

# Hijrah

*Millennials' Trends of Religiosity  
in Indonesia*

Windy Triana • Ida Rosyidah  
Zaenal Muttaqin • Laifa Annisa Hendarmin  
Azhar Muhamad Akbar • Febiyana

**Editor: Hamid Nasuhi**

Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM)

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Millennials' Trends of Religiosity in Indonesia  
This book is translated from the original book titled  
*"Hijrah: Tren Keberagamaan Kaum Milenial di Indonesia"*  
published by PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2021.

Book size: 15 x 25 cm  
ISBN: 978-623-6079-17-1

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## Foreword

This research is a joint work of the Research Team with the support of many parties. Therefore, the Team expresses deep appreciation to the parties involved. First, we need to express our gratitude to the senior researchers at Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN (State Islamic University) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta that has provided input and guidance during the process of the research, namely Prof. Dr. Jamhari Makruf, Dr. Ismatu Ropi, Dr. Didin Syafruddin, Dr. Fuad Jabali, Dr. Arief Subhan, Dr. Idris Thaha, and Dr. Hamid Nasuhi. Our thanks are also to Faiqoh and Dr. Iklilah M.D.F. as gender specialists who have provided valuable input related to sharpening gender issues in this study.

We also thank the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag) and academics who have willingly provided critics and feedback on this research. Further, we express our appreciation to The Director-General of Islamic Community Guidance at the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Prof. Dr. Phil. H. Kamaruddin Amin, M.A., and Director of Islamic Information Dr. H. Juraidi. Likewise, the Postgraduate Director of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Prof. Noorhaidi, M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D., two researchers from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) Prof. Dr. Ahmad Najib Burhani and Wahyudi Akmaliah, M.A., and Dr. Phil. Syafiq Hasyim, M.A. from the International Islamic University of Indonesia. Their criticism and input made the substance of this research have better improvements.

Furthermore, we also express our gratitude to research assistant Fauziah Muslimah, informants from various hijrah communities, both leaders, promoters, and followers who have spent their time to provide valuable information in this study. Finally, we also need to



thank the PPIM UIN Jakarta team for their support and facilities for running this research smoothly.

Research team

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# CHAPTER I

## Introduction

*Windy Triana dan Zaenal Muttaqin*

### **A. Background**

In the last decade, the hijrah movement has gained momentum and popularity in Indonesia. The phenomenon of hijrah is a trend that is quite prominent in young people in the country. The concept of hijrah, which originally referred to the migration from Mecca to Medina carried out by the Prophet Muhammad and his followers to avoid the oppression of the infidels, was reinterpreted in a new way, which is more spiritually oriented sense. Hijrah is now interpreted as a change of a Muslim to become more obedient (religious) than before. This phenomenon develops along with the strengthening of religious conservatism ideology, both in Indonesia and globally. Religious conservatism takes various forms and levels.

The popularity of the hijrah movement has become increasingly significant with the number of celebrities promoting it. Some of them are married couples, such as Teuku Wisnu and Shireen Sungkar; Irwansyah and Zaskia Sungkar; Arie Untung and Fenita Arie; Dimas Seto and Dini Aminarti; Dude Herlino and Alyssa Soebandono, and others. They also popularized the hijrah movement through social media platforms. In fact, the hijrah movement was echoed through extravaganza activities, such as the Hijrah Festival in 2018, which presented several hijrah groups and Islamic-based businesses, such as Islamic housing, Islamic banking, and halal culinary (Hasan, 2019). This hijrah movement attracts young people who do not, or rather have, little religious knowledge. However, when they have joined this hijrah movement, they tend to convey religious messages like Ustaz or religious leaders, even with limited knowledge. Frequently this trend eventually leads to polemics (For example, Polemic Statement Five

Vi, 2020; says that reciting Al-Fatihah for Dead People is considered Heresy; Teuku Wisnu Rebuked KPI, 2015). Another interesting thing is that members of this hijrah movement come from non-religious hobby communities, such as musicians, bikers, street soccer players, and even parkour groups. For example, they are mostly found in the Pemuda Hijrah community based in Bandung.

From the initial search results of this study, it was found that more than 50 hijrah communities were based in only two cities, namely Jakarta and Bandung. This group has a diverse number of followers. Meanwhile, the easiest way to see how much influence the hijrah communities have is to check the number of their followers on social media. Among the 50 communities studied in this preliminary study, it was revealed that the community with the most followers was SHIFT or Pemuda Hijrah based in Bandung, with more than two million followers on Instagram. Furthermore, Kajian MuSawarah has 870 thousand followers; Berani Hijrah (Brave to Hijrah) has 175 thousand followers; and The Strangers Al-Ghuroba gains 120,000 followers. Among the 50 hijrah communities, some target the women's segment, such as the Hijabers Community and the Niqab Squad. These two communities also have a large number of followers with 115 thousand followers and 528 thousand followers.

Based on a survey of the hijrah movement conducted by the IDN Research Institute, it was found that 72.8 percent of individuals joined the hijrah movement from a young or the millennial generation (Noormega, 2019). They chose this movement because it offers a way for its followers to maintain their religious (Islamic) commitment while, at the same time, enjoying modern culture. It is the reason why the hijrah movement is so attractive to the millennial group. On the other hand, this also proves that the leading Islamic organizations in Indonesia, especially Nahdlatul Ulama, and Muhammadiyah, have ignored the power of online and social media approaches to attract young people.

In the context of this research, the initial assessment was carried out through a Focused Group Discussion (FGD) on the SHIFT hijrah community or Pemuda Hijrah in Bandung on March 13-14, 2020. Bandung is well known as one of the centers of the hijrah movement in Indonesia. The FGD found that Pemuda Hijrah used a market analysis strategy by categorizing the target market. They classified the target movement into four categories: those who were still apathetic

towards religion and those who were categorized as fanatics. These characteristics finally developed two figures, namely a virtual figure and a friendly figure for young people. Applying such a way, they could appeal to the millennial group. The market analysis developed by this group is interesting to explore to reveal their strategy for spreading their hijrah idea.

In general, the hijrah movement offers positive things to achieve a better life based on Islamic principles. However, this movement is vulnerable to exclusive and intolerant understandings (“The Changing Face of Indonesian Islam,” *The Diplomat*, 2019). This symptom can be seen from the da’wah content they convey, which promotes more conservative interpretations of Islamic teachings, such as support for the formal implementation of Islamic law, the development of very exclusive Islamic housing, the strict use of Islamic finance and banking institutions, and so on.

Another issue related to the hijrah community is the limited religious knowledge possessed by the prominent figures in the hijrah community. When they encourage young people to be more religious, they do not have a figure who can answer all questions about Islamic values in depth. This situation makes the hijrah movement vulnerable to being infiltrated by understandings that are not in line with tolerance and respect for differences.

For this reason, it is very important to understand the hijrah movement, especially in terms of motivation and the basis of millennial interest in the hijrah movement, the values and norms taught, teaching dissemination strategies, as well as the diversity of the hijrah spectrum. In addition, there has been no study that describes in detail the hijrah movement in Indonesia and its typology. Knowledge of these matters will make it easier for both policymakers and supporters of the idea of religious moderation in determining attitudes and taking appropriate steps to respond to the movement. In addition, it can also be obtained an explanation of the lagging behind the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia in adopting da’wah methods attractive to millennials.

## **B. Research Methods and Focus**

This research is focused on explaining the contemporary hijrah phenomenon in Indonesia; direction of movement, religious orientation, and how hijrah became popular among millennial youth.

For this reason, the research is determined to answer the following research questions:

1. What is the typology and spectrum of the hijrah movement in Indonesia? Do different groups also have differences in agendas, norms, values, religious affiliation, religious references, and practices?
2. How do hijrah groups understand and respond to contemporary issues, such as democracy, statehood, pluralism, and endeavor to fight against religious extremism?
3. How do hijrah groups view women’s roles 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 and Instagram and in-depth interviews. The study was conducted on five hijrah communities, filtered from 50 hijrah communities existing on the internet. These five communities are Terang Jakarta, Kajian MuSawarah, The Strangers AlGhuroba, YukNgaji, and Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT. These five communities are based in Jakarta and Bandung. These two locations were chosen because they are strategic locations for the emergence of religious communities that contribute to the various religious patterns of young people in Indonesia.

Figur 1



(Information on Hijrah Community Social Media Followers as of November 2020)

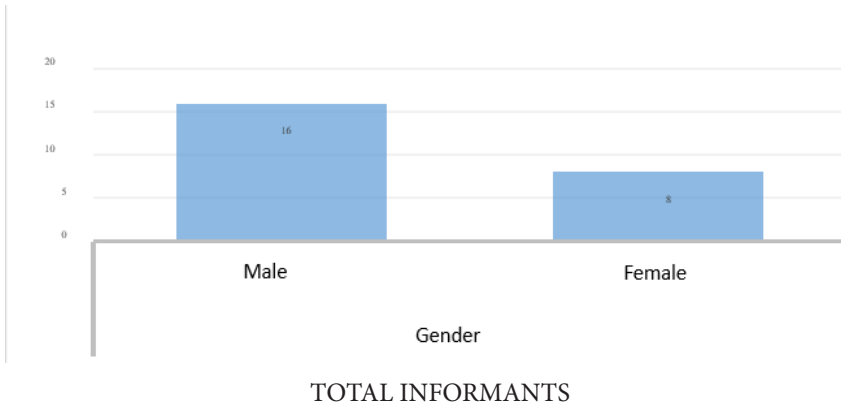
Content analysis was carried out on Instagram and Youtube content, which consisted of 1237 Instagram content and 180 videos on Youtube. Meanwhile, in-depth interviews were conducted with 24 community leaders and followers, consisting of 16 men and 8 women (Table 1 & Graph 1). Informants were selected using the snowballing technique. Data collection was carried out for two months from September to October 2020. The following is the distribution of the followers of the five hijrah communities:

Table 1  
Research subject

Hijrah Community	Informants	Information
YukNgaji	7	4 female followers; 2 male followers; 1 Ustaz from outside the community. Total: 3 males and 4 females
Kajian MuSawarah	5	1 administrator; 1 follower of Sharia Friend and Taubaters; 1 study participant from the hijrah artist; 1 president of Bintaro Mosque Youth (Remisya); 1 team EO Hijrah Fest Total: 4 males and 1 female
Terang Jakarta	7	2 male followers; 2 female followers; 1 Ustaz/presenter; 1 speaker of the Terang Taaruf program; 1 leader of the community initiators Total: 5 males and 2 females
Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT	3	1 Ustaz 1 male follower; 1 community mover Total: 3 males
The Strangers Al-Ghuroba	2	1 male from the management of Komuji Bandung; 1 female administrator of Komuji Jakarta Total: 1 male and 1 female
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	



Graph 1  
Comparison of the Number of Male and Female Informants from  
the Hijrah Community



Importantly, this research content analysis became an alternative strategy in the midst of the difficulty of getting informants for in-depth interviews and Focused Group Discussions (FGD). The two problems faced were: first, the COVID-19 pandemic condition which made the mobility of researchers very limited; second, the reluctance of leaders in the hijrah community to be interviewed and accept FGD invitations. However, the Research Team was able to interview the founding leaders of the Pemuda Hijrah and Terang Jakarta communities, but it could interview the main religious teachers. Meanwhile, the research team could only interview followers from the Kajian MuSawarah and YukNgaji communities. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community was the most difficult to access. This Salafi-based community tended to be closed. Therefore, the team sought information and perspectives about this community from another community, namely the KOMUJI community, to assess the da'wah community groups that shared the same issue regarding the meaning of hijrah. Female figures who played the role of Ustazah or tutor were not successfully interviewed in this study.

In the presentation of the results of this study, the names of followers from all hijrah communities were disguised by using aliases. In contrast, the main figures' names were still written based on their real names.

## C. Research Subjects and Their Profiles

### 1. YukNgaji

The YukNgaji Community was founded on July 9, 2016. In 2018, the distribution of followers of this community covered 15 cities in Indonesia and three countries (Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Turkey). This community is fronted by Felix Siau and four of his friends, namely Husain Assadi, Cahyo Ahmad Irsyad, Ihsanul Muttaqin, and Abietyasakti. Felix Siau can be seen as an influential figure in this community. He is a convert from ethnic Chinese. After converting to Islam, he became a figure who was often invited to give religious lectures. In his study of the YukNgaji community, Weng (2018) sees that Felix become a very attractive figure because of his background as Chinese and a convert to Islam.

YukNgaji's da'wah makes young people the main target. From that, YukNgaji packs its activities by following the tendencies of young people. One of the reasons for its formation, as stated by Husain Assadi, is because it responds to "the trend of young people who want to start learning Islam" (Remind Me, 2019). Along the way, YukNgaji creates a different tagline every year. The tagline that is created reflects the hijrah journey of individuals who join the community. In the first year, Yuk Ngaji took the theme "The Power of Ngaji." According to Husain Assadi, this theme has become a movement to invite people to study the Quran (study of Islam) to be better. Husain Assadi further explained that YukNgaji invited its followers to explore Islam as an essential provision for better individuals. 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, YukNgaji took the tagline "The Miracle of Hijrah". This tagline was to show togetherness in hijrah, by "having more knowledge, having more friends." Togetherness and ukhuwah (brotherhood) become one of the critical aspects of the YukNgaji-style hijrah. On another occasion, Felix Siau explained that togetherness is needed to maintain an istikamah (consistency) in the ongoing process of being better. Furthermore, the tagline in the third year was "Share Your Happiness," which was sharing happiness after making the hijrah. In addition to the tagline, YukNgaji also popularized the hashtag #temanhiyrah, where the YukNgaji community and other hijrah communities became a forum and a means for brotherhood

and hijrah movement together. This hashtag shows one of the goals of establishing a hijrah community, including YukNgaji, which is to accompany individuals in the process of hijrah (Remind Me, 2019).

Compared to other hijrah communities, YukNgaji is also very active in uploading content on Instagram and Youtube social media platforms. In just one day, YukNgaji can upload more than two pieces of content on Instagram. All content created is original and not reposted. Generally, content that is created later is content that promotes online religious studies on Youtube. On the Youtube platform, YukNgaji uploads short videos on particular themes or live religious lectures. During the COVID-19 pandemic, YukNgaji's activities have become increasingly active, with live Islamic study on Youtube conducted twice per week, on Saturdays and Sundays.

The themes raised in online studies are more focused on trendy issues among young people, such as dating, K-Pop, and others. On several occasions, the themes raised are responses to issues that have been currently popular. For example, on September 6, 2020, during Islamic study, YukNgaji responded to the statement by the Minister of Religious Affairs, Fachrul Razi that “good-looking” teenagers became agents of spreading seeds of radicalism to places of worship (YukNgaji Community, 2020c). On September 5, 2020, YukNgaji raised the discussion of the word “Anjay” which had become a public polemic because it was considered an inappropriate curse (YukNgaji Community, 2020b).


As recognized by Husain Assadi, the YukNgaji emblem or logo takes an unconventional form. The shape of the box with a pointed concave reflects a callout, which means “self-talk” or “Inner awareness” (Remind Me, 2019). In this way, YukNgaji invites his followers to have awareness in religion, including being critical of religion. Weemar Aditya, one of the leaders of YukNgaji, emphasized that *hujjah* (arguments) is needed in religion (YukNgaji Community, 2020a)


Until this report was made, YukNgaji had 38 official regional accounts developed by FAST alumni, namely:

@yukngajiaceh.official;  
@yukngajibali.id;  
@yuk\_ngaji\_balikpapan;  
@yukngaji\_bandungkota;  
@yukngajibjb;  
@yukngajibjm;  
@yukngajibatam;  
@yukngajibekasi;  
@yukngajibintaro;  
@yukngajibogor;  
@yukngajicibubur;  
@yukngaji\_ds;  
@yukngaji.depok;  
@yukngajijakbar;  
@yukngajijaksel;  
@yukngajijaktim;  
@yukngajijogja;  
@yukngajikp;  
@yukngajilamongan;

@yukngajilampung;  
@yukngajilombok;  
@yukngajimagelang;  
@yukngajimakassar;  
@yukngajimlg;  
@yukngaji.medan;  
@yukngajipdg; Palangkaraya  
@AnakMesjid.id;  
@yukngajipalembang;  
@yukngajipalu;  
@yukngajipku;  
@yukngajisamarinda;  
@Yukngajisemarang;  
@yukngajisolo;  
@yukngaji.sby;  
@yukngajibelitung;  
@yukngajijakpusid;  
@yukngajimjk;  
@yukngajibsd.

The following are social media platforms owned by the YukNgaji community community:

 <https://yukngaji.id/>

 @YukNgajiid | Followers: 542 K

 @KomunitasYukNgaji | Subscribers: 159 K

 YukNgaji ID | Followers: 70.113

 @YukNgaji | Followers: 200

## 2. Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT)

Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT was officially established in March 2015. This community has been initiated through Islamic study activities at the Al-Latief Mosque in Bandung City since 2008. Starting in 2008, Ustaz Hanan Attaki, more known as UHA, regularly teaches Islamic studies at the mosque located on Jalan Saninten No. 2, Cihapit, Bandung Wetan, Bandung City. There are many young people who consistently attended Islamic studies by UHA. One of them is Fani Krismandar, usually called Inong, who later with UHA raised this community. Encouraged to invite more young people in Bandung to become more religious, this community is involved in more da'wah

activities among the people of Bandung City.

Relying on a strategy of embracing the youth community and utilizing the da'wah model typical 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 important roles for young communities to be actively involved. This da'wah model eliminates the barrier between the preacher and the target community of da'wah by using the trend approach and hobbies of young people. By involving the combinations of those methods, da'wah narratives can be accepted by them, and it makes this hijrah community very popular among young people of 'hijrah' in Bandung City. The youthful appearance that UHA and other teachers often promote is different from the usual Ustaz, and the willingness to 'sit with' and 'greet' them makes the Islamic da'wah of this community more acceptable to young people.

The presence of the Pemuda Hijrah community is an oasis for the young Bandung community and young people from various other regions, who wish to change their quality of life to be better than before they follow the hijrah. With its various programs and routine da'wah activities, this community provides a space to study Islam typical of young people for them to actualize in their daily lives. As a result, hundreds of young people from Bandung City and the surrounding districts/cities consistently join the various program activities and Islamic studies organized by this community. Islamic da'wah posts from the Pemuda Hijrah community also always fill the social media of the hijrah community in the country.

As a young Islamic community, Pemuda Hijrah has a number of programs to instill Islamic values in its community. On its online page, [Pemudahijrah.id](http://Pemudahijrah.id), it has at least four main programs: Barisan Bangun Negeri (BBN), Message-Trend, Less Waste SHIFT, and Teras Tahfidz. Pemuda Hijrah routinely also organizes Islamic studies typical of young people, such as sharing and tarawih, sharing nights, weekend shifts, Ladies Day, and qiyamul lail (praying at midnight). Apart from UHA itself, some of the teaching figures who usually give their teachings are Ustaz Salim A. Fillah, Ustaz Darlis Fajar, Ustaz Imam Nuryanto, Ustaz Nur Ihsan Jundullah, Ustaz Nasrullah, and Umi Haneen Akira.


Meanwhile, the researchers found that the topics presented in the study of the Pemuda Hijrah community mainly were full of

motivation to carry out religious obligations (fardu worship such as prayer); to have good morals towards others; to tend to avoid fiqh debates in their studies. The diversity of background activities and hobbies of the young people who are members and the spirit first to develop a love for Islam seem to be the reason behind the dominant presentation of practical and straightforward topics in their studies.

Adapting to the development of information technology and the tendencies of millennial youth, the da'wah activities of the Pemuda Hijrah community actively utilize online pages and social media to disseminate information about the community, programs, and routine studies, as well as messages of motivation for hijrah. Following a strategy of embracing young people based on their trends and hobbies, social media has inevitably made the Pemuda Hijrah community gain high popularity, both within the hijrah community in Bandung and other cities in the country.

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

 <https://pemudahijrah.id/>

 @shiftmedia.id | Followers: 1.9 juta

 @shiftmedia | Subscribers: 469.000

### **3. Terang Jakarta**

Terang Jakarta Community is a sharia-based Islamic community engaged in da'wah, social, culture, and people's economy. Dimas Wibisono and Hendra Bayu founded this community on April 4, 2016. The leaders of the Terang Jakarta community are Abu Fida and Abu Makki. The number of members reaches 61,000 followers (Instagram), and in general, are artists, presenters, and disc jockeys (DJs). The main factor that prompted Dimas and Bayu to establish the Terang Jakarta community was to provide a new space for young people who had dark experiences in the past, such as former drug addicts, gamblers, drunkards, and others, to study Islam in cafes, malls, and others instead of at the majlis or formal occasion.

Terang Jakarta also uses socio-cultural strategies implemented through new media, such as Instagram, WhatsApp, and many else. Terang Jakarta Board introduced rules of the attitude using Instagram or WhatsApp and rules for doing business. These rules form the basis for the general way of behaving. Meanwhile, in terms of meaning construction strategies, Terang Jakarta uses WhatsApp,


video, Instagram, and others to influence and shape young people's views about Islam.


Basically, this community da'wah strategy does not only rely on online media (online) but also through face-to-face. It is because social media is considered as only early judging persuade. For them, activities carried out offline are very important. Some of the programs they have include Routine Studies; Learn to Read Quran (BBQ); Back for Good; Discuss the History of the Apostles every Tuesday; Give charity every Friday; Friday Sales; Halal Education Program; TJ SMEs; Pre-Marriage Consultation and Marriage Issues; My hijrah; Taaruf Way; and Aftercare Terang Jakarta. Monthly routine studies are usually filled by Abu Fida, Abu Makki, Umi Makki, and others. They also hold online Islamic study via the WhatsApp and Telegram platforms with thousands of members.

Terang Jakarta also has an interesting strategy for recruiting new members. One of them is by distributing attractive invitations such as party invitations so that young people do not realize that the contents are tausiyah (Islamic preaching) invitations. Moreover, the Islamic study is held at a cafe in Pondok Indah Mall. Dimas admits, "some who came early may feel like they are trapped" (Damaledo, 2017).

One of the interesting issues being studied by Terang Jakarta is terrorism. In one of the videos posted on his Instagram, he said, "Terrorism is not Islam. Terrorism does not exist in Islam. Islam is a peaceful religion, it is better for us to jihad in the way of Allah by taking care of these children (with special needs) who are candidates for heaven rather than we have a wrong understanding of jihad" (Sakinah, 2018). Another theme they study is 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:

 @terangjakarta | Followers: 64.5 K

 @terangjakarta | Subscribers: 3.980

#### **4. Kajian Muda Sakinah Mawaddah Warahmah (MuSawarah)**

Kajian MuSawarah comes from an Islamic stud community attended by a group of celebrities. It was founded in 2011. These celebrities want to leave their old life for a new life under Islamic teachings or follow the hijrah movement. This forum was created as



a means of gathering and a medium for gaining religious knowledge so that the participants can become better individuals. Some of the initiators of this community are Teuku Wisnu, Arie Untung, and Dimas Seto. Although it is classified as a community, membership of this community tends to be exclusive and closed. Only celebrities and public figures are members. The artists who joined this community included Irwansyah, Shireen Sungkar, Zaskia Sungkar, Jihan Fahira, Primus, Mario Irwinsyah, Fenita Arie Untung, Dhini Aminarti, Baim Wong, Dewi Sandra, Ricky Harun, Tommy Kurniawan, Virgoun, Sahrul Gunawan, Dude Harlino, Alyssa Soebandono, Tika Ramlan, and many others. Regarding the exclusive tendency, Arie Untung gave the reason that this was done so that the celebrities could focus and concentrate fully on participating in the Islamic study. Of course, they cannot get the Islamic teachings completely if they follow the Islamic study in an open public place. "Many of my friends feel they need to learn the Qur'an, but they cannot do it in the usual places. It is complicated. I can say that sometimes someone asks to take photos, so they could not focus on Islamic preaching. It started from preaching from mosques to mosques in several regions and cities. This community uses social media to share the hijrah experiences of its members who are mostly celebrities. The Islamic study in this community also invite Ustaz as resource persons, as seen from the videos uploaded on the Youtube channel "Kajian MuSawarah." This channel has 267 thousand subscribers; Instagram account "Kajian MuSawarah" with 871 thousand followers; and the Kajian MuSawarah Facebook account with 43 thousand followers. The latest is the Twitter account MuSawarah which only has 109 followers. From these various platforms, it can be seen that they are still guided and gain knowledge from the ulama together to explore Islam. Ustaz Adi Hidayat (UAH) and Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS) are two Ustaz who are often invited to be resource persons in this community.

From the various uploads on social media, there are two types of studies held by this community. First, closed Islamic studies are only attended by celebrities. Second, open Islamic study is attended by the wider community. At the beginning of 2019, Raffi Ahmad facilitated the Kajian MuSawarah to hold an Islamic study at his home. This activity is only attended by celebrities. Meanwhile, da'wah studies that are open to the public are usually held at the Kebayoran Residences Grand Mosque Complex. The da'wah material or messages conveyed



by this community are about the overall teachings of Islam from the Qur'an and Hadith, regarding everyday life, especially in the field of fiqh. In addition, this community is also active in voicing issues that occur in the community, including zero waste, distribution of aid for disasters, natural disasters and the current pandemic, sacrificial activities, and other religious and social activities.

Apart from being a means of hijrah movement, Kajian MuSawarah is also a forum for business development for its members, including the clothing of the hijrah; Muslim fashion brands emerged from among these hijrah celebrities besides the everyday style of dress for women, men, children, such as formal wear and wedding dresses. Among the prominent brands are the Meccanism clothing line managed by Zaskia Adya Mecca, and Gerai Hawa by Shireen Sungkar. Because most of these hijrah celebrities leave the world of entertainment and move on to take care of the businesses they manage, this community business continues to grow. The managed business has also penetrated into the culinary sector, known as contemporary celebrities' cakes in various regions in Indonesia, as a form of regional souvenirs. This trend was initiated by Teuku Wisnu, who opened the Malang Strudel outlet in Malang in 2014. Furthermore, other contemporary gift outlets owned by these celebrities are actually under the same management, namely Jannah Corp., which Zaskia Sungkar founded. Another business sector that Jannah Corp. also manages is the field of tourism (tour and travel). The Umrah trip accompanied by the owner, who is also a celebrity, seems to be a strong promotion in attracting public interest to worship in the Holy Land.

Also from this community, based on the idea of Arie Untung, the Hijrah Festival was first held in 2018, in several cities in this country. This gathering event for hijrah communities from various circles was held by inviting scholars and Ustaz; featuring talk shows and exhibitions of various products of their businesses covering fashion, culinary, sharia property, beauty and health products, education, and others. The event was well-accepted by the community and supported by public figures, so in the second year (2019), the festival was opened by the Governor of Jakarta Anies Baswedan. In 2020, this activity was carried out online through their Youtube channel during a pandemic, with the theme "HijrahFest from Home." Although these community members look exclusive, it has its attracting force as the promoters are quite well-known figures.

The following are social media platforms owned by Kajian MuSawarah community:

📷 @kajianMuSawarah | Followers: 871.000

📺 @kajianMuSawarah | Subscribers: 267.000

## 5. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba hijrah community is a pure Salafi study group for hijrah. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba was founded in 2012 by a group of indie band musicians who have joined the hijrah movement and ultimately left music with the aim of becoming a good Muslim. Since 2014, their da'wah movement began to expand and influence many people.

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's da'wah approach uses symbols of popular culture and social media campaigns quite attractive to young people. In addition, the approach used is to invite them to build awareness of 'self-safety' for the provision of the hereafter. This community promotes many things to transform into a new person with more Islamic life and leaving his previous identity, namely the identity before the hijrah. Music is considered a product of ignorance in its da'wah that can neglect and distance oneself from faith. In other words, music is haram (forbidden).


In general, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's social media posts always include references to the rumaysho.com website; Muslim.or.id; Muslimah.or.id; *almanhaj*.or.id; and consultationsyariah.com. As is known, these pages are part of the Salafi media. Some of the Ustaz who often become resource persons are Mizan Qudsiyah, Lc for the study of fiqh; Dr. Erwandi Tarmizi, M.A. for muamalah/economic studies; and Ustaz Sofyan Chalid Ruray for the study of faith. In addition to these three Islamic studies, another Islamic study is often discussed about young marriage. The main book that is regularly discussed in these studies is the book *Umdat al-Ahkam*.

This community also uses several hadiths that can be considered as guidelines for community members. Among the hadiths are: first, the hadith narrated by Bukhari that "there will be among my ummah, people who will justify adultery, silk for men, khamr (alcohol), and musical instruments." Second, the hadith narrated by Abu Hanifa explains that hearing the songs is a sin. Third, the hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani about the fitna of the end of time, which reads: "It will happen at the end of time, when humans will be drowned into

the earth, stoned with stones, and their appearance will be changed, when musical instruments, the female singers and khamar (alcohol) are allowed” (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2016c).

Some of the famous Indonesian musicians who joined this community include Alfi alias Bani Muhammad Mustar (the base of The Upstairs band); Beni (drummer for the band The Upstairs); Andi Ashari alias Andri Lemes (Hospital band vocalist); and Madmor alias Akhmad Abu Taqo (Purgatory band).

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

 0821-6075-6075

 thestrangers415@gmail.com

 fb.com/majelisthestrangers  
t.me/thestrangers

 @thestrangersalghuroba | Followers: 119.000

 youtube.com/thestrangersalghuroba | Subscribers: 53.300

## **D. Concept Definition**

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

Conservatism in this study refers to Bruinessen (2013) and Sebastian et al., (2020). Bruinessen defines conservative religious attitudes as: “The various currents that reject modernist, liberal or progressive re-interpretations of Islamic teachings and adhere to established doctrines and social orders. Conservatives notably object to the idea of gender equality and challenge to established authority, as well as to modern hermeneutical approaches to scripture. There are conservatives among traditionalists 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 seen in the forms of rejection of the modernist, liberal, and progressive interpretation of Islamic teachings; obey to established doctrines and social orders; reject the idea of gender equality (gender equality); and rejection of the modern hermeneutic approach to sacred religious texts. This conservative stance can take up space in traditional and reformist Muslim communities, as can liberal and progressive attitudes.

Meanwhile, Sebastian et al. (2020) highlight 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 structures). The opposite concept of Islamic conservatism is Islamic modernism or liberalism, promoting a contextual and inclusive interpretation of Islam.” From this spotlight, conservatism in Islam is understood as a combination of practical and normative originating from Islamic texts and promotes literal and exclusive adherence to the Shari’a instead of contextual and inclusive interpretations of Islamic teachings.

The term Salafism refers to Salafi religious understanding, which emphasizes three main elements, namely using the Qur’an and Hadith textually, wanting to live like in the time of the Prophet, and basing religious understanding as in the Salaf al-Salihin (three early generations of Islam). Some experts state that Salafism is a religious belief that is close to Wahhabism. However, some others claim more to the purification of Islam. The categorization of Salafis in this study refers to Wiktorowicz (2006), who classifies Salafis into three categories, namely quietist Salafis, political Salafis, and jihadi Salafis; and refers to Wahid (2014) who divides Salafis into three variants, namely purist Salafis, haraki Salafis, and jihadi Salafis.

Meanwhile, Islamism is an Islamic political movement termed by Tibi (2012) as “religionized politics”. Islamism itself is defined as a movement that is considered a failure, as Roy (1996) calls “the failure of political Islam”. However, Roy’s thesis received criticism, including from Bassam Tibi, who revealed that Islamism’s failure did not necessarily make it finished. Islamism can take different forms. Bassam Tibi then divides Islamism into two forms, namely institutional Islamists and jihadist Islamists. The difference between the two is only in the method used to achieve its goals, namely non-violent and violent ways. In addition, institutional Islamists operate within the context of the state, or carry out Islamization from within the state. According to Tibi (2012), one example fits the characteristics of institutional Islamists: the Justice and Development Party or *Adelet ve Kalkinma Partisi* (AKP) in Turkey.

Furthermore, other forms of Islamism operate outside the state, which can take a violent or non-violent approach. The latter is called

*“quitiest”* (Mozaffari, 2007). All Islamist groups have in common is the belief that ‘Islam is the solution’ (al-Islam huwa al-Hal) (Muhtadi, 2009).

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

## **E. Systematics of Writing**

This book consists of six chapters. The first chapter is the Introduction. This chapter explains how the hijrah trend has developed as a widespread trend in contemporary Muslim society in Indonesia, including among young millennial Muslims. In addition to the background, this section also describes the limitations and formulation of the problem-focused on four main questions: 1) What is the typology and spectrum of the hijrah movement in Indonesia?; do different groups also have differences in terms of agendas, norms, and values, religious affiliation, religious references, and practices?; 2) How do hijrah groups understand and respond to contemporary issues such as democracy, nationalism, pluralism, and efforts to fight religious extremism? 3) How do hijrah groups view women’s roles and issues related to women? 4) What strategies are used by hijrah groups to attract followers from millennials? Furthermore, this chapter also explains the research methodology, concept definition, literature review, and profiles of the hijrah community that is the object of research and writing of this book.

The second chapter is the Genealogy of Contemporary Hijrah Indonesia. This chapter presents the genealogical roots of hijrah ideas and movements in Indonesia on a map of transnational hijrah ideas and movements as well as their context in Indonesia in the form of hijrah ideas and movements in the experience of the Indonesian Muslim community. This explanation of genealogical roots wants to see how the idea of hijrah is interpreted from time to time, including its actualization in various movements that use the framework of the idea of hijrah. It is hoped that this chapter can be a stepping stone in understanding the idea of hijrah in the contemporary era and the social movement of hijrah in various forms of hijrah communities recently.

The third chapter is about the Motivation and Meaning of Hijrah by the Community. This section narrates the meaning of hijrah to the elite and members of the hijrah community. Furthermore, this chapter also explores the motivations behind the hijrah actors deciding to follow this path and its consequences after the hijrah. Finally, this chapter also explains the function of the hijrah community for muhajir (people who follow the hijrah movement).

The fourth chapter is the Hijrah Community's View on Contemporary Issues. This chapter explores the views of the elite and members of the hijrah community on contemporary issues. Some of the contemporary issues are on democracy, nationalism and nationalism, religious realities, and counter-extremism narratives. This chapter is expected to provide a comprehensive explanation of the extent of the views and initiatives of the hijrah community towards contemporary political realities, their attitudes, and views regarding the dimensions of nationality and Indonesian values, plurality, and diversity, both from the external and internal aspects of religion. Finally, this chapter also explains the extent of their attitude towards issues such as non-Muslim issues, discrimination, and violent behavior in the name of religion.

The fifth chapter is the Hijrah Movement and Its Views on Women. This chapter describes how women are interpreted and positioned in the religious understanding of the hijrah community. Some of the important issues discussed in this chapter include the meaning of *aurat*, polygamy, early marriage, division of labor between men and women (husband and wife), and the status of women who work outside the home. This chapter describes how women are involved in the hijrah community, both as members, administrators, and resource persons, both as facilitators and Islamic teachers (Ustaz/Ustazah). This chapter is expected to provide insight into how the hijrah community understands gender issues from their Islamic perspective.

The sixth chapter is about Religion in the Digital Age: Strategies for Da'wah for the Hijrah Community. This chapter tries to describe the extent to which the hijrah community uses digital media in disseminating the understanding of hijrah and in socializing their respective hijrah community programs. This description is expected to understand the strategies used by the hijrah group are; how they can attract many followers from Muslim millennials.

Chapter seven is the conclusion. This chapter presents an academic discussion of the trend of hijrah in contemporary Islamic religious maps, including its consequences in the social mapping of Islam, socio-political life, and national life. Besides being completed with conclusions, this chapter also tries to offer suggestions from a policy perspective on religious life as well as an academic perspective on similar themes.

## **CHAPTER II**

# **Genealogy of Contemporary Hijrah in Indonesia**

*Windy Triana*

Hijrah is one of the important terminologies in Islam. Hijrah originally referred to the migration of the Prophet Muhammad with his followers from Mecca to Medina to avoid oppression from the Quraysh infidels. This event was later remembered as the beginning of the year in the Islamic calendar (Hijri Year). In its development, the term hijrah inspired followers of the Prophet Muhammad to adopt the values of hijrah in different contexts through reinterpretation. There are at least two tendencies when individuals or groups reinterpret the concept of hijrah, namely politically oriented and spiritually oriented interpretations.

This chapter will elaborate on the roots of the hijrah movement in Indonesia by exploring the hijrah ideas that have emerged in Indonesia, including those influenced by the transnational movement. It is expected that this explanation will reveal how hijrah is interpreted and actualized at different times and contexts and explore possible connections between these ideas. That way, there will be a better understanding of the phenomenon of hijrah, which has been popular recently.

### **A. The Meaning of Contemporary Hijrah**

A search of various contemporary literature shows that the use of the term hijrah in a modern context is not something new. This is done by Islamic groups everywhere, including in Indonesia. Hijrah is reinterpreted according to the context and needs of the group.

Thus, the level of meaning is highly dependent on the typology of the group's ideology. In the Indonesian context, the term hijrah is interpreted politically by the Indonesian Sarekat Islam Party (PSII)



and Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo and Acehese political exiles. Meanwhile, hijrah has only recently been interpreted in a more personal and spiritual way.

In Indonesian history, the term hijrah was used in a political context by Kartosoewirjo, the founder of Darul Islam. This hijrah policy took place between 1931-1962, the culmination of which was the declaration of the establishment of the Islamic State of Indonesia (Suryana, 2019). In 1936, Kartosoewirjo, at the request of PSII, compiled a monograph entitled *Attitude to Hijrah PSII*. This monograph is a manifestation of the form of resistance to Dutch colonialism with a non-cooperative approach (Soebardi, 1983). Hijrah, then, necessitated a transition from an adat regime to an Islamic one that made Darul Islam the highest form of the realization of an Islamic state. Kartosoewirjo called it a transformation from Mecca-Indonesia to Medina-Indonesia. PSII emphasized three steps towards hijrah, namely jihad, faith, and monotheism. Hijrah is interpreted as a search for happiness (falah) and victory (fatah), by uniting between *ubudiyah* jihad and *ijtima'iyah* jihad. Jihad *ijtima'iyah* involves political, economic, and social aspects (Formichi, 2017).

Kartosoewirjo's concept of hijrah emphasized that the concept of *kaffah* Islam, including the embodiment of political Islamization in Indonesia. From this, we can see the connection between Kartosoewirjo's hijrah idea and what was promoted by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Although there was no direct interaction between the two, Formichi saw that the presence of Indonesians in Egypt influenced similar ideas. Within PSII itself, the concept of hijrah raised a debate between Kartosoewirjo and Agus Salim. The strictness of the concept promoted by Kartosoewirjo made Agus Salim worried about the restrictions on the party's movement by the Dutch colonial government. These conflicting opinions finally made Agus Salim choose to leave the party (Formichi, 2017; Soebardi, 1983).

In the 1980s, the word hijrah was again used by followers of the Indonesian Islamic State (NII) movement. This teaching about hijrah is well recorded in a book written by Abdul Qadir Baraja entitled *Jihad and Hijrah*. In this book, hijrah is interpreted as an attempt to escape from the enemies of Islam, like what happened during the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In practice, NII activists went into exile to Malaysia (Bruinessen, 2002).

Antje Missbach also found Post-independence, the use of the word hijrah in his study of the political exiles of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). The term hijrah is equivalent to the word “migrating” that a person leaves his residence to settle in another place temporarily. The difference in the meaning of the terms “migrating” and “hijrah” is in the cause and purpose. The term “migrating” is used in economic activity, while the term hijrah is used in a political context by religious leaders and political activists to get away from political and religious pressures (Missbach, 2017). The use of the term hijrah is similar to that of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) political exiles in the Philippines, where they had to leave their homeland to gain freedom. The conflict between the MNLF and the Philippine government made MNLF followers exile abroad. The journey was not the final destination because returning to their country was part of the hijrah cycle (Abubakar, 1999). For these two groups (GAM and MNLF), hijrah was only temporary, and they would return to where they were when everything is considered safe (Abubakar, 1999; Missbach, 2017). This is the form of hijrah carried out by the Prophet Muhammad SAW as the Prophet, and his followers returned to the City of Mecca to conquer it later on.

In subsequent developments, the term hijrah was also used by ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) in propaganda to gain support from Muslims from various countries. This movement became a transnational extremist movement that also affected many Indonesian citizens (WNI). The departure of Indonesian citizens to “emigrate” to Syria to respond to calls from ISIS has repeatedly become news in the country. The Indonesian government noted that 689 ex-ISIS Indonesian citizens were in refugee camps in Syria (Those who left and were not expected to return in 2020). Their return to Indonesia became a domestic polemic like the polemic in many countries. Seventy thousand ex-ISIS refugees in Syria are recorded as coming from 110 countries (Those Who Left and Hoped Not to Come Back, 2020).

ISIS has manipulated the meaning of hijrah since 2014 (Uberman & Shay, 2016). ISIS uses the term hijrah to attract followers from various countries to fight in Syria. ISIS interprets hijrah as not only moving from Darul Harb to Darul Islam but from Darul Islam to the Islamic State (IS). Thus, ISIS was able to attract many followers and sympathizers from various Muslim countries, including Indonesia. There are three

stages that ISIS followers need to go through, namely faith, hijrah, and jihad. That is, one's faith and belief become the foundation for later hijrah. ISIS defines hijrah as physical migration. ISIS sympathizers, on an organized basis, migrated to Syria for "jihad." Studies conducted by Schulze and Liow (2019) in Indonesia and Malaysia show that the interest of Indonesians and Malaysians to emigrate and pledge allegiance to ISIS is not only because of ISIS' ability to attract potential followers but also because of the existence of extremist Islamist groups in Indonesia and Malaysia itself. The combination of the two ultimately impacted the significant number of Indonesian and Malaysian citizens who joined ISIS in Syria (Schulze & Liow, 2019).

A study conducted by Uberman and Shay (2016) tried to explore the motivations of Muslim individuals to join this kind of hijrah movement. The study finds that in addition to the possibility of economic factors and marginalization, another thing that drives someone to emigrate for ISIS is the religiosity factor. Conservative tendencies make a person vulnerable to getting involved in extremist movements. That way, the vulnerability to engage in terrorism is for those who have a weak economic background and those who are financially sufficient.

In addition, there is a tendency for ISIS' invitation quickly summoned young people. The study of Uberman and Shay (2016) showed that adolescence was one of the determining factors. The search for religion and the increasing religious passion among teenagers make them look for a familiar way through the internet. ISIS propaganda is disseminated through social media and newsletters published online (Schulze & Liow, 2019). That way, ISIS can easily influence young groups who are addicted to the use of online digital media (Schulze & Liow, 2019; Uberman & Shay, 2016). It indicates how young groups with a high religious spirit become vulnerable to extremist ideology through the internet.

## **B. Current Hijrah Trends in Indonesia**

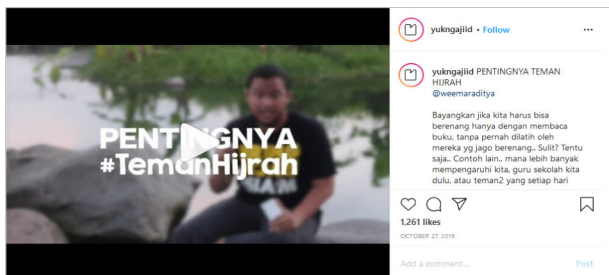
It is undeniable that the hijrah trend that has emerged in Indonesia recently is more or less at the same time as ISIS's hijrah propaganda. However, rushing to conclude that there is a relationship between the two is simply not correct. Nor is it accurate to relate the current idea of hijrah with the practice of hijrah promoted by Kartosoewirjo. Based on its characteristics, there is a tendency that the phenomenon

of hijrah is currently widespread among the urban middle class. This phenomenon is actually not something new. Indonesia has witnessed a similar phenomenon in various forms, including the phenomenon of urban piety (Bryner, 2013; Heryanto, 2011) and urban Sufism (Darmadi, 2001). Thus, one of the easiest ways to track when this phenomenon became popular is to search the literature for the first time using the word hijrah to refer to this religious phenomenon among urban communities.

When this research was started in early 2020, there was not much well-written literature on the phenomenon of hijrah. Tracking previous studies on contemporary hijrah movement trends shows that interest in studies related to this issue began in 2017 (Prasanti & Indriani, 2017; Saefullah, 2017; Setiawan, 2017). Hikmawan Saefullah (2017), who studied hijrah punk groups, said that hijrah groups began to emerge in 2014.

Among the active scholars studying the phenomenon of urban community diversity are Eva F. Nisa and Annisa R. Beta. Judging from the studies conducted by the two before 2014, none of them mentioned the term hijrah (Beta, 2014; Nisa, 2013). In 2013, Nisa studied the use of the internet by veiled women. At this stage, Nisa still has not mentioned the term hijrah. In 2018, when discussing the use of Instagram by young Muslim women, Nisa mentioned the term hijrah.

In addition, through searching the five communities studied in this study, the researcher found that although the social media of the five communities had been created and active on average since 2015, the term hijrah has only been popularly used since 2016. It invites to goodness or invites to change for the better. However, the word hijrah does not become jargon in these invitations. The following is the initial post of the YukNgaji community that mentions the word hijrah:



(Instagram of YukNgaji on October 27, 2016)



(Instagram YukNgaji November 10, 2016)

With the jargon of hijrah, the issue of piety among young people is increasingly popular. Hijrah is a pretty popular hashtag on social media. It is also increasingly popularized by celebrities who decide to follow hijrah movements. Their hijrah journey then became the public spotlight in various infotainment shows.

Actually, the phenomenon of hijrah among celebrities is not new. Some old celebrities also did some kind of hijrah, but it has not become a trend, as it is today the case. They include Harry Moekti (singer), Inneke Koesharawati (film actress), and Neno Warisman (singer and film actress). A study has been conducted regarding the issue of urban piety, in which the name Inneke Koesharawati is mentioned. However, the term hijrah does not appear to refer to the film star's spiritual experience (B.S. Turner & Zheng, 2009).

In its development, hijrah, which was previously an individual movement, shifted to a communal movement. The experience of hijrah or change to become more religious, or the experience of repenting, is basically a personal experience. With the power of fast communication offered by social media, this kind of movement has developed into a communal movement, where religious communities sound hijrah and invite them to achieve the hijrah experience together. In the next phase, The hijrah community becomes a home as well as a family for individuals who want to follow the hijrah movement together. It will be explained in more detail in the next chapter. However, this phenomenon has shown the distinction of

the hijrah movement that emerged recently and grew along with the strengthening role of social media, especially in influencing the lives of urban youth.

### **C. Hijrah and Religious Conversion**

Although the hijrah movement tends to only occur in Indonesia, the phenomenon of changing a Muslim to become a more religious figure is not something exclusive. It is a global phenomenon with various names. For example, Roy (2004) studied a similar phenomenon in England, and he called it “bornagain” Muslims by borrowing the term from “born-again” Christian. Roy explains that “born again” refers to “a person who suddenly makes his beliefs the core principle of his whole life.” Amelia Blom used a similar term in her study in Pakistan and Marloes Janson in The Gambia (Blom, 2017; Janson, 2014). Ali Kose, who also conducted a study in the UK, calls the phenomenon “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. It is altered, changed, stimulated, strengthened, energized, revived, and invigorated” (Kose, 2012). Furthermore, Sophie Gilliat Ray calls it the term “rediscovering Islam” or “re-discovering Islam” (GilliatRay, 2010).

These terms then narrowed down to a more general term in the study of religion, conversion. Rambo’s conversion is divided into two, which are inter-religious conversion and conversion within one religious tradition (Rambo, 1999). The latter is actually more representative of the meaning of hijrah. Paloutzian and his friends then call it intensification, which means a form of conversion in which a person or group of people does not move from one belief community to another but becomes more obedient, passionate and committed to the beliefs they already hold (Paloutzian et al., 1999). In addition, Ulman adds that someone who undergoes conversion then undergoes self-transformation and feels like a new individual (becoming new) (Paloutzian et al., 1999). In addition to increasing religious intensity and understanding of religion, there is also a tendency always to interpret what is happening in the world from a religious perspective (Blom, 2017).

The next question is, what drives someone to convert? Some of the studies mentioned above reveal that several things motivate someone

to convert, first, because of dissatisfaction with previously religious practices, which are generally taught in the family (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 the authentic practice of Islam (Blom, 2017). Then, young people who are the third generation of Muslim immigrants in the UK feel that their parents' practice of Islam is far from authentic Islam (Roy, 2004). This anxiety makes them easy to accept teachings that are claimed as the original teachings of Islam. Second, individual traumatic experiences. It can be in psychological difficulties and bad experiences that make individuals look for alternative solutions and inner peace. Reconversion and strengthening of a religious commitment then become an option. Third, criticism or resistance to hegemony and modern culture is considered to carry hedonism. This last factor was also found by Hikmawan Saefullah among the hijrah punk groups in Bandung (Saefullah, 2017).

Thus, in simple terms, hijrah is a person's intra-conversion process marked by strengthening commitment to the teachings of his religion. However, the level of this meaning is very diverse. A study conducted by Muhammad Zaki on members of the #IndonesiaTanpaPacaran (#IndonesiaWithoutDating) community, for example, finds that although there are similarities in the motives that encourage individuals to emigrate, at the level of implementation, it appears to be very diverse. The purpose of implementation here is the level of obedience to a particular Islamic value. For example is the belief in the obligation to apply Islamic law formally and thoroughly (Zaki, 2020). That is, the sympathizers of this movement are independent in determining the direction of their religion. Likewise, what Oki Setiana Dewi found, that celebrities who did hijrah tended to have a "hybrid" religious understanding, namely that they had the independence to choose what religious leaders conveyed according to what they felt was right for themselves (Dewi, 2020).

Another thing that is also important in intra-conversion is the materialization of religious expressions. Based on his study in Pakistan, Blom (2017) finds that the transformation of appearance is essential for people. They experience the process of intra-conversion or being born again because their appearance, apart from being an identity, is also a reminder of their commitment to their religion. Among the Tablighi Jamaat, including in Indonesia, there are at least



a few things that become an expression of the religion's followers, namely choosing khuruj (going out wandering to preach) as a way of life; "Islamic" clothing by wearing robes and turbans for men and veils for women; staying away from politics; limiting the use of bank services because they are deemed to contain unlawful usury; and leaving music (Dewi, 2020).

The things above are implications that grow in the intra-conversion process, namely the strengthening of commitments that often individuals who undergo it more strictly adhere to religious practices quickly or directly (Gilliat-Ray, 2010). This is also concluded by Dilawati et al. (2020) on the followers of Pemuda Hijrah in Bandung. He found several dimensions in the religiosity of the followers of the Pemuda Hijrah community, namely knowledge, belief, experience, and religious commitment. In certain cases, this spirit then places these individuals in a high vulnerability to be persuaded by religious-extremist groups who are religiously violent, even allowing violence (Gilliat-Ray, 2010). Apart from a strong religious spirit, it can also happen that these groups become clubs that provide support and friendship for people who have re-acquainted with their religion (Gilliat-Ray, 2010).

Previous studies have shown that both intra-conversion and hijrah are connected with certain ideologies in Islam. Blom (2017), in Pakistan, found the movement's connection to the Salafi-inclined Tablighi Jamaat. A similar thing was also found by Dewi (2020) in Indonesia. Moreover, respondents in a study conducted by Sunesti et al. (2018) tend to be close to the Wahhabi Salafi ideology. It is said that this movement invites its followers to follow hijrah movements from the stage of being sinners to become more religious (Sunesti et al., 2018). Carter Baker sees that there are three major groups in the hijrah movement developing in Indonesia, namely Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), the Tarbiyah movement, and the Salafism of Jamaah Tabligh ("The Changing Face of Indonesian Islam," *The Diplomat*, 2019). Besides. This study also explores the typology of the hijrah movement in Indonesia, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

#### **D. Popularity of Hijrah, Youth, and Social Media**

Another framework that is also important in studying the contemporary hijrah movement in Indonesia is the phenomenon of "Islamization of cyberspace," considering that this movement is



widely active and popular in cyberspace. Islamization in social media can be seen as a bottom-up Islamization effort. It means that the Islamization process has moved from being legalistic towards social and cultural Islamization (Abdullah & Osman, 2018; Fealy, 2005). The movement promoting piety in the public sphere from the real world to the virtual world requires a broader reach and penetrates traditional boundaries, including against conventional religious authorities (Alfitri, 2015; Bunt, 2018; Campbell, 2007; B. S. Turner, 2007). It also makes conservatism easier to spread through the internet (Anderson, 2006; Eickelman & Anderson, 2003).

Several previous studies have revealed the tendency of conservatism in cyberspace. Abdullah & Osman (2018) show that after the fall of the New Order, the Islamization of Indonesia through the media took very diverse forms. The offer of conservative teachings is one of them. It means that all kinds of religious expressions are blended, and none of them dominate. However, the PPIM research findings say otherwise. 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 this new media (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003). The figures are no longer considered necessary by the recipients of the message. For example, in the NU and Muhammadiyah traditions, figures who have religious authority have qualified Islamic knowledge obtained through deep Islamic education, then on social media are no longer critical to young people. Cyberspace explorers are satisfied with the information obtained without seeing who the speaker is.

In addition, social media has given birth to a new public space where religious norms and values can develop. Dayana Lengauer said that the public sphere in social media strengthens the social bonds 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 allows the formation of a close community, which penetrates the boundaries of distance and space.

The significance of the role of social media in disseminating the idea of hijrah has received attention from previous studies examining hijrah movements. However, none of them has yet explained what strategies the hijrah community uses on social media to make it very

attractive (appealing), especially among the young middle class. In addition to personal search motives, and direct friend invitations, social media also influences someone to be interested in the idea of hijrah (Fuad, 2019). Among the studies that examine hijrah in the context of the study of communication and the role of social media are Affandi & Octavianti (2019); Baulch & Pramyanti (2018); Lyansari (2018); Musahadah & Triyono (2019); Nisa (2018); Prasanti & Indriani (2017); and Rashid et al. (2019). From these various studies, it appears that Instagram is a significant medium in attracting followers from young people. As stated by Nisa (2018), “images have more power in communicating messages”.

## **E. Conclusion**

The above description shows that the use of hijrah terminology in contemporary contexts is not new. The word hijrah has become jargon in individual or group movements to achieve a certain goal inters of political or spiritual motives. The Darul Islam movement exemplified how hijrah became a significant religious terminology used in the struggle against the invaders. In this context, hijrah is very nuanced in politics and struggle. In addition, the term hijrah is not only used for good things but also misused for acts of violence. The transnational ISIS movement carried out the latter.

Looking at the recent development of religion in Indonesia, especially post-Reformation, the urban community's religious pattern that involves symbols of modernism is also not new. The phenomenon of hijrah that is currently developing seems to be an extension of this development. Furthermore, by placing hijrah in the context of conversion, the phenomenon of hijrah becomes part of a global phenomenon that occurs, especially among the younger generation. The development of internet technology that necessitates information exchange speed strengthens the spread of hijrah concepts. Social media, which young people use, makes religious narratives easily accessible and accepted by these people.



## **CHAPTER III**

# **Motivation and Meaning of Hijrah by the Community**

*Zaenal Muttaqin dan Laifa Annisa Hendarmin*

When observed carefully, throughout almost the last decade, Islamic discourse and practice in the country are marked by a quite unique phenomenon, with the emergence of a number of groups that express and practice Islam with a different model than the Islamic community in general. These groups encourage changes in individuals' religious lives and their communities to live more religiously than before. They are diligent in holding Islamic learning activities in Islamic study rooms from the general Islamic preaching assembly. Furthermore, the community members also build closeness through more intense friendships to learn about each other's religion and share experiences to improve the quality of their religion. Even though they appear more religious, different from other communities, they also remain adaptive to the growing popular life, or try to appear more Islamic even though they still freely live in a modern and fashionable style. Moreover, they are also skilled in narrating Islam in attractive packaging on various online media platforms by always being adaptive to the development of social media (social media).

One inherent term, as well as a critical word for these various religious groups, is the use of the term "hijrah," both as a group identity, a key theme of learning activities, as well as their Islamic religious practices. For example, the term hijrah is used by community members in their groups, such as Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT) in Bandung, the Syiar Hijrah Community in Jakarta others.

In fact, the term hijrah is also used by this religious group to identify the various activities it holds, such as the Hijrah Festival and Hijrahpreneur (Hasan, 2019). Of course, the same term also

dominates the themes of the studies, discussions, and even the chats of community members. Moreover, they also derived several terms as creative equivalents for this term, such as “back for good,” which emphasizes the process of returning to good things. In addition to the Jakarta and Bandung areas, these religious groups are scattered in various urban areas in the country, showing the vibrant meaning and practice of Islamic religion in recent times in the spirit of hijrah.

This chapter will not repeat the narrative of the profile of each community, but will try to examine the extent to which these religious groups interpret the word hijrah which has become so popular among them?; whether there is a common thread or the common point of the meaning of hijrah that they do? whether are there specific aspects that differentiate each group in interpreting hijrah? Then, what are the factors that motivate individuals and communities to interpret and practice the process they call “hijrah”? And, as a social trend, where hijrah is carried out collectively to jointly carry out the transformation of religious understanding and practice to a more religious one, this section will also explore the proper function of the community for members of the hijrah community. As a symptom of changes in religious attitudes, this section will also examine how the process and sources of their model of Islamic learning are, both individually and in the community in general.

In answering the various questions as stated above, this chapter will explore them from a number of sources as well as social media content published by a number of quite popular hijrah communities. Some of them are the Hijrah Terang Jakarta community based in Jakarta, Pemuda Hijrah or SHIFT, founded and developed among millennials in Bandung and its surroundings, The Strangers al-Ghuroba, Kajian MuSawarah, and YukNgaji.

## **A. The Meaning of Hijrah**

In terms of language, the term hijrah is actually a standard vocabulary in Indonesian. The online version of the Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), for example, has adopted the term “hijrah” as part of the Indonesian language. In this dictionary, the term hijrah as a noun has at least two meanings. First, it is defined as the Prophet Muhammad’s migration with some of his followers from Mecca to Medina to save themselves from the pressure of the Quran infidels. Second, it is moving or getting away for a while from one place to another that

is better for certain reasons (safety, kindness, and so on). When used as a verb such as “to emigrate”, this term is defined as the activity of moving from one place to another (Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI) Online, n.d.). From these various understandings, it can be concluded that linguistically, “hijrah” is a physical movement, namely moving from one place to another.

Although it has been adopted as part of the standard Indonesian vocabulary, this term does not come from Indonesia but is taken from Arabic. In many Arabic dictionaries, the term hijrah is written as a root word (mashdar), derived in the past verb pattern (fi'il madhi) 'هجر', which means to go or move. In the Al-Ma'any dictionary, for example, this word contains three meanings. The first is to “move, or leave the country of origin, or migrate”; the second is to leave, flee, escape from military duty, desert, escape, stop; and the third is silence or no talk. Some other dictionaries, such as Mu'jam al-Ta'rifat, define hijrah as the activity of leaving a land controlled by infidels to move to a Muslim land (daar al-Islam) (Al-Jurjani, 1988). Al-Mawrid Dictionary defines 'هجر' as the origin of hijrah synonymous with the word defined as to separate/dissociate oneself from, keep away from which can be interpreted to separate oneself (Baalbaki, 1995). Thus, the term hijrah in Arabic itself is oriented to two things: physical displacement, namely moving from one place to another, and the expression of an attitude in the form of silence. Then, what do the members of this hijrah community understand the word “hijrah”?

Ustaz Hanan Attaki –founder and an important figure of Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT)—said that the word hijrah has two meanings, namely hijrah as migrations to a different place (physical), and hijrah as a transformation of behavior (repentance) or hijrah as a change in behavior from previously being bad to being good. In the first sense, Hijrah is related to the motivation to save oneself and belief from the repressive actions of the rulers and their people, so that migration allows the hijrah to gain personal safety as well as freedom in carrying out their Islamic beliefs and practices. This definition necessitates the meaning of hijrah as physical activity in the form of moving from one place that no longer supports a Muslim having the freedom to practice his religion, even being threatened with his own safety because of carrying out religious teachings, to another safer place and guarantees he can carry out his religious orders. While, the second definition is understood as a change in a person's behavior for the

better, from the bad one. Thus, this change is more characteristic, not physical displacement. This definition is stated as follows (IDN Times, 2020):

*“There are two kinds of hijrah in Islamic theory. There is a hijrah that moves from one place to another because his life is threatened. For example, we live in an unjust country, where we are not allowed to worship, are not allowed to live comfortably, are pressured, and are threatened, so we are advised to move to a country where we can be safer. We can get more of our rights as human beings or as Muslims. The hijrah occurred when the Prophet moved from the city of Mecca to the city of Medina. That is the first model, namely the migration of places. Then the second is hijrah which has a broader meaning, namely hijrah to leave bad habits, sins, immorality to good habits, worship, and rewarding deeds. Well, this migration is what we are trying to make as our new culture.”*

From the two meanings of hijrah above, Hanan and the hijrah community, SHIFT or Pemuda Hijrah prefer the second definition of hijrah. The second meaning of hijrah is considered broader, namely as a change in each individual's self to live with good behavior. Therefore, this behavioral hijrah which this community campaigns for to young people. As a change in behavior, Pemuda Hijrah interprets hijrah as repentance because hijrah requires the hijrah actor to leave all behaviors that Allah and His Messenger forbid, both outwardly (visible/real) and inner (unreal, matters of the heart, unseen). This kind of Hijrah is mandatory for everyone, such as repenting to a state of obedience. Hanan often exemplifies this definition in his lectures by analogizing someone who decides to end a courtship by marriage; or end the doubtful job (vague legal status) by choosing a lawful job.

The content analysis was carried out on various social media posts of the Pemuda Hijrah community. The meaning of hijrah as a change in behavior for the better or repentance as above can be traced to a reference to one of the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad narrated by Imam Al-Nasa'i as follows: “ Having told us ‘Amr ibn Ali, he said; has told us Yahya from Isma’il from ‘Amir from Abdullah ibn ‘Amr, he said: “I heard the Messenger of Allah (SAW) say: “The Muslim is the one whom all Muslims feel safe from his tongue and hands, and

the one who emigrates is the one who abandons what Allah forbids.” (H.R. Imam Al-Nasa’i)

The meaning of hijrah as above is in line with the expectations of young people accustomed to living in a modern atmosphere so that they are moved to become community followers (followers) and be involved in various Pemuda Hijrah activities. This is confirmed from content analysis on social media posts that find a common thread that their motivation to join the community is based on the desire to leave a life of disobedience to a life full of obedience (religious). This motivation usually arises when their original life reaches a culmination point that interferes with their physical-psychological conditions, such as a break in love with a girlfriend/lover being left behind, the death of a parent who plays a significant role in their life, the collapse of the economic situation, and various other bitter experiences. Furthermore, by changing their behavior through the hijrah process, leaving various immoral behaviors towards obedience, they hope to find peace in their lives.

Ustaz Abi Makki, the founder and an important figure in Islamic teaching activities in the Terang Jakarta community, defines hijrah as a person’s change from bad behavior to better behavior. From this definition, Abi Makki interprets hijrah contextually; namely, hijrah is understood as a change in one’s attitudes and behavior, not a physical movement from one place to another or from moving to a Muslim country. In this case, Abi Makki believes that physical migration in moving places has practically been closed after the migration of the Prophet Muhammad and the Muslims to Medina to respond to pressure from the Meccan infidels.

*“Hopefully, we will become muhajir people. Masha Allah. Then if I want to join hijrah movements, do I have to move from Bintaro to Cinere? It is not like that! (The current hijrah) should be in line with what the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) said ‘La hijrata ba’da al-yaum.’ It means the hijrah whose reward is like the migration of people from Mecca to Medina, but the current hijrah is to stop Bad deeds and do good deeds...” (Terang Jakarta, 2017).*

Based on the definition he presented, Abi Makki seems to associate hijrah as a change in one’s behavior. The change in one’s attitude from bad behavior to good attitudes and behavior is already a hijrah. It



is different from the textual meaning where hijrah is understood as physical and religious activity, by moving a person (Muslim) to a safer area, or an area that carries out Islamic law in full as a law for its people's lives. In this regard, Abi Makki also cites a hadith, which confirms his understanding that hijrah is more oriented towards attitude, not displacement. Furthermore, Abi Makki explained that hijrah itself occupies an essential position as part of the identity of everyone who claims to be a believer (believer). When someone claims to be a believer, then the religious consequence that must be accepted and carried out is fulfilling the obligation to organize his attitude and behavior to be better. For example, it can be done by improving their oral communication (words) and actions, covering their *aurat* such as wearing the hijab for women, spending part of their wealth in the form of infaq and charity or other things, performing the obligatory prayers and even doing it in the congregation, and reading the Quran. These various religious attitudes and actions are indicators of one's faith.

*“The characteristic of the believer is hijrah. If he does not believe, he does not follow the idea of hijrah. In fact, that is what hijrah is like. They must leave something bad then move to something better. His name is miraculous. So who had bad character became good, he became muhajir. Those who were not wearing a hijab can wear a hijab. Another example, those who were previously not praying in the congregation can perform praying in a congregation. Those who previously did not want to donate were muhajir. Those who did not read the Quran before want to read the Quran. Those all are called muhajirs. (Terang Jakarta, 2017).*

Regarding the meaning of hijrah, Ummi Makki – Abi Makki's wife and ustazah who regularly gives Islamic studies in the Terang

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1 This Hadith has a number of related narrations on Abdullah bin 'Abbas bin 'Abdul Muttalib bin Hasyim (d. 68 H). Some of the hadith narrators who narrated it were Bukhari, Muslim, Abu Dawud, Al-Tirmidhi, Nasai, and Imam Ahmad. The hadith says: “La hijrata ba'da al-fathi wa malen jihadun wa niyatun wa idzas-tunfirtum fanfiruu”. means “There is no migration” after al-Fathu (Fathu Makkah, the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions), but jihad and intention. If you are ordered to fight for jihad. Go for it.” See (Al-Bukhari, 1987)

Jakarta community – makes an analogy with this term as a process of ‘transforming hearts’ and ‘decision’ of a person. Ummi Makki uses these two analogies because she describes hijrah as a process of changing one’s inner awareness to control one’s heart’s interest in the behavior of which is not obedience, followed by self-commitment to stop non-religious behaviors. Thus, like Abi Makki, Ummi Makki prefers to define hijrah as a change in attitude, not a physical movement from one place to another<sup>1</sup>. “Hijrah as a transformation of the heart means that it transforms the heart from one that always follows lust to a heart that is always obedient to Allah...” (Terang Jakarta, 2017)

The same definition of hijrah was conveyed by Ustaz Taufik al-Miftah. According to him, the notion of hijrah is interpreted as a physical transfer and a change in one’s self from bad attitudes and actions to good attitudes and actions that Allah SWT blesses. Linguistically, Ustaz Taufik continued, hijrah actually refers to the migration of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions to various areas that further ensure the security of Islamic teachings, such as their migration from Mecca to Medina. However, the meaning of hijrah is considered less relevant, considering the factors that became the reason for the Prophet and his companions to emigrate are also no longer found today, so that hijrah is more relevant to be understood as a process of spiritual transformation. According to Ustaz Taufik, this transformation presupposes the existence of ‘abandoned conditions’ to ‘other conditions that become goals’, namely from disobedience to worship obedience. The basic hijrah indicator, he continued, is carrying out the obligation to pray and improve oral health to be followed by the implementation of other religious orders. In an interview on October 27, 2020 Ustaz Taufik al-Miftah said:

*“Hijrah is not only for people who should repent but also for anyone who wants to achieve the reward from Allah, to heaven without Hisab (any questioning). Hijrah is actually moving, linguistically. That is why the Prophet spoke of hijrah as migration from Mecca to Yathrib or Medina, and others. In interpreting the current hijrah is no longer physically, but spiritually. First, we have something to achieve, and secondly, we also have something to stop-- from immorality towards religious observance.”*

The meaning of hijrah was also carried out by two important figures in the Kajian MuSawarah hijrah community, namely Ustadz Adi Hidayat (UAH) and Ustadz Abdul Somad (UAS). According to UAH, the meaning of hijrah cannot be limited only as a physical displacement of place but rather a movement from being far from Allah SWT to being closer to Him. Thus, a change in attitude is an important indicator when someone calls themselves hijrah. Therefore, even if a person decides to follow hijrah by moving from one place to another, without getting closer to Allah SWT, the movement cannot be categorized as hijrah. On the other hand, when a person changes his bad attitude and behavior to be good ones, he can be categorized as hijrah. In this context, UAH emphasizes two different terms, namely hijrah (هِجْرَة) and intiqal (إِنْتِقَال). In simple terms, these two terms mean 'move' and 'shift' (Bisri & Fatah, 1999; <https://www.almaany.com/id/dict/ar-id/>, n.d.). Further, more broadly, UAH explains that these two terms have different meanings. Hijrah is understood as a self-changing process to be better without moving to another place, while Intiqal is understood as a physical movement without having self-changes.

Furthermore, UAH explains that the main purpose of the hijrah itself is to make the perpetrators achieve the title of the best ummah (khairu ummah), as its characteristics are stated in Q.S. Al Imran (3): 110<sup>2</sup>. Referring to the verse, UAH emphasizes self-transformation as a move from having a sinful life to having strong faiths as khairu ummah (the best people). According to UAH, the term khairu in verse has a broad meaning. The first is a change in character or attitude from a bad attitude to a good one, such as from a drunkard to a preacher (dai); the adulterer to a hadith expert; and repentance (changed from bad to good). The second is the ownership and management of property must be managed according to the message of Allah SWT; one of them is mentioned in Q.S. Al-Baqarah: 215<sup>3</sup> that wealth must be obtained and reused in a good way. In addition to avoiding wealth from unlawful means of acquisition, such as fraud to usury, the owned property should also be spent for the needs of family and closest relatives. In addition, wealth is also set aside for groups in need, such as the poor, orphans, and people who are struggling in the way of Allah. Thus, becoming a khairu ummah aims to improve property ownership with management based on Islamic rules.

In addition, UAH emphasizes the meaning of hijrah by referring

to the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad narrated by Imam Bukhari through the <sup>2</sup>narration of Abdullah bin Amr, “A Muslim is a person whom other Muslims are safe from his tongue and hands, and muhajir (those who followed hijrah) is a person who abandons what is forbidden by God”. Quoting the hadith, UAH also defines hijrah as a change in a Muslim’s self to control his tongue and hands not to hurt others and leave all actions forbidden by Allah. Keeping your mouth is understood as an act not to say dirty words and hurt other people’s feelings. While keeping the hands is understood as self-control from unjust actions. One good control is to take a standstill. UAH gave an example if there is a dispute or an extreme event, such as a bombing or shooting, must be abandoned, <sup>e3</sup>even though the offenders shout Allahu Akbar because it is not under the teaching conveyed by the Prophet Muhammad PBUH in the hadith.

Referring to the same hadith, UAH also emphasizes the limitations of the meaning of hijrah as explained by the Prophet Muhammad, wal muhajir, namely “everyone who wants to follow hijrah leaves everything that Allah has forbidden for him.” Muhajir is a person who performs hijrah or hajara as a gradual change in living it. Hijrah itself is a journey of life that is not easy because of the many challenges faced when doing it. Thus, hijrah is not an arbitrary process that one can take without a commitment to self-determination. Therefore, when the awareness arises to make self-changes, this momentum needs to be welcomed and possible. UAH itself describes that hijrah will affect a person’s lifestyle, namely taking care of oneself and leaving forbidden assets, such as usury and corruption, and achieving peace of mind. The first thing that will be achieved when people follow hijrah is peace of mind.

A content analysis conducted on The Strangers Al-Ghuroba social media, both on Instagram and on YouTube, also shows the meaning of the term hijrah in this community. In general, this community interprets hijrah as a form of repentance for a Muslim to leave something forbidden (haram) by Islam for a better lifestyle (Islamic), as

- 2 You are now the best people brought forth for (the guidance and reform of) mankind. You enjoy what is right and forbid what is wrong and believe in Allah. Had the People of the Book believed it were better for them. Some of them are believers but most of them are transgressors (Q.S. Al Imran [3]: 110)
- 3 They ask you as to what they should spend. Say, ‘Let whatever wealth you spend be for the parents, relatives, orphans, the needy, and the traveller.’ Allah indeed knows whatever good you do (Q.S. Al-Baqarah [2]: 215).

indicated by the Qur'an and hadith, solely to get Allah's paradise in the afterlife later. One of the Ustaz who usually delivers Islamic studies for this community, Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin Lc, for example, defines hijrah as "moving from disobedience to obedience." This interpretation seems to be in line with The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's various Instagram content, where many posts contain quotes from the Quran and prayers that remind everyone to repent, to be aware of the threat of hell's torment and the pleasures of heaven (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2020).



(Instagram The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, repentance prayer quotes)

In addition to repentance, the meaning of hijrah carried out by the Hijrah community of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba is a change in character or behavior change for the better and abstaining from returning to immorality. This is as stated by Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin who expressly forbids someone who has chosen the pure hijrah (Salafi) path to return to his previous lifestyles. What Zainuddin says is in line with the attitude of the Prophet SAW when one of his followers decided to move back to the city of Mecca after previously stating that he had migrated to Medina. However, this desire was rejected by the Messenger of Allah, and he said that he would not return (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017b).

*“By Allah, after I follow the path of hijrah, it was forbidden for me to come back again (to my bad). So friends who follow the hijrah path do not let you return to sin. As the Messenger of Allah (PBUH) never returned to Mecca, even though it was his homeland, even though there were beautiful memories in it from birth until he was an adult, even though there were still many relatives. It is forbidden for people who have emigrated to return to Allah, never come back (to their previous immoral lives) again.”*

*(Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin, Lc)*

*In another hijrah community, Felix Siau – the founder of YukNgaji – defines hijrah as “change for the better”. In interpreting hijrah as well as its reference, YukNgaji makes Q.S. An-Nisa verse 100 (4:100) is the basis for the argument in hijrah. Based on this verse of the Quran, Felix emphasizes that the hijrah keeps optimism about God’s promises. The promise of fulfilling the sustenance needed by the hijrah actors, including a double reward from Allah when they also have to sacrifice their lives in the process of hijrah. The translation of the verse that Felix is referring to is as follows: “And whoever emigrates for Allah will find on the earth many spacious locations; and whoever goes forth from his house as an emigrant to Allah and His Messenger and then death overtakes him, his reward is true with Allah and Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.”*

On the other hand, Weemar Aditya, who is also a reference figure for the YukNgaji community, defines hijrah as self-transformation by abandoning forbidden actions and at the same time fulfilling obligations. This is explained as follows: *“Discussing hijrah is discussing how we leave things that are haram and enforce everything that is obligatory.”* (Komunitas YukNgaji, 2017)

Abu Fida, one of the religious teachers and an important figure in the Terang Jakarta community, emphasized that hijrah is a continuous process. Hijrah is understood as a process that continues from one phase to the next, which at each stage represents an increasing quality and intensity of religiosity among the perpetrators. Regarding this, Abu Fida explained that the hijrah started from the most basic phase, namely changing attitudes and bad behavior into good ones. After



his attitude has changed for the better than before, a person who has decided to follow the path of hijrah should not stop at that phase, but must continue to strive to improve his 'good' attitude to be 'better'. While the highest phase of hijrah is understood as the maintenance of perfect attitudes and behavior continuously (istikamah) so as to achieve the fruit of the hijrah itself. In addition, Abu Fida also stated that hijrah is a consequence of a person's humanity in going through the phases of his life in this world to the hereafter.

*“Hijrah does not have to start from being bad—from being good to being better is also called hijrah. From being better to being istikamah (consistence), it is also a form of hijrah as the Prophet said “Kullukum musafirun,” We are all travelers. Travelers are migrating..! migrating...! migrating! We do not think only about what is in this world. This is a stop, but not a terminal. It is just a transit—only stops. Therefore, while in the world, multiply the deeds of worship because it will be our provision in the hereafter...” (Bagas Alghafiqi, 2017)*

Tino – the head of Remisya – and Didit – one of the followers of the Kajian MuSawarah hijrah community – agreed to interpret their hijrah as a process of changing themselves to become better individuals in attitude and behavior. Tino, for example, associates this change as a conversion from an un-Islamic behavior to a more Islamic one. They can carry out Islamic teachings while cultivating their commitment by associating in one hijrah community and increasing their knowledge of religious teachings to strengthen the quality of their hijrah at the same time.

*“If the meaning of hijrah is what we feel among youth; of course we want to be better than the previous person. Where in the previous condition they felt stuck in terms of preparing their future life in the hereafter. In the end, they wanted to find a better situation. That's why they were looking for a community or place that could accommodate their hijrah. If we move on our own, it is a bit difficult. That is why they -- these young people -- are looking for this place. Thanks be to the God; as the social media technology develop, it is still helpful for the hijrah communities. So*

*many hijrah organizations and forums have sprung up to accommodate this movement.”*

*“If you can say, I am not a hijrah session anymore. It means that it is not repentance anymore, but indeed, every day we must always have repentance. However, the session is to deepen religious knowledge whether it is mastery of fiqh, the Quran, the Arabic language, and others. That might be my move. I joined this community when I had not mastered the Arabic language, or the knowledge of the Qur’an and others. Because of the hijrah, I became even better. However, there was a friend of mine who could not read the Quran previously and his prayers were still quite rare. So he followed the path of hijrah and became better. They mostly learn Iqro (the foundation of learning Quran) because the concept of hijrah that I understand is better than before.”*

In referring to the various definitions presented, at least a common thread can be drawn about the concept of hijrah in the hijrah community. Hijrah in this community’s view is more oriented towards changing religious attitudes than hijrah as a physical movement activity, such as moving to a different place for religious reasons. Several terms, such as ‘repentance’, ‘bad behavior’, ‘good behavior’, ‘spirit transformation’, morals and behavior, are quite dominant in defining hijrah in this community. Hanan Attaki, for example, defines hijrah as a change in behavior (repentance) or a change in behavior from previously being bad to being good. Then, Abi Makki associates hijrah with changes in one’s behavior; changing one’s attitude from bad attitudes and behavior to good attitudes and behavior is already a hijrah. Likewise, Ummi Makki defines hijrah as a process of changing one’s inner consciousness to control her heart’s interest in behavior that is far from obedience, along with self-commitment to break from non-religious behaviors. Meanwhile, Taufik al-Miftah associates hijrah as a process of spiritual transformation in which this transformation presupposes the existence of ‘abandoned conditions’ to ‘other conditions that become goals’, namely from disobedience to obedience. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba defines a change in morals or a change in behavior for the better and abstaining from returning to a world full of immorality. From another hijrah community, Felix



Siauw – the founder of Yuk Ngaji – defines hijrah as “change for the better”. Therefore, it can be concluded that the hijrah understood by these communities is more or less a change in behavior from bad behavior to good; from good to better; and from not being religious to being more religious.

## **B. Hijrah Motivation**

In recent times, the popularity of hijrah seems to be inseparable from the motivation behind the hijrah actors, both from the elite of community organizations and members of the hijrah community itself. There are a number of motivations behind their decision to follow the path of Hijrah, from the spirit to deepen their knowledge of Islamic teachings, to achieve peace of mind after going through inner struggles in their lives, to balance between worldly life and the provisions for the hereafter (*ukhrawi*), and to be more consistent in carrying out religious practices (*piety*), to find a soulmate who fits the expected criteria, as well as various other motivations. Frequently these various impulses are present in the life of someone who then decides to move. This means that the hijrah actors decide to follow this trend of hijrah often not only based on one type of motivation, but also various motivations may be in their minds.

Syarifa Hanifa, Taufik, and Astiani Gusti, three followers of the Hijrah Terang Jakarta community, for example, admitted that they were interested in hijrah and decided to become part of the community founded by Dimas Wibisono, because they wanted to improve the quality of their lives as Muslims as well as to increase their Islamic knowledge (Syarifa Hanifa, interview October 27, 2020). Taufik even felt like being a real Muslim after following hijrah paths because he had not been very obedient to religious orders so far. He used to ignore the obligation to pray five times a day and enjoys working without feeling guilty. However, recently, he felt the need to improve the quality of his religion. The problems did not stop there. When he had a strong spirit of improving discipline in carrying out religious orders, he felt that his religious knowledge was still very minimal, so it was not enough to support him to become a more devout Muslim.

After graduating from high school without having an adequate background in Islamic religious education, both Syarifa and Taufik admitted that they both felt they had an obligation to explore Islamic

knowledge. In fact, even though they both study at one of the leading Islamic religious universities in Indonesia, Syarifa and Taufik still felt that their religious knowledge was very minimal. Thankfully, some of their friends gave information about a hijrah community that has various programs. It was the Terang Jakarta hijrah community where they have recently learned. Syarifa and Taufik finally looked for information and then participated in a study held by the community. Driven by the motivation to improve the quality of religious life while deepening knowledge about Islam in groups of the same age, Syarifa and Taufik finally felt fit to participate in the study organized by the Hijrah Terang Jakarta community.

The spirit to change oneself to live a more peaceful life after being involved in a worldly and full of hedonism is another reason for carrying out hijrah. Didit Sobie, for example, his background as a concert manager for international bands in this country, with a hedonistic life around him, turned out to be not very satisfying in his mind. He felt the need to improve himself to be closer to the Creator. After going through a long inner struggle, Didit decided to improve himself, be closer to religious life, and leave the music life that had made his name.

“I started my life from ruin. First, I was good during my junior high. Then in high school, my life was messy. At university, it was good again before, it was ruined. My lowest point was during the decade 2002-2012. It was the dark period of my life. (Now) this is the best in my life. Why is it the best? Because I have one moment as I wanted to be seen as a good believer by Allah. I fixed everything, started from praying, doing good, alms, umrah, and fasting. All I try to be the best according to Allah. And according to me, the best community, looking for pious friends, seeking knowledge, I can find in the Terang Jakarta. Ada Dimas (laugh).” (Terang Jakarta, 2020)

The spirit of Hijrah can also be motivated by the desire to balance the worldly life with the provision of the hereafter. Worldly achievements, such as success in pursuing a career, financial security, and social influence, are considered insufficient to provide a person's inner satisfaction. They see that the material success that they have been fighting for, has even reached the pinnacle of success, can actually mean nothing. The life you live feels so empty. This was experienced by, for example, Harry Pratomo, a young executive, who joined hijrah paths and decided to join Islamic studies of hijrah communities such

as Pemuda Hijrah and YukNgaji. “I am a workaholic; I am not a person who can multitask. Because of that condition, sometimes I feel something is empty. Worldly affairs continue endlessly.” (Harry Pratomo, interview 29 October 2020)

In addition to self-awareness, Harry also saw that his surroundings also contributed to encouraging him to hijrah. At his work place, he was once reprimanded by his superiors for working too hard ignoring other things outside of work. He himself admits that he has an Islamic background, and it is inappropriate for him to ignore religious orders. While still in high school and college, Hadi admitted to being involved in many Islamic spiritual activities on the sidelines of his study activities. Therefore, after work, his life was far from religious life, and it became very ironic.

*“Once my director would have Hajj, he asked me “why are you just working?” Then I realized. During high school and university level, I joined Rohis (a teenage student religion organization). After moving to Jakarta, I have been busy working continuously. Then, I felt useless; I did the prayer without understanding my religion. Moreover, I intended to get married. Then, I felt that I have limited religious knowledge. How can I build a household without a good foundation of understanding my religion?”*

*(Harry Pratomo, interview October 29, 2020)*

Safira also experienced boredom with routine work, while at the same time being away from religious life. This woman who finished her undergraduate education in the Department of Business Management, Telkom University, Bandung, decided to move after she felt extremely bored. The routine of daily life between work and various urban life in general actually creates a void in her mind. This situation then led Safira to follow hijrah paths by improving her Islamic life, including joining the hijrah community forums.

*“At the beginning of 2018, I just felt empty or bored with my work. Why was my life like this? What was I aiming for? and I just don’t feel happy. One night, I was on my way home. When it was raining, I met a small child and his mother selling some souvenirs, I felt sorry for him. I finally*

*bought the merchandise at that time. From that moment, it was like God admonishing me to be grateful; God made me realize about gratitude through that incident.”*

(Safira, interview on October 28, Harry Pratomo’s colleague, Haris, was also motivated to join hijrah trends. Like Harry, who felt an inner struggle due to the imbalance between worldly and religious life, Haris admitted that he was motivated to follow the path of hijrah because of the encouragement of a friend who coincidentally was a convert to Islam. In contrast to himself who was born a Muslim, from a parental background and family of the same religion, he saw that his friend was very passionate about exploring his new religion of Islam. Seeing this fact, Haris became motivated to also explore the Islamic teachings that he had embraced as well as his parents and family since birth. In studying Islam, he tried to re-learn basic Islamic knowledge, such as fiqh, by joining the Islamic studies at YukNgaji.

*“When the first time I moved to Jakarta, I joined a hijrah movement because of a Chinese person. Do you know the Chinese outside Binus (Bina Nusantara University, ed.)? He is a convert to Islam. I know him, but he’s not very knowledgeable. I also know who another Indonesian convert is (Felix Siau, ed.). That’s why I see that religion is only because of heredity. Well, here are a lot of processes that I just understood. For example, those from Buddhism to Islam have a story of their own. Those from Catholicism to Confucianism have their own story. Apparently, it is not exposed in the community. Maybe because it is sensitive. Therefore, I started to study the history of religions as well.”*  
(Haris, interview November 1, 2020)

*“It turns out that this religion has gone through histories and revisions or developments. That’s what I know, starting from Hinduism to Islam, from Christianity to Islam. However, I did not learn about it deeply, not in fiqh or anything. It’s just more of a motivation and more of a spirit in living this religion. So, I started seriously studying at YukNgaji. There I met Mas Hadi, including my first friend there, only then did I comprehensively study religion from the ground up.”* (Haris, interview November 11, 2020)

Departing from interviews with informants and analysis of the social media content of the hijrah community, the motivations behind the hijrah of members of the hijrah community are quite diverse. First, the spirit to deepen religious knowledge. This motivation usually comes from those who do not have an adequate religious education background, so they feel the need to learn more about Islam. Second, the spirit to find peace in life. Several followers interviewed admitted that hijrah was their way of seeking peace in life. They are people who previously experienced severe life problems, such as failure in marriage, bankrupt businesses, severe tests, and others. They hope and believe that joining hijrah movements and moving from disobedience to obedience will bring peace in their lives.

Third, the motivation to find a soulmate through the taaruf program offered by the hijrah community. Matchmaking techniques through ta'aruf become one of the motivations for hijrah for certain people. The taaruf scheme offered is believed to be in accordance with the Shari'a, but must be accompanied by a hijrah process in order to get the best results. Fourth, the motivation can be istikamah (consistency in doing good deeds). One of the main points in hijrah is istikamah or persistence in obedience to Allah and goodness. As stated by the ustaz, hijrah is not just a change from bad to good, but a change from good to even better. Thus, hijrah should be carried out by a Muslim on an ongoing basis. The ustaz also said that one of the efforts to stay consistent in the hijrah is by joining the hijrah community so that they can remind each other among community members. Finally, the spirit to balance the life of this world and the hereafter. Several interviewees admitted that their ambition towards the world made their lives exhausting. Therefore, they have the motivation to follow the hijrah community so that there is a balance for preparation for the afterlife.

Based on the explanation above, it can be said that the hijrah motivation of each individual follower of the hijrah community is very varied (diverse). However, the majority of them emphasized that their motivation was more spiritual and moral oriented because it was born from the urge to achieve inner peace as well as changes in attitude and behavior to become a better person. Although there are those who are motivated to join hijrah because of the invitation of other parties, such as friends or relatives, including those who are attracted by the hijrah community activity program, in the end

the awareness of hijrah appears from the hijrah actor himself. Thus, the existence of internal motivation combined with an attractive ‘packaging’ of da’wah from the hijrah community has become a huge attraction for millennial groups to participate in the contemporary hijrah movement in Indonesia.

### C. Consequences of Hijrah

In following hijrah, Ustaz Abu Fida said that people following this path need to understand hijrah as a fairly strenuous process; it takes strength of determination as well as the will to continue to expand the understanding of the nature of the hijrah itself. Hijrah is an uneasy process to take, so a good understanding of the meaning and consequences of hijrah is needed. According to Abu Fida, understanding the meaning and consequences of this will greatly determine their readiness and strength of dealing with the situation after joining the hijrah movement.

*“What should you do when you move on? If you leave work, what should you do next? So here it is, while the knowledge is limited, we are not ready. Finally, because of his friends, we joined the hijrah movement. However, we might commit sins even worse because we do not understand the basic foundation of hijrah.” (MJS WTC Jakarta, 2018a)*

Given the severity of the consequences of hijrah, Abu Fida reminded that hijrah must be understood as an integral part of jihad (jihad) and patience (shabr). When someone decides to join this path, one must understand that hijrah is a struggle that requires changing his situation for the better in earnest (jihad). In addition, the decision to join the hijrah trend requires a test of the perpetrator’s patience in dealing with and bearing various changes in himself with his family, colleagues, and others during the hijrah (shabr). Abu Fida understands the difficulty in fulfilling hijrah as a form of ‘test from Allah’ for the commitment of the hijrah actor to follow this movement. In this case, Abu Fida quotes the verse of Q.S Al-Nahl: 110<sup>4</sup> as a reference for the phases of the hijrah.

4 Thereafter your Lord will indeed be forgiving and merciful to those who migrated after they were persecuted, waged jihad and remained steadfast...” (An-Nahl: 110) posted by Ustaz Abu Fida, in Hijrah without Real Goals. Retrieved from the Community Without Riba/MJS WWTC Jakarta <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dU4PafrSg50> “ on February 21, 2018.

*“There are three hijrah concepts, namely hijrah, jihad, then patience. We should be patient when following this hijrah. However, joining hijrah without being patient will ruin everything; households break up; businesses could be disbanded. Why? Because we do not understand the concept (hijrah) that Allah has given in the Qur’an. We must change and then strive patiently.” (then quote the verse of QS An-Nahl: 110). (MJS WTC Jakarta, 2018b)*

Referring to the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad “wal muhajir man hajara ma nahallahu anhu” (a person who emigrates is a person who has left what Allah has forbidden for him), Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS) stated the need for the hijrah followers to leave what has been prohibited by the law of Allah SWT comprehensively while increasing his understanding of the nature of hijrah by seeking knowledge (thalabul ‘ilmi). It is because a person will not know what is allowed and forbidden without sufficient knowledge. The importance of hijrah accompanied by the struggle to seek knowledge cannot be separated from UAS’s critical observation of the current hijrah phenomenon. According to him, the hijrah process mostly carried out today is still symbolic, such as changing self-attributes by wearing a cap, wearing cingkrang pants, long hijab, and other hijrah attributes ikhtilath (mixing between men and women) in one assembly.

According to UAS, the essence of hijrah itself is commitment (istikamah). In this case, UAS refers to a hadith from Sufyan bin ‘Abdillah al-Tsaqafi who asked Rasulullah SAW, “O Messenger of Allah, tell me in Islam this is a saying that I no longer need to ask others about it, just I hear from you, O Messenger of Allah, one word is sufficient.” Then the Messenger of Allah replied: “Say, O Sufyan bin ‘Abdillah, I have believed in Allah, then stick with it.” Based on this hadith, UAS explained that the Prophet taught two things: first, to believe in the monotheism of Allah SWT and the apostleship of Muhammad as an important pledge in the faith of everyone who professes to believe (believers); and second, to have commitment or sincerity (istikamah) in faith. UAS said that after the hijrah, the devil would not stop tempting people. So, the message of the Prophet regarding istikamah (consistency) in the way of Allah is a very strong message as capital in carrying out the hijrah process which is not easy (religiOne, 2019).



Meanwhile, in a study entitled “ Akulah Budak Sang Raja (I am the Slave of the King)”, Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin, during Islamic studies in the The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community, emphasized that when a Muslim preferred Allah over the rest of the world, he should have the courage to leave all things forbidden because of Allah (by repentance), not because of anyone. In this case, repentance can be understood as the achievement of awareness (*insyaf*) about the nature of human life, so that one wants to follow the path that is blessed by Allah and His Messenger (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2014). Such awareness can also be understood as the readiness of the hijrah actors to face the various changes that occur after a person decides to follow hijrah. Even so, Zainuddin said, the hijrah actors still had to be optimistic, because Allah Himself had promised to give guidance to individuals who were serious about repenting.

Furthermore, Zainuddin also explained that when a person decided to increase his devotion to worship than before. It did not mean that he had to change his appearance 100 percent, but he could do it gradually. When a person has decided to repent, it does not mean that he is just sitting in the mosque for remembrance, but they must fulfill his humanitarian duties, such as working, earning a living, and so on. When hijrah is understood as a gradual process, of course it can be a gentle invitation with a strong impact (soft power) for young Muslims who are still hesitant to join hijrah, rather than having to completely change their appearance and style of daily language. In addition, Zainuddin emphasized, when a person has decided to follow hijrah, he is no longer justified in being rude and narrow-minded. They must not accuse the behavior of other parties is bad because it is different from what he believes (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017b). “Indeed gentleness will not exist in something unless he adorns it; and rude, harsh, or disrespectful attitude comes to something unless it is going to make it worse.” (Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin)

Although emphasizing the importance of gradual change when someone decides to follow hijrah movements, including by changing the appearance; various social media posts describe how this community is also driving this change. This can be seen, for example, in the Instagram post of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba which displays a poster of pants tailoring services that do not go past the ankles (*isbal*), exchange for a longer hijab so that it covers the curves of a



woman's limbs, and free tattoo removal. These various posts indicate the emphasis of the hijrah community in encouraging self-change for anyone who decides to join hijrah, including in terms of dress. One of these posts can be seen on the following community social media.



(Instagram of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba promotes free pants sewing service activities)



(Instagram of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba promotes free hijab exchange activities)

Meanwhile, in his study entitled “Jenggot Yes (Yes Having Beard)” which was posted on The Strangers Al-Ghuroba YouTube channel on May 23, 2017, Ustaz Subhan Bawazier emphasized the community’s tendency to emphasize total change when someone decides to embrace hijrah (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017a) . In his lecture, Bawazier mentioned four things that must be followed by a Muslim in his daily life, namely carrying out the commands of the Prophet, avoiding his prohibitions, believing what the Prophet said, and not worshiping without strong Shari’a instructions. *“Do what the Prophet ordered, stay away from the prohibition, believe in everything that the Prophet preached even though it is unseen, and do not worship unless there is a law from the Prophet.”* (Ustaz Subhan Bawazier)



(YouTube of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, Ustaz Subhan Bawazier’s study discusses having beards)

According to Bawazier, these four things are a unified matter that every Muslim must do. Every Muslim should make these four things as a unit to be carried out in daily life as his identity as a Muslim. Therefore, Bawazier regretted the attitude of some Muslims who still doubt the sunnah that has been exemplified by the Prophet, such as maintaining and growing a beard. In fact, Bawazier regretted that the Sunnah of the Prophet as the identity of a Muslim was limited. Many people are shy to show it in formal social circles, such as in-state agencies to foreign institutions and companies that are not used to the appearance of Muslim identity.

## D. Hijrah Community: Home for Muhajir

From the previous explanation, the hijrah community generally understands hijrah as a process of changing one's self to be better than the previous condition. However, this change is not an easy process but is full of challenges, which can derail a person's hijrah journey. The choice to follow hijrah is often faced with severe challenges, for example, ones' disconnection from life and the social environment around him. In such a hijrah process, the existence of the hijrah community has a special position for the muhajir (people following hijrah movements).

Regarding the function of the community, Ummi Makki described hijrah as an important series of faith and jihad at the expense of property and life in the way of Allah (*jaahaduu bi amwaalihim wa anfusihim fi sabilillah*). In this regard, she cites Q.S. Al-Anfal:72<sup>5</sup> which emphasizes the importance of believers in jihad in the way of Allah, especially those who follow hijrah have friends to help each other achieve the goal of hijrah. Friends will greatly affect the good and bad of the muhajir. To that end, Ummi Makki encourages the fellow muhajirs to be friends with each other to remind and strengthen each other in the process of their hijrah. In contrast, the process requires a sincere intention, a strong desire (*quwwatul iradah*), and a willingness to discipline oneself in worship.

In line with Ummi Makki, Ustaz Adi Hidayat (UAH) also explained that the hijrah process was not an easy matter, because people who joined hijrah would definitely meet with many challenges, which could affect their decision to embrace hijrah. In this regard, UAH also cited Q.S. Al-Baqarah: 214: "Do you think that you will enter heaven, even though there has not come to you (trial) as was the case with those before you? They were afflicted by calamity and misery and shaken (with various trials) so that the Messenger of Allah and those who believed with him said: "When will Allah's help come?" Remember, Allah's help is very near."

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5 Indeed those who have believed and migrated and waged jihad with their possessions and persons in the way of Allah, and those who gave [them] shelter and help—they are heirs of one another. As for those who have believed but did not migrate, you have no heirdom in relation to them whatsoever until they migrate. Yet if they ask your help for the sake of religion, it is incumbent on you to help them, excepting against a people with whom you have a treaty; and Allah watches what you do.

UAH explained that the culmination of the hijrah process was achieving success when they are accepted to get into God's heaven. However, this effort is not an easy matter, because a muhajir will face many obstacles and severe trials. Therefore, UAH recommends that hijrah be done gradually by starting with light changes and according to ability, before then increasing to higher and more severe changes. Considering the difficulty of the hijrah process, UAH encourages the importance of the presence of the hijrah community for its members. Through the community, they can support each other and take care of each other to maintain their commitment to follow hijrah. The presence of fellow performers of hijrah allows members to remind each other to stay *istikamah* (consistent).

Not only sharing support in strengthening commitment to self-change, UAH even encourages the hijrah community to also move towards broader cooperation such as working together in the economic sector. It can be done by holding various economic activities that allow community members to have a source of livelihood. Hijrah, which demands significant changes, often has an impact on the economic activities of the hijrah followers. According to UAH, in addition to the interests of fellow hijrah actors, this can also be a way for hijrah followers to invite other Muslim brothers to follow the hijrah movement. The culture of Indonesian society, which is predominantly Muslim, is a society that is easily amazed and likes new creations, so the packaging offered by the hijrah community can also be connected very well. UAH also conveyed that the hijrah followers should continue to follow their passions or preferences while maintaining the permissible limits, without moving from one place to another in the name of hijrah.

In line with UAH, Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS) said that the hijrah process was a long journey of a person to change himself for the better. Many obstacles tested the power of the pressure of self-change. For this reason, in order to support *istikamah* in hijrah, it is necessary to create a community. The importance of the role of this community at least refers to the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad narrated by Abu Hurairah in Sunan Al-Tirmidhi, “*Arrajulu ‘ala diini khaliilihi, fal yandzur ahadukum man yukhalilu*” (Indeed, people will be in the belief of their friends if you want to know someone's belief then look at who his friends are).<sup>6</sup> Quoting this hadith, UAS said that the

6 H.R. Abu Dâwud no. 4833 dan al-Tirmidzi no. 2378. (Al-Shahihah no. 927)

presence of a friend is doing good is significant. Togetherness in hijrah can strengthen continuity in carrying out worship to Allah. A small continuous deed will be better than many deeds which are done occasionally.

The magnitude of the challenges in hijrah is also a concern for the YukNgaji hijrah community administrators. For the leaders, one of the reasons why YukNgaji was founded was to help pilgrims who were the followers of this community in order to maintain their commitment to hijrah. For them, efforts to be consistent in hijrah will face enormous challenges. YukNgaji often places a discussion on istikamah in particular, and it is delivered repeatedly. It indicates that the YukNgaji community is serious in emphasizing one's commitment to self-change. Although the substance of the discussion is the same, the discussion is carried out repeatedly. The repetition of this material clearly shows the seriousness of the YukNgaji community in accompanying their followers' hijrah journey. Perhaps, it is also what makes YukNgaji liked by his followers.

Regarding istikamah, Felix Siau explained that three things could support the istikamah attitude in hijrah, namely aqidah, ukhuwah, and sharia. Akidah becomes the reason and basis for someone when deciding to follow hijrah. In other words, aqidah is the answer to the question "why do you follow hijrah?". The next is ukhuwah (brotherhood). Ukhuwah (brotherhood) is also interpreted as a supportive environment. With ukhuwah, hijrah is carried out together (in congregation), so that each individual feels that there is someone who is with him on the journey of hijrah. The third is sharia (the Islamic law). Sharia is defined as a system or state that creates a supportive environment for hijrah. The state has the power to prohibit and abolish immorality. With the Shari'a, there will also be a prohibition against committing immorality. Furthermore, according to Felix, these rules also encourage individuals to embrace hijrah.

*The importance of the role of the community for these members is also the reason why Abu Fida was interested in establishing a Hijrah Terang Jakarta community with Dimas Wibisono and other figures. "When you declare hijrah, embrace this Islam comprehensively. Don't be half-hearted, even though we are limping in living it. What makes us strong is pious friends. So, when we follow*

*hijrah, we invited other friends as well. Then we build a community. It is not the community that needs us, but we who need this community so that it can strengthen us. We had pious friends who protect us, take care of us, remind us when we were close to Allah. So we will not do sins anymore...”*

*(Ustaz Abu Fida’s Instagram video, November 21, 2018).*

From the perspective of the members themselves, almost the majority of followers see the importance of community to them. Didit, one of the followers of the Kajian MuSawarah community saw the significant role of the community, which not only spurred him to do good, but also controlled him from actions that were considered bad. Dion says,

*“What’s interesting is that having a community, we remind each other. For example, we learn how to be pious while we were reminded again in this community when we wanted to do something bad. This community has a stronger influence. Yes, there may be many other MuSawarah communities as well. For example, if I am motivated at the MuSawarah, when I saw Dimas, Dude, Vishnu, Dewi Sandra. They are financially sufficient. All of them are morally superior to us, so that is inspiring.”*

*(Didit, interview November 20, 2020).*

One step ahead of Didit, Kikan Namara sees the function of the community as a house for further learning about various issues that have not been well understood by herself and her friends. Through the Islamic Musicians Community or KOMUJI, she explained how the community regularly invited a number of figures who were considered as religious experts to convey their knowledge to community members. One example of a topic discussed in the community is the position of music in Islam; whether music is haram or allowed in Islam.

*“My fellow musicians, for example, regretted why those joining hijrah movement left music. Yes, many said that music is forbidden. However, through Komuji, I want young people to have other choices. It could be an affirmative way of thinking and a solution. Once I ever told to middle or*



*high school students. “Regarding music, Islamic scholars also have different opinions (legal status, ed.). We should be critical, actually music is really haram or not, right? It is that simple. Komuji wants to be a forum for that. There are still many differences of opinion in Islam. There must be disseminated”*

*(Kikan Namara, interview November 12, 2020)*

## **E. Conclusion**

We can draw a number of conclusions after investigating the way the hijrah community interprets hijrah; the background underlying the hijrah; the consequences that must be carried out after deciding to move; and how the hijrah community carries out its role for the individual hijrah actors.

In terms of the meaning of hijrah, there are similarities in meaning among these communities. They interpret hijrah not textually--physical movement from one place to another like the hijrah that was carried out by the Prophet Muhammad and the early Muslim community when moving from Mecca to Medina. More than that, they understand hijrah as a contextual matter where hijrah is understood as a change in behavior from bad behavior (immorality) to good behavior (pious) that is recommended by religion. As a change in behavior, hijrah is associated with repentance to stop oneself from doing all acts that are prohibited by religion, fulfill all religious obligations such as praying, and adorn oneself with good morals by living a religious lifestyle.

Furthermore, hijrah is also understood by the community as an ongoing process within a person. Hijrah starts from the most basic phase by stopping prohibited behavior and replacing it with good behavior. The next phase, hijrah, increases the ‘good’ deed to ‘better’ ones. While the highest phase after the two previous hijrah phases is self-consistency (istikhomah) to maintain the quality of good deeds and actions throughout one’s life. Some hijrah scholars assert that the hijrah aims to make the perpetrators achieve the title of the best ummah (khairu ummah) seen from their behavior, economic governance, and social care.

In terms of the motivation behind the decision to follow hijrah movement, there are various motives that the perpetrators of the

hijrah have. Some of them include improving the quality of religion as well as increasing knowledge about it as a way to change attitudes for better behavior. Another one is the spirit to change oneself to live a more peaceful life after previously being actively involved in a worldly and fun-filled life. The next is the motivation to balance the worldly life with the provision of the Hereafter, where worldly achievements such as success in pursuing a career, financial security, and social influence are considered insufficient to provide one's inner satisfaction. The fourth is boredom with routine work and relationships that are far from religious nuances. The last is encouragement from friends and colleagues are some of the reasons behind someone doing hijrah.

When a person decides to follow the path of hijrah, in general, the consequence is to change the bad behavior into an a good one. However, in this change, there are several things that a person needs to do, namely the seriousness of making self-changes, deepening the knowledge that supports his decision for hijrah, and mental readiness with various changes that arise when deciding to join hijrah movement, both from family, association, and the wider community. These various consequences are considered important to note because hijrah is a fairly heavy process so that sufficient knowledge and mental readiness are needed to change oneself.

Lastly, The hijrah community occupies a significant position for its community members by being a 'home' for its members. In this case, the hijrah community provides a meeting room for members to motivate each other. In addition, the hijrah community also provides space for them to gain knowledge through various programs provided by the community.

From a gender perspective, the meaning and motivation of hijrah do not seem to apply specifically to certain sexual groups. The meaning of hijrah, for example, is carried out in the context of changing everyone's behavior, regardless of gender background. Hijrah is a must for every Muslim. The same applies to the motivation for hijrah, where the various factors behind a person doing hijrah apply to almost all men and women.





## **CHAPTER IV**

### **Views on Contemporary Issues**

*Azhar Muhamad Akbar dan Zaenal Muttaqin*

The five communities investigated in the contemporary hijrah movement research in Indonesia have their own views on contemporary issues. These views are influenced by various things, starting from the influence of the ideas of the initiators, community leaders, and religious teachers who often fill Islamic study activities in each community. The contemporary issues examined in this study include issues of democracy, nationality, religious reality, and counter-extremism narratives. The views of each community on these issues will be described in detail below.

#### **A. Democracy**

In recent decades, democracy has become the dominant system of government in many countries around the world. The great opportunity for citizens (civilians) in making state decisions is the reason people in various countries choose democracy as their country's system of government. This trend also seems to apply to Muslim-majority countries. Masykuri Abdillah (Kompas, 2016) noted that several Muslim-majority countries such as Turkey, Indonesia, and Tunisia after the Jasmine Revolution in 2011 had recorded more or less democratic achievements. However, the implementation of democracy in Muslim-majority countries is also not always fully agreed upon. Society is often still involved in long debates to achieve the compatibility of democracy. So how does the hijrah community that grows in the midst of the Indonesian Muslim community respond to democracy itself?

There are three types of perspectives in the five hijrah communities towards democracy. First, democracy is considered an inappropriate

system to be implemented in Indonesia on the grounds that the system does not provide benefits for the people. YukNgaji is of the view that politics and leadership are part of the hijrah. This can be seen from what Felix Siauw said about the three things needed to maintain istikamah in hijrah, the third aspect of which was sharia or the state. Felix Siauw clearly said that what was meant by a state is a country that applied Allah's rules (Islamic law). He further said that currently there was no country that had implemented Islamic law, so people who had joined hijrah movement should gather with "pious people".

The discussion about politics is also seen in the video series where Felix dissects the book "Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin (Islam as the Blessing for the Entire Universe)" which he wrote. Felix explained that the book was extracted from the book Discourse on Political and Spiritual Islam by Hafidz Abdurrahman (2002), who is a figurehead of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). This book is also a reference in YukNgaji studies.



It is explained in the book that Islam is a kaffah (complete) religion; and Allah demands maximum obedience. Islam has two creeds, namely the political creed and the spiritual creed. Islam regulates from the smallest to the biggest things, such as the political system.

*“A trustworthy leadership system is a caliphate. When we allege that Islam does not have a distinctive leadership system which the Prophet did not bring down a distinctive leadership system. It is as if we assume that Allah has not sent down a perfect Islam; or assuming that the Prophet of not being a thorough and perfect example. Then Islam is perfect, there is no need for addition, no need for subtraction, no need for change. We do not need concepts from outsiders. We only need a concept from Islam, because this is a perfect concept that does not need any additions, no subtractions, and no changes. As for the way it is applied, it may change, and even must change according to the times.”*

*(Felix Siauw, in the YukNgaji Community, 2015)*

In this case, the political system is the caliphate. With the caliphate, then the rules of Islam will be applied. It also includes that morality is the result of the application of the Shari’a. Akidah siyasa (political creed) is a procedure for regulating life in the world or ideology. The ideology in this context is Islam, because Islam is a complete and highest religion. As a proof, Felix Siauw mentions the hadith, “Islam is a high religion and nothing is higher than Islam.” (H.R. Baihaqi).

Furthermore, Felix Siauw explained that the basis for the application of sharia was the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad narrated by Muslims:

“The decents of Israel had their affairs taken care of by the prophets. When a prophet [Bani Israel] dies, it will be replaced by another prophet. Verily, there is no prophet after me. There will be caliphs, so there will be many of them.” [HR Muslim] Messages about the caliphate were also conveyed on videos when the leaders of YukNgaji, Felix Siauw and Husain Assadi, visited Turkey. Husain Assadi made a vlog visiting the Panorama 1453 History Museum, Topkapi, Istanbul (YukNgaji Community, 2019a)<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Narrated by Muhammad bin Basyar; Muhammad bin Ja’far told us; Shu’bah, from Furat Al-Qazzaz, Abu Hazim, he said, “I once sat (as a student of) with Abu Hurairah for five years, I once heard him tell a story from the Messenger of Allah, he said: “In the past, the decent of Israel were always led by the prophets. Every time a prophet died, he would inform about the next prophet beforehand. And verily, there will be no more Prophets after me, but there will be caliphs who will commit sins.” The companions asked, “What do you order for us if that happens?”

In line with the YukNgaji community, Pemuda Hijrah also views that the implementation of democracy in Indonesia is not appropriate, because there are many shortcomings. In an interview, Fani Krismandar, one of the followers of Pemuda Hijrah, said,

“Democracy in Indonesia is like a premature baby or seems forced, so its implementation is not optimal and has many shortcomings” (Fani Krismandar, interview, November 20, 2020). In fact, he firmly said that Islamic law was the right one to be applied in Indonesia. Although this opinion only came from a follower, Inong – an important figure in Pemuda Hijrah – did not mention this view of democracy, because he felt he did not have the capacity to answer this problem. Other followers also argue that regarding the concept of the caliphate, on several points, such as the enforcement of Islamic law, tend to agree. However, for its implementation in Indonesia, he does not agree, arguing that Indonesia is not only inhabited by Muslims. So, by not implementing the caliphate, it is the same as respecting the existence of followers of other religions (Fani Krismandar Interview 16 September 2020).

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community also has a similar opinion, that democracy is not justified in Islam. This is in line with their view that Islam forbids demonstrations (What is the Law on Demonstrations? and Can Women Participate in them? | Muslimah. Or.Id, n.d.). In a fatwa it is stated “...then do not demonstrate even to the government. Provocateurs sometimes use some people to cause a chaos. Then the provocateurs did damage and finally the demonstrators were beaten by the police” (Fatwa of Shaykh ‘Uthman Al-Khamis).

It should be noted that demonstrations are a form of freedom of speech in an understanding of democracy which is close to the ideology of liberalism. According to pure Salafi understanding, the idea of liberalism itself cannot be justified to be implemented in Islamic life. Therefore, it can be concluded that the hijrah community group The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, although in their statement supports Pancasila as values that must be upheld in Indonesia, this group views the values of democracy and freedom of opinion

He replied: “Keep the first allegiance, then the one before that and fulfill their rights, for Allah will hold them accountable for their government.” Abu Bakr bin Abu Syaibah and Abdullah bin Barrad Al Ash’ari, both of whom said: “narrated by Abdullah bin Idris from Al Hasan bin Furrat, from his father with this isnad.” Sahih Muslim No. 3429. [https://carihadis.com/Sahih\\_Muslim/3429](https://carihadis.com/Sahih_Muslim/3429).

differently. However, with regard to the caliphate, there has been no social media content for The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community that discusses explicitly and specifically about the caliphate and the political system. It can be seen as a form of apolitical attitude that they apply. Even so, on several occasions, the preacher of this community has said that Indonesia as a country with the largest Muslim population should follow the example of Arab countries in terms of regulations as a form of welfare for its people, without abandoning its obligations and sunnah as a Muslim (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017a).

*“Let’s try the example of Arab countries, Islamic countries where foreigners may open a business there, but it belongs to the Arabs. In Indonesia, it is very dangerous. Finally, we pawn the faith.” (Ustaz Subhan Bawazier).*

However, based on the author’s analysis, expressions like this are only spoken without further actions. That proves it there is no activity or promotion of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba hijrah community that shows any action or movement related to the application of Islamic law or the caliphate during this content analysis. Therefore, as a group that applies pure Salafi values, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba separates religious affairs and political affairs. However, criticism of the government is inevitable to be discussed in this hijrah community. In an Islamic study regarding the enforcement of the Sunnah of the Prophet, which Muslims in Indonesia should carry out, this idea is sometimes contrary to the state’s formal rules (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017a).

*“Our country is an imperfect Islamic country. There are still many rules of the game that are not Islamic. For example, some government rules sometimes clash with the sunnah, which cannot be enforced yet. However, that does not mean that it is an infidel.” (Ustaz Subhan Bawazier).*

Similarly, in the case of muamalah, Ustaz Dr. Erwandi Tarmizi, MA explained that the provisions of the National Sharia Council of the Indonesian Ulema Council (DSN-MUI) are still very far from the provisions of muamalah in Islam. The reason is that the muamalah law in Indonesia, which the DSN-MUI decrees regarding the fee for granting debt, is written in Fatwa No. 57 DSN-MUI

5/2007 concerning letters of credit (LC) through kafalah (guarantee) contracts are not under Islamic law. As explained by Ustaz Erwandi, export and import trade transactions use the services of a sharia financial institution (LKS) based on a kafalah contract, and for this service LKS earns a fee. The three DSN-MUI fatwas that allow LKS to obtain fees for kafalah services are clearly controversial because none of the mazhab scholars allow the acquisition of fees for kafalah services (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017c).

*“It’s strange that the Shari’a Council said yes. I quote all the opinions of all Islamic schools of thought, the Hanafi, Maliki, Imam Shafi’i, and Hambali scholars. All of them forbid the fee from the kafalah contract.” (Ustaz Dr. Erwandi Tarmizi, MA).*

Second, democracy is seen in a neutral perspective. According to this understanding, democracy can be allowed or prohibited depending on the benefit. A community that has this view is the Kajian MuSawarah. Ustaz Adi Hidayat (UAH) sees democracy as a system. Based on the results of discussions with scholars from the city where Prophet Muhammad SAW came from, as long as a system can be used to bring benefits to the people and get closer to Islamic values, then the system can be used as a wasilah (intermediary) to build Islamic values. If there are more benefits, then it is permissible to follow them because if they are left behind, the possibility of harm will increase. In a democratic system, you may disagree with voting. However, if they do not vote, then liberal, secular, LGBT people will vote. If they have more votes, then their choice will be elected and will affect policy. If you have been elected, there is an order to obey the leader in Islam. If the leader is bad, there will be a lot of harm (Ocean Sciences, 2018).

Meanwhile, Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS) believes that in a democracy, the majority vote is the voice of God. UAS quoted Yusuf Qardhawi’s words in the book of Fiqh al-Daulah (state system of jurisprudence) that democracy is a kind of knife/tool. Democracy can be lawful or unlawful. UAS makes an analogy for the illegitimacy of democracy with the following story: If there are school pupils who want to use drugs, then 10 of them are asked about their opinion of using drugs. It turns out that 9 of them agree to use drugs. So, such the democratic system – the majority vote system – becomes

illegitimate. However, when 10 pupils are asked about attending the Islamic study and 9 of them are willing to, then democracy is considered good. Democracy may be used in transitional periods. And if all goes well, then the caliphate system can be used. Thus, the view of the caliphate cannot be separated from the view of democracy. As previously stated, UAS stated that there is an aspiration towards a caliphate, if the system (democracy) has been running well. In a lecture, UAS stated firmly: “Fathers and mothers who are glorified by Allah, therefore, the solution to the settlement of this ummah is the caliphate. If the caliphate is established, then the problems of the people are solved. Takbir, Allahu akbar!”

This statement was submitted in 2016. In that year, UAS had not been a resource person in the *Kajian MuSawarah*. Statements like this need to be watched out for, because they can be seeds of thoughts that lead to extremism. Moreover, the influence of a teacher or ustaz is very large, as stated by Hendra:

*“Actually, I had quite an extreme experience too. When I was in high school, I had a friend who had very extreme thoughts. I thought so because one day I was watching tv, at that time there were people who fought in Aceh or joined training for war, he said “well that is my teacher”. That was an extreme person. However, in high school, I thought America was bad.”*

*“Yes, because my friend, he handed me books about war. Because of that experience, I learned about it. Fortunately, I also learned that there was a friend who invited me join such extreme movements. Well, thank God I haven’t attended his group. Maybe I could have been brainwashed. Because I just listened to him, I already tended to have extreme thought.”*

*“My thoughts have gone extreme. It was not about bombing but it was more likely to think about war. That’s why I am worried about high school pupils because they are unstable. I am lucky that I have had an Islamic education since I was little. But what about children who have never studied Islam and meet such extremists. They may be influenced*



*right away. I just understand a little, in my mind it was really crazy at that time and it was my anxiety too.”*

Third, democracy is seen as relevant to be applied in Indonesia. Even though at the previous point Ustaz Abdul Somad as the leader of the Kajian MuSawarah tends to be neutral in looking at democracy, Kajian MuSawarah is still very open to the various thoughts of the Ustadz. In the context of the idea of democracy and caliphate, the view of the Kajian MuSawarah can still be balanced by Ustaz Adi Hidayat, who sees democracy as a system that allows for benefits and is moderate in viewing government matters. Likewise with the Terang Jakarta community, their mentoring preachers have never expressed their opinion about the caliphate, either in videos on Youtube, on IG, or in specific studies such as Boys Talk, Girls Talk, Hang Out, Terang Ta’aruf, Terang Troops, Daily Qur’an or other Islamic study activities. Dimas gave the reason that the study in Terang Jakarta was still very basic, just learning about prayer, so followers who wanted a study with heavier topics were welcome to study elsewhere. However, basically Dimas agrees if the concept of caliphate is applied in Indonesia even though it takes a long time. The following is Dimas’ explanation:

“At TJ (Terang Jakarta) we never discussed this theme. For me, now Islamic law has been proven to be good in many sectors. However, if the caliphate can be comprehensive, other aspects must be considered. If it is the best, so just take it. However, in practice, it is not easy. Ideally caliphate in my opinion: Islamic law can be applied in many sectors. In Indonesia, the process is still long.”

Slightly different from Dimas, Taufik Al-Miftah refused to answer questions about the caliphate in an in-depth interview. However, he firmly stated that the hijrah had to be “kaffah (comprehensively) but not caliph”. Meanwhile, Kang Sani, a cleric who remains in Terang Ta’aruf, actually has a slightly different view of the caliphate. According to him, society in our country is very diverse, so the caliphate system is difficult to implement.

Regarding political attitudes, Ustaz Abi Makki from Terang Jakarta seems to be able to represent the political views of the hijrah community. According to Abi Makki, Islam and politics are two things that cannot be separated from one another. This is because Islam is a religion that regulates all aspects of human life, from the simplest to the most complex, including politics. “Everything is arranged in our lives. They were taught to spit, to sneeze, to wear sandals properly. So is politics” (Assumption, 2018).

According to Abi Makki, politics is an instrument used to regulate people's lives. As an instrument of regulating public life, he said, politics in an Islamic perspective was not only for Muslim communities, but also for non-Muslim communities. He exemplified this in the practice of political life in Medina under the Prophet Muhammad, where the citizens were not only Muslims, but also Jews, Christians, and even hypocrites. This practice becomes a model of how politics regulated in Islam also tries to regulate people's lives in order to create justice in their lives. This arrangement with the spirit of respect for diversity is recognized by Abi Makki as a representation of Islam Rahmatan lil Alamin. Meanwhile, regarding the expulsion of two Jewish social groups, namely Bani Qainuqa and Bani Quraidha, it cannot be separated from the attitude of those who have violated the social contract; these two groups pitted against other existing social communities.

Meanwhile, in today's context, Abi Makki admitted that the attitude of Islamic scholars towards politics was divided into two groups: refusing to be involved and being directly involved. For those who are directly involved, he explained, need to be appreciated and treated with a good attitude (*husnudhan*), that they come forward and are involved in the political arena because they want to carry out Islamic symbols. We should pray for them so that they are *istikamah* (consistent in good deeds). However, if there is a political practice that is considered deviant, the public needs to prioritize the attitude of *tabayyun* (clarification), instead of accusing or blaspheming it.

Responding to the desire to uphold Islam through the circle of political power, Abi Makki argues, that everything must be done in the right way, by observing the situation and circumstances. According to him, it is not justified to enforce Islam by means of tyranny and slander. These latter methods are totally unacceptable. "This Islam must be promoted, but in the right way, adjusting to the situation and circumstances. However, the system of tyrannizing and slandering people certainly can't be done regardless of whatever the goal is" (Assumption, 2018).

Furthermore, Ustaz Abi Makki saw that it was more important for today's young generation to prepare themselves as best they could. According to him, there are three things that must be prepared: deepening the knowledge of religion, promoting *tabayyun* (clarification) attitude, and not insulting other people. Studying

religion allows people to understand the important core of religion, one of which is that “no religion in the world teaches hatred.”

## B. Nation and Nationalism

Like democracy as a system of government, the concepts of nationality and nationalism are often long debatable topics between their supporters and critics. For supporters, the concept of nationality and nationalism is needed as a confirmation of the identity of the people in one geographical area, the similarity of historical experience, and the conformity of the political views of the state. However, for its opposite position, nationality and nationalism are often seen as obstacles to broader community ties and are usually based on universal political and religious ideologies, such as Ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic brotherhood), which is broader in value and scope than Ukhuwah Wathaniyah (National brotherhood). Then, how does the hijrah community itself view the issue of nationality and nationalism?

The conducted research noted the diversity of community views in determining issues of nationality and nationalism. Regarding the issue of nationality, the five communities have their own peculiarities in expressing it. Felix Siau, together with figures from other hijrah communities, expressed national values by establishing the Barisan Bangun Negeri (BBN) (The Movement Building the Nation). It shows that the YukNngaji community is part of Indonesia and has a concern for Indonesia. In the BBN Less Waste activity, Weemar Aditya shouted: *“Those who love their homeland, raise your hand! Takbir!”* (YukNngaji Community, 2019c).



In addition, concern for the issue of nationalism was also seen on the other side, for example, when YukNgaji responded to the presidential election. In the video entitled “Dear Mr. Next President”, Weemar Aditya expressed hope for Indonesia’s presidential candidate, although he did not mention whom he supported. The following is an excerpt from what Weemar Aditya said:

*“Guide us with the Quran. Guide us by the Sunnah. Fight for us. The people who are behind us will pray. We don’t care how much we know until we care how much we know”*  
(YukNgaji Community, 2019b).

However, on the other hand, there was also criticism of the issue of nationalism, which was raised in the community with the slogan “I am Indonesian, I am Pancasila!”. There is an impression that this slogan is considered to want to make one group more nationalist than other groups. When discussing this idea, Felix Siauw connected it with the issue of radicalism that was sticking out. He said:

*“Everything that has not been proven immediately clear is then punished wrongly and accused as radical. However, everything that has been proven to hurt many people is not called radical. Why? Because “I am Indonesian, I am Pancasila!”* (Felix Siauw, 2019).

This statement seems to also respond to the ban on the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) organization, in which Felix Siauw and several YukNgaji figures are part of the organization. The prohibition of HTI was caused by the caliphate ideology that they carried out, which was deemed incompatible with the state basis of Pancasila. However, messages about the caliphate are still being discussed in the YukNgaji community, even though the government has dissolved HTI since July 2017. In this post-dissolution period, not many YukNgaji posts have responded. Only one Instagram post hinted at their response to the incident, namely the caption on the following post:

*“Because Muslim Fellows are Brothers and Unity Brings Strength. Let’s Unite. Without you, it will not be merrier... The Messenger of Allah -peace and prayer of Allah be upon him- said: “A Muslim is a brother to another Muslim. They will not hurt each other and will not allow other Muslims to be hurt. Whoever helps his brother’s needs, then Allah*

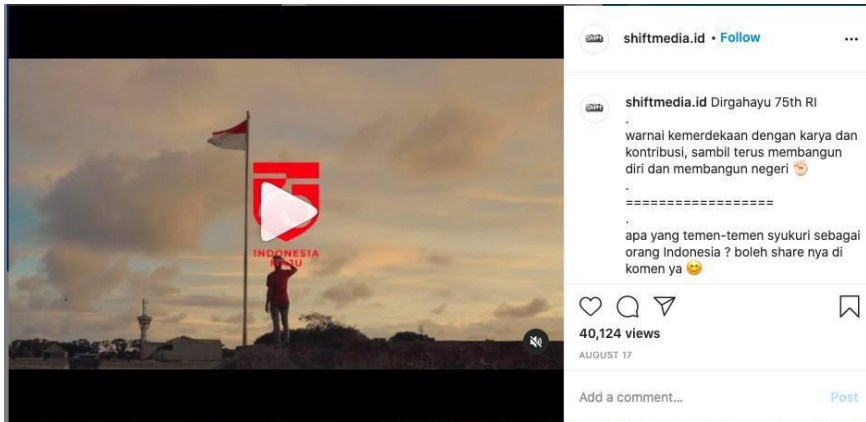
*will help his needs. Whoever removes one trouble from a Muslim, Allah will remove one difficulty for him from the troubles of the Day of Resurrection. Moreover, whoever covers (the disgrace) of a Muslim, Allah will cover his disgrace on the Day of Resurrection.” (H.R. Bukhari, Sahih Bukhari No. 2262)” (YukNgaji Instagram).*

At the beginning of its establishment, several HTI figures were involved in YukNgaji activities. Along with the ban on HTI, there was also a debate about the Tawhid Flag. In response to this, YukNgaji uploaded a video entitled “Test Understanding of Al-Liwa and Ar-Rayah.” In addition, Yuk Ngaji is also one of the active communities in the 411 and 212 Movements, as shown in the following posters:



Meanwhile, SHIFT expression about national values and nationalism tends to be symbolic and ceremonial. It can be seen in several activities and posts in order to welcome national holidays. One of them is a regular post on the independence day of the Republic of Indonesia. In one of the posts, it is clearly seen that there

is a young man dressed in casual clothes respecting the Red-and-White flag. According to SHIFT, independence must be filled with works and contributions by continuously improving themselves and building the country. In an Instagram caption, they said: *“Mark the independence with works and contributions, while continuing to build yourself and build the country”* (<https://www.instagram.com/p/BYGL06QFqOS/>)



In addition, in one of the lectures entitled “The Contemporary Youth Pledge,” Ustaz Hanan Attaki seemed to try to present the spirit of youth in the past so that today’s youth can follow it, but with a different narrative and motivation. The narrative conveyed by Ustaz Hanan is that one form of youth contribution to the nation and state is by having positive activities in mosques and enlivening Islamic assemblies. In his lecture, Ustaz Hanan said:

*“With Allah’s mercy and compassion, recently we have been able to witness a phenomenon that we might never have imagined a few years ago about the phenomenon of mosques being enlivened by young people. In 1928 the youth had made a breakthrough in welcoming Indonesia’s independence; about a few dozen years later Indonesia proclaimed Indonesian independence. So initially, it was initiated by young people, then the state of Indonesia was born. As far as I know, historians say that the Youth Pledge was the moment when the Indonesian nation was born, while on August 17, 1945 the Indonesian state was born. So first the nation was the new state. In the 28th year, there*



*was a breakthrough by young people with a congress which then culminated in the Youth Pledge, then in 2017-2018 we saw an extraordinary phenomenon that also happened to young people, where young people are now proven to be able to really prosper the mosque more than their parents, and even more crowded than the mother's taklim majlis” (Muqsith Muqtadir, 2017)*

As for The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, on several occasions published on YouTube's The Strangers Al Ghuroba, Ustaz Subhan Bawazier emphasized that it is fitting to love the country as a nation of Indonesia uphold the values of Pancasila (Take care of Yourself - Ustaz Subhan Bawazier, 2017). “Indonesia is not Egypt; Indonesia is not Jordan; Indonesia is not Yemen; Indonesia is not Palestine; Indonesia is not countries where you have joined organizations, please.” (Ustaz Subhan Bawazier).

Like with the Terang Jakarta community, the analysis of posters and videos shows that Terang Jakarta teaches the values of love for the country. This can be seen from the posters they post and the activities they do. During the commemoration of the Youth Pledge Day, they held a tabligh akbar at the YIFest 2018 Tabligh Akbar (a large lecture) with the theme Islamic Youth, the Milestone of National Unity, on October 7, 2020, which presented four religious teachers, namely Abu Fida, Oemar Mita, Ahmad Ridwan, and Deden M. Mr. Makyaruddin. At that time, Terang Jakarta collaborated with Mizan, Baznas, Wardah, and others.



In addition, the Terang Hijrah community also included images of the Garuda and the Red-and-White flag on some of the posters as part of their acceptance of nationalism and love for the country. They also held a Boys Talk for Good study on “Essential Independence,” coinciding with the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 2020. In the hashtag, the admin wrote:

*“Are you sure you’re free? Are you sure that our daily life is independent? What kind of freedom? Freedom when carrying out amar ma’ruf nahi munkar? Or free when doing disobedience? What is the true meaning of freedom according to Islam? Is it free to do whatever we want? Or are we free when we pass through the gates of heaven in the hereafter? Which do we choose? Let’s move to become a truly independent generation. And we find out what the meaning of freedom in Islam is, brother?” (IG Terang Jakarta)*



This activity is one of the advantages of the millennial hijrah community, because they are able to take advantage of the commemoration of national holidays for reflective activities with Islamic nuances. One interesting thing, the word independence which usually connotes independence from colonialism, is contextualized into what is meant by independence in Islam.



Regarding whether Pancasila is in harmony with Islam, Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah stated firmly that the five points of Pancasila are relevant to Islam. Pancasila is Islamic indeed. Moreover, the five precepts reflect the character of the Prophet. Humanity, unity, justice. It's all morals. Due to those principles, Pancasila is part of Islam. The history of independence cannot be separated from the struggle of the Islamic scholars as well. So, Pancasila is reflected in [our] morals as Muslims.”

Regarding nationality, Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah, in one of his studies said that Indonesia's independence was not a gift from another nation, but a gift given by God for the efforts and prayers of the 'heroes.' In this case, Taufik said that the Indonesian freedom fighters were actually called 'rewarded heroes,' not just 'heroes.' “Don't call them just heroes but rewarded heroes. Because they fought which God willing, the reward will continue to be given to them. We are enjoying the result of their struggle today” (IHC Foundation, 2020).

These fighters fought for jihad at the cost of their lives. They are called pious people who have fought for Indonesian independence. They also struggle against injustice. Because they are pious, their prayers are also answered in a particular month, namely Ramadan. They are quoting Q.S. Al-Anbiya verse 105<sup>8</sup>, Taufik asserts that the independence of a nation is given to pious people. “That this earth is bequeathed only to pious people. It is only pious people. That's why independence was given in the good month (Ramadan) because of the prayers of pious people.”

Other manifestations of love for the country are shown by their involvement in various activities of Terang Troops who are always ready to help people affected by disasters, such as flood outbreaks in West Jakarta and Lebak, tsunami disaster in Pandeglang, landslides in Bogor, and others. Their social concern is very high in helping people who need help, including compensation for patients suffering from acute illnesses and children with disabilities at Cipto Mangunkusumo Hospital Jakarta. Therefore, for Abu Fida, jihad in the context of today's society should no longer be interpreted as carrying out violence like terrorist groups, but jihad in the sense of helping vulnerable groups, including people with disabilities.

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8 And We have already written in the book [of Psalms] after the [previous] mention that the land [of Paradise] is inherited by My righteous servants (Q.S. Al-Anbiya: 105).

However, despite all contributions above, this community is also critical of the government. This initial finding shows that only Fatih Karim, among several religious teachers who have served in Terang Jakarta, has made political statements in his lectures. In his videos, he criticized the governments of Muslim countries, including Indonesia, for not taking sides with their people. To support his criticism, Fatih Karim quoted the hadith of the Prophet regarding the existence of two models of leaders, namely the leader who troubles his people and the leader who loves his people. A leader who troubles his people, his life will be difficult. On the other hand, a leader who loves his people will be loved by Allah. In fact, there are still many leaders in Muslim countries who are unjust.

*“When we see the rulers in Muslim countries, they make it difficult for their people; prices are raised in such a way, for public transportation, increasing prices of fuel. Even the prices of basic necessities are rising. They cannot maintain price stability. This is one of the tyranny of the rulers, including those who make things difficult for the people. Indonesia is a developed, fertile, prosperous country. Why then millions of people are poor” (Cinta Quran TV, 2017b).*

Furthermore, specifically, Fatih Karim criticized the rulers in Indonesia who had behaved unjustly to the small people because they had privatized the state’s natural resources, which should have been reserved for the poor.

*“According to World Bank data with a standard of \$2 per day, 100 million Indonesians are poor, and many of them are starving to death. Therefore, Friends of the Qur’an, whom Allah blesses, we have come to understand how the Messenger of Allah (SAW) prayed for them. Allah certainly grants this prayer, so it reminds us to whoever leads this ummah not to complicate the affairs of the people, let alone the affairs of the people, Especially, basic commodities such as oil, gasoline, energy, electricity and other basic needs.”*

*“The Messenger of Allah said ‘Annas surookau fi tsalatsin: wal ma’, wal kala, wan naar.’ Humans are in association with 3 groups, namely (1) fire or geothermal energy and*

*energy, (2) water and (3) forests. So these three types of groups, according to Islam and according to the Prophet (S.A.W.) should not be sold expensively. However, the government handed over to foreigners and privatized them. So it is no wonder that the countries applying this system, like Western countries, find out that their people are just and peaceful because there was no significant increase in terms of prices. The people really feel comfortable. In fact, they are inspired by the Islamic system, namely Riayah Suunil Ummah, who takes care of the affairs of the people (Cinta Quran TV, 2017b).*

Fatih Karim then compared the leaders in Muslim countries with Caliph Umar bin Khattab who was willing to “secretly investigate” without being accompanied by an assistant to find out the condition of his people. Caliph Umar also did not hesitate to bring his wheat to the poor in need. As the state leader, Caliph Umar could order state employees to provide socio-economic assistance to the poor. However, it has not been done properly. Fatih Karim continued the story of another popular leader and prioritized the welfare of the people, namely Umar bin Abdul Aziz, who could not sleep at night because he thought about his people. An example of Islamic leadership was also shown by Caliph Harun Al Rashid, who ruled his commander in chief to ensure that none of his people starved.

*“Therefore, Dear Friends of the Qur’an, whom Allah blesses. What about the Muslim rulers today? Do they behave in the same way as the generation before them-- the generation of salihin (religious generation). Therefore, Friends Loving the Qur’an, we ask Allah SWT that may Allah soften the hearts of Muslim rulers stop oppressing their people, or burdening their people because Rasulullah SAW warned whoever complicates the affairs of my ummah (people), Allah will make it difficult for him in this world and in the hereafter. (Love Quran TV, 2017b).*

Ustaz Fatih Karim also explicitly criticized the Indonesian government for not imitating the Prophet’s Companions or caliphs in the past, who devoted themselves to their people. In addition, he also compares the successes obtained by the West in prospering its

people and the misery experienced by the poor in Indonesia.

In the Kajian MuSawarah, on Pancasila, they view that the basis of the state is sufficient to accommodate the existence of religion in Indonesia. Tino, one of the followers, stated,

*“In my opinion, as a layman who is not so expert, Pancasila has facilitated the voice of religion in its first principle, namely Belief in the Only One God. The next precepts have also presented religious teachings. The next precepts already have Islamic values. One concept of one state ideology is quite complete”. Meanwhile, Hendra, another follower, said, “I am confused about this question; it is a complicated question. From the first precept, it is about the Only One God. In Islam, we believe in One God—Allah. Maybe that is enough to consider Pancasila Islamic, right?”*  
(Hendra, interview October 26, 2020)



The national context is also interpreted by the willingness of the hijrah communities to live together in diversity. UAS, as an important figure in the Kajian MuSawarah, reviews the attitude that a Muslim should take towards family and neighbors of different faiths. According to him, in associating with non-Muslims, a Muslim must prioritize morality. Rasulullah (PBUH) was praised not because of his worship but because of his character. It is supported by the Qur’anic verse, which reads: “And verily you (Muhammad) really have great character” (Q.S. Al-Qalam verse 4); and the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad that “Indeed I was sent to perfect morals” (H.R. Baihaqi). UAS also told a story about Abu Bakr’s daughter named Asma (one

father with Aisyah, the Prophet's wife, but different mothers. Asma's mother is a non-Muslim). One day her mother came to visit from Mecca, but Asma was worried about accepting her mother, because her mother was a non-Muslim. Then Asma conveyed it to the Messenger of Allah, the Messenger of Allah said, "Stay in touch, stay in touch". More than that, Rasulullah SAW justified Asma to cheer up her mother and give her a gift (H.R. Bukhari). UAS further explained that, based on the hadith, if a child has converted to Islam and his parents are still non-Muslims, then a child must still be kind to his parents (Ustaz Abdul Somad Official, 2019).

In terms of getting along with non-Muslim neighbors, UAS cites the story of Hasan Al-Basri, a great Sufi, who neighbors non-Muslims. It is said that Hasan Al Basri was sick and his Christian neighbors visited his house. When he entered Hasan Al-Basri's room, the neighbor was surprised to see a vessel containing water. Then he realized that the dripping water came from the toilet of his house. The neighbor asked Hasan Al Basri, how long has the water been dripping and stored in a vessel? Hasan Al-Basri replied for 20 years. His neighbors were amazed and asked, what teachings made Hasan Al-Basri able to behave like that? Then, finally, the neighbor said two sentences of creed.

The activists and followers of the *Kajian MuSawarah*, on the issue of religious plurality, also stated that they did not mind living side by side with non-Muslims. The Ustaz even recommends keeping doing good things to them.

### **C. Religious Reality**

Diversity is a social fact in social life that cannot be denied. It can take various good forms, ethnic diversity, ethnicity, language, customs, political attitudes, even religious beliefs and practices (religious life). In religious religion, for example, current religious life tends to be inhomogeneous. There are many religious beliefs and practices carried out by community members, although in a particular area and time. In Indonesia's experience, this diversity can be seen from various religious beliefs and practices, such as Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and traditional belief systems. Even if examined in more detail, the similarity of Islam religious beliefs and practices in one religious institution also contains diversity according to the plurality of theological views,

religious juridical, and social backgrounds. Islam, for example, can be as sociologically diverse as Indonesian Muslims and Middle Eastern Muslims or others. Theologically it can be divided into fatalist and non-fatalist groups, including various schools of Islamic law.

How do the hijrah communities themselves see such religious diversity? Two important things must be considered regarding the views of the hijrah community in responding to this religion. The first is the relation between non-Muslims and non-Muslim leadership. The second is about internal differences in Islam. The first is based on the fact that religious diversity is an undeniable social fact in social life, including its implications for the regulation of public life that allows parties with different religious beliefs and practices to enter the broader area of public leadership. The second thing is based on the fact that the similarity of religious institutions does not guarantee the homogeneity of religious beliefs and practices. Differences in interpretation, theology and religious law often produce diversity within one religious institution itself.

#### **a. 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 used to dealing with a pluralistic society. However, some things cannot be agreed upon when it comes to matters that are considered to intersect with the principles of value taught by religion, among others, about greetings for non-Muslims and non-Muslim leadership.

Ustaz Abdul Somad has exemplified how the Prophet lived side by side with non-Muslims. For the SHIFT community, dealing with non-Muslims is part of disseminating Islam. For personal matters, such as neighbors or friends with non-Muslims, the Pemuda Hijrah community tends to be tolerant. However, when it is something public and symbolic, they tend to be intolerant, for example, regarding the establishment of houses of worship and the election of leaders. It is interesting because all respondents think that being kind, friendly, and tolerant is very important for Muslims to socialize and be neighbors with non-Muslims. According to them, it is part of the symbols of Islam, as exemplified by the Prophet. However, on the other hand, they tend to refuse the establishment of non-Muslim houses of worship. They argue that the house of worship is significant

in disseminating one religion. So, if a house of worship of another religion is established in certain areas, it is worried that the place will become a center for the spread of other religions.

Regarding the views on establishing other religions' houses of worship, the promoters and followers of the Kajian MuSawarah expressed their objections to this issue. However, they admit that if it is permitted by the government and has legality, they will not have a problem with it. Tino, a promoter of the Kajian MuSawarah, stated:

*“First, it means that there must be rules about establishing a house of worship. If you ask whether you mind or not about it, of course, I will object to it. Many Muslims and preachers would be shocked if the house of worships from other religions were built here.”*

*“However, we are not the ones who strongly reject, if indeed the house of worship is built legally by following the regulations that have been determined. There will be no problem. If you ask whether I have any objections or not, I will object to it. I just do not want any other religions' houses of worship in our environment. It must be hard for people around here to approve that.”*

Added by Didit, “There are rules. As long as they follow the rules, it does not matter. We trust those who have authority.” Meanwhile, according to Imran, “Oh, if possible, I hope there will be no such house of worship here. However, if the governments approve it, we cannot stop it.”

Likewise, the Terang Jakarta community, which admits that there are non-Muslim followers. Delivered by Dimas, an administrator of Terang Jakarta:

*“Many of our congregations are non-Muslims. They come to our study. Some come to the zoom meeting. We have conducted Islamic studies internationally, and many non-Muslim friends joined us. Because they are looking for a comfortable circle first, we guide them to learn more with us. However, I do not know them personally. Usually, their friends are our friends. Our managers are converts to Islam. TJ is that light.”*

*(Dimas, interview 23 October 2020).*



The preachers of Terang Jakarta acknowledge the diversity of Indonesian society, whether ethnicity, race, or religion. This diversity does not always lead to peace, but it can also lead to conflict. However, the majority admit that Indonesia's leaders have succeeded in maintaining religious, racial, and ethnic diversity. Therefore, for the people of Indonesia, maintaining this harmony above diversity is a fixed price.

Some religious teachers of the Terang Jakarta community, such as Fatih Karim, also admit that this diversity is necessary. However, they reject the perception that people are biased towards the reality of Muslim society and sarcastically call devout Muslims as if they are anti-diversity and only deserve to live in the Middle East. According to him, it is a strategy of the infidels to corner Islam and put Islam aside as the way of life. In fact, he emphasized that Islam is not anti-diversity. On the contrary, Islam teaches diversity. Islam recognizes the plurality of religions, ethnicities, languages, races, ancestry, education, etc. This plurality has existed since the Qur'an was revealed 1400 years ago. However, according to him, plurality is different from pluralism.

*“Therefore, on what basis does Islam reject diversity? It's just weird. When Muslims fast, those who are not fasting ask Muslims to respect them. Is it what we call diversity? When their mosque was burnt in Tolikara, there was one talking about diversity for this. This sense of diversity will come out when Muslims want to perform their Islamic will. For example, non-Muslim leaders are forbidden, then they shout, “Wow, you have to be aware, and you have to understand! We are diverse. The slogan of Bhinneka (diversity) is not confirmed valid unless non-Muslims become leaders for Muslims.” It is called pluralism. It is what Islam rejects. Therefore, Islam understands Bhinneka. Islam understands plurality, but Islam rejects pluralism. What is pluralism? It is the notion that generalizes all religions equally so that Islam cannot regulate Muslims. Is it wrong for a Muslim to say that it is forbidden to elect a leader from other religious groups? Is it wrong? Isn't it haram status? isn't it true that a Muslim should not be led by a head of state who is kufr or a regional head who is*



*kufur? Therefore, to friends loving the Qur'an wherever you are, the issue of diversity is a strange issue. They just use the issue of diversity, but actually, they are the ones who are the most anti-diversity."*

Furthermore, Fatih Karim said that the correct way of being diverse should not be against the desire of a Muslim to apply the Shari'a, such as wearing a headscarf, veiling, beard, and others. Instead, they say, this is against diversity. However, it does not apply to LGBT. According to Fatih, it is strange, and there is a contradiction. Bhineka Tunggal Ika (unity of diversity) is actually used with double standards. This double standard is propagated by people who are anti-Islam.

Meanwhile, non-Muslim leadership is considered to be closely related to Islamic principles. For the YukNgaji community, which supports the caliphate system, of course, non-Muslim leadership is not acceptable. Although they do not promote a caliphate, other communities also disapprove of non-Muslim leadership.

Ustaz Adi Hidayat repeatedly emphasized a statement, namely, "I am not talking about politics, but only conveying the teachings of the Quran" (Taman Surga TV, 2017). According to him, Q.S. Al-Maidah verse 51 is related to 14 other verses in the Qur'an that have a similar meaning. So, thus, 15 verses talk about leaders. In the Quran, there are only five verses about haram food, but it is not questioned, and we tend to obey them. Meanwhile, 15 verses about leaders are widely debated and even made irresponsible interpretations by those who are not knowledgeable. The Prophet, Companions, Tabi'in, and scholars agreed that they should not criticize others, including their religion. Lakum dinukum waliya din. However, if you want to choose an Islamic leader only, then that is protected by law. On the other hand, if there is an area in Indonesia where most of the population is non-Muslim, then they agree not to elect a Muslim leader, then we should not be angry because that is also protected by law. UAH seems quite diplomatic about this issue, but the direction is clear, namely that choosing a non-Muslim leader is forbidden.

Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS) issued a fairly strong statement regarding non-Muslim leaders. First of all, UAS cites a verse about the prohibition of choosing a non-Muslim leader. The translation of that verse is that "O you who believe, do not take Jews and Christians

as (your) leaders; some of them are leaders for others. Whoever among you takes them as a leader, then indeed that person is one of them. Verily, Allah does not guide the wrongdoers.” UAS explicitly states that those who choose an infidel leader have become an infidel because, in the verse, it is stated, “ one would be included in the infidel group.”

Therefore, it can be seen that non-Muslim leadership is an issue related to the principles of belief based on the Holy Scriptures. Thus it will be difficult for hijrah communities to accept non-Muslim leadership.

Pemuda Hijrah also tends to disagree with the appointment of non-Muslims as leaders in the public sphere. Ustaz Uci Tarmana said that professionalism in leading is essential. However, as long as there are still professional Muslims, they need to be put forward first. Dwi Agung also said that he had experienced inner rejection regarding this issue, even though there is nothing constitutionally in Indonesia that prevents non-Muslims from becoming leaders. According to him, in terms of his current religious beliefs, the leader is better chosen from Muslims. As for Inong regarding this issue, she follows the opinion of the Islamic scholars regarding advice and prohibition.

*“It is stated that the country will be destroyed if it is led by non-experts, wait for destruction if experts do not take the lead. So I think it is okay as long as he has the capacity to lead the country. Because we live in Indonesia with the majority of Muslims, it is not easy. If I choose Muslim or non-Muslim leaders and both are professionals, I will choose the Muslim one.” (Ustaz. Uci Tarmana).*

*“From a religious point of view, yes, we are encouraged to choose leaders who are of the same faith, but on the one hand, we conflict with the principles of democracy and freedom. So how can we obey the rule that encourages us to violate our belief? So, to be honest, I feel to resist.” (Dwi Agung) “I am a Muslim, so I think that I will follow what the Islamic scholars believe. If it is good, I will follow religious advice by following the Ustaz’s instruction.” (Inong).*

## **b. Responding to Differences in Internal Islam**

As mentioned earlier, the similarity of faith and religious practice is not a guarantee that the religious views and practices would be homogenous. Differences in interpretation of the primary sacred texts of religion to socio-geographical backgrounds and historical experiences of a religious community often lead to polarization of its people into various theological and legal ideologies. Therefore, it is no wonder that various religious groups emerged within Islamic groups. So, how does the hijrah community understand these differences? To what extent are they receptive to different societies?

The internal relationship of religious communities is also one of the Terang Jakarta hijrah community topics. The religious teachers in this community think there is no problem with other Islamic groups, including mainstream Islamic groups. Abu Fida conveyed Abi Makki's message when he expressed his intention to establish Terang Jakarta.

*“Establishing a community with the spirit of unity is not to divide the people, including NU, Muhammadiyah, Persis, or Salafi people. We accept members from the other Islamic groups. However, when we promote da’wah, we move under the name of Terang Jakarta.”*

Thus, differences in understanding between various Islamic groups are considered a necessity. In fact, according to Abu Fida, the difference is common. Therefore, there is a need for mutual respect for differences. “We look for similarities a lot, and we do not bother looking for differences. When Imam Shafi’i, Imam Malik, and Imam Ahmad [differed views], teachers and students never criticized each other,” he said. Thus, Abu Fida implicitly avoids claiming that his *manhaj* (Islamic school of thoughts) is the most correct, so other religious teachers in Terang Jakarta are encouraged not to exacerbate differences in religious sects and understandings that can lead to conflict.

Hijrah SHIFT youths tend to be more tolerant in responding to differences in the schools of jurisprudence. It can be found in a study entitled “Keep Enjoying Differences.” Pemuda Hijrah encourages their followers to be wiser and mature in responding to differences among Muslims. Moreover, the main focus of the Pemuda Hijrah is to discuss faith, with a simple discussion, namely how these young people love

God. In order to maintain the interest of the congregation, who are mostly beginners, Pemuda Hijrah does not discuss differences in the schools of jurisprudence. It was also confirmed from the results of the interviews, where all the interviewees argued that differences in Islamic schools of thought and worship procedures were not a big problem, as long as there were clear arguments. As fellow Muslims, we should respect each other. Likewise, religious rituals, such as pilgrimage and tahlil, tend to be tolerant and do not have a problem with it. It can be seen in the post caption that *“Bro and Sis, as young people, maybe we are tired of seeing useless fights between fellow Muslims. It is time for us to learn to be mature, so we do not get into fights easily.”*



The Hijrah group of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, in every study and content presented on its social media, until 2020, there had been no pure Salafi elements that excluded themselves from other groups. As explained in the previous section, this community takes a soft power approach, although it is substantial in its teachings regarding God’s laws in the Qur’an and Sunnah. Being rude to others or to other groups is not justified, as explained by Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin in a study entitled *“Hijrahku Gagal (My Hijrah Fails),”* which was uploaded on The Strangers Al-Ghuroba YouTube page.

In line with Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin, Ustaz Subhan Bawazier also conveyed positive messages to appreciate other individuals who had not joined hijrah paths yet. As an individual who has followed the path of hijrah, he said that it is not appropriate to judge or look

down on fellow Muslims who have not followed hijrah. According to him, the value of a person's piety is not seen in the clothes they wear. If those who have followed hijrah are rude to other Muslims, their hijrah will be considered to have been in the wrong way. (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2017d).

*“They tend to be buzzing everywhere. I see some friends who are still relaxed and keep praying. They saw someone wearing cudoray pants, so they wanted to bring grated coconut. I asked them what the problem was? Yes, during the time of the Prophet, no one wore pants like this. Inna lillah. This perspective is really stupid; I do not know whom they are following.” (Ustaz Subhan Bawazier)*

Even so, when discussing the Shia group, the hijrah community vehemently opposed it. The Shia group is considered the real enemy of Islam. Apparently, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba has no tolerance for Shia groups because this group is considered dangerous (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017d).

*“Who is the enemy of Islam who will benefit the most? Shia. May Allah curse Rafidhah, May Allah curse Rafidhah. He can gnaw at the hearts of Muslims in Indonesia. Even the Minister of Religious Affairs does not believe that Shia is not right and so on from a decision statement. It is dangerous.” (Ustaz Subhan Bawazier).*

Basically, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community group tends to question the laws written in the Qur'an and hadith to mujtahids (the scholars of Islamic law), namely the nature that exists in a person who has the knowledge and is commanded by Allah to direct the people to the right path and answer various questions by conveying the laws that have been set (The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, 2017d). As for a mujtahid who is considered capable and allowed to provide ijthihad (the mobilization of all efforts by a Fakih in knowing syar'i law) knows the syar'i arguments about a problem in terms of validity and daif (false); knows Arabic so that he is able to understand the meaning of verses and hadiths; know the usul fiqh beliefs and being able to apply them, such as understanding about dalalat al-alfadz (figure of speech); know the asbab al-nuzul (reasons of the Quranic verses) from the verse and also the asbab *al-wurud* (the story of the

hadith) from the hadith; know the problems that have the consensus of the scholars in it; and know which is the evidence, which is the *nasikh*, and which is the *mansukh*.

Therefore, it can be concluded that there is no specific view for the hijrah community group The Strangers regarding the differences in the Islamic schools of jurisprudence, as long as the question to be asked can be asked to a mujtahid who meets the five criteria. The mujtahid is allowed to give *ijtihad* (Islamic law). Moreover, this hijrah community group that is pure Salafi wing is more inclined to the method of asking a cleric or someone who is knowledgeable than adhering to a certain school of thought.

## **D. Narrative of Extremism and Violence in the Name of Religion**

In a community that believes in and practices a religion, theological doctrines and religious practice guidelines regulated in their religion are inseparable. The promise of salvation offered by religion is a goal that members of the community want to achieve. In fact, frequently, the promise of salvation also encourages its members to invite individuals from other communities to participate in living in the same promise of salvation. Persuasive invitations are often used, but coercion and even violence are not uncommon. Then, how does the hijrah community respond to the reality of violence in the name of religion?

The five hijrah communities agree that violence in the name of religion cannot be accepted, contrary to Islam's values. For Inong, a leader of Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT, terrorism and acts of violence in the name of religion are actually only carried out 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 carrying out violence, as done by terrorist groups, but *jihad* in the sense of helping those who were vulnerable, including those with disabilities.

YukNgaji firmly rejects violence in any form and to anyone. However, when responding to radicalism, YukNgaji criticized the government's policy in interpreting and dealing with radicalism. In a video responding to the stabbing of the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Wiranto in Banten, Felix Siau said:

"Islam does not teach violence. What worries me is that mass organizations considered radical would be cornered, restricted in their movements, and even disbanded. Violence is not the right



way, even if it is done to people who are considered to have done something wrong.”

On another occasion, Yuk Ngaji criticized the statement of the Minister of Religious Affairs, Fahrul Razi, saying that there was a relationship between radicalism and one’s appearance (good looking). Felix Siauw said the statement was tendentious and “accuse people as suspect anyone who is more Islamic.” For him, the war on Terrorism becomes even more terrible because actions and thoughts could be sentenced. Felix felt that there were groups that would be disadvantaged because of the war on terrorism and the handling of radicalism. Some groups were later banned because they were considered radical and experienced a negative stigma. Responding to the issue of radicalism, Felix Siauw equates deradicalization with de-Islamization. Because, according to him, deradicalization will keep Muslims away from Islam.

The Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT community expressed a similar view. According to SHIFT, people who carry out extreme acts and terror in the name of Islam are just unscrupulous individuals. They do not represent Islam as a whole. In an interview, Inong said, “*Only they are only unscrupulous people. It does not represent the whole of it*”.



The Terang Jakarta Community also firmly rejects radical Islam. Their views are explicitly shown in the posters they present on Instagram and the slogans they write. They also reject suicide bombings because such behavior is against Islamic teachings.

*“We must not harm ourselves. Suicide bombing is not allowed. When we see suicide bombers, we should firmly declare Islam because Islam does not teach that. This hadith [la dharara wa la dhirara] is a strong foundation that we should not harm ourselves. We know that committing suicide bombing will cause us to die. Self-harm is against the teachings of Islam.” (Terang Jakarta, 2020b)*

Religious extremism has emerged in recent times. It can be seen from the persecution of victims suspected of blasphemy, attacks by security forces to the destruction and bombing of houses of worship. So how does the hijrah community itself understand the attitudes and behavior of extremism? How do they construct a counter-extremism narrative?

Regarding extremism, the five hijrah communities also clearly reject it and view that extremism is not part of Islamic teachings. Regarding the efforts to prevent the dangers of extremism and terrorism, SHIFT has not yet made the necessary efforts because the community focuses more on follower segmentation. The target segment a group of people to whom Islam is still new. They only focus on being taught how to know Islam, know Allah SWT, and His Messenger. In the interview, Inong said: “For me, Islam is deep and broad. Even those belonging to the Pumuda Hijrah segmentation are those who just want to know Islam. So, of course we have not discussed it there.”

Like The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, based on the content analysis carried out on their Instagram and YouTube content until 2020 there is no content discussing calls for radicalism or propaganda content that leads to extremism. This group also opposes acts of radicalism and terrorism which are identified with Muslim groups. “A terrorist is someone who disturbs the security; or who causes chaos among safe people. Islam takes security very seriously.” (Ustaz Ahmad Zainuddin)

Although this hijrah group has a textual view of God’s laws in the Quran, it does not necessarily justify human blood, which is sacrificed to enforce God’s law on earth.

*“For those of you who justify demonstrations, for those of you who justify suicide bombings, by Allah Sibabul Muslim fusuq wa kitaluhu kufrun (berating Muslims from the side of the wicked road, killing them infidels).”*

*(Ustaz Subhan Bawazier)*



According to this Salafi group, some parties try to blame Islam with acts of violence and terrorism. Therefore, in his study, it is recommended for Muslims not to be provoked by issues that can divide Muslims, attack each other, and especially sacrifice the blood of a Muslim.

Likewise, Terang Jakarta community firmly rejects radical Islam. Their views are explicitly shown in the posters they present on Instagram and the slogans they write. They also reject the acts of suicide bombings because it is against the teachings of Islam, as mentioned above. The anti-terrorism narrative has also become an issue raised on various occasions, as the following quote shows.

*“Terrorism is not Islam. Terrorism does not exist in Islam. Islam is a religion of peace. Instead of having a wrong understanding of jihad, which is confusing, it is better for us to jihad in the way of Allah to take care of the children of this heavenly candidate. We have a movie show together (for children with special needs). Hopefully, this endeavor is counted as worship by Allah. Terrorism is not Islam...”*

*(Abu Fida, video Terang Jakarta, May 17, 2018).*

Abu Fida also does not consider the importance of Muslim identity from the hijrah movement, often identified with changes in appearance or dressing changes. The male has a beard and wears pants above ankles, while the female wears a long dress and veil. Here is the quote:

*“Islam should be a way of life. Islam is not symbolized with a long beard and pants above the ankle. No, it is not. It’s sunnah to do it, but it’s not appearance that matters. What is important is when they really understand the meaning of Islam in their lives, and practice Islam kaffah (comprehensively). Even though we dress up or make up nicely now, it will be useless when our faith has not improved. We see that the shaman’s clothes look like the way kiyai and ustaz dress up. So sometimes we are confused about which is a shaman and which is an Ustaz, because indeed that is how it is (Terang Jakarta, 2020b)*

In fact, on different occasions, Ustaz Abu Fida also emphasized the importance of every Muslim maintaining good relations with people

who are different from (us), including non-Muslims. Discrimination based on ethnicity, even belief, or racism is not under Islam and is against the majesty of Allah, who has brought diversity (Terang Jakarta, 2020b)

*“Racism is not just a contemporary issue. So is discrimination. Even before Islam came, these things existed. Allah confirms that among the signs of Allah’s greatness; the heavens and the earth; different languages; different skin colors.” (minutes 37:50)*

*By quoting Al-Hujurat verse 13, Abu Fida explained that Allah SWT also used the word ‘Ya Ayyuhannas’ instead of ‘Ya Ayyuhalladzina Amanu ...’ when explaining that He had created humans as nations. Further, he explained, Allah also emphasized the importance of knowing each other, competing in goodness, and complementing each other.*

*“Yes, Ayyuhannas, all humans are called for this command, not specifically, for example, only white people... just people with blue eyes... Allah explains that we are made into nations and tribes. Not to compete, not to fight each other or be hostile to each other. The differences that exist make complement each other; help each other; know each other...” (Terang Jakarta, 2020b)*

When a Muslim gets a racial attitude, Abu Fida also advised the followers to be patient and forgive them. According to him, this attitude has been exemplified by the Messenger of Allah, who never retaliated against the bad treatment of the Quraish infidels to himself, except when Allah was insulted. Rasulullah was ready to fight against those who insult Allah.

*“Islam is present to affirms the fighting against discrimination. A noble person is not based on skin color, position, face but on his piety. Let not one people make fun of others, insult other groups. Because it could be that the insulted people have more noble position than those insulting ...” (Terang Jakarta, 2020b)*

Similar to the Kajian MuSawarah, interviewees and followers

agreed that violent extremism is not allowed in Islam. They also believe that it does not come from Islamic teachings. According to Tino,

*“Certainly such condition does not apply today... even at the time of the Prophet, the extremities were very high. Even the Companions were killed because of it. It must not be carried over until now. It should be underlined that this is not Islamic teaching; it even comes from the enemies of Islam, such as ISIS or other organizations. They claim to be Muslim, but their attitudes do not reflect Islam. Furthermore, I believe that it is not from Islam, which makes it seem as if these are harsh teachings of Islam and raise Islamophobia in Europe, especially in France. Islamophobia is booming right now. These issues may be used by the enemies of Islam who want to attack Islam. Because they find it rather difficult, so they make a framing that Islam is intolerant; Islam is a strict religion.”*

According to Didit, who takes UAH as his reference, *“I certainly do not agree with that. Ustaz Adi says that Islam does not teach violence. In the context of Indonesia, people are still far from extreme attitude.”*

## **E. Conclusion**

From the description above, a number of conclusions can be drawn on the attitudes and thoughts of the hijrah community regarding several contemporary issues, namely the democratic system, nationality, the reality of religious diversity, and narratives of extremism. Representations of attitudes and thoughts were delivered by community leaders, founders, managers, and community religious teachers (Ustaz-ustazah).

Regarding democracy, the five communities are divided into some different views. First, the hijrah community considers the democratic system inappropriate in Indonesia because it does not benefit other people. Second, the hijrah community has a neutral view where democracy is judged to be usable depending on its needs and its benefits. Third, democracy is seen as relevant to be applied in Indonesia.

Responding to nationality and nationalism, the five hijrah communities show different ways of expressing their nationality

and nationalism. Among the ways, they have established national alliances with communities that have the same concern, the use of state symbols such as the Garuda and the Red-and-White flag, involvement in helping communities affected by disasters, and interpretation of independence as God's gift for the hard work and prayers of those who struggle in the way of Allah.

Furthermore, regarding religious diversity, it can be seen from two perspectives, namely inter-religious and intra-religious perspectives. In the interreligious perspective, the hijrah community tends to accept a different life with people with different beliefs in social relations. However, some communities show a problematic attitude to accept some parts of religious life, such as refusing the construction of other religions' worship houses, wishing happy holidays to neighbors or relatives of different faiths, and leadership of different religions. In intra-religious (Islamic) relations, the hijrah community admitted that they did not question the differences in Islamic schools of thought. However, in responding to the existence of the Shia group, some hijrah communities show an intolerant attitude.

Finally, in terms of violence in the name of religion, the hijrah communities show the refusal of all forms of violence in the name of religion. Violence is considered contrary to the principles of Islamic values itself. Related to that issue, several hijrah community leaders interpret hijrah as an effort to help social groups in need, not to commit violence against others. Acts of extremism such as suicide bombings and the destruction of houses of worship for people of other religions are considered not part of Islam. Regarding every attitude and act of terror in the name of Islam that has taken place in recent times, it is considered that they only do not represent Islam and Muslims, but merely individuals.



## CHAPTER V

# Gender Issue and Woman Engagement in the Hijrah Movement

*Ida Rosyidah*

Besides a textual approach to understanding the Qur'an and implementing a lifestyle like the time of the Prophet, Another characteristic of the conservative movement is their rejection of the interpretation of the notion of gender equality (Bruinessen, 2013; Sebastian et al., 2020). Referring to Bruinessen's statement, this paper separately describes the views of the five hijrah movements studied on narratives related to gender issues in Islam. The research findings show that the five hijrah communities respond to gender issues in various ways. The diversity of their views is strongly influenced by the tendency of their respective religious typologies. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community, which tends to be pure Salafi, severely limits the role of women.

Meanwhile, the Terang Jakarta community classified as accommodating Salafi tends to show more accommodation and openness to women. Meanwhile, three other communities, namely YukNgaji, Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT, and Kajian MuSawarah, opposite them. On the one hand, it shows the ability of women to play a role in the public sphere, but in other respects, they tend to show restrictions. Discussions about the depth of women's issues in the five communities that became the object of this research tend to be different, due to the different levels of data obtained, both from interviews and from content analysis.

There are many gender narratives found in this research, but this paper will only focus on a few points. Some of these points include narratives about the *aurat* of men and women, polygamy, the roles of men and women in the household, women's leadership and the role of women in public spaces, and the prohibition of women working outside the home.

## **A. *Aurat* of Men and Women: From Extreme to Semi Moderate**

Women's *aurat* (body parts must be covered) is a narrative that is quite a concern for these five hijrah movements. However, on the contrary, the male *aurat* are less in the spotlight. This can be seen from the many clerics from the five hijrah movements who talk about covering women's *aurat* on various occasions, such as on Instagram and videos, although this topic is inserted into religious studies in other topics. This study found The Strangers al-Ghuraba was the strictest in understanding women's *aurat* compared to other hijrah communities

These five hijrah movements generally agree that the limit of a man's *aurat* is from the navel to the knee (knee). Meanwhile, the narratives of the five hijrah movements regarding women's *aurat* are of different levels, some are very strict and some are a little moderate. However, in general, they agree that covering the *aurat* for women is obligatory according to the instructions of the Qur'an contained in Q.S. Al-Nur verse 31 "And say to the believing women, that they should guard their eyes, and guard their private parts, and do not reveal their adornment (*aurat*), except what is (usually) visible." Some ustaz from this hijrah movement also use Q.S. Al-Ahzab verse 59 as a reference regarding the importance of women covering their *aurat*, which means as follows: "O Prophet, say to your wives, your daughters, and the wives of the believers: "Let them extend their headscarves all over their bodies. So that they are easier to recognize; they are not disturbed."

Differences appear in their narratives related to the understanding of the *aurat* standard. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba seems to be the strictest in understanding women's *aurat* compared to the other four communities. The hijrah movement classified as pure Salafi argues that the entire woman's body is *aurat*, so it must be covered with a long cloth. Their narrative is based on a hadith which states that "a woman are *aurat*, if she comes out, the devil will accompany her" (H.R. Al-Tirmidhi). Thus, for this hijrah movement, the entire woman's body is *aurat*, including hair, face, feet, and hands. Consequently, they believe that women's faces are *aurat*, so this hijrah community requires women to wear the niqab (veil) to avoid men's gaze (Kusumawati, 2020).

To encourage all of their followers of the hijrah movement thoroughly, especially in how to dress that covers their *aurat*, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba provides pants cutting services and exchanging

headscarves with hijabs at malls or their place of study. In addition, they also provide services for tattoo removal. This activity is usually carried out during offline Islamic lecture activities. Based on content analysis, it was found that many followers of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba responded positively and took advantage of the program. It can be seen from the replies of followers on their Instagram.

Promotions for pants cutting and hijab exchange services are also posted on Instagram with subtle but promising language, so young people likely want to get the information. Here is the quote:

*“Alhamdulillah, the program to cut the pants is also carried out along with the program of changing the stylish hijab to a wide hijab. The women get a wide hijab for those who still wear the stylish hijab, the men get a piece of long pants, and all is for free. Most importantly, those attending seek knowledge because of Allah. Then they come home with knowledge and neat pants above the ankles, and women are also beautiful with long veils.”*

*“Alhamdulillah, the hijab exchange program was carried out again, exchanging the stylish hijabs worn by visitors of Blok M Square to the long hijabs we have offered for free. All praise is to Allah alone. Some of our sisters enthusiastically even tried on the existing veil and wore it excitedly. Hopefully, this is the first step of guidance for those who use it. Hopefully, this is the first step of loving the Shari’ah and the beginning of a long veil. In the end, we pray for being consistent (istikamah)...”*







The Strangers Al-Ghuroba further understands that women's *aurat* are not only required to cover the body, face, and palms, but women's voices also include *aurat*. In one of his lectures, Ustaz Erwandi Tarmizi mentioned that women's voices were *aurat*, so women were not allowed to participate in the Quranic recitation competition.

Unlike The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, Terang Jakarta, classified as an accommodating Salafi, is a little more moderate in understanding women's *aurat*. They only limit the *aurat* on the body, except for the face and palms. For them, the niqab is not mandatory. Therefore, women in Terang Jakarta often wear fashionable clothes. They also do not encourage men to wear pants above ankles. On the other hand, men and women can wear fashionable clothes, which is important to cover their *aurat*. This research also found that the preachers and followers of the four hijrah movements often wore casual clothes in their lectures.

Abu Fida, an Ustaz who teaches the Terang Jakarta community, does not see the importance of changing appearance or changing the way one dresses, such as men wearing beards and wearing pants above ankles or women wearing robes and veils. However, the most important thing is to understand the true meaning of Islam and its strong faith.

*“Islam should be a way of life. Islam is not symbolized with a long beard and short pants. It is not. It is sunnah (rewarded) to do it, but it is not about appearance that matters. What is important is when they really understand*

*the meaning of Islam in their lives and practice Islam kaffah. It is useless that our faith has not improved even though we dress up and look more religiously now. We see that the shaman's clothes look more Islamic than those of Kiai and Ustaz. So sometimes, we are confused about which is a shaman and which is Ustaz. It is indeed the current situation" (Terang Jakarta, 2020b)*

Based on observation, from the various appearances of the women of the Terang Jakarta community, they appear to be wearing hijabs that cover their chests in public spaces. However, on several occasions, they seemed to wear make-up, although it is not thick. They seem to do it when appearing in front of the camera only. Fatih Karim, one of the figures, said that the order to cover the *aurat* for men and women was different because it was more detailed for women. According to him, this is because women have always been the sexual objects of men throughout the ages. So, the Messenger of Allah honored women by controlling their *aurat*. The limitation of covering a woman's *aurat* is her entire body except for the face and palms.

This view is almost the same as the Kajian MuSawarah community, classified as non-Salafi and incidentally comes from among celebrities. The women still often appear in public. Their clothes look fashionable, so even though they wear the hijab, they still look trendy and luxurious. As a result, they can still continue to be active in the entertainment world, which usually demands a glamorous appearance. Some have even starred in advertisements for "Islamic" or non-Islamic products, such as Fenita Arie and Zaskia Sungkar for Wardah cosmetics and Shireen Sungkar for Johnson&Johnson and Bebelac baby care products. The same goes for dressing and wearing make-up. Several female figures from celebrities are still using makeup, combined with a hijab extending to the chest. However, there is a tendency for them to leave jobs that are considered not following Islamic teachings. For example, being the host of infotainment shows or being actors/actresses of movies and TV series makes them have to do *ikhtilat* (interactions between men and women who are not Muslim).

This perspective regarding the *aurat* in the MuSawarah community is based on the explanation of Ustaz Abdul Somad (UAS), one of the Ustaz who often teaches their Islamic lectures. According to UAS, "hijab is the main good deed. They wear a headscarf; the face is still

visible. If you want more than that, you can wear niqab. So, hijab for women is obligatory, there is no debate in it.” (Adriyadi mr13, 2018).

Meanwhile, in the SHIFT and Yuk Ngaji communities, women wear long hijabs covering their chests and extending down to their stomachs and, in general, wear robes. However, they look trendy with colorful hijab models. Hijab Alila, a brand owned by Felix Siau, also produces outers to be worn over a robe or other long clothes with a hijab style that belongs to the outer. Therefore, you can see a very youthful style.



One product of hijab Alila

Woman style of Terang Jakarta

Activits of Kajian MuSawahar



Woman style of SHIFT



Woman style of The StrangersAl-Ghuroba

Regarding women who do not wear the hijab, most of these hijrah movements do not provide any justification for them. In fact, one of the promoters of Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT) in an in-depth interview, Inong stated, “Women who wear veils are part of the Pemuda Hijrah da’wah segment, although it cannot be denied that there is great hope to change women who have not worn veils into ones who do.” This community also understands hijrah by changing their appearance, one of which is the hijab.

Inong’s view of Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT is different from Ustaz Fatih Karim from Terang Jakarta. For Ustaz Fatih, women must cover their *aurat*; he criticized the opinion that the hijab is not obligatory because it does not follow Islamic teachings. Islam actually teaches women to cover their chests.

Fatih Karim, a teacher who often gives lectures in various hijrah communities, including in Terang Jakarta, also emphasized a difference between headscarves and veils. According to him, the headscarf is limited to covering up to the chest under Allah’s command in Q.S. Al-Nur (24): 31, meaning that “Say to the be female believers: “Let them hold their gaze and their *aurat*, and let them not reveal their adornments, except what is (usually) visible from them. Furthermore, let them cover their heads with their headscarves.” While the veil is the one that sticks down, as mentioned in Q.S. Al-Ahzab (33): 59, which means, “O Prophet, say to your wives, your

daughters, and the wives of the believers: “Let them extend their veil all over their bodies,” so that they are easier to recognize, therefore they are not disturbed.” However, according to Fatih Karim, the current phenomenon is that many women wear short headscarves covering the *aurat*, but the clothes are not classified as standard Islamic hijab, such as robes that do not show body shapes (Ulil Albab Channel, 2016).

Based on the results of interviews, the views of the promoters and followers of these five hijrah movements differ about the hijab. However, they agreed to believe that wearing the hijab is obligatory. Most of the interviewed followers view that women’s Islamic clothing does not show a body shape and with a long veil as stated by Nina (pseudonym), a follower from Terang Jakarta:

*“Actually, the clothes that cover the aurat are robes. However, I have not been able to apply it in everyday life. Yes, I still wear culottes. Sometimes I cannot yet wear syar’i clothes. (Nina, interview 2020)*

Followers of the five hijrah movements studied also believe that the law of wearing a headscarf or hijab is mandatory. However, they do not want to judge women who have not worn a hijab. Even if there are efforts to encourage women to wear headscarves, it is emphasized first on those closest to them, such as children.

*“Maybe at first I do not judge that those not covering the aurat have sins”. Such attitude is forbidden that, right. Everyone has their own phases. They have their choice too. Maybe it’s not now; maybe in the future, they can cover their aurat. Even those who have covered their aurat may not cover their aurat in the future. It depends on the guidance of Allah. That’s why guidance is priceless; you can recite the Quran. So very lucky for those of us who get guidance. The important thing is to pray and invite to do good deeds and do not bully each other....”*

*(Tino, interview 2020).*

*“There is an order (in the Quran) that we cannot judge people. At least we know about it. Ivi is very successful in many things.” (Didit, interview 2020).*

*“I am not sure. It is hard as well. If I have a daughter, I want her to wear the hijab. Yes, if I have my family, I want them to apply to the Sharia too. However, I am not the one who judges people not wearing hijab are bad”.*

*(Hendra, interview 2020).*

From the description above, it can be concluded that The Strangers Al-Ghuroba is the strictest regarding his views on women's *aurat*; thus, it requires women to wear the niqab (veil). When we examine the majority of scholars, the Hanafi, Maliki, Hambali, and Shaf'i schools believe that the entire body of a woman is *aurat* except for the face and palms. Only a tiny number of scholars from the Hanafi school forbid women from showing their faces in front of non-mahram men not because the face is *aurat*, but to avoid slander (See, Al-Mausu'at al-Fiqhiyyah al-Kuwaitiyyah, Kuwait: Wizaratul Awqaf was Syu'unul Islamiyyah, juz XLI, p. 134). In addition, Ibn Qudamah (in Nur'aini and Dhiadudin, 2013), cited in the statements of Ibn Rushd and Ibn Hazim, states that Imam Hambali also required women to wear the veil. Thus, it is no wonder that some scholars in the Hambali school follow the views of their teachers. Scholars from the Shafi'i school of thought consider that the hijab is obligatory for women, but there are very few. For The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, the narrative of women's *aurat* is about clothing and women's voices so that women are subordinated and marginalized in various social roles, except only as pilgrims.

From a feminist perspective, the body is a biological phenomenon and is socially constructed in various ways, both processes and attributes. The body can mark a paradigm and perception that differs from one community to another. In pre-modern society, the body was associated with one's social or family status, ethnic affiliation, age, gender, and religious reality. In modern society, the body with all its attributes, such as clothing, posture, and cosmetics, are used to mark a person's level of well-being and lifestyle (P.J. Turner, 1991).

For Asma (2003), Islam encourages men and women to treat their bodies according to the guidance of religious morality, known as *aurat*, and avoid stimulating the opposite sex. Therefore, both must dress modestly, including when they are in their own homes. Theologically, this suggestion is stated in Q.S. Al-Nur (24): 58. However, more women's bodies are targeted to be controlled in

practice because women's bodies are attached to the stereotype that carries slander and disaster (Mulia, 2014). Thus, women's bodies have been gendered culturally and religiously, and it seems as if only women have to adapt to cultural rules based on religious morals so that the world is safe. In fact, men can also be sexually attractive to women and can lead to slander. Therefore, the obligation to cover the *aurat* and maintain their gaze should also be an essential part emphasized to men.

Modernists are somewhat different from the Salafi group in understanding Q.S. Al-Ahzab: 59. Muslims need to understand its *asbab nuzul* (the reason for revelation) based on the contexts of its time. According to them, the verse was revealed in connection with the experience by the Prophet's wives when they went out at night for a purpose, but hypocritical men tempted them. Then, the wives complained to the Messenger of Allah, and the Prophet rebuked the hypocritical men. At that time, they argued that they thought these women were "slaves", so the verse Q.S. Al-Ahzab: 59 was revealed. Thus, historically, wearing the hijab was a differentiating medium between free women and slave women. Thus, free women who were considered to be in a better position than slave women were not subjected to sexual harassment by men. Based on this sociohistorical background, modernists argue that the hijab is not mandatory (Muhammad, 2004).

Thus, it can be concluded that related to women's *aurat*, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba has the strictest view regarding women's *aurat* compared to other hijrah communities that are the target of this study. The Strangers al-Ghuroba defines women's *aurat*, including women's faces and voices, while Terang Jakarta, YukNgaji, MuSawarah, and SHIFT do not include women's faces and voices as *aurat*. In addition, the appearance of women from the four hijrah movements is very fashionable and follows the trends of the current era, while the appearance of women in The Strangers al-Ghuroba is the opposite.

## **B. Polygamy: Support, Promotion, and Practice**

In general, all the hijrah movements studied agreed that men were allowed to have polygamy. However, they differ in providing arguments that allow polygamy, including how it is implemented. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba is the most prominent in supporting the husband's permissibility to polygamy compared to the other four



hijrah movements. It can be seen from the explanation of Ustaz Erwandi Tarmizi, the frontman of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, stating that husbands have the right to remarry, and wives should motivate husbands to remarry.

*“Most men in this world are very afraid to have polygamy. If you want to get married (polygamy), just get married again; don’t overthink about money. Wallahu A’lam. The original law for polygamy is lawful, and the wife should encourage her husband to have polygamy. Yes or no? So that her husband is eager to work so that his dream can make their children the first wife and the second wife happy. Wallahu A’lam.” (Alkhlash Channel, 2020).*

The statement shows that men have the right to marry more than one wife without seeking the first wife’s consent. In fact, more than that, the wife is supposed to motivate, support, and help her husband to get a new wife. Unfortunately, Ustaz Erwandi Tarmizi did not explain of how the concept of justice for polygamous husbands, as written in the Quran.

Polygamy among members of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba is also practiced by one of the Ustaz who is quite active in giving lectures of Islamic studies in this community, namely Ustaz Abdullah Taslim. When interviewed with his three wives by Safdah TV about polygamy, one of his wives confirmed that polygamy is in the Quran and is God’s law to be practiced. He also admitted that he was sincere about polygamy because he would get the heaven promised by God. Moreover, the first wife also admitted that she participated in selecting the future wives of Ustaz Abdullah Taslim, because it was considered essential for him and his family, who would live together in the future.

*“The first and foremost thing in the heart is the desire to accept Allah’s Shari’a. That is all. I am sure that if we follow the sunnah, we will be happy. It is clear that there is an agreement about what is suitable for both of us (with Ustaz Abdullah Taslim).” (Ustaz Abdullah Taslim’s first wife), (SAFDAH TV, 2015))*



YouTube SafdahTV, Ustadz Abdullah Taslim with his three wives

On the other hand, the Terang Jakarta community, which belongs to the accommodative Salafi group, also stated that polygamy is part of Islamic law. However, unlike The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, this community requires the importance of being fair and the orientation of polygamy is not because of lust, but for the sake of protecting orphans, as exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad. Abu Fida, one of the ustaz who built the Terang Jakarta Terang, criticized men who use sharia to fulfill their desires, by marrying women who are much younger in age, or men who practice polygamy because they want to carry out the Sunnah of the Prophet. According to Abu Fida, this reason is easy to neglect because many other Sunnah of the Prophet that a Muslim can carry out without having to practice polygamy. According to Abu Fida, such men have broken the Shari'a. Therefore, "do not hate the Shari'a."

In addition, Abu Fida also emphasized that although polygamy is indeed a law, men who practice polygamy must be able to treat their wives fairly. If not, then hell is ready to take him.

*"Polygamous Men must be aware of the hell as the consequences of being unjust; he cannot understand the feelings of his wives; and/or acts unjustly on one of his wives. Then hell is the place." (An-Nabawi Media, 2020)*

The question then is, what about women who are already married? Abu Fida suggested for wives of polygamous men to take the following actions, namely (a) be patient to accept Allah's destiny; (b) rationalize and calculate polygamy by taking into account the rewards and blessings that a wife will obtain in the hereafter, especially the opening of the eight doors of heaven for her. In his lecture shown on a video, Abu Fida emphasized that a wife of a polygamous man should feel lucky because other women whose husbands are not polygamous have no fixed heavens, and they are still struggling for the door.

The view on the permissibility of polygamy in Islam was also supported by Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah, a preacher in Terang Jakarta, in an online interview.

*“From me, polygamy is sharia. The shari’a is not wrong. For example, a man did a wrong thing to his previous wife; that practice is wrong. Allah’s law is never wrong. Polygamy is possible. God commands it. It is only about the mentality of husband and wife who are in polygamy.”*

*(Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah, interview 10 October 2020).*

In line with the Hijrah Terang Jakarta movement and The Strangers AlGhuroba, religious teachers in the Kajian MuSawarah community also acknowledged that polygamy is part of the Shari’a. Their views can be seen from the opinions of Ustaz Adi Hidayat and Ustaz Abdul Somad. Both have the same views in responding to the issue of polygamy. According to both of them, the polygamy verse actually commands to reduce the number of wives, not even to increase the number of wives. It is proven when we check the context of the revelation 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 limitations for men (Dakwah Hikmah, 2018).

In addition, UAS also refers to the life history of the Prophet Muhammad. The period of the Prophet's monogamy was longer than that of his polygamy. The Prophet was monogamous with Khadija for 25 years. In contrast, the Prophet practiced polygamy for approximately 12 years--after the death of Khadijah. Furthermore, UAS also says that polygamy is an “emergency door” solution, especially for husbands with biological needs that a single wife

cannot fulfill (hypersexual). UAS rejects the social practice in some societies, where the wife allows her husband to have an affair because sex is healthy. This reality cannot be accepted in Islam, because there are religious rules that must be maintained, including *hifzul aqli* (maintaining mind, for example not allowed to use methamphetamine), *hifzun nafs* (protecting soul, for example not committing suicide), *hifzud din* (keeping religion, for example not to harm the faith), *hifzul mal* (guarding property, for example avoiding usury, or forbid stealing), and *hifzul ird* (maintaining honor).

UAS emphasized that polygamy is only possible for men who can maintain the five religious rules. On the other hand, polygamy should not be practised if it ruins family integrity. In addition, another requirement is that the husband must also obtain permission from his first wife if he is to practice polygamy. The permit must be signed on stamp duty, under the provisions of the Marriage Law.<sup>27</sup> The views of UAS and Ustaz Adi Hidayat show that polygamy has strict conditions, in contrast to the views of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba.

As for the Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT and YukNgaji communities, both only believe that the practice of polygamy is part of Islamic law without showing a deeper interpretation or even practicing it in their communities so far. According to Inong, a representative of the SHIFT community, polygamy is part of Islamic law because it must be accepted and believed in. She said: “(Polygamy is) a valid Shari’a. Just stay *husnudzan* (positive thinking).” As expressed by one of his followers who said: “In religion, if I am not mistaken, polygamy is permissible, but there are considerations or conditions that must be met”. In the YukNgaji community, posts that discuss polygamy have not been found, so it is not possible to conclude the views of this community on polygamy.

When we observed the followers of the five hijrah movements, we found that they generally agreed that polygamy was sharia. Regarding the law, polygamy is a law but only for men. However, the wife’s permission is still required.

*“For me, as long as it is not forbidden in religion, it is fine because polygamy is not forbidden in religion. If a husband wants to do polygamy, it is good, even though the Sharia does not require the wife’s permission. It is legal. However, in my opinion, if the husbands do not have permission,*

*such practice is not properly done. It means that there must be permission [from the wife]. Nevertheless, I allow it as long as religion does not prohibit it, yes, I am fine.”*

At the implementation level, although the majority of male informants believe that polygamy is permissible according to Islam, they tend to choose one wife for various reasons, such as “no intention”, “lack of bravery”, or because their families are harmonious and mutually supportive between husband and wife. . It was expressed by the following followers, “For me, I do not want to. I do not want it anyways. However, I would not say, “ polygamy is evil,” said Hendra, a follower of the Kajian MuSawarah community. In line with Hendra, Imran also expressed his opinion when asked about his views on polygamy, “I agree but do not dare”, he said. Didit also puts forward another reason why men are not interested in polygamy, “the Islamic law agrees with polygamy. However, my environment, especially in the MuSawarah [Community], [husband and wife relationship] does not support it. So I am not pro to it [polygamy],” he said firmly. The active celebrities in this community are generally couples having joined the hijrah movement together and pursue Islamic studies together, such as Arie Untung and Fenita; Teuku Wisnu and Shireen Sungkar; Irwansyah and Zaskia Sungkar; Dimas Seto and Dini Aminarti; and many else. In addition, these celebrities are known as harmonious families, so Didit assesses that it is unlikely that they will be polygamous. Meanwhile, based on the point of view of the female congregation, most of them refuse to have polygamous marriage.

Thus, it can be concluded that these five hijrah movements believe that polygamy is sharia. The difference is that The Stragers Al-Ghuroba considering polygamy as the right of the husband and without any conditions. On the other hand, Terang Jakarta and the Kajian MuSawarah tend to provide strict conditions for men who want polygamy, including fairness, wife’s permission, considerations, and impacts on the current family. A man only does it as an emergency door. Meanwhile, Pemuda Hijrah and YukNgaji both believe that polygamy is part of Islamic law without showing any further interpretation.

When we analyzed this issue, there are two views about polygamy from the hijrah movement studied. First, polygamy can be done without strict conditions like being fair. Second, those considered

that polygamy should be done strictly due to some requirements such as formal-distributive justice, the fulfillment of economic and sexual rights, wife's permission, and others. Meanwhile, some Muslim feminists think that polygamy should be absolutely prohibited because polygamy violates human rights (HAM); polygamy oppresses and exploits women; polygamy is a manifestation of male hegemony towards women, an act of injustice and betrayal, an attitude of disdain towards women, and discriminatory behavior against women. More than that, polygamy is an act of humiliating the dignity of women because marriages that have sacred values are actually used as a medium to satisfy lustful turmoil. In other words, polygamists have committed acts of violence and oppression of women's rights (Mulia & Polygamy, 2004).

Various studies have shown that polygamy has quite a lot of impact on women and children, including 75 percent of husbands who are polygamous unable to fulfill their responsibilities as breadwinners and protectors, and more than 80 percent of husbands have failed to continue to provide the birth support needed by the family (Othman in 2003). Alamgir, 2014). Other research also shows that polygamy has a negative impact on the mental health of children and wives (Al-Sharfi, Pfeffer and Miller, 20215). Therefore, modernists claim that it is necessary to reinterpret the polygamy verse by referring to maqasid al-syari'ah (the purpose of sharia) and tracing the asbab nuzul of the verse so that polygamy is no longer practiced. Asbab nuzul from Q.S. Al-Nisa: 3, as conveyed by Aisha to Urwah ibn Al-

Zubayr, relates to the story of a man who became the guardian of a wealthy orphan. This man wanted to marry her with a non-standard dowry and to manage the orphan's wealth. So, the moral value taught from this polygamy verse is to protect and be fair to orphans.

In addition, Muslim feminists also use various socio-historical realities as the basis for arguments against polygamy, including (1) the period of monogamy of the Prophet was much longer than that of polygamy; (2) Polygamy that the Prophet did was for social purposes, not lust so that the Prophet married women who were old and not beautiful anymore in order to protect orphans; (3) The Messenger of Allah forbade Ali bin Abi Talib to marry another woman because he wanted to avoid the psychological burden that would be suffered by his daughter Fatimah; (4) Human difficulties to realize a just attitude for all wives as stated in the Qur'an; and (5) Maintaining the sacredness

of marriage-oriented to mitsaqan ghalida (holy agreement) in order to build a family that is physically and mentally prosperous.

Thus, it can be concluded that these five hijrah movements believe that polygamy is sharia. The difference is in The Straggers Al-Ghuroba, who views polygamy as the husband's right and without any conditions. On the other hand, Terang Jakarta and the MuSawarah community tend to impose strict conditions on men who want to have polygamy, including fairness, wife's permission, need rationalization and calculations, do not have an impact on the destruction of the family, and are only carried out as an emergency door. Meanwhile, Pemuda Hijrah and YukNgaji both believe that polygamy is part of Islamic law without showing any further interpretation. The narratives and arguments used by Terang Jakarta and MuSawarah in several passages are similar to those presented by Muslim feminists.

### **C. Young Marriage: the Unofficial and the Institutional Status**

Young marriage is an issue that has been significantly increasing recently, especially since the phenomenon of the growing number of diverse young people who support young marriages. This research finds that these five hijrah movements support young marriage, except for YukNgaji, which tends to be on the Islamism spectrum. There are various reasons, including avoiding sin or immorality and increasing the reward. However, the strategies they use vary in supporting young marriage. Some expressly state through planned programs or disseminate them indirectly.

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba are among those who directly support young marriage, as stated by Ustaz Subhan Bawazier during a question-and-answer session with second-semester students who asked his opinion on marriage at a young age.

In general, the hijrah community of this research supported young marriage, except for YukNgaji, who tended to be on the Islamism spectrum. There are various reasons, including avoiding sin, immorality, and increasing the reward. Ustaz Subhan Bawazier, in a lecture, stated that many university students asked his opinion about marriage at a young age. Here is his narrative,

*“Ustaz, you are just in my second semester of college. You just have a strong desire to get married. Your parents do*



*not seem to agree, but what do you think? You ask an experienced person. If you really want to get married [because] you are afraid of adultery; I think that is good. However, you must remember that people who get married are not just selfish. Otherwise, other injustices will arise. Can you study while working?"*

From the explanation above, it appears that Ustaz Subhan supports young marriage because the second-semester students are generally around 17-18 years old. However, he also stated the need to consider the readiness to marry and provide financial support. The cleric's opinion in The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community is contrary to Law no. 16 of 2019 concerning Amendments to Law No. 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage which requires men and women to marry at the age of 19 and 21 years.

Other hijrah movement communities, such as Terang Jakarta, generally also support young marriage. It is indicated by Ustaz Abu Fida's support when referring to the young marriage of the late Ustaz Arifin Ilham's eldest son, Muhammad Alvin Faiz, who was only 17 years old when he married a converted girl named Larissa Chou, who was 20 years old. According to Abu Fida, if their marriage is successful, it will become a role model for young Muslims. The firm support for young marriage is evident in the Pemuda Hijrah community through Ustaz Hanan Attaki's explanations in his lectures.

*"We have to give a thumbs up if they are brave to marry at a young age. We have to respect them young enough. I often say no judgment, and we respect them. Those who have just joined hijrah paths and been brave to marry at young age dare to prove their faith. Why do we think as if we are better than him? Do we have a bravery to do things like they did? If you do not dare to prove it, it means he is better than us. Even if they end up divorced after a while. Some are more pious than they are also divorced after only a year of marriage." (lecture by Ustaz Hanan Attaki)*

Hanan Attaki gave the example of the story about Sayyidah Zainab bint Jahsy bin Rabab who married Zaid bin Harithah, Khadijah's slave, who later became the adopted son of the Prophet. The two were companions of the Prophet, but they divorced after two years of marriage. Referring to the divorce experience of the two companions

of the Prophet, Ustaz Hanan Attaki encourages young people to marry at a young age without being afraid of failure in building a household.

To support young marriage and reject the concept of courtship, this hijrah community holds various programs, both in institutional and unofficial forms. The MuSawarah and Pemuda Hijrah communities provide space for matchmaking by “exchanging Curriculum Vitae”, while Terang Jakarta through “Terang Ta’aruf” is more institutionalized. Initially, Terang Ta’aruf’s orientation focused on matchmaking efforts between male and female followers. However, now this institution is undergoing a change towards marriage education for young people. According to Budhi PriyadarSani, usually known as Kang Sani, as the manager, Terang Ta’aruf is not oriented to matchmaking couples but rather to assisting and fostering or educating those who want to get married.

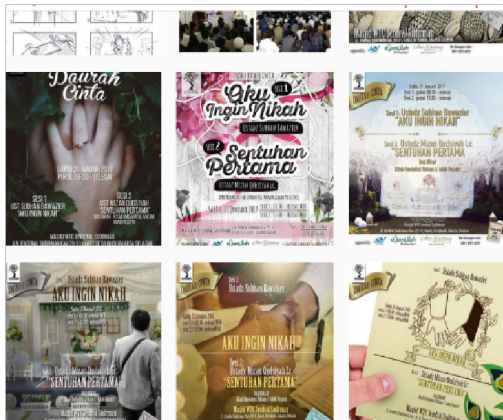
*“In the past, I have tried to help the members find their life partners, but thank God no one got married. However, after turning it into an educational program, there are currently 50 married couples. We did not match them, but we guided and provided education for them. My activity is not matchmaking but accompanying and educating our friends who want to get married. We have had currently the 6th married couple in Terang Jakarta, which we are accompanying. There is a team, namely Ta’aruf Agent, which helps Ta’aruf fellows to get married. We make classes and programs; three people help me at Lovengers. There are premium classes, workshops, and studies. I also make podcasts with MRBJ TV friends. We already have five series. My da’wah land is there. I also do human development in the lovecoach program. I am also pursuing a coaching certification. I also consult marriage in management Bintaro Jaya Mosque and Annasr Bintaro Mosque.” (Budhi PriyadarSani, interview on October 22 2020).*

When viewed from the side of the fans, far more women are active in Terang Ta’aruf than men. Sani said that 90 percent of women registered in the Terang Ta’aruf program, while only 10 percent of men. “This is the reason why the Ta’aruf program is not oriented to matchmaking because if you match it, the number of CVs we

receive will be unbalanced [between men and women]. So, we only accompany and educate,” said Kang Sani.

Some of the material taught in the Terang Ta'aruf program is more on pre-wedding preparation, such as taaruf before and after the proposal, to taaruf for marriage. In addition, other topics related to knowing oneself, finding a mate, and getting married star kid to prepare themselves as potential husbands and wives is also a concern. Terang Ta'aruf also provides private classes for those who find it difficult to find a mate or are still unsure about the candidates they already have.

Meanwhile, the urge to marry without dating was also studied in The Strangers Al-Ghuroba and YukNgaji, but no explanation was found about the permissibility and motivation for young marriages from their religious teachers.



Activities of the Stranger Al Ghuroba



Yuk Ngaji's study about ta'aruf



Activities of “Terang Ta’aruf”, 2020

## **D. Division of Labor in Household**

The issue of division of labor in the household is an important indicator to distinguish between conservative and moderate Islam. Conservative Islamic circles generally separate the roles of men and women in the household. They usually refer to literally Q.S. Al-Nisa: 34, which is interpreted that men take a role as the head of the household, whose main task is to earn a living. Women are housewives whose main task is to educate children and serve their husbands’ physical and psychological needs. In general, the five hijrah movements that are the subject of this study have slight differences in understanding the labor division between husband and wife in the household.

The findings of this study indicate that The Strangers Al-Ghuroba hijrah community, which represents the pure Salafi type, is the most strict and rigid hijrah movement in understanding the roles of women and men in the household. They believe that the man is the head of the household, whose main task is to earn a living; while the wife’s role is to be a housewife, whose main task is to take care of children and take care of her husband, including understanding the husband’s condition, providing all his needs, and must obey the husband. The husband, as the head of the household, has a higher position than the wife.

The emphasis on a strict division of labor between husband and wife led The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community to prohibit men’s

involvement in household activities that were considered the wife's work. They quoted the view of a cleric who stated that "... there is no need for a husband to interfere in all the affairs of his wife, from a small to large scale" (Darus Shaykh Muhammad Al-Mukhtar Ash-Syinqithi). In fact, the Prophet has set an example to his people that he does not hesitate to do domestic work. Aisyah told what the Prophet did when he was at home. The Prophet did not hesitate to keep himself busy in household work, such as sewing torn clothes, sweeping the floor, milking goats, shopping at the market, repairing broken shoes and water bags, tethering and feeding the animals. Even the Prophet used to cook flour together with his servants. In this modern era, men's involvement in household work is very much needed, especially in lower-middle-class families whose wives also have to work outside the home to improve family life. Husbands who do not want to help their wives work will increase the double burden for women.

In addition, this movement aggressively uses traditions about the division of labor that is less friendly to women. It is indicated by the tendency of the characters to promote misogynistic traditions without any attempt to reinterpret them further. Ustaz Subhan Bawazier stated in one of his lectures that "... a wife is responsible for her husband's house; she will be asked (in the hereafter) about all of that..." (H.R. Bukhari no. 893; H.R. Muslim no. 1829). This hadith seems to subordinate women in economic matters and denies the existence of a wife in her home because it is as if the wife has no rights in her own home.

This hadith also contradicts the social reality in this modern era because there are quite many wives who work with higher salaries than their husbands, so the wife has a significant contribution in meeting household needs, including buying a house. The results of a survey on fishing communities in the Thousand Islands, Jakarta Province in 2014 showed that the average income of fishermen's wives was higher than their husbands (Rp1,297,980 compared to Rp1,169,245) (Rosyidah & DF, 2017). In tracing the issue of gender equality, this study could find many verses of the Qur'an and hadith that are more equal and gender-just that can be used as references when preaching. Thus, further elaboration is needed if the hadith is to be used to avoid the subordination of women. It would be better if the preachers cited verses of the Quran and hadiths that support women's rights in the household, including their rights in

the economic field, such as Q.S. Al-Nisa: 34. Ashgar Ali Engineer (1990) states that normatively the status of men and women is equal in Islam. It means that women and men have equal dignity and rights in the economic, social, and political fields. In line with Engineer, Ilyas (1998) also recognizes that men and women have equal rights in entering into marriage contracts, divorce, the right to own or manage their property without interference from others, choose a profession, way of life, and responsibilities.

Furthermore, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba cites the views of scholars saying that women are “property” when they are married to take advantage. The husband can benefit from his wife. In addition, a wife is considered as a field that is perfected first before plants can be planted on it. In this context, the wife is considered an object taken advantage of by the husband; even she is considered imperfect, so she needs to be perfected by the husband. Mulia (2014) said that women are often considered as “half-humans.” In fact, Islam exists to elevate the human status and humanize women. According to him, monotheism has the meaning of liberating, including freeing oneself from anything that binds humans. This spirit is also to liberate women from the shackles of male domination. Thus, in fact the Quran should not only be understood with a textual and sociological approach.

*“Nevertheless, the Quran does talk about men who have social advantages and advantages over women. As indicated above, it must be seen in its proper social context. At the time of the Prophet, the social structure did not really recognize the equality of men and women. One cannot take a purely theological view of this kind. One must adopt a socio-theological view. Even the Quran also consists of contextual and normative teachings. No holy book can be effective if it ignores the context altogether.”*

*(Engineers, 1990)*

The most moderate division of labor in the household in the hijrah movement is in the Terang Jakarta community. Its religious teachers have started to interpret the verses about relations in the household. Ustaz Abu Fida, for example, interprets qawwamun as the following quote:

*“The meaning of qawwamun from ar-rijalu qawwamuna ‘alan nisa’i is no longer as a leader, but affection-giver, protector, and guard. Therefore, the leader should not*



*be a dictator, but he must listen to the opinions of his subordinates so that he can make the right decisions. The next sentence states that men are prioritized over women, bima faddalallahu ba'dhahum 'ala ba'dhin wa bima anfaqu min amwalihim, it is interpreted that men are given physical advantages such as stronger bodies and stronger bones so that he is given the responsibility of protecting.”*

Meanwhile, the Kajian MuSawarah Community and SHIFT also strictly differentiated the roles of men and women in the household. According to Ustaz Adi Hidayat (UAH), God divides the roles of men to earn a living and women taking care of children. The work of caring for children is not easy, so Allah makes an easy regulation for women to pray at home with the same reward as men who pray at the mosque. According to UAH, this is an honor and a privilege for women.

In social practice, the ustaz and founders of Terang Jakarta seem to have been more progressive in working together in managing the household. In other words, their social practices in managing domestic work tend towards gender equality. Both Abu Fida, Dimas, and Sani emphasized that husband and wife should do household chores together.

*“After all, men are leaders for women. In my opinion, men and women both have privileges. Quality men with quality women result in quality families. Men should listen to and discuss with their wives and children. They must not apply authoritarianism in the household*

*(Priyadarshani, interview October 22, 2021).*

The YukNgaji community also conveyed the same thing. When discussing women in the household, Ustaz Iwan Januar said that the wife is the husband's best friend or the closest friend. Women are not number two, including in household matters. Furthermore, Ustaz Iwan said that husbands were friends and leaders for wives. This view that the wife is the husband's best friend seems to be agreed by the interview respondents in this study, as in the following interview excerpt: “I personally do not really like everything done by my wife. We cooperate together. The Messenger of Allah just helped his wife, shouldn't we? My wife cooks, and I wash for example.” (Hadi Pramono, interview 2020).



The narrative that women's main task is to take care of the household also often appears in *Kajian MuSawarah*. Ustaz Adi Hidayat in a lecture in this hijrah community, said that the main task of women was to take care of the household. Women might develop their potential, but they must prioritize their main tasks as housewives. The view of this religious teacher is also a reference for the congregation. "If I were a husband, my wife would be better off at home because I did not expect a working wife" (Tegar, interview 2020).

The division of labor in the household boils down to the one who dominates family decision-making. The five hijrah communities generally agree that the main decision-maker in the household is the husband. However, they differ in the explanation of the process to arrive at the decisions taken. The Strangers *AlGhuroba*, a pure Salafi, considers that decision-making is entirely the right of the husband.

This view is based on Ustaz Erwandi Tarmizi's statement when a male member of the congregation asked whether a husband could make a bet with his wife to remarry. According to him, husbands could remarry without requesting permission because it was the husband's right to do so.

In practice, the division of labor in the household, which separates the father's role as the main breadwinner and the mother as the additional breadwinner, impacts the lack of respect for women. In many cases, women often experience domestic violence because women's domestic work is considered not economically valuable. However, all communities reject any acts of violence against women in the household. The concept of *nusyuz*, often used as an excuse to beat women, is interpreted as a good reprimand rather than violence. It was said by Ustaz Iwan Januar from Yuk Ngaji, that when a wife makes a mistake, the reprimand must be done well without being emotional. The activists and followers of the *Kajian MuSawarah* community interviewed also agreed with this. Movers and followers agreed that committing domestic violence was not according to Islam because Islam taught the obligation to do good deeds to the wife. One of them said that he wanted to imitate Umar bin Khattab, a companion of the Prophet. He remained patient, even though his wife was scolded him. In fact, Umar was known as a very firm and courageous person. Moreover, in Islam, if someone feels angry, then the solution is to pray and be patient.

The division of husband and wife roles influences the one who has a role in decision-making in the family. At this point, Terang Jakarta appears to be the most progressive. They think that the husband must be democratic, although the husband is the leader in the family. So that every decision must be discussed first with the wife, meanwhile, other hijrah movements emphasize that the decision-maker in the household is entirely on the husband.

## **E. Women Working Outside the Home**

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, a pure Salafi group, is the hijrah movement that most strongly rejects women from working outside the home or having a career. Most of the leaders of this movement believe that the best place for women is at home. As stated by Ustaz Abdullah Taslim, the initial law for women is to stay at home, as the original law for men is to earn a living. According to him, women may leave the house only for particular and modest needs. For example, women live alone so that there is no one to provide for them with strict provisions--without interacting with men. Meanwhile, he admitted that “in today’s era, it is almost impossible to have a job without men in it”. A career woman delegates her primary function to a household assistant; she has violated her original law (Official Islamic Studies, 2020).

Meanwhile, some other clerics of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community view that the role of women to work or have a career in the public sphere is not derived from Islam but is a Western tradition imposed on Muslim society because the legal origin of women is to work as housewives. If this is done, it will harm women’s lives.

*“We do not want to be misled by kufar people. According to Islam, trying to get them out is actually oppressing women’s rights. Removing women from their homes and requiring women to do what women are not supposed to do. Pity.”*

*(Ustaz Erwandi Tarmizi).*

The Terang Jakarta Community has a slightly different view of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, although both are close to the Salafi spectrum. The views of the Terang Jakarta community can be seen from Ustaz Abu Fida and Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah, who are the main sources in religious studies in the community. Both agreed that the wife might work as long as she fulfills certain conditions. Ustaz Abu Fida further explained:

*“The wife may work if the husband cannot meet the basic needs of the family or secondary needs (clothing, food, and education of the children), while maintaining their dignity, and not tabarruj (impermissible displaying of beauty). It is better to help from home, like selling online. Her husband had to take her to work and pick her up when she came home from work. He must make sure that the work environment is a good one.”*

*(Ustaz Abu Fida in An-Nabawi Media, 2020).*

From the statement above, it can be seen that Abu Fida allows his wife to work, but with several conditions, among others, because the husband cannot meet primary and secondary needs, but still maintains dignity (*marwah*) like picking up his wife and ensuring that the working environment is good. It is certainly not easy for a wife from a lower-class family to work in a public space with these various requirements. Like Abu Fida, Taufik Al-Miftah also requires several criteria for women who work outside the home, including having lawful work, working in a halal workplace, getting permission from the husband, and covering the *aurat*.

Abu Fida and Taufik Al-Miftah refer to the theological basis of the traditions that tell some wives of the Prophet and his female Companions who worked. Interestingly, they argue that the entire results of the hard work of women working belong to themselves. Moreover, if they give it to their husbands, it is only an *infaq*. If this view is applied, of course, it will be difficult for the middle and lower class families in Indonesia, whose husband's income is not sufficient for the needs of adequate clothing, food, and housing for the family. Therefore, gender observers generally think that the income of husband and wife should be managed together for the family's swelfare so that no one is (feeling) subordinated.

Meanwhile, views on the law of working wives can also be found in non-Salafi hijrah communities, such as the *Kajian MuSawah*, represented by UAH and UAS. For these two clerics, the wife can do her hobbies and optimize her potential, as long as she does not neglect her household obligations and does not experience fatigue due to the double burden she has as a housewife and career woman. They gave the example of Aisha, who helped the Prophet teach the female companions. In addition, women can also become doctors

when urgently needed to handle specific cases experienced by women, such as childbirth, miscarriage, and others. In this context, their view of gender relations, in general, is still very gender-biased because it preserves stereotyping jobs that belong to women. No data were found from the Pemuda Hijrah (SHIFT) community—a non-Salafi spectrum, and NyukNgaji, whose views are close to Islamism,

From the description above, it can be concluded that the pure Salafis represented by The Strangers Al-Guroba are the hijrah movement that is the hardest to prohibit women from working in public spaces. They believe that Islamic teachings emphasize the role of the wife as a housewife whose job is to do domestic work, and the role of women in the public sphere is a tradition of infidels that is not appropriate for Muslims to practice. Meanwhile, the MuSawarah and Terang Jakarta communities, which tend to be Salafi, still allows wives to work with various conditions, including husbands unable to provide for them, husbands unable to meet primary needs while maintaining behavior or dignity, being picked up by husbands, and working in a good environment. It is certainly not easy for a wife from a lower class family to work in a public space with these requirements. Like Abu Fida, Taufik AlMiftah also requires several criteria for working women, including having lawful work, good places and avoiding immorality, and getting the husband's permission and covering the *aurat*. The Kajian MuSawarah also allows women to work with fewer requirements, as stated by Terang Jakarta.

Based on the observation, the views of the five hijrah movements regarding the wife's ability to work are generally still male-biased, so that it has an impact on the subordination of women. The ban on women working is a limitation and exclusion of women from the public sphere, which is known as an effort to domesticate women from the public sphere. These actions will have an impact on the impoverishment and deception of women, and lead to the decline of the national civilization. The assumption underlying the ban on women working is the stereotype that women are seductive creatures so that they must be closed tightly and cannot associate with men. In fact, their voices are seen as *aurat*, because they can interfere with men's concentration when praying (M.K. Husein et al., 2006). At the Prophet's time, the space for women's participation to work in the public sphere was very wide, such as Khadijah was the wife of the Prophet who worked as a successful entrepreneur, and her

income was used for the Islamic struggle. Aisyah often accompanied the Prophet to participate in various wars and taught the female companions.

In general, there are actually three different views about working women. First, women are not allowed to work at all; second, women may work under various conditions; and third, women may work without any conditions. The first view, as represented by The Strangers Al-Guroba, has actually been believed by classical scholars, such as Al-Qurtubi (in Shihab, 2003: 266), who admits that the word *waqarna* is not only addressed to the wives of the Prophet to stay at home, but also includes other women. Women are also prohibited from leaving the house unless it is an emergency. Al-Maududi (cited in Shihab, 2003) also supports this opinion, that the women should stay at home and carry out household obligations, except when there is a [urgent] need, women may go out as long as they can maintain their own chastity and maintain shame. A similar opinion was also conveyed by Ibn Kathir saying that the verse above implies that women are not allowed to go out of the house, unless there is a need that is justified by religion.

Meanwhile, the idea of Sheikh Muhammad Al-Ghazali (Shihab, 2007) supports the second opinion, which allows women to work with four conditions, namely: (a) The woman has extraordinary abilities that men rarely possess; their work will benefit the community and prohibit them from working which will bring harm. (b) Stereotyped jobs belong to women, such as being midwives, but they have to dress respectfully. (c) The orientation of women working is to help the husband's income. (d) Women may work because there is no one to guarantee their life, or the husband's salary is not sufficient for daily needs.

The third opinion is represented by Ashgar Ali Engineer (1990) that women may work without any conditions according to the example set by the Prophet's wives. Prohibition of work, according to Engineer, is a view that is inherited from feudal society. In line with this, Sheikh Mohammad Shaltut (in Shihab, 2007) states that women and men have been awarded the same potential to assume the same responsibilities in various humanitarian activities. However, at the level of interpretation and implementation, it could be different.

## F. Women's Leadership in Public Space

Of the five hijrah communities, only The Strangers AlGhuroba community does not feature female clerics or female followers in their uploads on Instagram or in videos about their religious studies. On the other hand, other hijrah communities, which are the subject of this research, involve women in their various activities, including female religious teachers or resource persons. The religious argument commonly used is the hadith narrated by Imam Bukhari, “Lan yufraha qaumun walau amrahu imraatan”. It means, “ people will not be lucky to leave their affairs to women”. This hadith became the basis for their rejection of women's leadership, both in the domestic and public spheres. The following is a direct quote from Ustaz Subhan Bawazier's statement when delivering his lecture at the Sunda Kelapa Mosque.

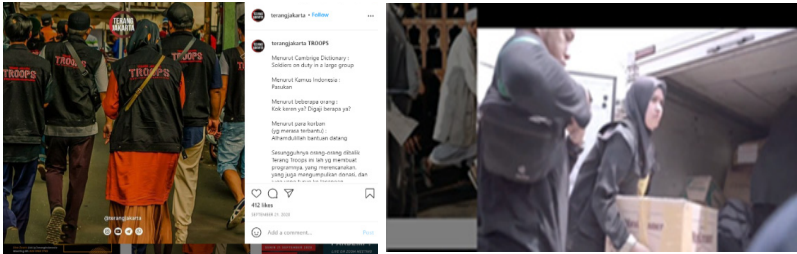
*“People will not be lucky or happy, let alone a household, if a woman is in charge. So, I could not believe that in our country, women led the way. I can't imagine. Oh my God, where are the men? The overlap now is getting more and more crowded. But Alhamdulillah, qodarallahu wamasya'faala, slowly Islam is rising. Indonesia has also risen, especially Jakarta; it looks like it is getting up.”*

*(AL-HUJJAH Islamic Da'wah, 2017).*

Through this statement, Ustaz Subhan Bawazier seemed to criticize Indonesian Muslims who allowed and supported Megawati Soekarnoputri to become president (2001-2004) because, according to him, it was against Islamic teachings. Acceptance of Megawati's leadership was considered a setback for the Muslims at that time. The Strangers AlGhuroba's rejection of women's leadership in the public sphere is one of the reasons this movement is classified as pure Salafi.

The Terang Jakarta Community has a very different view on women's leadership from The Strangers Al-Ghuroba. The findings of this study indicate that this community is the most progressive hijrah movement in providing access for women to participate in various movement activities. Women not only have opportunities as ustazah ( female religious teachers), resource persons, and trainers but are also actively involved in the ranks of the organizational structure. Dimas said, “about 60 percent of women are administrators of Terang Jakarta”. In addition, women are also involved in Terang Troops, a

movement program often attached to men. This program focuses on physical and non-physical assistance to communities affected by natural disasters, such as flash floods, tsunamis, landslides, and others. The very high involvement of women in various activities of Terang Jakarta, including in the position as ustazah whose audience involves both men and women, is one reason why Terang Jakarta is classified as an accommodating Salafi.



women's participation in various activities in Terang Jakarta, including as resource person and volunteer at Terang Troops

**Table**  
Names of Male and Female Ustaz  
Who has taught Islamic Studies in the Terang Jakarta

No.	USTAZ	USTAZAH
1	Ustaz Windo Abu Fida	Ustazah Ummi Maki (Lisa Septi R)
2	Ustaz Abu Makki	Ustazah Aisyah Dahlan
3	Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah	Farah Qoonita
4	Ustaz Muhammad Fikri Syahrizal	Marissa Haque Fawzi
5	Ustaz Weemar Aditya	Fenita Arie Untung
6	Rene Suhardono	Ratu Anandita
7	Ustaz Ahmad Hamsani	Chita Harahap ST



8	Mario Irwinsyah	Arie Kusuma Dewi ST
9	Bowman Boni	Ustazah Lulu
10	Felix Siauw	Ustazah Erika
11	Ustaz Fatih Karim	Ustazah Oki Setiana Dewi
12	Teuku Wisnu	Ustazah Aini Aryani Lc
13	Ustaz Sayid Qutub (Al-Hafiz)	Ummu Sajad
14	Dude Herlino	Kartika Putri
15	Kang Sani	Ustazah Lulung Mumtaza
16	Dimas Adista	
17	Ustaz Indra Buya Fatih	
18	Ustaz Zubair Halim	
19	Syeikh Yusuf Estes	
20	Ustaz Husni Thamrin	
21	Ustaz Hanan Attaki	
22	Arie Untung	
23	Ustaz Khoirul Wildan Fauzi	
24	Ustaz Sahroni Madani	
25	Ustaz Parwis Al-Palembani	
26	Ustaz Lukmanul Hakim	
27	Ustaz Oemar Mita	
28	Ustaz Harry Santosa	
29	Ustaz Hanan Attaki	
30	Ustaz Luqmanul Hakim	

When many people refer to Q.S. An-Nisa: 34 to prohibit women from becoming leaders in public spaces, Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah, one of the Ustaz who teaches in Terang Jakarta, actually emphasized that the verse was actually related to “leadership in the household, not leadership in the public space.

Meanwhile, Abu Fida has a slightly different view from most Salafi followers, who are generally textualists. Specifically, to understand this verse of Al-Nisa, Abu Fida seems to refer more to a more moderate interpretation. According to him, said qawwamun in Q.S. An-Nisa: 34 means that the man is a leader and a lover, protector, and protector. Thus, the leader should also have a protective, loving, nurturing, and aspirational attitude, but not be a dictator to make the right decisions. Abu Fida also reminded the need to understand the following sentence from Al-Nisa: 34, which states that men have advantages over women (*bima faddalallahu ba’dhahum ‘ala ba’dhin*

wa bima anfaqu min amwalihim) in the form of strong physical advantages and stronger bones. This physical advantage causes men to have responsibilities as breadwinners. In addition, God also entrusts other advantages to men, including God entrusting the word divorce to men's mouths. However, even though women say the word divorce a thousand times, it is not valid. According to Abu Fida, if the word divorce is entrusted to women, it is likely that the number of windows will be far more than the number we have seen today (AnNabawi Media, 2020). This last statement by Abu Fida tends to subordinate women because it is based on an image that stereotypes women as emotional beings and does not use logical thinking.

Abu Fida also mentions that Allah gives advantages to women by increasing their status with the word "untsa" in the Quran. There are three advantages of women not owned by men: pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding. The three virtues possessed by this woman will lead a pious woman to become the queen of angels in heaven (AnNabawi Media, 2020).

In the YukNgaji and Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT communities, women can also play an active role and appear in public spaces, and even become resource persons. However, the role of this resource person is only intended for audiences who are also women. In addition, the issues raised are not as complex as the discussions among men. The raised issues tend to be closely related to the lives of confused young people.

From this, it can be seen that there are still restrictions on the role of women in the public sphere, especially within their community. In the case of SHIFT, for example, at the Islamic study of the special Ladies Day, the topics that were studied and discussed were generally related to psychological and ethical issues, such as "Resistant to Anger", "When You Fall Again", "Need to Confess", "Type of Women", "Romantic Feeling", "Mention in Prayer", "The Power of Love", "Wise Women", "Beautiful Chat", and others. In this SHIFT group, it is rare to find ustazah delivering his lectures in front of both men and women. Even if there were, the topics of the lectures were light, such as "Purifying the Heart" delivered by Ustaz Hanan Attaki and his wife, Haneen Akira.

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Self Reminder yyyoy

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## **CHAPTER VI**

# **The Da'wah Strategy of Hijrah Community in the Digital Era**

*Febiyana*

Indonesia is a country whose population actively accesses the internet and is ranked third in Asia regarding the number of active internet users. Accordingly, most Indonesians already have access to surf in cyberspace to fulfil their needs of information, communication, and lifestyle, including buying, selling and services. Therefore, communication and information have now become a general public need. Based on the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) survey in 2016, 80% of internet users are young people aged 20-24 years and 25-29 years (Association of Indonesian Internet Service Providers, 2016). This finding is further confirmed after it was revealed that student is the most active internet users. Likewise, based on the latest findings from We Are Social, an institution that collects data on the internet and social media usage, it was revealed that in 2020 there were 175.4 million internet users in Indonesia. Of the total population of Indonesia, which is 272.2 million people, 64 per cent, or more than half of Indonesia's population, already have access to the internet. With a total of 338.2 million mobile phones owned by the Indonesian population, 160 million users are active on social media. The social media that are widely accessed are YouTube, WhatsApp, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Line, Facebook Messenger, LinkedIn, Pinterest, We Chat, Snapchat, Skype, Tik Tok, Tumblr, Reddit, and Sina Weibo (Digital 2020, 2020).

As is already known widely, social media is one of the internet platforms that play a key role in enabling communication and accessing information. It has transformed people's need for information into idealism, and as such, the information presented in social media is packaged as attractively as possible. One related issue

is how religious content is presented to attract the attention of young groups (millennials). In fact, research suggests that the development of technology and social media has a significant influence on how people, including the Muslim community in Indonesia, carry out their religion (F. Husein & Slama, 2018; Lengauer, 2018; Nisa, 2018).

It further implicates how someone looks for religious knowledge and references and subsequently influences their religious life and religiosity. Because it is open, of course, references to religious knowledge on the internet are an option for urban middle-class millennials, who also have open and rational thoughts. In the end, information on the internet can be an alternative source of religious knowledge.

A young urban millennial is a group of people who are in the process of finding their identity. The environment and the media they access can influence their reasoning and attitude. Speaking at the launching of the PPIM UIN Jakarta research results on trends of religiosity in the contemporary *hijrah* movement in Indonesia, Noorhaidi Hasan, director of the Postgraduate Program at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, stated that “the demands of living in big cities have become a challenge for young people and it shapes their lifestyle”. He further suggests that young people living in the capital city face an uncertain situation in which there is a moral panic that haunts this group. Similarly, Asrorun Ni’am Sholeh, chairman of the Fatwa Division of the Indonesian Ulema Council stated that “young people are getting fed up with rational things and tend to want to approach more religious observances”. It also has something to do with economic and social issues that trigger them to join the *hijrah* movement community growing so rapidly in cyberspace. In addition, moderate Islamic religious groups are not sensitive enough to the trends of religiosity that have developed in recent years to date. They fail to address society’s needs, which require intakes of religious obedience, which can guide young groups in facing life (Sholeh, 2021).

In recent years, social media has been used as a means of da’wah to campaign for the *hijrah* movement. This movement is spearheaded by creative young people who invite millennial groups to transform into better people in accordance with Islamic law. Nisa (2018) found that Instagram has become a significant medium in the da’wah activities of *hijrah* groups. Instagram allows communication to be

done with images. Commenting on the influence of Instagram on the *hijrah* movement, Eva stated that “a picture is worth a thousand words”. Several other studies have also concluded that the activities carried out by the *hijrah* community are a symptom of religious commodification (Hasan, 2019) and also religious changes among millennials (Saefullah, 2017).

The development of technology and media has also influenced da’wah activities. Da’wah was previously carried out conventionally, but it is now transformed into digital activities. Indeed, Islamic da’wah activities have changed considerably in the public sphere. Da’wah, which is designed as a process of offering spiritual teachings, now appears in various forms. The diversity of da’wah activities is driven by another element, namely the media of da’wah. In the study of communication, the media is understood as a channel used by da’wah actors, both individual and communal, in delivering messages to the public as receivers (Ummah, 2020).

In fact, sophistication in information and communication technology can optimize da’wah activities and have started to become an inseparable unit. The delivery of da’wah must be carried out optimally, including social media, so that the important message of da’wah can be broadcasted more quickly and widely. Thus, this will increase da’wah’s effectiveness, both in terms of time, cost, and process (Habibi, 2018).

## **A. Development of Da’wah**

In general, there are two types of da’wah media. As stated by Aziz (2019) in “the science of da’wah,” the first media is a conventional media that does not use communication technology. This media can be in the form of Islamic performing arts traditionally performed in public as entertainment and have a communicative nature. Secondly, da’wah can also use modern media, in which preaching is done using communication technology. Preaching of this type is broadcasted through television, radio, and most recently it spreads through the internet (social media and others). The difference between conventional and digital da’wah is in the expertise of the *ustadz* or preacher. In conventional da’wah, religious knowledge is paramount while for digital da’wah the preacher needs not only to have knowledge about religion but also need to master information technology to communicate their message more effectively (Wahid,

2014). Preachers in the context of digital da'wah may sometimes consist of individuals who have expertise in the field of information and communication technology. Therefore, *ustadz* is not alone, but they work with a group of people with certain expertise.

### **a. Modern Media for Da'wah**

For this reason, religious teachings are not only disseminated through conventional methods but through modern ways as well, one of which is using the internet. Learning religion is no longer done in front of the prayer room pulpit or mosque but with the help of smartphone or computer, people can learn about religion from anywhere. Before the emergence of religious content on the internet, the *kiai* became the main reference in the religious life of the Muslim community. However, the presence of the internet has started to obscure the importance of the role of ulama, *kiai*, *ustadz*, and *ustazah* as the main reference for religious knowledge. A study conducted by the Center for Religious and Cultural Studies (CSRC) of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 2019 showed that millennial young Muslim consider that da'wah or studies in mosques are no longer relevant to the problems they are currently facing (Jahroni, 2019). The findings suggest that da'wah in mosques is no longer attractive to millennial Muslims because it tends to be conventional. In addition, the topics and the way of communication in conventional da'wah tend to be boring and as such, it is not relevant to what they need. Therefore, many millennial young Muslims are more interested in participating in online religious studies because the lecture themes delivered are not too heavy, easy to understand, contextual, and can meet the needs of their enthusiasm for studying Islam. In addition, this millennial youth group also gets more specific and relevant answers to their life problems. Accessing religious content online is also considered practical and efficient, it can be done at any time without any limitations of space and time (Nuriz in Jahroni, 2019). This phenomenon occurs partly because young Muslim groups are very dependent on the internet. Thus, for them, social media becomes a friend and a place to ask questions and to explore knowledge about religion.

Professor Adam Possamai, research director of the School of Social Sciences and Psychology at Western Sydney University, Australia, explained that the concept of religion today is understood differently



from what it was in the past. In today's postmodern era, religion is part of the culture of consumerism. One thing that Possamai emphasized is that there has been a transformation in the current religious practice. Religious practice becomes very flexible and can be adapted to the character of each media, including smartphones (Woods, 2015). Religion is no longer understood as it used to be when religious rituals were something that did not deserve to be questioned, disputed, or carried out outside its standard. However, now in the life of industrial and modern society, people demand things that are instant, practical, and fast. Religion is no exception.

The development of da'wah media from conventional methods to digital in Indonesia began in 1994. This coincided with the opening of IndoNet as an internet service provider in Jakarta. Between 1998 and 1999, various Indonesian mailing lists (mailing lists) with Islamic nuances began to develop, for example, Isnet, al-Islam, and Padang Mbulan. It was only later in 1999-2000 that Islamic site appeared in Indonesia, which were not just sites for Islamic institutions but contained various information and facilities needed by the Muslim community. So, the internet is complete as one of the reference media and media for Islamic da'wah in Indonesia (Zaini, 2013).

The shift in how da'wah is carried out was once discussed as cyber-religion. The use of this term, in particular, considers the role of technology that drives the shift itself. Brasher (2001) stated that cyber-religion was the presence of religious institutions and activities in the cyber world. Dawson (1998) defines cyber-religion as an organization or religious group which only exists in the cyber world. However, in its development, cyber-religion can also be found in real public spaces in offline activities that later will be uploaded or presented in cyberspace.

The Cyber-religion phenomenon does not only happen in Indonesia. The same trend also occurs in America. A study in late 2000 conducted by the Pew Internet and American Life Project (NW et al., 2000) in collaboration with Stewart M. Hoover and Lynn Schofield Clark from the Centre for Research on Media, Religion and Culture, University of Colorado reveals that as many as 20 million internet users in America (25%) get religious information from cyberspace.

Four years later, this figure rose considerably. Nearly two-thirds of Americans actively use the internet for faith-related reasons. As many as 64 percent of internet users, representing nearly 82 million

Americans, engage in spiritual and religious activities online. The lead author of the project, Professor Stewart Hoover of the University of Colorado, said the survey found that the majority of individuals go online for personal spiritual reasons, including seeking outside their own traditions. The survey also found that two-thirds of those who attend religious services every week use the internet for personal religious or spiritual purposes. Another study found that religious surfers use the internet to find information about their own faith or others (Jensen et al., 2011).

### **b. The Use of Pop culture in Da'wah**

The use of new da'wah media, such as technology, culture, music, poetry, films, vinyl records, paintings, and other art media, can help da'wah actors communicate religious messages (Yafie, 1997). The so-called da'wah media is a tool used in communicating the message to the recipients. It is especially common in this modern era, in which people are heavily dependent on technology and media. Thus, any source of entertainment such as videos, podcasts, and magazines can be used as a means of preaching. These can influence popular culture (pop culture) because all groups, especially young people, usually use them. Young people today cannot be separated from anything related to entertainment. It can also be seen as a common trend in a culture in which entertainment is extremely important. Thus, culture generally places the popular element as its central point (Bungin, 2013). Popular culture will be influential if it is used as a medium in spreading influence among the people.

It is practically impossible to do da'wah by relying solely on preaching in houses of worship. The use of media with pop culture nuances is a necessity, which can be utilized to convey Islamic teachings. The style of delivering da'wah by using pop culture elements is warmly received by the public, especially by millennial urban groups.

### **c. Everyday Language Among Young People**

In addition to the pop culture media, outward appearance is also an important thing for young people. We can observe this phenomenon easily in our society. One observable thing is their speaking style. They often switch between Indonesian and English and from Japanese to Korean, too. They even mix these languages.

Thus, it is getting common to use slang words in the current da'wah language.

Slang is several words or terms that have special, unique, deviant, or even contradictory meanings when used by individuals from certain subcultures (Mulyana in Sari, 2015). Slang is a branch of the Indonesian language itself. It generally began to appear among the people in the 1980s, known as *prokem* (thugs). Over time, the development of communication technology has influenced the rapid development of language. The emergence of social networking sites in cyberspace that are widely used by the community has further allowed people to keep updated with language development. The phenomenon of using slang is, in fact, a modification of the Indonesian language and modifications of other languages and can also be adopted from languages that are popularly used by the general public.

In the past, preachers most often use many Arabic terms which young people rarely hear. However, it is now commonplace to use English and slang to make it seem close and familiar to young people. As is well known, having a thorough understanding of Islamic religious studies in Arabic can only be achieved by groups or individuals who have an Islamic boarding school background. For them, the use of Arabic in da'wah is not a problem at all. Meanwhile, for people who do not have such an educational background, especially young people, understanding the Arabic language in da'wah will be very difficult. The development of the current da'wah method and the use of more familiar languages have been more intensively carried out. That way, the contents of religious learning will no longer seem distant from the everyday life of young millennial groups, especially those who live in big cities.

#### **d. The Image of Contemporary Preacher**

Instead of creating the image of an Ustaz, the method of learning about religion is more accepted by young people because the preacher is perceived more as a person who exchanges ideas and shares stories. It is an effective form of communication strategy for young people. In addition, the preacher is seen as someone easygoing and fun, and it is getting more common among *hijrah* group. Nowadays, it is scarce to see the preacher of the *hijrah* group wearing Middle Eastern clothes, as is usually seen in the image of past preachers, at least in their

clothes and distinctive cap. However, today, the preacher will try to look like a figure who is close to the lives of young people, are casual, and do the same activities as most young people. In other words, the image and communication style of the preacher that is currently appearing is far different from the image of clerics in the past.

### **e. A Public Figure amidst modern da'wah: contemporary hijrah trend**

Najib Kailani once explained that the term *hijrah* emerged in the 1990s when study communities on campuses held *liqa'* and *halaqah*. After the collapse of the New Order regime, with the market at play, there was a need to expand the space in negotiations to package and sell da'wah content that the public could easily accept (Tirto.id, 2019). While the origin of the *hijrah* trend in cyberspace is not known exactly, in recent years, this *hijrah* phenomenon has appeared quite intensely on social media, such as Instagram, Youtube, and Facebook, which presents *hijrah* content with the nuances of romance and the problems of urban youth.

Following this trend, many young preachers emerge, and they take part in da'wah inviting to the way of hijrah. These young preachers include, among others, Hanan Attaki, Felix Siau, and artists from the capital city who concern about the world of da'wah and *hijrah*. All these figures have different characters, but they have the same charm in targeting the millennial youth market. These young preachers penetrated social media easily reaching young people. Delivering contemporary da'wah is their main agenda, but they have also transformed into a role model in appearance (fashion). It is attractive, especially for millennials who follow their da'wah content. Additionally, social media and mass media are also increasingly reporting the changes in artists and musicians who choose a more Islamic way of life. It impacts changes in attitudes felt by celebrities and triggers the fashion world to compete to facilitate Muslim and Muslim women who are becoming more Islamic. Thus, trendy syar'i clothes began to appear (PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2021). The presence of young preaching figures who always campaign for the *hijrah* path and public figures who show their Islamic identity has significantly impacted changes among millennial Muslim groups.

Overall, the nature of da'wah has changed considerably due to technological advancement and other contributing factors. It

includes major changes in its delivery and content comprising of different cultures and languages. In turn, it has reshaped the image of a preacher, and this change can be used as opportunities that are quite effective in da'wah strategies, particularly in addressing young millennials in urban centers. PPIM UIN Jakarta has identified five *hijrah* communities, namely YukNgaji, Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT, Terang Jakarta, Kajian MuSawarah, and The Strangers Al-Ghuroba. These *hijrah* communities become an essential framework in studying the contemporary *hijrah* movement through the Islamization of cyberspace. Moreover, these five communities have various da'wah strategies, in which the messages of da'wah and promotion of the activities carried out can be conveyed well to young millennials.

## **B. Da'wah Strategies of Hijrah Groups**

This study departs from the assumption that the *hijrah* community has a good strategy for disseminating ideas and promoting community activities to attract a significant number of followers in a short time. These are strategies that have been ignored by mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia so that these mainstream organizations are not as attractive to young millennials as the *hijrah* communities are.

The research findings of PPIM UIN Jakarta in 2020 suggest that contemporary *hijrah* communities in Indonesia use several da'wah strategies. With these strategies, they are able to attract young people to study Islam. These strategies will be explained in the following section:

### **a. The Utilization of Technology**

Advances in digital technology have allowed the spread of social media, which triggers the digitization of da'wah content in recent years. Surely, this development has given various implications in religious life. All in all, the internet has become an important reference for religious knowledge. Meanwhile, as explained earlier, internet users in Indonesia are dominated by young millennial groups with open and rational thoughts. They make the internet an alternative source of religious knowledge.

Indeed, digitizing da'wah content through social media has several advantages. Presenting religious information this way suits the need of millennials to reach the target audience much more effortlessly.

There is also a feature call instant feedback which will help improve its efficiency. It is also practical and efficient. The da'wah strategy carried out by the five *hijrah* communities under investigation has given a new perspective on the use of digital technology for da'wah activities. The various digital technologies used by the *hijrah* groups include social media platforms, online groups, Android application development, and video booster displays. It has become a way of utilizing existing digital technology.

### 1. Social Media



(Source: PPIM UIN Jakarta, data as of November 2020)

### Yuk Ngaji

Currently, *Yuk Ngaji* already has 38 regional official accounts managed by FAST alumni, namely @yukngajiaceh.official; @yukngajibali.id; @yuk\_ngaji\_balikpapan; @yukngaji\_bandungkota; @yukngajibjb; @yukngajibjm; @yukngajibatam; @yukngajibekasi; @yukngajibintaro; @yukngajibogor; @yukngajicibubur; @yukngaji\_ds; @yukngaji.depok; @yukngajijakbar; @yukngajijaksel; @yukngajijaktim; @yukngajijogja; @yukngajikp; @yukngajilamongan; @yukngajilampung; @yukngajilombok; @yukngajimagelang; @yukngajimakassar; @yukngajimlg; @yukngaji.medan; @yukngajipdg; Palangkaraya @AnakMesjid.id; @yukngajipalembang; @yukngajipalu; @yukngajipku; @yukngajisamarinda; @Yukngajisemarang; @yukngajisol0; @yukngaji.sby; @yukngajibelitung; @yukngajijakpusid; Mojokerto @yukngajimjk; @yukngajibsd.

The following are the social media platforms owned by the YukNgaji community:

-  : @YukNgajiid
-  : @KomunitasYukNgaji

## **Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT**

Adapting to the development of information technology and the tendencies of millennial youth, the Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT community da'wah activities also actively utilize online pages and social media to disseminate community information, programs, and regular studies. It also shares messages of motivation for millennials to change. This community takes into account trends and hobbies, and this way, they successfully embrace young millennials. Consequently, they gain high popularity in the hijrah communities in Bandung and other cities in the country.

The followings are the social media platforms owned by the Pemuda Hijrah community

 : @shifmedia.id

 : @shiftmedia

## **Terang Jakarta**

Intan Sakinah's study (2018) show that the Terang Jakarta community uses persuasive da'wah strategies such as psychodynamic strategy, socio-cultural strategy, and meaning construction strategy from Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra J. BallRokeach. This da'wah strategy can be seen from da'wah's delivery through Instagram, which displays the experiences of former drug addicts who repent of becoming devout Muslim women. Such experiences can psychologically encourage other young people who have dark pasts. The orientation of the Terang Jakarta community, which emphasizes "Adab Before Science" has also encouraged many followers to do hijrah, because they feel Islam is easy.

Meanwhile, Terang Jakarta also uses sociocultural strategies implemented through new media such as Instagram, WhatsApp, and so on. The Terang Jakarta Board introduced rules for good behavior in the use of Instagram or WhatsApp and rules for doing business. These rules form the basis for the general way of behaving. Meanwhile, in terms of meaning construction strategies, Terang Jakarta uses WhatsApp, video, Instagram, and others to influence and shape young people's views about Islam.

The followings are the social media platforms owned by terangjakarta:

 : @terangjakarta

 : @terangjakarta



### **Kajian Muda Sakinah Mawaddah Warahmah (MuSawarah)**

This da'wah group utilizes social media as a forum for sharing the hijrah experiences of artists/celebrities. This group also invites Ustaz to give a lecture and upload the lecture on their Youtube channel called "Kajian MuSawarah," which has 267 thousand subscribers. Their Instagram account "Kajian MuSawarah" has 871 thousand followers and their Facebook account has 43 thousand followers. They also have Twitter account with 109 followers.

The following are the social media platforms owned by kajianMusawarah community:

 : @kajianMuSawarah

 : @kajianMuSawarah

### **The Strangers Al-Ghuroba**

The following are the social media platforms owned by The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community:

 : @thestrangersalghuroba

 : youtube.com/thestrangersalghuroba

All five *hijrah* communities mentioned here use digital technology, including social media, especially YouTube and Instagram. This strategy is also used by a Hijrah community called The Strangers Al-Ghuroba, who tends to incline to Salafism. The difference between these five hijrah communities is in their appearance. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba chooses dark colors and rarely shows a person's face or a person's full physical form. The figures shown are only silhouettes or with faces removed.



(The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's Instagram Account, January 30, 2019)

Similarly, Terang Jakarta adopts Salafism. This group has a more open impression in their social media appearance. The faces of men and women are displayed clearly and equally. Their uploads seem to follow the trend of young people.



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, March 15, 2021)

The same thing can be seen in the social media content of the Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT community, Kajian MuSawarah, and Yuk Ngaji, although each community has a different typology of the hijrah movement.



(SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, December 24, 2016)



(Kajian MuSawarah's Instagram Account, December 27, 2019)



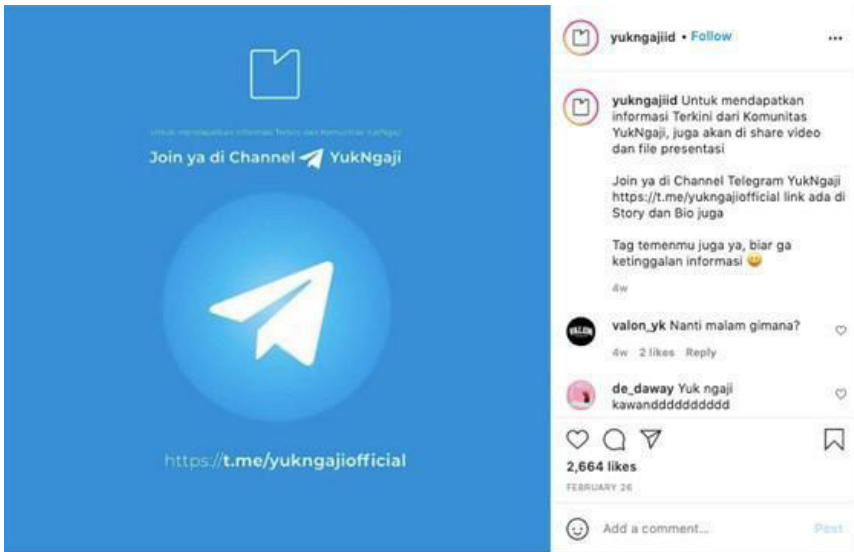
(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, March 12, 2019)

## 2. Online Group Chatting

Terang Jakarta hijrah community and Yuk Ngaji attempts to promote an understanding of hijrah and Islamic religious principles in their activities. They use online chat apps such as WhatsApp and Telegram. Based on the findings of PPIM UIN Jakarta, these online chat apps are used to distribute study materials and promote study activities. Terang Jakarta hijrah community even conducts online Islamic studies through WhatsApp group, and this event is participated by 9000 participants. This Islamic study method is an effective alternative for their followers because most have quite busy activities and limited time due to their careers.



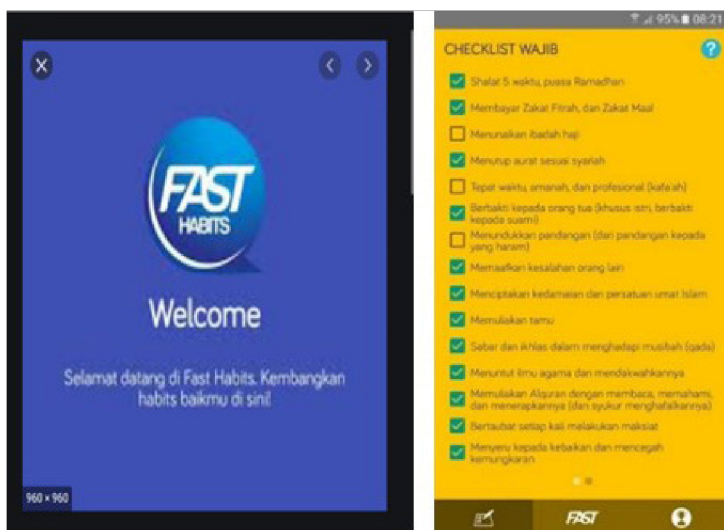
(Terang Jakarta's WhatsApp Group Community, PPIM UIN Jakarta's Document)



(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, 26<sup>th</sup> February 2021)

### 3. Developing Android Applications for Preaching

In terms of utilizing technology, YukNgaji hijrah community developed an android application called Fast Habits. The application is used to provide convenience in remembering good habits in Islam so that the users are more consistent in undergoing the hijrah process. There is a “Mandatory CHECKLIST” menu which contains the following activities: five daily prayers; pay zakat; perform the pilgrimage; be punctual and professional; respect parents and husband; lower your gaze; forgive others; create a good environment and maintain the unity of the people; learn about Islam; and so forth. Based on these findings, Yuk Ngaji does not only pay attention to aspects of worship, but they also pay attention to social aspects and promote social events to care for others. The content of this application is available in English, which is close to millennial youth groups. In addition, the Fast Habits application also features memorization and notes of books already read. There is also a Yuk Ngaji Comprehensive Study program (SKY), which follows the pattern of Ruang Guru’s online learning application in the teaching and learning process. It uses modern technology and can be accessed without limitations of space and time.



(The Fast Habits application developed by the Yuk Ngaji hijrah community through the Android application)



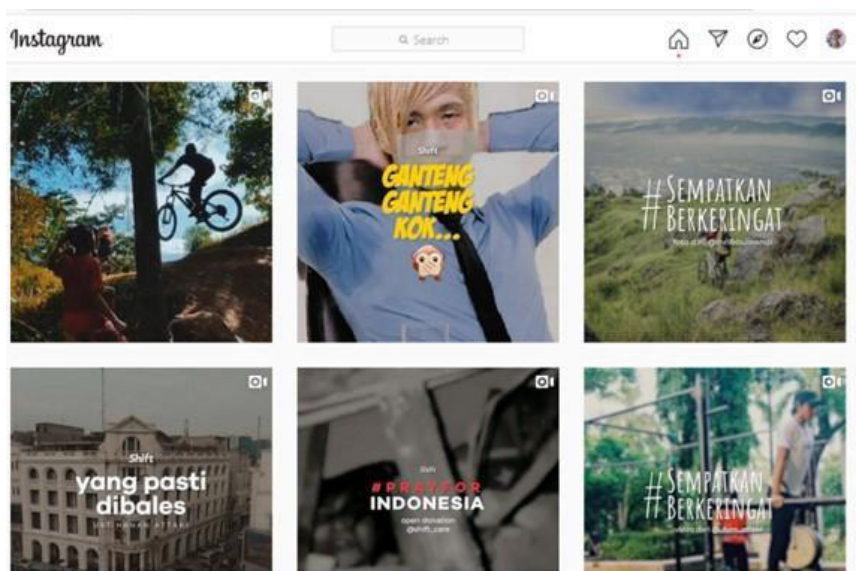


(Yuk Ngaji’s Instagram Account, March 8, 2020)

#### 4. Utilizing Video Booster

The Pemuda Hijrah Community, or SHIFT, realizes that the digital world requires instant, easy to digest, and interesting, especially for the young millennial group. Therefore, this community often uses video boosters in every content they upload to their social media accounts. The booster video displayed below is a one-minute short video containing motivation for young people to do hijrah. Usually, this video displays footage from Ustaz Hanan Attaki’s videos. It does not only display visuals but is also supported by a distinctive instrumental back sound. This way can be a strategy so that the motivation or boost from the video hits the audience and listeners. These booster videos are usually uploaded on the SHIFT community Instagram and YouTube pages. These videos will be easily distributed with a short duration of time, either through WhatsApp or Instagram.





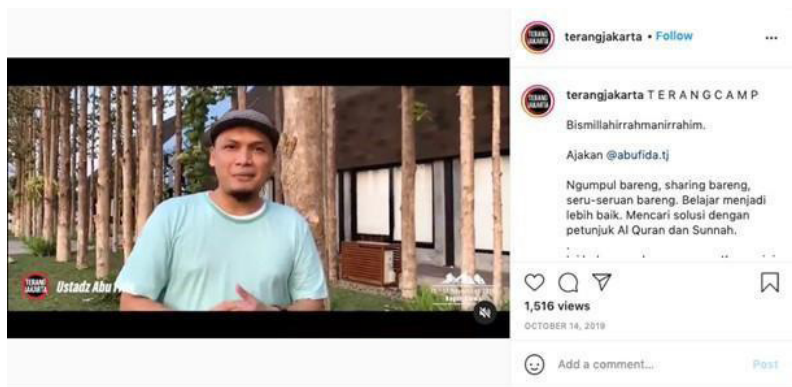
(Booster videos on the Pemuda Hijrah Instagram, March 23, 2021)

**b. Ustadz and Public Figures with More Stylish and Trendy Looks**

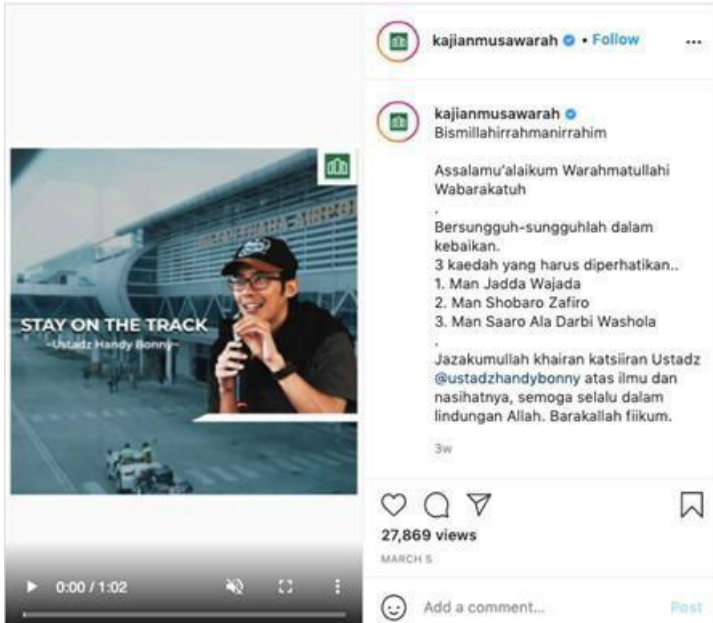
To get closer to their target audiences, preachers of the hijrah community pay close attention to fashion. In the Terang Jakarta community, Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT, Kajian MuSawarah, and Yuk Ngaji, the figures and their preachers wear casual and trendy clothes when appearing in public convey religious messages. It is very different from mainstream Islamic religious organizations that wear a distinctive eastern look with Islamic nuances, such as wearing a cap, turban, or long Islamic dress. Ustadz Hanan Attaki, one of the central figures of the SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah community, is very identical to the skullcap hat. Likewise, several figures in the Yuk Ngaji community often show up with T-shirts, flip-flops, hoodies, or upside-down hats. This strategy was chosen to eliminate the social gap between the Ustadz and his congregation. In addition, a casual look, also makes the hijrah community leaders closer to their congregations, which are generally young millennials.



(SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, June 15, 2018)



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, October 14, 2019)



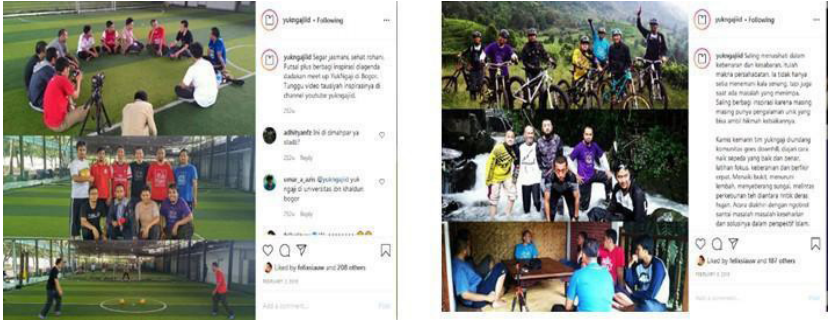
(Kajian MuuSAWarah's Instagram Account, March 5, 2021)



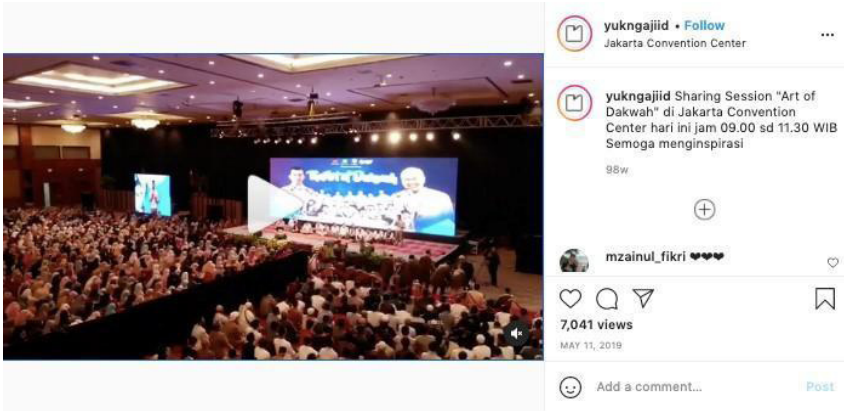
(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, March 40, 2021)

**c. Anti-mainstream Places for Religious Studies**

For offline activities, hijrah communities choose places of study that are not common, such as hotel ballrooms, futsal court, skateboard arenas, cafes, and others. Religious study activities are carried out simultaneously with recreational activities, such as playing futsal, cycling together, camping, and others.

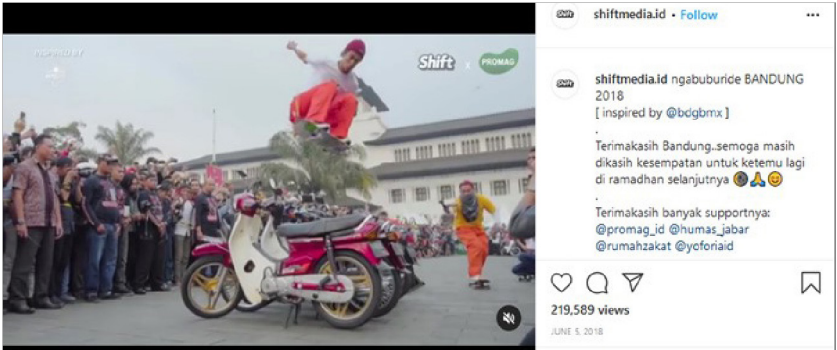


(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, February 2-6, 2016)



(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, May 11, 2019)

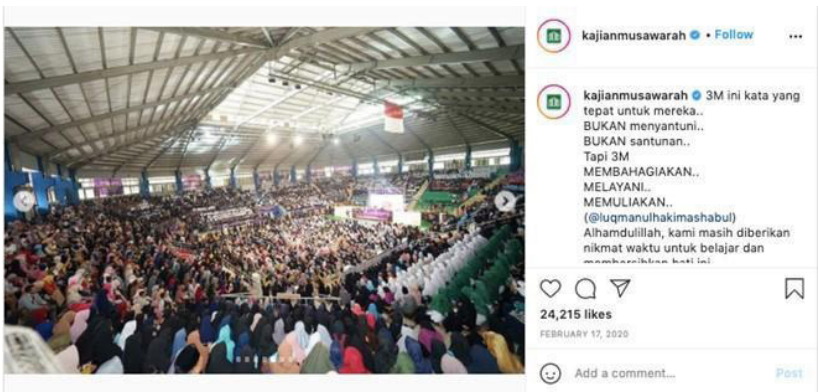




(SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, June 5, 2018)



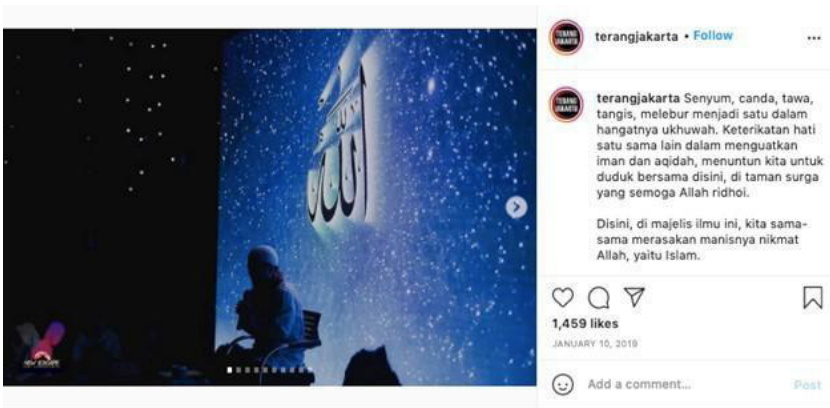
(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, March 5, 2018)



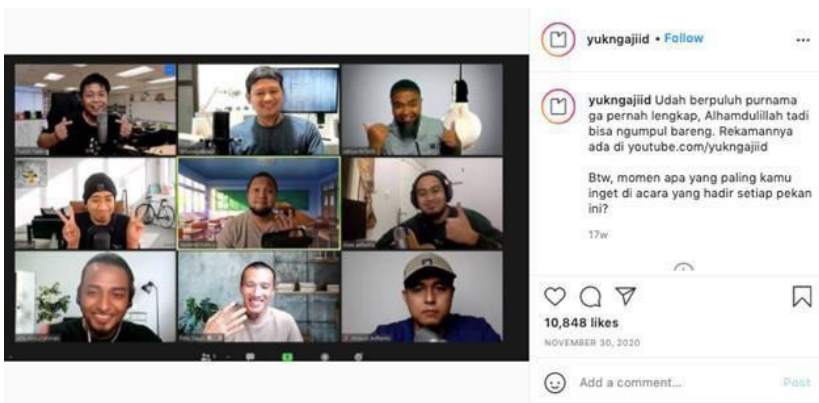
(Kajian MuSawah's Instagram Account, February 17, 2020)

#### d. Contemporary Islamic Study Design

Yuk Ngaji and Terang Jakarta communities also make innovations in the way they conduct religious studies. They design some training. Ustaz, who become speakers in Islamic study activities, is also referred to as trainers. In addition, the event was designed very interactively with ice-breaking games and the use of digital technology that was very well created so that it left a 'hit' impression for the participants. Ice-breaking games are not only designed conventionally, but it uses KAHOOT! and similar games. This method is implemented in face-to-face studies and in virtual studies conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic. Although participants can only stream online, they are invited to interact with interactive games.



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, January 10, 2019)



(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, November 30, 2020)

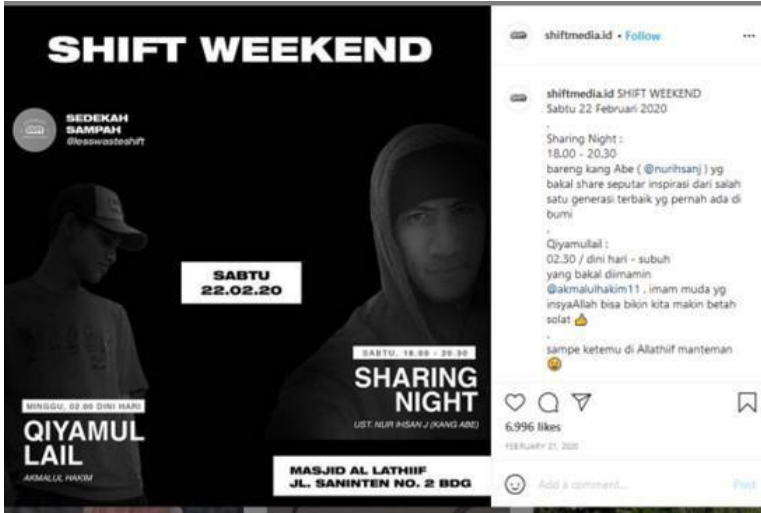
### e. Using Slang English

A mixture of foreign languages and slang is used in the delivery of the study materials. In general, this strategy was adapted by Terang Jakarta community, Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT, and Yuk Ngaji. However, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community has also used this strategy in its social media content. In addition, The Strangers Al-Ghuroba and Pemuda Hijrah choose a foreign language for their name. Some of Terang Jakarta's activities also often use English as their headline, including "Back to Good," "Girl Talk," and others. Yuk Ngaji uses international languages in application development, such as Fast Habits. Even though English is the dominant language used, other foreign languages are sometimes used, such as Korean "Anyong Haseo Ayuhannaas!" when greeting followers.



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, Desember 3, 2020)





(SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, February 21, 2020)



(The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's Instagram Account, January 2, 2020)

## f. Forming small community

For the Yuk Ngaji hijrah community, having followers on social media is not enough. Therefore, this hijrah community formed

small *halaqah* groups from NgeFast activity participants who had graduated from the program. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, these small groups always gather and meet to study Islam and provide mutual support in the hijrah process. With the existence of these small groups, it is hoped that their members can undergo hijrah consistently. This gathering activity came to be known as Hang Out.



(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, February 12, 2018)



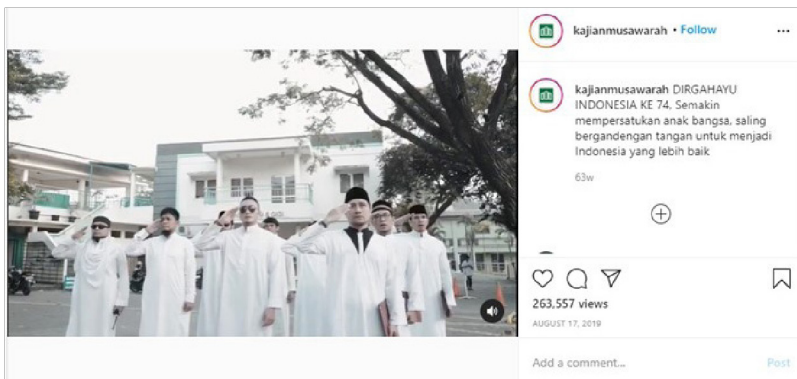
(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, November 14, 2016)

**g. Using national and international holidays**

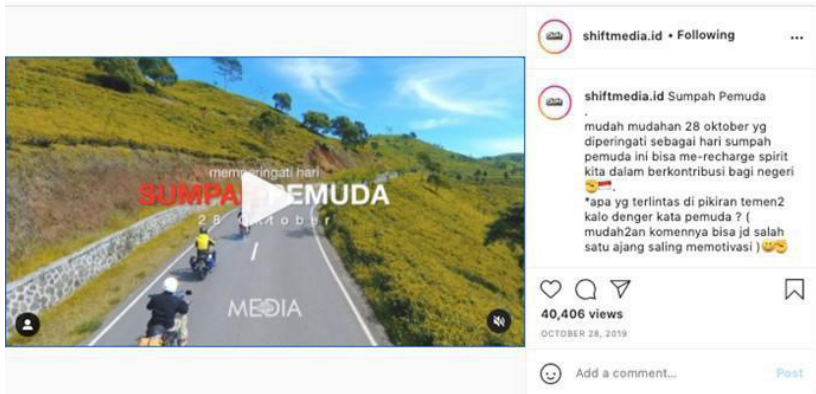
National and international holidays are another event that can be used as a da'wah strategy. The Hijrah Terang Jakarta community uses these holidays. This community understands very well the habits of millennial youth groups that are close to celebration moments. Terang Jakarta contextualizes this opportunity by conducting an Islamic study with commemorative themes, such as Valentine's Day being replaced with the "Fallen Time" program. Meanwhile, the Kajian MuSawarah Hijrah community used the moment of celebrating Indonesia's Independence Day as a form of nationalism for religious youth who love their country.



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, February 12, 2019)



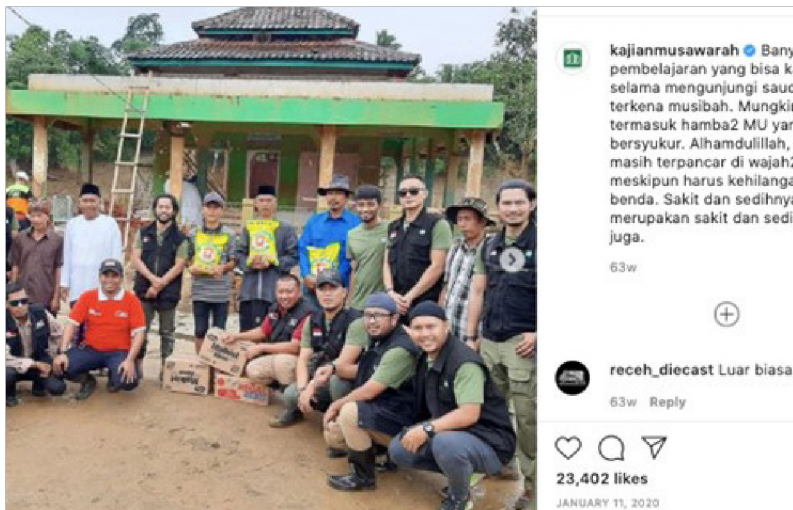
(Kajian MuSawarah's Instagram Account, Agustus 17, 2019)



(Shift Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, October 28, 2019)

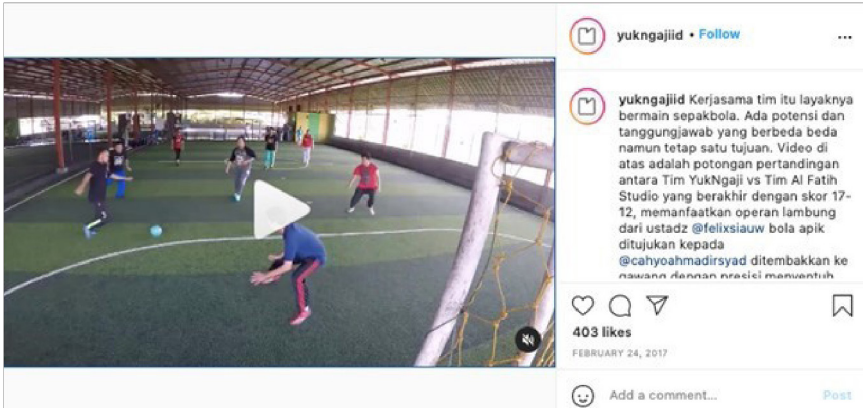
### h. Doing Social Activities That Young People like

Kajian MuSawahar Hijrah community, Terang Jakarta, Yuk Ngaji, and SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah do not concentrate solely on religious activities. They also do non-religious social activities as a means of conveying religious messages. These activities include distributing social assistance, sports (futsal, skateboarding, and soccer), motorcycle convoys, and even hanging out.

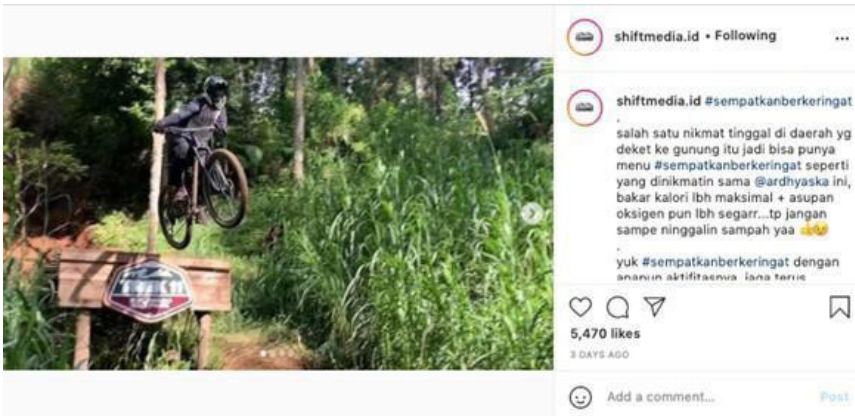


(KajianMuSawahar's Instagram Account, January 11, 2020)

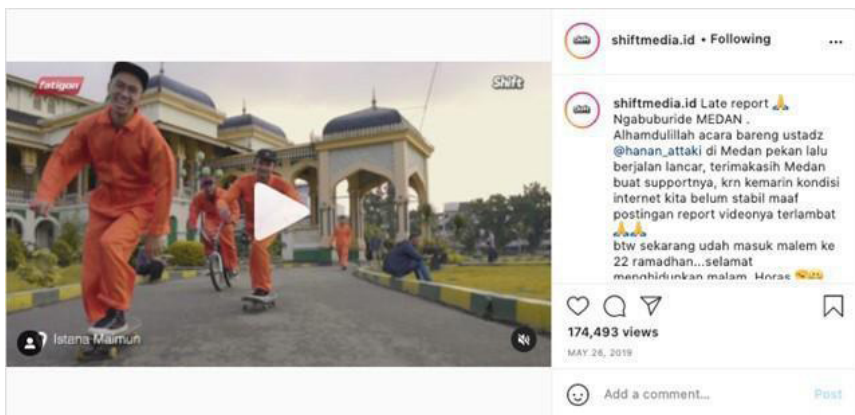




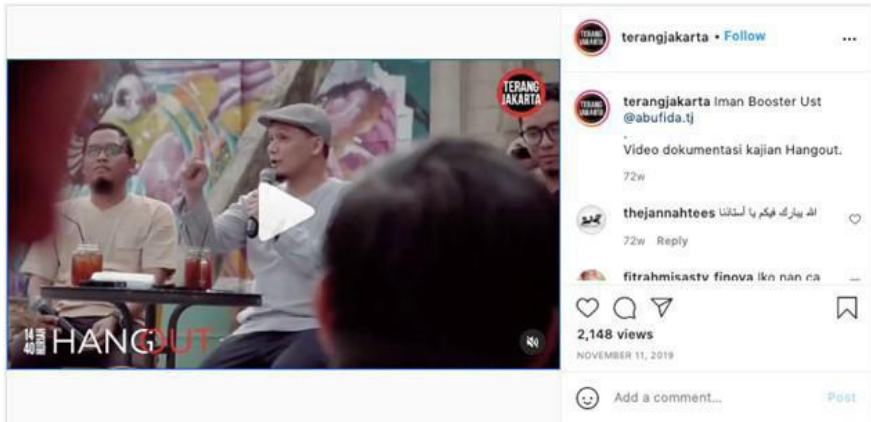
(YukNgaji's Instagram Account, February 24, 2017)



(SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, March 27, 2021)



(SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, May 26, 2019)



(Terang Jakarta’s Instagram Account, November 11, 2019)

### i. Using a *Public Figure*

The use of public figures or celebrities in the promotion of activities is part of the strategy of the hijrah communities. This can be seen in SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah, Yuk Ngaji, Terang Jakarta, and the Kajian MuSawarah. The majority of which are Indonesian celebrities. The selected public figures are those who have the same views regarding the hijrah movement. Several public figures in the hijrah community include Dewi Sandra, Arie Untung, Dimas Seto, and others.



(Yuk Ngaji’s Instagram Account, June 19, 2017)



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, May 26, 2019)

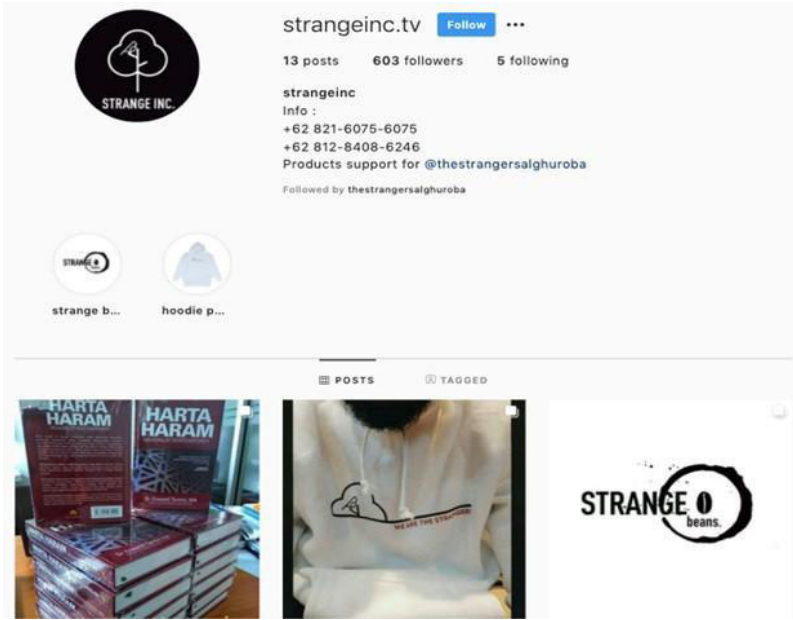


(Kajian MuSawahar's Instagram Account, January 4, 2020)

## j. Islamic Nuanced Product Endorsement

Cultivating entrepreneurial values is also carried out by the hijrah community in its da'wah strategy and one of which is in the form of endorsement of products with Islamic nuances by the Kajian MuSawahar community, whose followers are mostly celebrities. They are selling various kinds of merchandise. This activity is also carried out by The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community, who sells official merchandise products and study books usually delivered by the Ustadz. In addition, in Terang Jakarta and Yuk Ngaji hijrah communities, there is a promotion of Islamic traveling activities. One example is organizing a field trip to learn the history of the glory of Islamic civilization during the Ottoman Empire in Turkey.

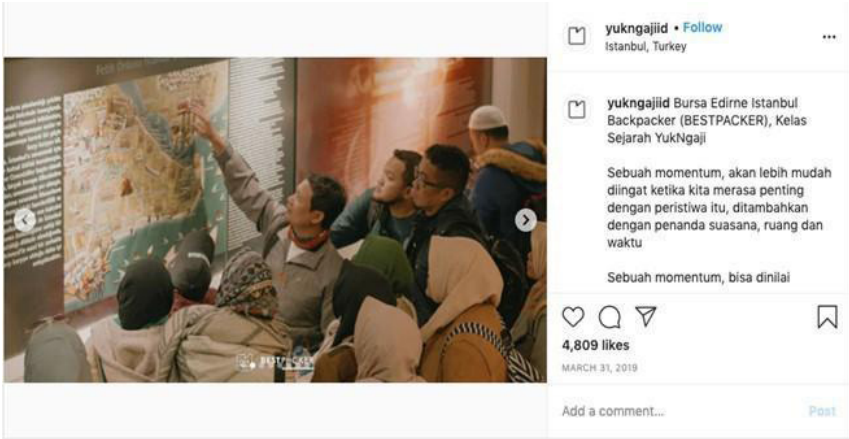




(Instagram Strangerinc.tv's The Strangers Al-Ghubroba)



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram, May 28, 2019)



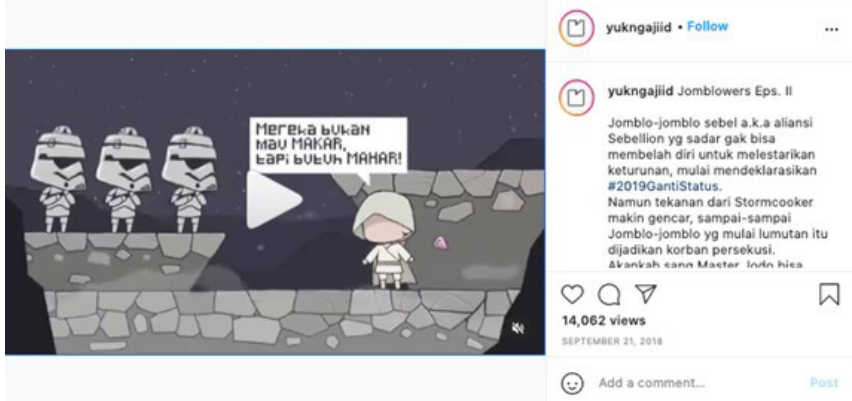
(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram, Maret 31, 2019)

**k. Using Third-Party Figure**

The use of third parties, such as cartoon characters, anime, and rising K-Pop idols, is also part of the da'wah strategy of the hijrah community. They utilize popular culture media. Yuk Ngaji and Terang Jakarta are the hijrah groups that often use this third-party figure in uploading their Instagram social media accounts. The characters shown are popular with young people. It shows that YukNgaji builds an image that this community is close and understands what young people like.



(Instagram of Terang Jakarta, June 24, 2019)



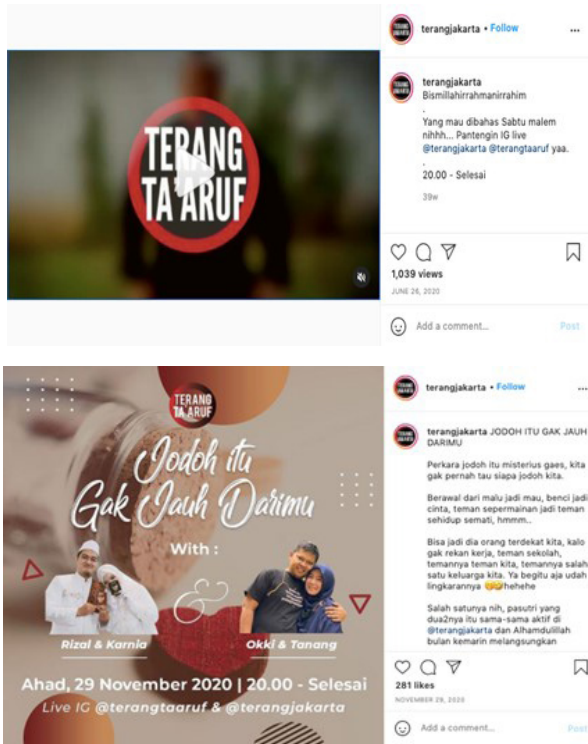
(YukNgaji's Instagram Account, 2018 – 2020)

## I. Common Islamic study Themes for Young People

In deciding the topics of study, the hijrah community generally avoids debates on furu'iyah (branches, not principal) matters. The themes discussed are more related to the principles of faith that are close to the daily lives of young people. In terms of fiqh and worship, followers generally apply the traditions carried out in their families or even the knowledge gained outside the hijrah community. Usually, the topic of study commonly carried out in every hijrah community is related to marriage and romance. Except for The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community, they have quite many studies on fiqh and worship in it because of the availability of clerics with expertise in these fields.



(SHIFT Pemuda Hijrah's Instagram Account, 2019 – 2017)



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, June – November 2020)







(The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's Instagram Account, January 2019)



(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, August – September 2020)

### m. Strengthening the Hijrah Community Network

Several hijrah communities carried out activities such as exchanging Ustaz figures between communities and forming organizations that unite them. One example is Barisan Bangun Negeri (BBN) and Muslim United. It is one of their strategies to strengthen their network. BBN was formed by nine ustaz from intercommunity hijrah, such as Ustaz Abdul Somad, Habib Muhammad bin Anis, Ustaz Umar Mita, Ustaz Felix Siau, Ustaz Salim Fillah, Ustaz Hannan Attaki, Ustaz Lukmanul Hakim, and Ustaz Adi Hidayat. BBN mostly does social activities to respond to natural disasters, usually done by Dompot Dhuafa's Quick Response Action (ACT).

One of the published activities is the Less Waste activity, which promotes environmental awareness by reducing waste production. In this activity, there are artists who are involved in hijrah, such as Mario Irwansyah, who actively campaigns for activities through social media.

Some hijrah communities are members of Muslim United. Muslim United is a collection of communities and several Muslim figures identified with the hijrah movement, such as Ustaz Adi Hidayat, Ustaz Abdul Somad, and the late Sheikh Ali Jaber. Muslim United was formed to revive the mosque so that it is a center for ritual worship activities and used as a place for social activities (Muslimunited.official). In 2019 Muslim United activities were planned to be held at the Gedhe Kauman Mosque, Yogyakarta, but this plan was rejected by the Yogyakarta Palace. Thus, the activity was relocated to the Jogokariyan Mosque in the southern region of Yogyakarta City.

Meanwhile, they also do a big event to attract public interest, especially millennials, to know hijrah. This event is called “Hijrah Festival.” This festival was first held in 2018 in several cities in the country. The gathering event for the hijrah community from various circles was held by inviting scholars and Ustaz, presenting talk shows and exhibitions of various products of the members of the hijrah community. The products range from beauty and health products, fashion, culinary, sharia property, to education. The organization of this event received positive interest from the community and support from public figures. This event was held for the second time in 2019. The festival was opened by the Governor of DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan and was a huge success. Although in the third year, 2020, this activity coincided with the COVID-19 pandemic, it did not dampen the interest of the hijrah community. The activity continues online through the YouTube channel with the theme “HijrahFest from Home.”





(YukNgaji's Instagram Account, January 28, 2018)



(Terang Jakarta's Instagram Account, January 5, 2020)



(Yuk Ngaji's Instagram Account, October 6, 2018)



(Aksi.id, November 13, 2018)



## **BAB VII**

### **Discussion and Closing**

*Windy Triana*

#### **A. The Typology and Spectrum of Hijrah Community**

By exploring the meaning of *hijrah* in five communities, core teachings, and systems of the movement, this study finds two typologies of the *hijrah* movement, namely conservative and Islamist. Four communities are classified into the conservative category; Terang Jakarta, Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT, Kajian MuSawarah, and The Strangers ALGhuroba. Meanwhile, the YukNgaji community is in the Islamist category.

##### **1. Conservative: Salafi and Non-Salafi**

As explained in the sub-discussion of definitions and concepts, conservative groups reject modernist, liberal, or progressive interpretations of Islamic teachings and maintain doctrine and normative social order. The conservative group in this study does not make politics a community agenda, which makes it different from the Islamist group. The conservatism of the four *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, considering the reference used and also how the four *hijrah* communities define themselves, these conservative groups are further divided into two, known as Salafi and non-Salafi. The word *Salafi*, however, is still understood in different ways. Some argue that Salafi is a religious belief with a similar concept to Wahhabi, but some others believe that it is more of an effort to purify Islamic teachings.

The Salafi movement is often connoted as a movement that develops less accommodating ideology to the socio-cultural

and socio-historical conditions of the people, and therefore this movement often causes conflicts in society (Noorhaidi, 2005: 23-84). Generally, the Salafi group emphasizes three main elements; to use textual propositions from the Qur'an and Hadith, desire to live as in the time of Prophet Muhammad, as well as to build religious understanding and practice as during the time of Salafus Salihin, known as the first three generations of Islam.

## **2. Pure Salafi Community: The Strangers Al-Ghuroba**

The Strangers Al-Ghuroba is classified as the pure Salafi category. This community displays its Salafi identity on social media; the *Ustaz* (religious teachers) who give the lecture during the Islamic study activities are also part of Salafi. The Strangers Al-Ghuroba forbids music and any images that resemble God's creation. This is why the pictures displayed on their Instagram page do not show faces clearly. To illustrate, the pictures of women shown are always wearing veils and dark-colored clothes.

Regarding music, pictures, and the way women dress, it shows how literal The Strangers Al-Ghuroba community interprets hadith texts. Some hadiths used as guidelines include the hadith narrated by Bukhari: *"There will be among my ummah (followers) a group who justify adultery, silk for men, khamr and musical instruments."* Second, the hadith narrated by Abu Hanifa explains that listening to the songs is a sin. Third, the hadith narrated by Al-Thabrani about *fitnah* (defamation) of the end of time, which reads: *"It will happen at the end of time when humans are drowned into the earth, rained with stones, and their appearance will be changed, that is, when musical instruments and singers are seen (halal) and khamr is made lawful."* (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2016a).

In addition, one of the Strangers Al-Ghuroba's figures, also explicitly conveyed the necessity to avoid *syubhat* (doubtful) cases. It is based on the hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslim: *"Indeed what is lawful is clear and what is unlawful is clear. Between the two, there are doubtful matters that many people do not know. Thus, whoever is afraid of doubt means he has saved his religion and his honor. And whoever falls into doubtful matters, he will fall into things that are forbidden. Like a herdsman who grazes his herd of animals around a field that is forbidden to enter. Know that every king has his prohibitions and Allah's prohibitions are what He forbids. Know that within you, there is a lump*

*of flesh. If it is good, then the whole body is good, and if it is bad, then the whole body is bad; know that it is the heart.*" (H.R. Bukhari and Muslim) (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2016a).

In addition, some hadiths that are frequently used by the figures are *kitab-kitab* (holy books) such as Arba'in Nawawi, Umdat al-Ahkam, Sahih Bukhari, and Sahih Muslim. The Umdat al-Ahkam holy book study, for instance, is regularly delivered by Ustaz Mizan Qudsiyah. In a YouTube content of The Strangers Al-Ghuroba uploaded on March 3, 2016, Ustaz Mizan explained that the holy book written by Abu Muhammad Abdul Ghani ibn Abdul Wahid al-Maqdisi contains summaries of the law narrated by the two main hadith narrators, Bukhari and Muslims (The Strangers Al Ghuroba, 2016b).

Some *Ustazs* who often become the speakers for The Strangers Al-Ghuroba's study include Mizan Qudsiyah, Lc, Abu Yahya for the study of fiqh; Dr. Erwandi Tarmizi, MA for muamalah studies; and Ustaz Sofyan Chalid Ruray for the study of faith. Meanwhile, several other ustazs were seen giving the lectures such as Ustaz Abdurrahman Thoyyib; Ustaz Dr. Musyaffa Ad-Darimy 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; Ustaz Dr. Arifin Badri; Ustaz Abuz Zubair Hawaary; Ustaz Abdullah Zaen, MA; and Ustaz Muhammad Nuzul Dzikri, Lc.

### **3. Accommodating Salafi Community: Terang Jakarta**

The Terang Jakarta Community is quite different from the number of communities studied in this research. On the one hand, this community can be categorized as Salafi due to the Islamic literature they use that refers to Salafi books and its literal interpretation of the Islamic sources. It can be seen from the content of the lecture of the Ustaz, who tend to emphasize textual arguments without reflecting on certain interpreters' points of view. The references they generally use are Wahhabi books, as acknowledged by Ustaz Taufik al-Miftah in an online interview. They also emphasized the study of Salafus Salihin, as seen in their study of the Nabawiyah Sirah, which has been carried out regularly for several years.

Several religious books written by scholars who are close to the Salafi-Wahhabi concept are also used as study references, such as Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (Kitab al-Tawhid) and Sheikh



Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab Muhammad bin Salih al-'Utsaimin (Al-Qaul al-Mufid 'ala Kitab al-Tawhid), including books written by other *ulama* (clerics), such as Tafsir Ibn Katsir, Tafsir Jami'ul Bayan fi Tafsiril Qur'an by Ibn Jarir Ath-Thabari (Tafsir bil Ma'tsur), Hadith al-Arba'in al-Nabawiyah Imam Nawawi, etc. Ustaz Taufik Al-Miftah mentioned that “*We take a light book. Tafsir Ibn Kathir, Ath-Tabari. Fiqh of the Four Schools. His hadith is also light, Arbain Nabawi. His monotheism, the book of Shaykh Muhammad Abdul Wahhab (Shaykh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab, pen.). There is also Shaykh Utsaimin (pen.)*.” (Ustaz Taufik al-Miftah, interview on August 27, 2020).

However, the Terang Jakarta community is very open and accommodative to modern issues. Essentially, the characteristics of the Terang Jakarta are not accommodated in the categorization proposed by both Wictorowitz (2006) and Wahid (2012). For this reason, this study considers this community as an accommodating Salafi group. On the one hand, the Terang Jakarta refers to a community that adheres to the understanding of Salafism; on the other hand, this group is very open to modern values. The Jakarta Terang Community shows accommodative characteristics in accompanying a person's journey to *hijrah*. Being religious, for this community, does not merely mean having to leave the worldly things (khamr, adultery, etc) altogether. Furthermore, the figures of the Terang Jakarta community usually appear with very trendy-looking styles.

The term “religious accommodation” has been used by various social scientists in America, including by researchers at the Office for Equality and Diversity of East Carolina University, America. This religious accommodation is interpreted as any form of adjustment to the work environment, thus enabling employees to adhere to their religious beliefs. The need for religious accommodation arises when a person's religious beliefs, observances, or practices conflict with certain duties or requirements of the job or the application process. The same term has also been used by Eileen P. Kelly (2008) in her article entitled “Accommodating Religious Expression in the Workplace”. Thus, religious accommodation can be interpreted as an effort to resolve conflicts experienced by employees, specifically related to their religious practices and duties in the workplace, without causing difficulties for employers.

In addition, the term “accommodation” is also widely used by communication scientists, especially related to Communication



Accommodation Theory (CAT). It is a theory that provides a framework aiming to predict and explain any adjustments made by individuals to create, maintain, or reduce the social distance in interactions between individuals (Giles & Baker, 2008). Meanwhile, various studies on religious accommodation have also been carried out, but most are more related to finding solutions to the conflict between religious practices and workplace rules. This religious accommodation is widely practiced by minority Muslim groups in Canada, America, and Europe.

#### **4. Non-Salafi Conservatives: Kajian MuSawarah and Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT**

The MuSawarah community declares that its community is not a part of Salafi. It can be seen from the *Ustaz* invited to their Islamic study activities. A content analysis on their Instagram and Youtube channels has also been carried out, and the results show that this community is quite accommodative to the existence of women in the *hijrah* movement. It is reflected in several pictures and videos showing the activities of *akhwat* (women followers) on their social media accounts. It is certainly different from other *hijrah* communities, especially those with rigid Salafi understanding, who do not allow women to take and publish pictures on social media platforms to avoid non-mahrams see them.

Similar to the MuSawarah community, Pemuda Hijrah SHIFT also does not define its community as Salafi. The general Muslim community more commonly uses the religious references this community frequently referred to. This study also did not find their tendency to Salafism, either from the discussions with community leaders and followers or from their social media contents. However, it is still uncertain whether this community belongs to the category of the Salafi movement or a modification of the Salafi. It is because the informant who received the question could not answer it due to their limited knowledge. Inong, one of the SHIFT figures stated that a more capable SHIFT figure should answer this question, in this case, is Ustaz Hanan Attaki (Fani Krismandar, by personal communication October 27, 2020). However, the access to an interview with Ustaz Hanan is still closed until today. The answer to this question is also nowhere to be found in their social media content (Instagram and youtube). Although, at the beginning of its establishment, Pemuda

Hijrah SHIFT often invited Ustaz Rahmat Baequni to give the lecture with a specialization on the end of time (Pemuda Hijrah on Instagram, 2015). Ustaz Rahmat Baequni's way of thinking and fashion style tends to be Salafi. However, since 2016, Ustaz Rahmat Baequni has no longer carried out the lecture at Pemuda Hijrah Community. The video recording of Ustaz Rahmat Baequni's lecture is not even on the SHIFT Youtube account.

## 5. Islamist: YukNgaji

The Yuk Ngaji community is included in the Islamist category because it makes political aspects part of the hijrah. According to Felix Siau, hijrah requires Islam with *kaffah*. Islam with 'kaffah' means accepting and implementing everything that is taught by Islam, including politics. Felix Siau explained that there are three things to make people *istikamah* (consistent) in the process of hijrah, namely *aqidah*, *ukhuwah*, and *sharia*. *Sharia* is defined as a system or state that embodies the creation of a supportive environment in the hijrah process. In this case, it is believed that the state has the power and responsibility to prohibit and abolish the act of wickedness. With the *Shari'a*, there will also be a prohibition against committing immorality in society. Furthermore, according to Felix, those rules also encourage individuals to be more *istikamah* to hijrah (YukNgaji Community, 2016, 2017).

The political system meant by the YukNgaji community is *Khilafah* (Islamic state) system. This is clearly explained in several videos, especially some being delivered by Felix Siau. In a video of a book review series, *Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin* explained *Khilafah* as a system appointed by Allah (God). It can be concluded that the ideas of a *khilafah* promoted by YukNgaji are a continuation of Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia's (HTI) mission and struggle. This is because YukNgaji's figures are also HTI figures, of whom Felix Siau is best known. Likewise, the book used as a reference entitled '*Islam Rahmatan Lil Alamin*', is obtained from "*Diskursus Islam Politik dan Spiritual*" by Hafidz Abdurrahman, who is also known as one of the main figures of Hizbut-Tahrir in Indonesia (Felix Siau, 2018). The message to continuously fight for *Khilafah* is still being conveyed, although the Indonesian government has banned HTI since July 2017 with the issuance of a Government Regulation called *Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang* (Perppu) Number 2 of 2017.

## B. Conclusion

Based on the findings and discussion of the five hijrah communities, it can be concluded that there are two typologies of contemporary hijrah communities in Indonesia, namely conservative and Islamist. Conservative groups consist of Salafi and non-Salafi. Furthermore, the Salafi community shows the characteristics of pure Salafi and accommodating Salafi. The term accommodating Salafi is used in this study to refer to the Salafi community that shows a helpful attitude towards modern values. The previous studies on Salafism did not accommodate this characteristic. This typology is based on an in-depth study of community responses to various issues, such as nationality, tolerance, and gender. The conservatism shown by the five hijrah communities is very diverse, so it cannot be equated from one community to another.

This research appears based on the assumption that *hijrah* communities have a good strategy in spreading ideas and promoting community activities to attract a significant number of followers, especially young people, in a short time. The mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia do not own some of the strategies stated above, so it can be said that they are an organization that is left behind and is not very enticing to the young. Based on the findings of the five hijrah communities, they have a unique strategy in each community. Some communities have the same strategy as each other, but some apply different strategies.

With the findings of the strategy implemented by hijrah communities in Indonesia, it can be concluded that these five hijrah communities have succeeded in attracting followers among young people from various social classes. It is due to the ability to communicate and address non-conventional da'wah messages by maximizing the use of technology through social media, applying the typical communication style of young people, and actively following and responding to lifestyles or issues arising in urban communities.



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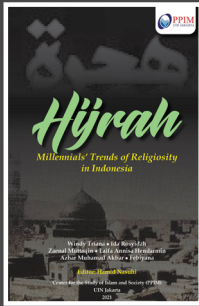
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In recent years a new phenomenon has emerged among millennial Muslims. This phenomenon is marked by extraordinary religious enthusiasm along with changing fashion styles that are Islamic yet modern. Besides, this phenomenon also includes the spirit of sharia economic activities and the intense Islamic studies with clerics who look fashionable like the followers of their communities. Moreover, the communities and elites involved in this community also massively use digital media to publish their programs to persuasively attract millennial groups

to join them. The communities of this study share a common identity with one another, which is the urge to follow the hijrah path. Therefore, it is the reason why those communities are labelled as hijrah communities. This book is to explore this phenomenon by investigating the typology and spectrum of its movement; community views and responses to contemporary issues such as democracy, nationality, pluralism, and the fight against religious extremism; their views on gender issues; and the strategy of the hijrah community to publish ideas and to persuade millennial groups.

