaji criticized the government's policy in interpreting and dealing with radicalism. When responding to the issue of the stabbing of the Menkopolhukam, Wiranto, in Banten, in a video, Felix explained:

"Islam does not teach violence. The thing to worry about is after. One of them is that mass organization that is considered radical have become marginalized, have their movements restricted, and even disbanded. It is stated that violence is not the right way, even if it is committed against people who are considered to have done something wrong" (Yuk Ngaji Community, 2019a)

Issues of Women

Regarding women's issues, this study found that the response to women's issues in the five hijrah communities was very diverse, which was influenced by the tendencies of their respective religious typologies. For example, in the Strangers Al-Ghuroba community, which tends to be Salafi, there is a tendency to limit women's role severely. Meanwhile, the Terang Jakarta community that accommodates Salafi tends

to show more support and openness to women. While the three other communities, namely Yuk Ngaji, SHIFT, and also Kajian Musawarah, on the one hand, show the ability of women to play a role in the public sphere. However, in some cases, they tend to show restrictions. The discussion on women's issues in the five communities tends to be varied in terms of the richness of the discussion. This is due to the limited data obtained.

A view on women's aurat

The Strangers Al Ghuroba, with a pure Salafi view, campaigned for the use of the niqab for women. This community organizes hijab exchange activities for women who do not yet have a long hijab and niqab. The Strangers hijrah community considers that a Muslim woman is the aurat and should be covered using a long cloth. One of the hadiths conveyed that "A woman is aurat (the intimate parts of the human body that must be covered from the sight of others with clothing.), if she comes out, then the devil will accompany her" (H.R. At-Tirmidzi). In an article, The Strangers emphasizes that the boundaries of women's aurat are the hair, face, feet, and hands. In other words, this hijrah community group suggested that women use the niqab to cover their faces from the views of men is mandatory (Kusumawati, 2020). Meanwhile, in the Terang Jakarta community, which is included in the accommodative Salafi typology, it is seen that women who appear in public wear a hijab extending to their chest, but on several occasions were seen wearing make-up even though it was not thick and seemed to dress up when appearing in front of the camera. It was said by Fatih Karim, one of the figures, that the order to cover the aurat for men and women is different because women are more detailed. According to him, this is because throughout the ages women have always been the sexual object of men. Therefore, Rasulullah honored women by regulating their aurat. The limitation of covering a woman's aurat is her entire body except for the face and palms. For women, it is mandatory to cover the aurat, and she criticizes the opinion that the veil is not obligatory because this opinion is not following Islamic teachings. Islam teaches women to cover their chests (UliAlbab Channel, 2016).

Fatih Karim also emphasized that the veil and the word jilbab are different. The veil is limited to cover to the chest according to Allah's command in Annur (24): 31. Say to the women who believe: "Let them hold their gaze and their aurat, and they should not reveal their jewels, except what is (usually) seen from them. And let them put a veil over his chest". Meanwhile, the veil is the one that sticks down, commonly referred

to as the robe mentioned in al Ahzab 59. O Prophet, say to your wives, daughters, and wives of believers, “Let them stretch out their veils all over their bodies” so that they are easier to identify, therefore they will not be disturbed.” However, currently, women widely wear the Jitong or cut veil, namely the tops and bottoms.

According to him, it has covered the aurat but it is not a syariah hijab because the syariah is a gamis (long dress) is not a full pressed body (UlilAlbab Channel, 2016). In the Musawarah community lecture, which incidentally comes from celebrities, the women still often appear in public. Some have even starred in advertisements for “Islamic” products such as Fenita Arie and Zaskia Sungkar cosmetics for Wardah cosmetics and Shireen Sungkar for Johnson Johnson and Bebelac baby care products. (Fenita Arie Chosen as Wardah’s Newest Brand Ambassador - FotoTempo.Co, 2019).

Likewise, in dressing and wearing makeup, some of these female figures who come from celebrities are seen still wearing makeup, which is also combined with the hijab that extends to the chest. However, there is a tendency for them to leave jobs deemed not following Islamic teachings, such as hosting infotainment shows or playing films and soap operas that invite desire (a mixture of men and women who are not Muslim).

Meanwhile, in the SHIFT and Yuk Ngaji communities, women can be seen wearing long hijabs covering their chests and extending down to their stomachs and robes. However, they look trendy with colorful hijab models. Hijab Alila, a brand owned by Felix Siau, also produces outerwear to be worn on top of the robe or other long clothes with the hijab style inserted into the outer. From there, you can see a very youthful style.



One of Alila’s hijab products

Views on Polygamy

In the Stranger Al Ghuroba community, there is no content in his uploads discussing polygamy. However, one of the Ustads who conducted several religious lectures in this community, namely Ustaz Abdullah Taslim, was interviewed with his three wives by Safdah TV regarding polygamy. In the show, as said by one of Ustaz Abdullah Taslim's wives, he stated that polygamy is in the Al-Qur'an and becomes God's shari'ah to be practiced, and he feels sincere to be polygamous because he will get the heaven that Allah promised (SAFDAH TV, 2015).



Furthermore, in the Terang Jakarta community, Ustaz Abu Fida explained: "Polygamy is part of the Shari'a, and don't hate it because there are people who tend to frame the shari'a bad. For example, they use the Shari'a to fulfill his lust, like choosing his wife who is much (younger). This could be problematic unless the first wife was unable to fulfil her duty. However, what happened, in reality, was not like that because he saw the first wife was less attractive. Mom, for the sake of Sharia I will practice the sunnah but before that, please practice another Sunnah first".

Abu Fida further stated that a polygamous man should also be careful because hell is ready to take him away if he is unable to do justice. As stated by Abu Fida: "Men who are polygamous must be ready to go to hell, because hell will stalk him, if he is unfair, cannot keep his wives' feelings, and/or do wrong at one point, then hell is the place." (AnNabawi Media, 2020)

Meanwhile, for women who have already been polygamous, the wife must be patient in accepting her destiny because all the eight gates of heaven have been

opened for her. He suggests rationalizing and calculating polygamy by considering the rewards and favors that women will get in the hereafter. They should be lucky because another woman who is not polygamous has no clear heaven and is still looking for her door. The view on the permissibility of polygamy in Islam was also supported by Ustadz Taufik Miftah in an online interview. "For me, polygamy is sharia. What is wrong is not the Shari'a; for example, he committed mistakes and violence to his previous wife, and other things are wrong. Allah's Shari'a is never wrong. Polygamy is okay. God commands. This is more to the mentality of husband and wife in managing polygamy." (Taufik al-Miftah, Personal Communication, 10 October 2020).

One of the views of polygamy in the Musawah religious lecture community can be seen from the opinions of Ustaz Adi Hidayat and Ustaz Abdul Somad. Both have similarities in responding to the issue of polygamy. According to both, the polygamy verse, which is often used as an excuse, actually functions to reduce the number of wives, not to increase the number of wives when viewed based on the context of the verse. At that time, men could marry an unlimited number of women, so that women were considered objects, and there was no real responsibility of a husband to his wife because of the large number of wives he had. Then Islam came to glorify women by giving clear boundaries for men. (Dakwah Hikmah, 2018)

According to Ustadz Abdul Somad, if we look at the history of the Prophet's life, the Prophet's monogamous period is longer than his polygamous period. Rasulullah SAW was monogamous with Khadijah for 25 years. Meanwhile, he was polygamous for approximately 12 years after Khadijah's death. Then, Ustadz Abdul Somad also said that polygamy is an "emergency door" solution. Based on the explanation of Ustadz Abdul Somad, the term is used to describe the husband's biological needs that a single wife cannot fulfil. He explained again that in some places, wives allow their husbands to have affairs with women who are not their wives on the grounds of healthy sex. In Islam, this view is unacceptable. Some religious rules must be preserved including *hifzulaqli* (maintaining minds, for example not using drugs), *hifzunnafs* (taking care of oneself, for example, not allowing suicide because it is forbidden), *hifzud din* (maintaining religion, for example, not permitting *aqidah*), *hifzul mal* (safeguarding property, for example, avoiding usury, or not stealing), and *hifzulird* (maintaining honor). If polygamy can keep all five, then people continue conversely. However, if polygamy destroys them, it cannot be suggested. In conclusion, Ustadz Abdul Somad's view on polygamy is not rigid or more flexible. In addition, he stated that husbands could not have polygamy without the permission of the first wife signed

on stamp duty because this has been regulated by the Law of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. (Ustadz Abdul Somad Official, 2019)

Meanwhile, according to Inong, the representation of the SHIFT community, polygamy is part of the Islamic Shari'at, so it must be accepted and believed. He said: "(Polygamy is) the legal Sharia. Just keep thinking positively ". Likewise, what was expressed by one of his followers who said, "In religion, if I am not mistaken, polygamy is allowed, but there are considerations or conditions that must be fulfilled" (FaniKrismandar, Personal Communication, October 27, 2020). In the Yuk Ngaji community, no uploads have been found that discuss the issue of polygamy. Thus, it cannot be concluded that the view of this community on polygamy.

The Role of Men and Women in the Household

In the upload of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community, the man in the household is the leader. Meanwhile, women have a vital position in educating children. This perspective is based on the hadith, "... a wife is responsible for her husband's house, she will be asked (in the afterlife) about all that ..." (H.R. Bukhari Muslim). The husband's position is higher than a wife's because the husband is the household leader who earns a living for the family. Thus, a husband is not allowed to take care of domestic jobs. It also quotes the statement "... a husband does not need to interfere in all the wife's errands" (DarusShaykh Muhammad al-Mukhtar Asy-Syinqithi).

The views of the Ustaz and the founders of Terang Jakarta seem to have been more progressive in terms of the division of roles within the household. In other words, their views tend towards gender equality. Both Abu Fida and Dimas emphasized that domestic jobs must be done together by husband and wife. The Yuk Ngaji community conveyed a similar point. When discussing women in the household, Ustaz Iwan Januar said that a wife is the closest friend to her husband. Women are equally important in families. Furthermore, Ustaz Iwan Januar added that the husband is a friend and leader for the wife (Komunitas Yuk Ngaji, 2016b).

The view that the wife is a husband's friend also is approved by the respondents interviewed in this study, as in the following interview excerpt: "Personally, not all of them is done by the wife. We cooperate. The messenger of God helped his wife. Why can't we do it? My wife cooks, and I wash the clothes for instance". (Harry (pseudonym), Personal Communications, 29 October 2020)

In the Kajian Musawah community, in general, Ustadz AdiHidayat and Ustadz

Abdul Somad also convey matters related to the position of women in Islam in various aspects, for example, in the public and domestic spheres. According to UAH, Allah divides the roles of men to earn a living and women to care for children. The job of caring for children is not easy, so Allah allows women to pray at home with the same reward as men who pray to the mosque. An Anshar woman asked why men were given the freedom to leave the house while women were mainly at home. The Prophet said that a woman could get a reward from a husband who works outside if she was happy. Women can have their hobbies and optimize their potentials as long as they are not tired because of those things and can still perform their obligations at home. For example, Aisyah taught, helping the Apostle to convey teachings that would be much better if delivered by fellow women. In addition, the profession of female doctors is also very much needed, especially in handling very specific cases such as births (Kajian Islam Official, 2020).

Based on an interview with a follower of Kajian Musawarah it is said that there must be a clear division of tasks in the household. However, he stated that he would not ban his wife from working, even though he still expected her at home. It says:

“For me, there must be a clear duty to agree on whether the wife can work or not. I will allow it if my wife wants to work. Even in Islam, women need to work even though it is better for women to stay at home. However, this is not absolute if the wife is not allowed to work. If I become a husband, my wife is better off at home, but I don’t expect my wife to work” (Teddy, Personal Communication, 26 October 2020)

All communities reject violence against women in the household. The concept of Nusyuz, which is often used as an excuse to beat women, is interpreted as a good reprimand and not with violence. Ustaz Iwan Januar from Yuk Ngaji said that a reprimand is done kindly but not emotionally when a wife makes a mistake. (Komunitas Yuk Ngaji, 2016b)

The initiators and followers of the Kajian Musawarah community who were interviewed also agreed with this. The leaders and followers agree that committing domestic violence is not under Islamic teaching because Islam teaches that you should be kind to your wife. One of them said that he wanted to emulate Umar bin Khattab, a companion of the Prophet, who remained patient despite being scolded by his wife. In fact, Umar was known as a very firm and brave person. In Islam, when you feel angry, the solution is to pray and be patient.

Women's Leadership and the Role of Women in Public Spaces

Among five hijrah communities, only the Strangers Al Ghuroba community does not feature women in their content. Meanwhile, in other communities, even women are significant figures in the community. In the Terang Jakarta community, women can actively make programs and even become community administrators. Women can also be presenters for both male and female audiences. Here also shows the accommodative attitude of the Jakarta Terang community, which has a Salafi tendency.

Furthermore, regarding women's leadership in the public sphere, Ustaz often refers to women's leadership in public spaces in QS An-Nisa: 34, however Ustaz Taufik Al Miftah, from Terang Jakarta, emphasized that the verse is related to leadership in the household, not leadership in public space (Taufik Al Miftah, Personal Communication, 27 October 2020). Meanwhile, Abu Fida presented more details from ar-rijāluqawwāmuna 'alan-nisā`i. He said that the word qowwamun in Surah An-Nisa: 34 should be interpreted as a leader and as compassionate and protective. Therefore, a leader should not be a dictator, but he must listen to the opinions of his subordinates. Thus, he can make the right decisions. (AnNabawi Media, 2020).

The next opinion is that men are superior to women *bimāfaḍḍalallāhuba`dahum 'alāba`ḍiwwabimāanfaḍu min amwālihim*, which means that men are given physical advantages such as a stronger body and stronger bones so that they are given responsibility for protecting their families. It turns out that men are given by Allah the right to declare divorce to his wife. Even though a woman declares the divorce a thousand times, her claim is not legally admitted. If women were allowed to declare divorce, there would be more widows than now. However, Allah exalted women with "Untsa," namely with three advantages of getting pregnant, giving birth, and breastfeeding. The three virtues possessed by this woman cause a pious woman to become the queen of angels in heaven (An Nabawi Media, 2020).

The Terang Jakarta community, in general, has provided space for men and women to participate in activities related to online and offline study programs and activities related to social care. The Terang Jakarta community also offers ample space for women's participation in delivering material in individual piety and social piety.

In the Yuk Ngaji and SHIFT communities, women can participate, appear in public spaces, and even become presenters. However, this role as a presenter is only intended for audiences who are also women. In addition, the issues raised were not as complex as the discussions held among men. The issues raised tend to be issues that

are closely related to women. From this, it can be seen that there are still restrictions on the role of women in the public sphere, especially in the community sphere.

The appearance of women in public spaces in the Kajian Musawarah community is shown by the many photos and videos of women's Kajian Musawarah activities. The video on Musawarah's YouTube did not hesitate to highlight women asking Ustadz questions during the lecture. It is also possible because several businesses run by members of the Kajian Musawarah community require women to appear as a form of promotion, such as makeup, headscarves, and Muslim women's clothing. Based on Ustadz's view of women, both Ustadz saw women in Islam as a party that must be respected and honored with their virtue through the jargon "heaven under the feet of the mother." On the other hand, his view is not too dominated by subordination or marginalization of women even though it still exists. For example, the UAS stated that women might be leaders in a limited area and coverage which can be categorized as subordination to women.

Strategy for Sharing Ideas and Community Promotion

This research begins with the assumption that the hijrah community has a good strategy for spreading ideas and community promotion to attract significant numbers of followers in a short time. These strategies are also seen as not shared by mainstream Muslim organizations in Indonesia, so that they are left behind and are not very attractive, especially by youth groups or millennials.

This research found that a number of the same strategies were accommodated by both the five hijrah communities and the strategies adapted by certain communities and were unique to those communities. The following are strategies for spreading ideas and promoting the da'wah community found in this study:

First, the five communities use digital technology massively using social media, especially Youtube and Instagram. This strategy is used by The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, who tends to hold a pure Salafi ideology. The difference between the five social media pages of these four communities is in their appearance. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, which adheres to a purely Salafi ideology, chooses dark colors and does not show faces. The figure that is displayed is only a silhouette or with the face blurred. Meanwhile, Terang Jakarta, even though he holds a Salafi ideology, looks more open in his social media views. Male and female faces are shown equally. Their content seems to follow the trend of young people. The same is done by the Pemuda Hijrah and Yuk Ngaji communities. Even the Yuk Ngaji community can be the trendiest by following the

current issues and trends among young people.

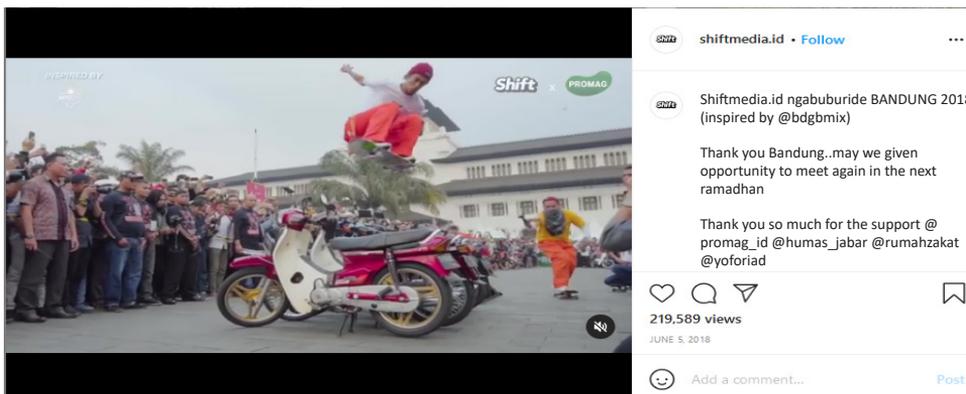
Second, figures and Ustaz in the Terang Jakarta community, Pemuda Hijrah, Kajian Musawah, and Yuk Ngaji, choose to wear casual and trendy clothes when they convey religious messages. This way is very different from the lecture in general with Ustaz, in which preachers are identical with a cap, turban, or robe. As stated above, Ustaz Hanan Attaki is very synonymous with bean paste; In the Yuk Ngaji community, appearing with skullcaps, T-shirts, flip-flops, hoodies, or upside-down hats is common. This strategy was chosen, among others, to eliminate the social gap between Ustaz and the congregation; and also makes them closer to communities that are generally young millennials.



(Instagram PemudaHijrah Shiftmedia.id, showing a trendy look, June 15, 2018)

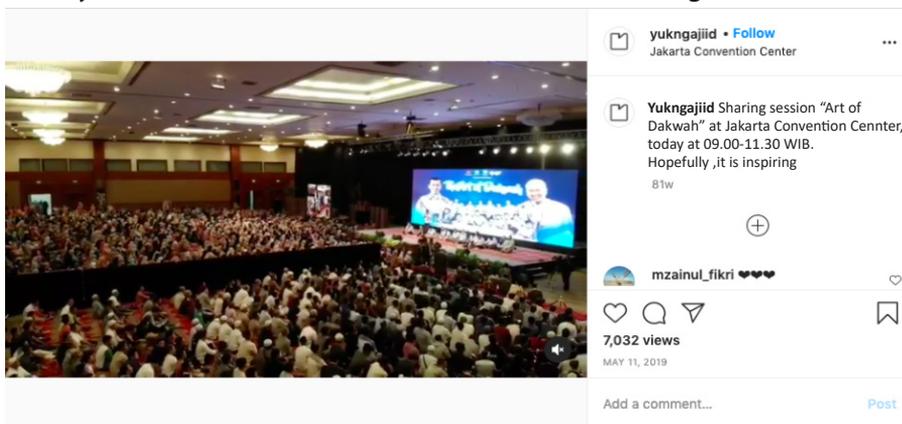
Meanwhile, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, which holds a strong Salafi ideology, showed how to dress in a Salafi style with a beard, hajj cap, veil, and even no-isbal pants (not lengthening and trailing clothing below the ankles).

Third, the migrating community chooses places of recitation that are not common for offline activities, such as in hotel ballrooms, futsal fields, skateboard arenas, cafes, and others. Religious study activities are carried out simultaneously with recreational activities such as playing futsal, cycling together, skateboarding, and others.



(Instagram Yuk Ngaji, outdoor da'wah activities, 2-6 February 2016)

Fourth, in the Yuk Ngaji community, religious studies are designed like training. Ustaz, who is a speaker, is called a trainer. In addition, the packaging for the event was made very interactive with the ice-breaking games and the use of digital technology that was made so well that it impressed the participants. Ice-breaking games are not only made conventional but also by using applications such as KAHOOT! and others. This method is implemented in face-to-face studies and virtual studies such as those carried out during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Even though the audience can only stream, they are also invited to interact with such interactive games.



(Instagram Yuk Ngaji, da'wah activities such as training in building halls, May 11, 2019)

Fifth, slang and combinations of foreign languages are used in the theme of the study and delivery of the study. The use of this strategy is commonly applied in the

Terang Jakarta, PemudaHijrah, and Yuk Ngajicomunities. Even Pemuda Hijrah made SHIFT, which comes from English. Several activities at Terang Jakarta that use English include “Back to Good,” “Girl Talk,” “Charging Boys,” “Charging Girls,” TerangTaaruf, and others. Yuk Ngaji community uses international language in social media posts. The Fast Habits application is promoted, and the language is commonly used in English, but sometimes Korean and Arabic are also available. For example, FuadhNaim uses the expression “Annyeonghaseo Ayuhaannaas (hello fellas!)” when greeting his followers.



(Instagram of the Terang Jakarta community, use of English in posters, December 3, 2020)



(Instagram SHIFT, use of English in posters, February 22, 2020)

Sixth, the Yuk Ngaji community forms small groups of NgeFast activity participants who have graduated from all of its programs. These groups are obliged to come together and meet to study Islam and provide mutual support in the hijrah. In this way, it is expected that the members can hijrah (move to good deeds) continuously. This gathering activity is then called Hang Out.

Seventh, Terang Jakarta often takes advantage of special moments belonging to the millennial group and contextualized them into Islamic study activities. For example, Valentine's Day or Valentine's Day commemoration is replaced by a "Fallen Time" program in the form of religious lectures.

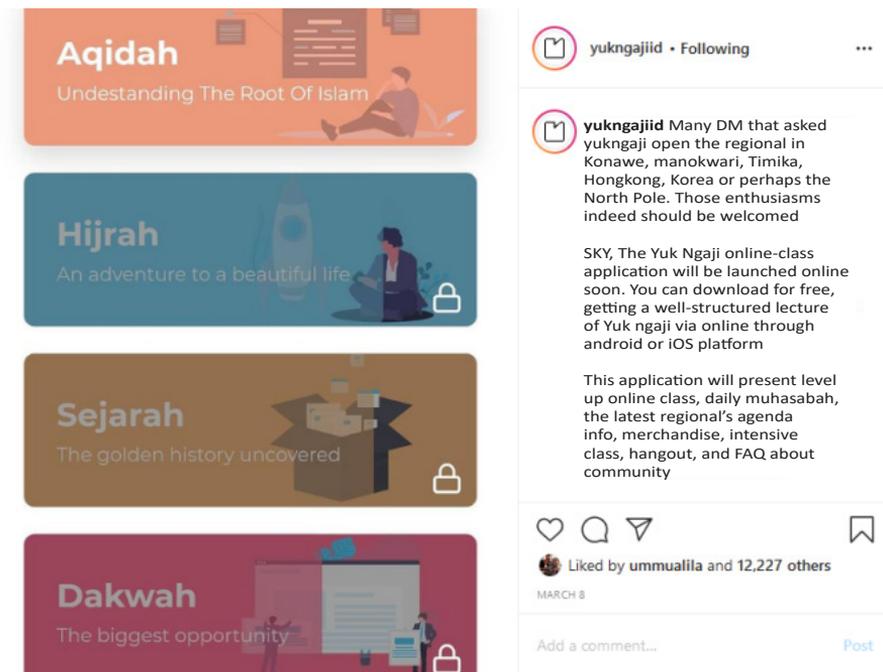


(Instagram of the Terang Jakarta community, using Valentine's Day celebration moments, February 12, 2019)

Eighth, Terang Jakarta and Yuk Ngaji use online groups such as WhatsApp and Telegram to deliver study material or promote study activities. Online recitation through the WhatsApp group in the Jakarta Terang community reaches around 9000 participants. This recitation becomes effective for followers who are busy with a career and have limited time.

Ninth, the community of Musawah religious lectures, Terang Jakarta, Yuk Ngaji, and Pemuda Hijrah use non-religious social activities to convey religious messages, such as sports activities (futsal, skateboarding, and cycling), motorbike convoys, including hanging out.

Tenth, Yuk Ngaji develops an Android application called Fast Habits to remind followers of good habits so that they can have istiqomah (being consistent) in hijrah. There is a menu “Mandatory CHECKLIST,” which consists of prayer five times; pay zakat; perform the pilgrimage; be punctual and professional; respect for parents and husband; lowered gaze; forgive others; creating a good environment, and maintaining the unity of the people; learn about Islam, etc. From this, it can be seen that in the hijrah, Yuk Ngaji does not only pay attention to aspects of worship but also social aspects and care for the environment. The content of this application is in English. In addition, it also includes memorization notes and book notes that are read. Besides, there is also a SKY program that follows the Teacher Room pattern that uses modern technology in the teaching and learning process and can be accessed without limitation of space and time.



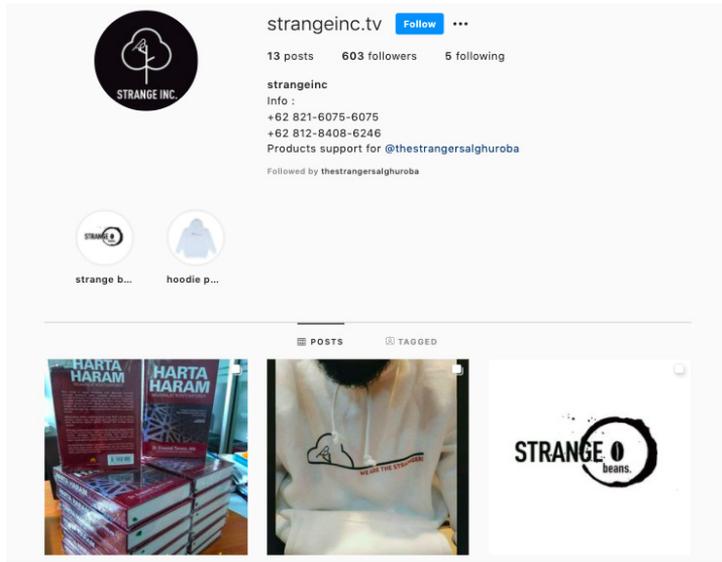
(Instagram Yuk Ngaji, SKY online class application information, March 8, 2020)



(Fast Habits App developed by the Yuk Ngajihijrah community)

Eleventh, they involve public figures in the promotion of community activities. This was done by Pemuda Hijrah, Yuk Ngaji, the Terang Jakarta community, and the Musawah religious lecture community. Selected celebrities are those who are also moved to Hijrah are already on the stage of Hijrah. Some of these public figures include Dewi Sandra, Elma Theana, Ari Untung, Dimas Seto, and others.

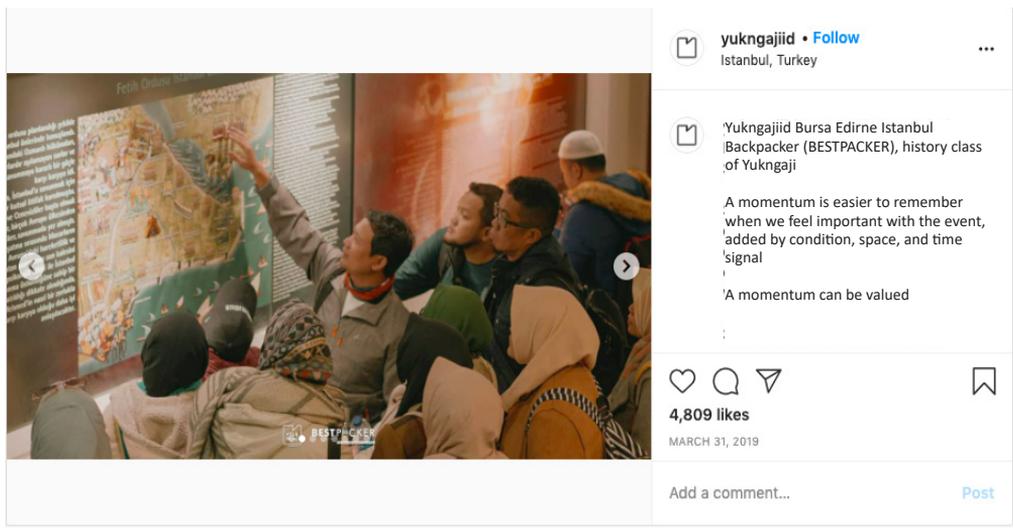
Twelfth, the endorsement of Islamic products is carried out by the Musawah Study group, whose members are primarily celebrities known to the public. Activities in the form of entrepreneurship are also seen in the hijrah community, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba. This community has merchandise sales of activities and study books that Ustaz, the speaker, usually delivers. In addition, in the Terang Jakarta and Yuk Ngaji hijrah communities, there are also Islamic travel activities to know the historical traces of the Islamic civilization's glory during the Ottoman Empire.



(Instagram Strangeinc.tv, book sales, and official merchandise accounts)



(Instagram Terang Jakarta, promotion of tour activities to Turkey to trace the triumph of Islam Ottoman, 28 May 2019)



(Instagram Yuk Ngaji, Yuk Ngaji community visiting historical sites in Istanbul, Turkey, March 31, 2019)

Thirteenth, Yuk Ngaji often uses third-party figures in uploads on Instagram social media. The characters used are characters that young people like, such as K-Pop idols and anime. It shows that Yuk Ngaji builds an image that this community is with young people and understands what young people like.



(Instagram YukNgaji, using symbols of figures that are currently popular)

Fourteenth, in taking the theme of the topic of study, generally, the hijrah community avoids things that are not fundamental. The matters discussed are more related to the principles of faith and those close to the daily lives of young people. For knowledge about fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and worship, followers generally apply

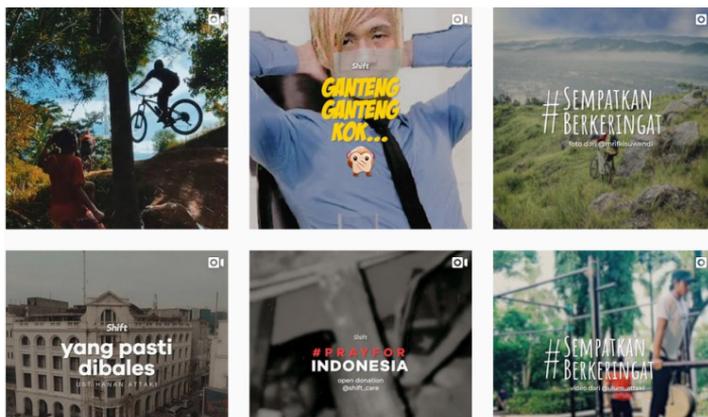
traditions that have been carried out in the family or knowledge gained outside the hijrah community.



(Instagram Yuk Ngaji, exchange of preaching figures between Yuk Ngaji and Pemuda Hijrah, January 28, 2018)

Fifteenth, apart from the exchange of figures and Ustaz, several Hijrah communities formed an organization that united the Hijrah communities, namely BarisanBangunNegeri (BBN) and Muslim United. This BBN was formed by nine Ustaz from the hijrah community consisting of Ustaz Abdusomad, Habib Muhammad bin Anis, Ustaz Umar Mita, Ustaz Felix Siauw, Ustaz Salim Fillah, Ustaz Hannan Attaki, UstazLukmanul Hakim, and UstazAdiHidayat. BarisanBangunNegeri activities are social activities to respond to natural disasters and others, as carried out by ACT and DompotDhuafa. One of the published activities is the Less Waste activity, which promotes concern for the environment by reducing waste. In this activity, BBN hooked up hijrah celebrities, such as Mario Irwinsyah.

Sixteenth, the SHIFT community often uses video boosters, which are short videos of about one minute, containing motivation for young people with hijrah narratives. Usually, these booster videos are excerpts from videos of UstazHananAttaki. Video boosters generally use a distinctive instrumental back sound, and this effort is a strategy so that the motivation or boost of the video hits the listener. This booster video is usually uploaded on the Youtube and community Instagram pages. These videos will be easily shared via WhatsApp messages or forwarded on Instagram with a short duration.



Video booster on the SHIFT Instagram page

Seventeenth, several Hijrah communities joined the Muslim United. Muslim United consists of a collection of hijrah communities and several Muslim figures identified with hijrah, such as UstazAdiHidayat, UstazAbdusSomad, and Syeikh Ali Jaber. Muslim United is an effort to revive the mosque. Thus, it is not only the center of ritual worship activities but also the center of social activities (muslimunited.official). In 2019, Muslim United’s actions at the GedheKauman Mosque were rejected by the Yogyakarta Palace. Then, the next activity was moved to the Jogokariyan Mosque.



(Instagram Yuk Ngaji, promotion of Muslim United activities, 6 October 2018)

Discussion

With the fragmentation of religious authority in cyberspace, as explained by previous studies (Alfitri, 2015; Bunt, 2018; Campbell, 2007; Turner, 2007), hijrah communities are becoming more popular than mainstream Muslim communities that tend to maintain established religious authority. The way of preaching that comes out of conventional methods is included in the appearance of the characters, making what is conveyed more easily accepted by his followers. Furthermore, the hijrah communities also contribute to providing an “environment” in strengthening one’s commitment to one’s religion, which is Islam, especially for youth groups.

Regarding the conservatism tendency of the hijrah community, conservative understanding touches more on women’s issues than other issues such as politics, nationality, or social relations with non-Muslims. This trend is commonly found in the phenomenon of conservatism everywhere (Kouru, 2020; Karen & Childs, 2004), including in Indonesia (Beta, 2019). This phenomenon can be seen as a phenomenon of the hijrah movement in Indonesia, which generally has a conservative ideology and promote conservative perspectives on gender. When viewed from their reproduction, this happens because of the ‘habitus’, which affects the mindset of actors or religious figures, so that they carry out ‘social practices’ (religious) which refer to the Salaf al-Sholeh period (Bourdieu, 1977).

The conservatism that leads to Islamism is seen in only one community. For other communities, even though they believe that the caliphate is part of Islamic teachings, the idea is still within the boundaries of discourse. With the flexibility of one community with another, an exchange of ideas can occur, and it may lead to the

unification of concepts related to the realization of a Khilafah-based Islamic politics or Islamic exclusivity. This research strengthens Bourdie's (1977) habitus theory in terms of the reproduction of accommodative religious understanding in various issues, including nationality and women. Additionally, this study is also in line with PPIM's (2020) findings regarding the dominance of conservatism in cyberspace.

Conclusion

1. There are two typologies of contemporary hijrah communities in Indonesia, namely conservative and Islamist. The conservative group consists of Salafis and Non-Salafists. Furthermore, the Salafi community shows the characteristics of pure Salafi and accommodating Salafi. The term accommodative Salafi is used in this study to refer to the Salafi community that shows an accommodating attitude towards modern values. Previous studies on Salafism have not accommodated this characteristic.
2. The typology is based on an in-depth study of community responses to nationality, tolerance, and gender. The conservatism shown by the five hijrah communities is very diverse. Therefore, it cannot be equated from one community to another.
3. The hijrah community can be successful in attracting followers from young millennials from various social classes. This success is due to the ability of the community to use non-conventional methods of da'wah by maximizing the use of social media, youth-style communication, and the ability to follow and respond to emerging trends (lifestyles and issues).

Recommendation

Starting from these findings, several recommendations put forward by this study are:

1. Encouraging the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia to maximize the potential of the local religious extension network and ustaz-ustaz by providing provision for preaching methods that target the younger generation by promoting the values of religious moderation; and expanding extension functions to foster not only offline communities, into online communities.
2. Increasing the role of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia in facilitating the meeting space between the Ministry, the hijrah community, MUI, mainstream Islamic organizations (such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama), and intra-religious groups, to build an understanding to create a harmonious life

amid the heterogeneity of religious understanding.

3. Encouraging the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, in this case in the field of Islamic Community Guidance, and preparing modules or general guidelines for young preachers who speak out about Islam and Indonesian based on moderate values with participatory methods and responsive to the development of the digital world.
4. Encouraging the role of civil society fronted by community organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, al-Washliyah, Mathla'ul Anwar, Nahdlatul Wathan, and others to need to balance moderate religious narratives in the public sphere by considering the spirit of young people.
5. Reactivating the gender focal point at the Ministry of Religious Affairs in mentoring and evaluating activities. Thus, gender issues become a concern in various programs.
6. Increasing the synergy between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Women and Children Empowerment in strengthening gender sensitivity for policymakers and implementers

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**Empowering Educational Actors and Institutions to
Promote Religious Moderation in Preventing Violent Extremism**

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