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## FUNDAMENTALIST DA'WAH MOVEMENT: THE STUDY OF LOCAL TABLIGHI JAMA'AH GROUP AND ITS ACCEPTANCE IN MADURA

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### *Abstrak*

#### **Kata Kunci:**

Fundamentalisme, Aktivitas Dakwah, Jama'ah Tabligh

*Artikel ini menganalisis bentuk fundamentalisme agama yang ditampilkan oleh gerakan dakwah Jama'ah Tabligh di Madura, dan mengungkapkan alasan penerimaan masyarakat Madura terhadap kelompok ini. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kualitatif menggunakan pendekatan studi kasus. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara dengan beberapa tokoh utama dan para pengikut, disertai dengan serangkaian pengamatan dan dokumentasi kegiatan dakwah kelompok tersebut. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa gerakan dakwah Jama'ah Tabligh di Madura dapat dikategorikan sebagai gerakan fundamentalis Islam (puritan), terutama dalam upaya pemurnian iman, syariat dan moralitas. Selain itu, Jama'ah Tabligh melarang penggunaan teknologi secara aktif dan massal karena dapat menjadi penghambat proses dakwah. Kelompok ini menekankan pentingnya berpenampilan yang diklaim sunnah (rasul), seperti memakai gaun, turban, siwak, celana cingkrang, dan tidak terlibat dalam politik praktis. Kelompok ini menekankan pentingnya sholat berjamaah dan kesederhanaan dalam menjalani hidup. Inilah alasan mendasar kenapa masyarakat Madura dapat menerima keberadaan Jama'ah Tabligh. Selain karena praktik keagamaan mereka yang dipandang sejalan dengan ajaran Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah, para kiai sebagai pihak yang ditaati oleh masyarakat pun, sebelumnya pun telah menerima kegiatan dakwah Jama'ah Tabligh di Madura.*

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**Abstract**
**Keywords:**

Fundamentalism, Da'wah activities, Tablighi Jama'ah

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This paper analyzes the form of religious fundamentalism displayed through Tablighi Jama'ah's da'wah movement in Madura and uncovers the rationale for Madura's community's acceptance of this da'wah movement group. This is qualitative research using a case study approach. Data collection was carried out through interviews with some main figures and followers of the group, a series of observations, and documentation of the da'wah activities done by the group. The result shows that Tablighi Jama'ah's da'wah movement in Madura can be categorized as a puritanical Islamic fundamentalist movement, particularly because it intends to purify faith, sharia, and morals. In contrast to the beliefs of other religious groups, this group prohibits an active and massive use of technology because it is perceived as a direct obstacle to da'wah and is considered full of immorality. This group emphasizes the so-called sunnah appearance, such as using robes, turbans, siwak, cingkrang trousers, and not being engaged in practical politics. Moreover, they also emphasize congregational prayers and the necessity of living a simple life. This paper also signifies that the Madura community accepts Tablighi Jama'ah because their religious practices are congruently aligned with the teachings of Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah. In addition, the acceptance of the Madura community is due to their obedience toward the Kiai, who has previously accepted the Tablighi Jama'ah da'wah activities in Madura.

**Introduction**

Religious fundamentalism has become a historical fact of religious life in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. This phenomenon has become one of the common characteristics in every major religious tradition in the world even though the term fundamentalism first appeared in the Protestant-Christian tradition in America in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Some observers use this term to describe the same tendency in Islam. There are several Islamic groups that can be categorized as having a fundamentalist character. Some of these fundamentalist religious movements have not only developed in the places where these movements originated, but these movements have also spread their influences on areas far from their origins. Due to the influence of globalization, the religious fundamentalist movements not only have developed quite rapidly in a short period of time but also have followers that are spread all over the world.

Indonesia has become one of the most promising countries for the coming and development of transnational fundamentalist religious

organizations and sects. Some experts acknowledge this fact by saying that ‘every seeds you plant in Indonesia grows’.<sup>1</sup> Despite the fact that *Tablighi Jama’ah* is a non-indigenous organization, it has attracted Indonesian Muslims both in urban and rural areas. This group has proliferated in many regions in Indonesia for the last twenty years. The rapid development of this organization in Indonesia in a relatively short time spanning several regions in Indonesia has proven that this group is able to compete with other Islamic *da’wah* organizations that have long been developing in this country. Even, *Tablighi Jama’ah* can be accepted in some areas where some Islamic organization have strong supports and members and it has established many *da’wah* centres in these areas. Even though it is often referred to as an Islamic fundamentalist movement, this movement can adjust at the local level of Indonesian Muslim society. In understanding this phenomenon, this article raises several questions: to what extent do religious fundamentalism characteristics reflect in *Tablighi Jama’ah* in Madura? what are the reasons behind the acceptance of Madura’s community towards the *Tablighi Jama’ah’s da’wah* activities?

Many studies have been conducted on *Tablighi Jama’ah* in Indonesia from different perspective. Observers have studied the coming of *Tablighi Jama’ah* to Southeast Asia<sup>2</sup> and have traced the historical background of the religious movement with the reference to the birthplace of this group, India.<sup>3</sup> In addition, some observers have examined *Tablighi Jama’ah’s* religious patterns,<sup>4</sup> teachings, ideologies and structures, while others have

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Bubalo and Greg Fealy, *Joining the Caravan? The Middle East, Islamism and Indonesia*, Lowy Institute Paper, no. 5 (Double Bay, New South Wales: Longueville Media, 2005), 65.

<sup>2</sup> Farish A. Noor, *Islam on the Move: The Tablighi Jama’at in Southeast Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012). Also see Farish A. Noor, “The Tablighi Jama’at in West Papua, Indonesia: The Impact of a Lay Missionary Movement in a Plural Multi-Religious and Multi-Ethnic Setting,” in *Proselytizing and the Limits of Religious Pluralism in Contemporary Asia*, ed. R. Michael Feener Juliana Finucane (New York: Springer, 2014), DOI 10.1007/978-981-4451-18-5.

<sup>3</sup> Kamaruzzaman Bustamam-Ahmad, ‘The History of Jama’ah Tabligh in Southeast Asia: The Role of Islamic Sufism in Islamic Revival’, *Al-Jami’ab: Journal of Islamic Studies* 46, no. 2 (26 December 2008): 353–400, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2008.462.353-400>.

<sup>4</sup> Aep Saepuloh, Nandang Koswara, and Asep Dadan Wildan, ‘The Religious Patterns

focused on the preaching method of the group<sup>5</sup> and public's response<sup>6</sup> towards the group's movement.<sup>7</sup> Other observers<sup>8</sup> also give attention to Islamic building character<sup>9</sup> and the resilience<sup>10</sup> of the family of *Tablighi Jama'ah*<sup>11</sup> and the survival of family<sup>12</sup> during *khuruj*.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, other observers also analysed the *da'wah* activities<sup>14</sup> conducted by female

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of the Tablighi Jamaat in Indonesia', *Ijd-Demos* 4, no. 2 (30 July 2022), <https://doi.org/10.37950/ijd.v4i2.284>.

<sup>5</sup> Zulkhan Indra Putra, 'The Tablighi Jamaat Movement Its Ideological Concept and Organizational Structure', *Afkaruna* 9, no. 1 (2013): 17–25, <https://doi.org/10.18196/aijjs.2013.0016.16-25>.

<sup>6</sup> Benny Baskara, 'The Expansion of Jama'ah Tabligh Movement and Its Influence on the Religious Belief of the Bajo People in South East Sulawesi', *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 14, no. 2 (1 December 2020): 519, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2020.14.2.519-540>.

<sup>7</sup> Umdatul Hasanah, 'Keberadaan Kelompok Jamaah Tabligh dan Reaksi Masyarakat (Perspektif Teori Penyebaran Informasi dan Pengaruh)', *Jurnal Indo-Islamika* 4, no. 1 (20 June 2014): 21–44, <https://doi.org/10.15408/idi.v4i1.1559>. Also see. Saipul Hamdi, "Covid-19, Social Stigma and Changing Religious Practice in Tablighi Jamaat Communities in Lombok, Indonesia," *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 76 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2022.102996>.

<sup>8</sup> Ahmad Suhaili, M. Amar Adly, and Akmaluddin Syaputra, 'Fulfillment of Wife and Child's Rights in the Tabligh Family (Case Study of Khuruj against the Jama'ah Tabligh Medan Area and Medan Helvetia)', *Budapest International Research and Critics Institute (BIRCI-Journal): Humanities and Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (8 May 2020): 884–94, <https://doi.org/10.33258/birci.v3i2.916>.

<sup>9</sup> Engkizar et al., 'Building of Family-Based Islamic Character for Children in Tablighi Jamaat Community', *Ta'dib* 24, no. 2 (29 December 2021): 299, <https://doi.org/10.31958/jt.v24i2.4847>.

<sup>10</sup> Dhiauddin Tanjung, Ibnu Radwan Siddik, Pagar, "Family Resilience of Jama'ah Tabligh: Implementation Study of the Dimensions of Legality, Household Wholeness and Gender Partnerships," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 5, no. 2 (2022): 39–61, <http://jurnal.unissula.ac.id/index.php/ua/article/view/20544>.

<sup>11</sup> Nurhayati, 'Khuruj and Family Economic Resilience: Study on Jama'ah Tabligh Family in Medan City', *Al-Ahkam* 29, no. 1 (8 May 2019): 67, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2019.29.1.3087>.

<sup>12</sup> Muhammad Edwan Roni, 'Pemenuhan Nafkah Bagi Keluarga Jama'ah Tabligh Saat Khuruj Fisabilillah (Studi Kasus Jama'ah Tabligh Kota Medan)' (Medan, Graduate Program of State Islamic University North Sumatera, 2021).

<sup>13</sup> Abdul Rasid Pakaya et al., 'Problematika Khuruj fi Sabilillah Keluarga Jama'ah Tabligh', *Al-Mujtabid: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 2, no. 2 (25 December 2022): 134, <https://doi.org/10.30984/ajfl.v2i2.2146>.

<sup>14</sup> Suratno Suratno and Dodi Yudo Setyawan, 'Analisis Program Masturah Jama'ah Tabligh dan Implikasinya terhadap Keluarga Samara', *Jurnal Dakwah Tabligh* 20, no. 2 (31 December 2019): 267, <https://doi.org/10.24252/jdt.v20i2.10340>. Eva F. Amrullah, "Seeking Sanctuary in 'The Age of Disorder': Women in Contemporary Tablighi Jama'at," *Contemporary Islam* 5, no. 2 (2011): 135–160, DOI 10.1007/s11562-010-0147-2.

members of the *Tablighi Jama'ah*<sup>15</sup> and analysed education activities of female Islamic boarding school.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to previous studies, recent research on *Tablighi Jama'ah* was conducted to examine the influence of schism of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in India and its response and change of Indonesian *Tablighi Jama'ah*.<sup>17</sup> However, the study of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Madura is neglected in the area of studies within the study of Islamic fundamentalist da'wah movement in Indonesia. In contrast to the abundance of previous research on *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Indonesia, only few are devoted to analyse the dynamics of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Madura. The most recent research of *Tablighi Jama'ah da'wah* activities in Madura is conducted by Mohammad Fauzi involving the perspective of Max Weber's social behaviour theory.<sup>18</sup> Unlike previous research, this article seeks to fill the gap by specifically examining the characteristics of fundamentalism that exist in this group by analysing how this group adjusts its teachings and *da'wah* movement in the local context of Madura. Moreover, this study is significant in categorising and determining whether the label of fundamentalism covers all aspects of the movement or only some of its teachings.

This research was considered as qualitative research using a case study approach. The respondents included practitioners and activists of *Tablighi Jama'ah* from the leadership elements, figures and members of *Tablighi Jama'ah* itself, as well as the surrounding community who have

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<sup>15</sup> Wirman and Mira Fauziah, 'The Method of Da'wah of Jama'ah Masturah in Increasing Religious Awareness of Women in Aceh Besar', *Jurnal Ushuluddin* 28, no. 2 (31 December 2020): 204, <https://doi.org/10.24014/jush.v28i2.8601>.

<sup>16</sup> Eva F. Nisa, 'Insights Into the Lives of Indonesian Female Tablighi Jama'at', *Modern Asian Studies* 48, no. 2 (March 2014): 468–91, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X13000681>. Also see. Gautam Kumar Jha, "Congregation of Tablighi Jama'at During the Pandemic COVID-19 and Its Agenda in India and Indonesia," *International Studies* 59, no. 1 (2022): 76–96, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/00208817221093157>.

<sup>17</sup> Achmad, 'Tablighi Jamaat Schism: Responses and Changes of Its Members in Indonesia', *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 18, no. 1 (30 June 2021): 1–28, <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v18i1.3521>.

<sup>18</sup> Mohammad Fauzi, 'Dakwah dan Perilaku Sosial Jama'ah Tabligh di Masjid Jamik Nurul Rahman Pasean Pamekasan Madura: Perspektif Tindakan Sosial Max Weber' (Surabaya, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel, 2020).

become the *da'wah* target of the *Tablighi Jama'ah* of Palpetto headquarters, Pamekasan Regency, Madura. The techniques used in the data collection process included interview, observation, and documentation, either visual or audio visual. This article also analysed data in the form of documents, which included books such as *Fadhaiul A'mal* (the work of Maulana Muhammad Zakariya al-Kandahlawi), *Muntakhab Abadith*, *Hayatus Sahabah* (written by Maulana Yusuf Al-Kandalawi, the son of Tablighi Jama'ah missionary movement founder; Shaykh Maulana Muhammad Ilyas Al-Kandahlawi).

The present article will analyse this phenomenon based on following outline. It will begin by providing the brief history of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Madura as well as the definition. The second part of this article will discuss characteristics of Islamic fundamentalism *da'wah*. Following that, this article specifically explains the understanding of Islamic fundamentalism and *da'wah* of *Tablighi Jama'ah*. Then it will look at the doctrine of *Tablighi Jama'ah*. Then, it will discuss how the local doctrine of *da'wah* movement in Madura works. Towards the end, this paper discusses the reasons by which Muslim community in Madura accept this da'wah movement group.

### **The Rise of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Madura**

*Tablighi Jama'ah* is a transnational religious movement that was firstly established and developed in Mewat, India in 1926. This group was founded by Maulana Muhammad Ilyas bin Muhammad Ismail al-Hanafi Ad-Diyubandi al-Jisyti al-Kandahlawi (1303-1364 H/1885-1944).<sup>19</sup> The historical records show that the formation of this congregation was inspired by the dream of Maulana Muhammad Ilyas. This group was established as a response to the militant efforts of Shuddhi and Sangathan.<sup>20</sup> The main thrust of this movement is to "purify" Muslims'

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<sup>19</sup> Syafi'i Mufid, 'Perkembangan Paham Keagamaan Transnasional Indonesia' (Kementerian Agama RI Badan Litbang dan Diklat Puslitbang Kehidupan Keagamaan, 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Mumtaz Ahmad, 'Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia: The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat', in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, ed. Martin E. Marty, R. Scott Appleby, and **AL-A'RAF**— Vol. XIX, No. 2, December 2022

religious practices from Hinduism's religious values and to educate Muslims about their beliefs and rituals. These efforts are considered important to hinder Muslims from becoming easy prey for Hindus. The aim is to bring about the revival of faith and the reaffirmation of religious and cultural identity of independent Muslims.

In Indonesia, *Tablighi Jama'ah* movement began to develop in around 1952, which was brought by Ustad Miaji Isa. Its first appearance was at al-Hidayah Mosque in Medan. This movement then grew and continued to show its existence. In 1974, they began to spread their territory by establishing a headquarters at Kebon Jeruk, Jakarta Mosque, which was spearheaded by a retired Lieutenant Colonel of ABRI (Indonesian National Army) named Zulfikar. The existence of this headquarters was a proof that the *da'wah* (preaching) movement has received a positive response from many Indonesians. Apart from that, a *Da'i* (preacher) cadre institution has also been established in Temboro, at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School Temboro, Karas, Magetan, East Java.<sup>21</sup>

The activities of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in East Java began to expand in 1986, when a group of preachers from Pakistan, led by Prof. Shohur, arrived at al-Fatah Mosque that is located at Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School (*pesantren*), Temboro, Karas, Magetan. They intended to introduce Pakistan's *tabligh* method and develop it throughout the world, including Indonesia. Their arrival was welcomed by the *pesantren's* leaders, especially by K.H. Uzairon Toifur Abdallah (son of the late K.H. Mahmud, founder of the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school, Temboro) who is an alumnus of one of the educational institutions in Mecca. In this sense, he had already got certain understandings upon the group and able to compare it with the *da'wah* activities in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. K.H. Uzairon agreed to develop *Tablighi Jama'ah's da'wah* movement in Indonesia. Since then, the

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American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Paperback ed., [Nachdr.], *The Fundamentalism Project 1* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Yusran Razak, *Jamaah Tabligh, Ajaran dan Dakwahnya* (Jakarta, Sekolah Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2008), 60.

*da'wah* program has been introduced around Temboro. Al-Fatah Mosque, until now, has been the centre of activities (headquarters) of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in East Java and its surroundings<sup>22</sup>. From this headquarters, *Tablighi Jama'ah* missionary movement began to expand to many areas in East Java, including Madura.

In Madura, *Tablighi Jama'ah* movement began to develop around 1995. Initially, a group of people (*keburuy*) from Jakarta led by Ust. Najid Mahfud came to Madura and visited (*sowan*) to several *Kyai* (ulema) in Pamekasan Regency, including the late. K.H. Maimun (the caretaker of Madukawan Islamic Boarding School), R.K.H. Muhammad Asnawi (Pakes Islamic Boarding School), R.K.H. Muhammad Rofi'i Baidhowi (Al-Hamidi Islamic Boarding School, Banyuanyar), and others. Although some *kiai* refused politely, the group had obtained a quite positive response from several *kiai*. Following that, with the approval of several parties, the Palpetto Mosque was set up as the headquarters of *Tablighi Jama'ah*, as well as the first official headquarters in Madura. Since then, *Tablighi Jama'ah da'wah* movement has grown massively around the headquarters and continued to expand reaching four districts in Madura, including Pamekasan (headquarters), Sumenep, Sampang, and Bangkalan. Recently, the members of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Madura reach approximately fifteen thousand people. This significant increase is believed to be influenced by a substantial number of Madura people who migrate out of the region and even abroad. In this instance, they socialized with various Islamic movements and organizations that were developing throughout the world, including *Tablighi Jama'ah*. This has made the *Tablighi Jama'ah* group to adapt and spread easily in Madura.

### **Characteristic of Islamic Fundamentalism and *Da'wah* of *Tablighi Jama'ah***

It is undeniable that the definition of fundamentalism may have

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<sup>22</sup> Abdul Azis, *Varian-Varian Fundamentalisme Islam di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Diva Pustaka, 2004), 42-43.



distorted, biased and pejorative meaning or connotation. One of the reasons is the term is often used to discredit the rivalry between groups. In fact, fundamentalism does not always have a negative connotation, particularly when the movement is rational and spiritual.<sup>23</sup> In attaching the term fundamentalism to a movement or a group, some use different terms in referring to a movement that has similarities with the fundamentalism movement. Some of them associate it with movements that tend to be negative, such as extremism, radicalism, and terrorism. While others regard fundamentalism as a value-free term.<sup>24</sup> Yet, a lot of literature have discussed this theme. However, comprehensive conclusion that can outline the general theory about the matter has not been generated and widely accepted.<sup>25</sup>

The word fundamentalism, etymologically, comes from the basic word of fundament, which means the basis or foundation. The word comes from a Latin word *fundamentum* derived from the word *funder* which means laying a foundation.<sup>26</sup> In Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), the term fundamental is an adjective which means basis, principle, base, and foundation. The word is derived from the word fundament.<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, from a terminology perspective, Azumardi Azra states that fundamentalism is defined as a religious movement proceeding to return to the fundamentals of religion in a thorough and literal manner, free from compromising, domesticating, and reinterpreting the sacred texts.<sup>28</sup> Allan Taylor defines it as a group that takes a conservative

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<sup>23</sup> Muhammad Said al-Asymawi, *Ushul Al-Syari'ah, Indonesian, edition: Nalar Kritis Syari'ah* (Yogyakarta: LKis, 2004), 120.

<sup>24</sup> Fahrurrozi Dahlan, 'Fundamentalisme Agama antara Fenomena Dakwah dan Kekerasan Atas Nama Agama' (n.d.), 16.

<sup>25</sup> Tholkhatul Khoir, 'Tujuh Karakter Fundamentalisme Islam', *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 14, no. 1 (9 January 2015): 47–71, <https://doi.org/10.21154/al-tahrir.v14i1.161>.

<sup>26</sup> Ahdar Ahdar, 'Tinjauan Kritis dan Menyeluruh terhadap Fundamentalisme dan Radikalisme Islam Masa Kini', *Kuriositas: Media Komunikasi Sosial dan Keagamaan* 10, no. 1 (24 May 2017): 19–36, <https://doi.org/10.35905/kur.v10i1.582>.

<sup>27</sup> Pusat Bahasa (Indonesia), ed., *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, Ed. 3 (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan Nasional : Balai Pustaka, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Azyumardi Azra, 'Memahami Gejala Fundamentalisme', *Ulumul Qur'an*, IV, no. 3

approach in carrying out religious reforms, has a literalist style, and emphasizes the purification of sacred text doctrine. Musa Keilani defines fundamentalism as a social and religious movement that invites people to return to the principles of fundamental religious teachings. It emphasizes ethical purity through positive integration of religious doctrine, returning to the balance of the relationship between humans and God as well as humans and their true personalities.<sup>29</sup>

In academic encyclopedia, the term fundamentalism has only been used and published in recent years. Previously, the term had not been published in the 1966 edition of Robert's Great Dictionary and 1968 edition of the Encyclopedia Universalis. The term was firstly introduced in the Small Dictionary of Petite Larousse Encyclopedique in its 1966 edition with a very general understanding. The dictionary explained that fundamentalism is the attitude of people who refuse to adapt their beliefs to modern conditions.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the 1979 edition of the Grand Larousse Encyclopaedia Pocket Dictionary identifies fundamentalism in Catholicism. It defines it as the state of thought among some Catholics who refuse to adapt to modern living conditions. Then, in 1984, the Grand Larousse Encyclopedique Dictionary was published in 12 volumes. This publication provided a more detailed and comprehensive definition. It stated that fundamentalism in a religious movement is a static attitude that opposes all forms of modern development and change. Following that, the 1987 version of Grand Larousse Encyclopedique Dictionary, which was commonly used for universities at the time, explained that Fundamentalism is the attitude of Catholics who oppose all forms of renewal, especially when they are dealing with old heritage.<sup>31</sup>

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(1993).

<sup>29</sup> Yusril Ihza Mahendra, *Modernisme dan Fundamentalisme dalam Politik Islam: Perbandingan Partai Masyumi (Indonesia) dan Partai Jama'at-I-Islami (Pakistan)*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

<sup>30</sup> Dwi Ratnasari, 'Fundamentalisme Islam', *Komunika: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 4, no. 1 (1 January 1970): 40–57, <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v4i1.137>.

<sup>31</sup> Dwi Ratnasari, 'Fundamentalisme Islam', *Komunika: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi* 4, no. 1 (1 January 1970): 40–57, <https://doi.org/10.24090/komunika.v4i1.137>.

Historically, the term fundamentalism is not derived from Islamic terminologies. This term appears among Western academics in the context of their religious history. It emerged as a reaction to the increasingly dominating action of modernization. The term was then applied to a conservative Protestant Christian religious group in the United States. This term was introduced and published through a leaflet entitled "*The Fundamentals of the Faith*" published by one of the media in the United States in around 1920.<sup>32</sup>

The literature has noted different opinions regarding the designation of fundamentalism term for certain Islamic groups. For example, Muhammad Imarah states that fundamentalism is a product of Western culture applied in modern Muslim society with certain interest.<sup>33</sup> This opinion is supported by Harun Nasution, who states that fundamentalism is an inappropriate term used in the Islamic tradition. Fundamentalism is not meant as a return to basic teachings, but an understanding and a movement to defend old teachings and oppose a reform. It happened in the American Protestant movement that emerged in the 19th century. Thus, such a term is not appropriately in line with the beliefs and other types of movements in Islam.<sup>34</sup>

Similarly, Yusuf Qardhawi supports the demur. He states that the term fundamentalism is deliberately introduced by the Western media so that it is adopted by the public, including Muslim community, which in turn may cause a controversy. According to Qardhawi, if the term fundamentalism is intentionally labelled to those who embrace Islamic teachings comprehensively, in terms of creed, *sharia* (Islamic law) and various other aspects of life (even with a literal and contextual understanding of the sacred texts), then let those who object call Muslims

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<sup>32</sup> Dawam Raharjo, 'Fundamentalisme', in *Rekonstruksi dan Renungan Religius Islam*, ed. Wahyumi Nafis (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1996), 87.

<sup>33</sup> Muhammad Imarah, *Fundamentalisme dalam Perspektif Pemikiran Barat dan Islam*, diterjemahkan oleh Abdul Hayyie al-Kattani (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1999), 10.

<sup>34</sup> Harun Nasution, *Islam Rasional: Gagasan dan Pemikiran*, Cet. 3 (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 123.

as fundamentalists.<sup>35</sup>

The *da'wah* (preaching) movement of *Tablighi Jama'ah* is based on the basic principle of Islamic concept of *da'wah*. The *da'wah* is carried out in congregational form toward any Muslim they encounter. The content of the *da'wah* are various materials related to Islamic religious teachings, including *aqidah* (Islamic theology), *shari'a* (Islamic law) and morality, as well as the virtues of Islamic teachings.<sup>36</sup> According to Mumtaz Ahmad, the fundamentalist *da'wah* movement can be seen from several characteristics; *first*, it tends to interpret the Qur'an and al-Hadith literally and textually. *Second*, they also strongly oppose deviant Islamic notions such as liberals, radicals, and extremists. *Third*, this movement claims to be a movement that works to revive pure Islam (Islamic puritanism). *Fourth*, they regard their movement as a legitimate Islamic based response in stemming the challenges of modernism.<sup>37</sup>

The characteristics of religious fundamentalism group, as expressed by Martin E. Marty and Karen Armstrong, include proclaiming a literal interpretation and understanding toward the sacred texts, being fanatic, exclusive, and puritans, claiming the single truth existence, and rejecting plurality and liberalism.<sup>38</sup>

Based on the patterns above, the genealogy of Islamic fundamentalism is highly traceable. *Tablighi Jama'ah da'wah* movement tends to be doctrinal dogmatism, scripturalism, and authentic Islamic sources (as perceived by the group). In fact, the afore-mentioned characteristics can be referred to literalist groups such as *Khawarij*,

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<sup>35</sup> Yusuf Qardhawi, *Masa Depan Fundamentalisme Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1997), 15.

<sup>36</sup> Maulana Muhammad Yusuf Al-Kandahlawy, *Sifat Sahabat dan Amalan Nurani* (Bandung, tt), 56.

<sup>37</sup> Mumtaz Ahmad, 'Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia: The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat', in *Fundamentalisms Observed*, ed. Martin E. Marty, R. Scott Appleby, and American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 48.

<sup>38</sup> Syamsurrijal, "Kekerasan Berbingkai Agama; Menelusuri Genealogi dan Perkembangan Fundamentalisme dalam Dunia Islam," *Jurnal Ushuluddin: Media Dialog Pemikiran Islam* 20, no. 1 (2016): 32–44, <https://journal.uin-alauddin.ac.id/index.php/alfikr/article/view/2309>.

*Jabariyah*, Wahabi, and other literalist groups. However, in contrast to *Tablighi Jama'ah* group, *Khawarij* and Wahabi groups do not only interpret monolithic literalism, but also monopolize the truth of interpretation according to their interpretation of the sacred texts. This view, to some extent, may lead the groups to accuse other groups of being infidel, heretical and out of Islam, even lawful to be killed. Therefore, this literalist groups are categorized as extreme fundamentalism.<sup>39</sup>

### General Doctrine of *Tablighi Jama'ah's* *Da'wah* Movement

*Tablighi Jama'ah* is a transnational *da'wah* movement originating from India. It has a general doctrine that must be complied by each of its members throughout the world in carrying out their *da'wah*. However, in certain countries or regions, this group may adapt and adjust its teachings in accordance with the local doctrines. In these instances, the adjusted teachings and practices will only be carried out in certain countries or regions. It is mainly because each community has its own characteristics according to the understanding and individual character of the area. The Madura community, for example, has a different character and way of life compared to other communities. They, for example, are different in character from the Betawi, Sundanese, Batak and other regions in Indonesia.<sup>40</sup>

However, as a religious group, *Tablighi Jama'ah* has certain principles of teachings or doctrines in the process of carrying out their religious activities. There are at least six (6) main teachings or basic principles. These principles are well known as *al-ushul us sittah* or *al-shifat al sittah* (the six doctrines).<sup>41</sup> These principles are (1) *Kalimat al-Taubid* (*Shahadah*). *Shahadah* or referred to as *tayyibaha* sentence, the statement of *la ilaha illa Allah* which means there is no other God worthy of worship apart from Allah SWT

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<sup>39</sup> Syamsurijal, "Kekerasan Berbingkai Agama; Menelusuri Genealogi dan Perkembangan Fundamentalisme dalam Dunia Islam," 32–44.

<sup>40</sup> Abdul Majid, wawancara tentang *Jama'ah Tabligh* Pamekasan, 19 March 2020.

<sup>41</sup> Muhammad Zakariyya, *Fadhilah Tabligh* (Penang: Ganesh Printing Works. Sdn, Bhd, n.d.), 2.

(Glory to Him, the Exalted). The meaning of this is that a Muslim should empty his/her heart from believing in other creatures and occupy his heart with Allah SWT and all the virtues of His attributes and believe that Allah is the only one without any associates.<sup>42</sup> Muslims should witness that all living things do not possess any power apart from that of being graced by Allah SWT. The statement also means that only Allah has the will to take care and regulate all creatures.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the statement of *Muhammad Rasulullah* means acknowledging and believing that the only way to achieve the glory of both the world and the hereafter is by acknowledging the prophet Muhammad and following his way of life. It also suggests that other ways of life will only lead to failure and loss.<sup>44</sup>

(2) Performing Prayers in *kbusu'* (solemn) and *kbudu'* (obedient). After believing in the *shahadah*, Muslims should devote themselves to perform five daily prayers solemnly and obediently. Performing prayers in solemn and obedient manner is an act of compliance toward the teachings of Prophet Muhammad. The purpose of this teaching is to actualize the character of obedience and devotion toward Allah SWT into everyday life. Prayer is a form of worship which connects human (the servant) and Allah SWT (the lord).<sup>45</sup> The basis of this teaching/doctrine is the text of the Qur'an in which it explains the advantages of praying solemnly and obediently as mentioned in *Surat al-Baqarah: 45*.

(3) Deepening Knowledge and *Dhiker* (remembering Allah). In the perspective of *Tablighi Jama'ah's* teaching, knowledge and *dhiker* are inseparable because both concepts are interrelated. People who perform *dhiker* without knowing the actual knowledge of performing *dhiker* will be

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<sup>42</sup> al-Hadhrami Salim Bin Smeer, *Terjemah Safinatun Najah, Pedoman Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Amani, 2009), 2.

<sup>43</sup> M. Ishaq Shahab An Nadhr, *Khuruj fi Sabilillah: Sarana Tarbiyah Ummat Untuk Membentuk Sifat Imaniyah, Terj. Abu Sayyid Akmal* (Bandung: Pustaka Zaadul Ma'aad, 2015), 106.

<sup>44</sup> Maulana Muhammad Manshur, *Masturoh, Gerakan Dawkah di Kalangan Wanita* (Bandung: Pustaka Ramadhan, 2007), 23–26.

<sup>45</sup> Mustofa Sayani, *Mudzakarab Enam Sifat Para Sahabat RA* (Bandung: Pustaka, 2006), 12–13.

considered faulty. Likewise, knowledge without *dhikr* is an example of walking without knowing a clear direction. This may lead to a misguidance. The purpose of knowledge is to know the commands of Allah SWT in every condition and situation, while *dhikr* is to request the presence of Allah SWT in every action performed. *Tablighi Jama'ah's* teachings presume that knowledge is classified into two types, namely *'ilm al-fadhail* (the esoteric dimension of the knowledge) and *'ilm al-masa'il* (the subject matter of the knowledge). In this regard, to obtain both knowledge and *dhikr* (*'ilm ma'a al-dhikir*), Muslims should preach about the importance of *'ilm al-fadhail* and allocate more time to sit and join in knowledge congregational forum (*halaqah ta'lim*) and practice the teachings (*'ilm al-fadhail*) in daily life, as well as praying to Allah SWT. Meanwhile, to be able to get the essence of *'ilm al-masa'il*, Muslims should be joining the knowledge discussion forum (*'ilm al-masa'il*) and joining more discussion with Islamic scholars (ulema). On the other hand, to get the essence of *dhikr*, Muslims should provide more time to read the Koran, perform *dhikr*, utter *tayyibah* sentences (*kalimah tayyibah*), and pray to Allah using the recommended prayers (*masnunah al-du'a*) in everyday life context as mentioned in Qur'an Chapter *al-Mujaadilah*: 11 and Chapter *ar-Ra'd*: 28.<sup>46</sup>

(4) *Ikramul Muslimin* (Ennobling Muslims) in the perspective of *Tablighi Jama'ah's* teachings is an effort of fulfilling obligations to fellow Muslims without demanding any return from them. This perspective is based on a sociological basis which avoids bothering other Muslims because doing so will only reduce the noble value of performing good deeds. The main purpose of dignifying and respecting fellow Muslims is conveying rights and obligations to fellow Muslims, not expecting return.<sup>47</sup>

(5) Having sincere intention (*ikhlas an-niyat*) means resolving, rectifying, and purifying intentions in every deed performed. Being sincere in performing good deeds means designating every intention purely

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<sup>46</sup> Ruhaiman, *Jama'ah Tabligh Surabaya 1984-2008 (Studi Sejarah dan Aktifitas Keagamaannya)*, (Surabaya: Media Pers, 2008), 25.

<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Manshur, *Masturoh, Gerakan Dawkah di Kalangan Wanita*, 35.

toward Allah SWT, no other factors or motives, regardless of anything we do. Sincerity is a secret between the servant (Muslim) and the Lord (Allah); no one knows. *Ikhlas* should be the spirit of every Muslim's deeds. The purpose and objective of resolving one's intentions is to do good deeds only for the sake of Allah SWT. *Ikhlas* should also be the spirit of Muslims in undergoing Allah's commands and avoiding His restrictions. All should be undergone to please Allah SWT, not for anything else. Failing to do so will cause the deeds to be in vain.<sup>48</sup> For members of *Tablighi Jama'ah*, sincerity in every deed is very important because performing a lot of deeds insincerely will have no value in the sight of Allah SWT. On the other hand, a small deed performed sincerely will have a very high value in the sight of Allah SWT.<sup>49</sup>

(6) *Dakwah illallah wal khuruj fi sabilillah* (preaching in the name of Allah and for the sake of Allah). *Da'wah* for the sake of God is to call, invite, and go on voyage to preach and spread the words of God. The point is to invite people to believe in God and obey God and His Messenger as described in the Qur'an and Hadith. This effort is meant for humans to be happy in this world and in the hereafter.<sup>50</sup>

*Khuruj fi sabilillah* is a common activity for members of *Tablighi Jama'ah*. Each member is expected to carry out *khuruj* activities (going on voyage) with certain requirements and provisions. Each member should perform *khuruj* at least 2.5 hours a day, a minimum of one day in a week, a minimum of three days in a month, a minimum of forty days in a year, and a minimum of one year in a lifetime. In this regard, all members should have a program or schedule to perform *khuruj* or going on voyage for the sake of Allah. This activity is aimed at building noble and virtuous characters. By doing so, they would be able to preach to others. In

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<sup>48</sup> An Nadhr, *Khuruj di Sabilillah: Sarana Tarbiyah Ummat Untuk. Membentuk Sifat Imaniyah*, Terj. Abu Sayyid Akmal, 120.

<sup>49</sup> An Nadhr, *Khuruj di Sabilillah: Sarana Tarbiyah Ummat Untuk. Membentuk Sifat Imaniyah*, 112.

<sup>50</sup> Furqan, "Peran Jama'ah Tabligh dalam Pengembangan Dakwah," *Al-Bayan: Media Kajian dan Pengembangan Ilmu Dakwah* 21, no. 2 (2015): 1–14, <https://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/bayan/article/view/419>.



addition, *khuruj* aims at reviving mosques and other types of worship facilities. *Khuruj* also aims to invite people to continuously perform Allah's commands (both the obligatory (*wajib*) and recommendatory deeds (*sunnah*) as well as strengthen beliefs in accordance with the teachings of Prophet Muhammad and his companions.<sup>51</sup> *Tablighi Jama'ah* teaching presumes that a member is not considered a full member if he/she never performs *khuruj*. On the other hand, a person will be considered a full member if he/she has performed *khuruj* once. Even though, he/she has not been participating in other activities, which is then known as *karkun*.<sup>52</sup> *Khuruj* can be conducted not only by traveling nationally by visiting different halaqah or marhalah but also by travelling internationally by visiting different overseas regions. The location of *khuruj* is chosen as a result of decision made by both the origin *markaz* and destination *markaz*.<sup>53</sup>

The six doctrines are taught locally and internationally. It has always been a platform for all members of the group to develop their *da'wah*. This doctrine has saved many people who have fallen into disobedience and evil deed throughout the world. *Tablighi Jama'ah* believe that the six doctrines refer to the teachings of the companions, which according to their understanding, have different characteristics. However, the six distinctive characteristics have unified them. Therefore, the aforementioned characters should be undergone as part of an effort to being the part of the best generation (*khairu ummah*). Moreover, *Tablighi Jama'ah* members believe that by embracing and practicing these characters, the companions achieve the glory of life in this world and in the hereafter. Likewise, Allah loves the prophet's companions through these characters and so does the companions to Allah SWT. Many scholars and religious leaders stated that, even in this era, Allah will be pleased by his servants

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<sup>51</sup> Abdul Aziz, *Praktik Khuruj Jama'ah Tabligh* Markas Palpettok Pamekasan Madura, 23 March 2020.

<sup>52</sup> Abdul Aziz, *Praktik Khuruj Jama'ah Tabligh* Markas Palpettok Pamekasan Madura, 23 March 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Dey Sukma, Indra Candra, Zamzami, "Pandangan Jama'ah Tabligh terhadap Politik: Studi di Kecamatan Nanggalo Kota Padang," *JISPO, Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* 9, no. 2 (2019): 189–202, <https://journal.uinsgd.ac.id/index.php/jispo/article/view/5325>.

(humans) who display and perform the six charters that have been illustrated above.<sup>54</sup>

### Local Doctrine of the *Tablighi Jama'ah's Da'wah* Movement

As it has been mentioned earlier, *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Madura is headquartered at Palpetto' Mosque Pamekasan. The mosque was originally a Sunni Islamic boarding school affiliated with Islamic community organizations, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Syarikat Islam (SI). Thus, it can be stated that their teachings lean toward sunni traditions, particularly Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The religious practices carried out by the community, nowadays, are similar with practices undergone by the previous community groups. They teach and study yellow books which are generally studied in NU-affiliated pesantren (Islamic boarding school) such as *Fathul Qarib*, *Ibanatul Abkam*, *Fathul Mu'in*, *Taqrib*, *Al-fiyah Ibn Malik* and other Sunni books. They also perform some of NU-native rituals such as *tablilan* and *ta'ziyah kifayah* activities. Thus, Madura community that are affiliated with *Tablighi Jama'ah* conserve the old Islamic traditions such as *yasinan*, *tablilan*, *maulidan* and other religious ceremonies.<sup>55</sup> However, they also study special books that are native for the *Tablighi Jama'ah* group originating from India, which are mostly under Maliki school of thought such as the *Fadlailul a'mal* (a collection of thematic virtues of good deeds), and *tabligh al-Nishab* (written by Maulana Muhammad Zakariya al-Kandahlawi). Other books that are also used as standard guidelines for the followers of this congregation in Madura are the book of *Hayat al-Shahabah*, and the book of *Muntakhab Ahadith*, which is also the work of Maulana Yusuf al-Kandahlawi compiled by Maulana Sa'ad al-

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<sup>54</sup> Abdul Khaliq Pirzada, *Maulana Muhammad Ilyas (Rabmatullah 'Alaih) di antara Pengikut dan Penentangannya*, 1999th ed. (Yogyakarta: Ash-Shaf, n.d.), 50.

<sup>55</sup> Habibullah Habibullah, wawancara tentang Kitab-Kitab yang Digunakan di Pesantren *Jama'ah Tabligh*, 29 April 2020.

Kandahlawi.<sup>56</sup>

The main teachings resource of *Tablighi Jama'ah* are the Qur'an and Hadith. Therefore, they can be categorized as a Sunni group or *Ablusunnah wal jama'ah*. Their worshiping practices are heavily influenced by the teachings of Sufism and sufi orders (*tarekat*) such as the *Jisytiyyah Order* from India.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, they are not limited to a specific school of thought (*madzhab*) in jurisprudence (*fiqh*). It can be seen from their followers in Pakistan, India, Bangladesh who are mostly adhered to Hanafi school of thought, while in Southeast Asia many adhere to Shafi'i school of thought, and in the Middle East many of their followers choose Maliki school of thought. Thus, it can be stated that *Tablighi Jama'ah* is adjusting to conditions and places considerably. Below are the local doctrines of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Madura.

### **1. Performing Congregational Prayers**

Congregational prayers for members of *Tablighi Jama'ah* is essential. Therefore, they should prioritize it. Apart from theological reason, they argue that performing congregational prayers also has its psychological reason. One of the main principles of their *da'wah* is the prosperity of the mosque. To do so, they should perform congregational prayers to ease their moral burden. Their doctrines also require each member to perform perfect prayers in order. This can be achieved through performing congregational prayers. In line with the doctrine of congregational prayer, they highlight the concept of “three order”, which include Orderly Place (at the mosque), Orderly Way (with congregation), and Orderly Time (at the beginning of time). Practically, the doctrines suggest that congregational prayer is *sunnah* (recommended). However, some other members consider it as obligatory for themselves. They argue that considering it as obligatory will allow them to properly maintain their congregational prayers. In this instance, abstaining congregational prayers

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<sup>56</sup> Maulana Muhammad Yusu al-Kandahlawi, *Muntakhab Abadiith*, n.d., 24.

<sup>57</sup> Syafi'i Mufid, 'Perkembangan Paham Keagamaan Transnasional Indonesia', 147.

will be sinful and their loss.<sup>58</sup>

## **2. Avoiding an Active Use of Technology**

The globalization era which is marked by the development of information and technology does not necessarily change the lifestyle and *da'wah* strategy of the *Tablighi Jama'ah*. They maintain a simple lifestyle as carried out by Sufism's followers. This group's *da'wah* movement avoids the hustle and bustle of modern technological developments.

For *Tablighi Jama'ah*, an active and massive use of information and technology tools such as television and mobile phones is considered an obstacle to the effectiveness of their *da'wah* strategy which is believed to be successful and is still relevant. In their views, the technological tools have been contaminated by *subhat* (unclear jurisprudential matters). The use of technological tools will disrupt the routine of *da'wah* that should be carried out tirelessly from time to time. Their rejection toward technological tools have led them to a quite extreme understanding which consider television as a "devil's box". Thus, most of *Tablighi Jama'ah* members do not have television. However, some of them still use mobile phones for a mere means of communication, not for practical *da'wah* purposes.<sup>59</sup>

## **3. Displaying Sunnah Appearance**

Personal appearance is very important for every member of *Tablighi Jama'ah*. All members should maintain their appearance in accordance with their understanding of the *sunnah* (prophet Muhammad tradition). Physically, the males should look after their beards. In terms of clothing, they usually use a robe (long Indian or Pakistani style robe), a turban, and a *cingkrang* trousers (above ankle length trousers) or slightly raised above ankles *sarong* (a type of Indonesian clothing for men). Sometimes, they also wear a skullcap and use a *simak* (a special type of wood functioned as tooth brush) before performing prayers.

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<sup>58</sup> Majid, wawancara tentang *Jama'ah Tabligh* Pamekasan.

<sup>59</sup> Habibullah, Pandangan *Jama'ah Tabligh* tentang Alat-alat Komunikasi Modern, 24 March 2020.

*Tablighi Jama'ah* believes that perceiving the above way of attire as Arab culture is wrong. They base their assumption on the Islamic teaching which stated that all words and actions of the Prophet are guided by Allah's revelation.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, all his actions (*sunnah*) must be taken as an example by all Muslims. Apart from using the *sunnah* reason, the afore-mentioned appearance is also an identity and characteristic of the group which should always be maintained to identify and to know that someone is a part of the group.<sup>61</sup> In Pamekasan, people who wear robes, turbans, and grow their beards can be identified as the members of *Tablighi Jama'ah*.

*Tablighi Jama'ah* is a non-political movement group. Therefore, all group members are advised not to be directly involved in practical politics' activities. In their principle, politics is a matter of *subhat* (unclear jurisprudential matters). It tends to lead toward illegitimate matters. Apart from these reasons, they believe that a *da'wah* activist is unworthy of being tied up to practical politics' activities or to certain political parties because politics is vulnerable to social problems. Being actively involved in politics will jeopardize the main aim of *da'wah*, which is the general public's interests regardless of social position, economic status, political choice, and school of thought. Thus, a neutral position is significant. By doing so, the group can freely undertake their *da'wah* to anyone, anywhere, anytime, and toward people from any background.<sup>62</sup>

#### **4. No Practical Politics**

As mentioned above, *Tablighi Jama'ah* is a non-political movement group. The characteristics of this group is preaching organization, avoiding political and *khilafiyah* (different religious opinions) issues. Therefore, this group does not allow its member to participate in political practices. Political practice is considered as *subhat* matters and therefore should be avoided by all members of *Tablighi Jama'ah*. For Madurese

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<sup>60</sup> Alimuddin Tuwu, *Kumpulan Hukum dan Fadbilah Janggut, Rambut, Peci, Sorban, Gamis, dan Sivak Menurut Al-Qur'an dan Hadis* (Bandung: Pustaka Ramadhan, 2008), 6.

<sup>61</sup> Habibullah, *Pandangan Jama'ah Tabligh tentang Alat-alat Komunikasi Modern*.

<sup>62</sup> Habibullah, *Wawancara Tentang Politik Praktis Bagi Jama'ah*, 22 March 2020.

member of *Tabligh Jama'ah*, involving in practical politics or being one of political parties is seen as improper behaviour. The reason to avoid politic is due to the fact that the *Tablighi Jama'ah* is an Islamic *da'wah* movement. As a *da'wah* movement, *Tablighi Jama'ah* need to be as neutral as possible so that they will be able to focus their *da'wah* to all people regardless of their social status, racial background, and political affiliation.

### ***5. Living in A Simple Way and Considering the Materialistic World as Less Important***

Regarding the style of living, the doctrines of *Tablighi Jama'ah* is to perform *zuhud* and *qana'ah* (having no love for the material world) type of living. All members are expected to think less about worldly life. They are required to think more about the hereafter by increasing worship and righteous deeds. Practically, the life of *Tablighi Jama'ah* member is more toward *da'wah* activities and other religious activities rather than doing business and entrepreneur activities.<sup>63</sup> In this instance, the economical strata of this group members, especially those in Pamekasan, are low to middle class. It is mainly because most of them do not focus on business activities and family economic activities. Their mindset is believing that *rizki* (earnings) is a provision and grace from Allah SWT to his servants. To fulfil their needs, most of them work as farmers and traders because they are considered as the safest profession from usury action s<sup>64</sup>.

### **The Acceptance of *Tablighi Jama'ah Da'wah* in Madura**

Based on field research data, two reasons underlie the acceptance of the *Tablighi Jama'ah dakwah* movement in Madura. First, the *Tablighi Jama'ah* is not considered a heretical or deviant movement by Madura's religious figures and scholars. In other words, this group is regarded as one of *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* groups because their teachings and *da'wah* movement do not deviate from *Shari'ah* (Islamic law) as believed by the Sunni group. Basically, their religious activities are not much different

<sup>63</sup> Khosen, Wawancara Kondisi Anggota *Jama'ah Tabligh* Pamekasan, 28 February 2021.

<sup>64</sup> Majid, Wawancara Tentang *Jama'ah Tabligh* Pamekasan.

from the teachings of the Madura community in general. Their teachings or doctrines do not require their members to adhere to a particular *mazhab*. In fact, members are even forbidden to dig up too much about *kitabiyah* which may cause dispute and controversy. In principle, their teachings only cover the purification of *aqidah*, *shari'a* and morality.

The *second* reason why the *da'wah* of *Tablighi Jama'ah* can be accepted among Madurese who has been known as Nahdlatul Ulama member is due to consistent way of its preachers in approaching local religious leader in pesantren known as *kiai*. In the beginning of its arrival in Madura, *Tablighi Jama'ah* was strongly refused by Madurese Muslim who have strong Nahdlatul Ulama-affiliated background. However, *Tablighi Jama'ah* used new strategy of *da'wah* by approaching many renowned local *kiai* figures such as *kiai* Salim (Pesantren al-Islah Bringing), RKH Maimun (Pesantren Madukawan), *kiai* Hasbul Somalang, *kiai* Tohir (pesantren Sombih Ompul), RKH Moh. Asnawi (Pesnatren Pakes), RKH Rofi'i Baidlawi (Pesantren al-Hamidi, Banyuanyar), RKH Abdul Hamid (Pesantren Bata-Bata) and *kiai* Abdussalam (Pesantren Madukawan). In the front of these leading figure *kiai* in Madura, *Tablighi Jama'ah* group from Jakarta led by Ustaz Najib Mahfudz successfully convinced them that *Tablighi Jama'ah* doctrines are not in contradiction to *Ahlussunnah Wal Jama'ah* doctrines which have been strongly believed among Madurese *kiai*. The *Tablighi Jama'ah* preachers have fully understood that Madura's community tend to abide to *kiai* and *ulama* (Islamic religious leaders). *Kiai* holds a very high position in Madura's social stratification compared to ordinary people, especially in Pamekasan, Madura. This can be seen from the local adage; *Bhuppa-Bhappu, Ghuru, Rato* (Ladies and gentlemen, Teachers and Government). The adage is a part of the social structure of Madura community. It is also a form of their respect for the family and community. People's belief and obedience toward religion is coherently related to their obedience and respect toward the figure of *kiai*. *Kiai* is an honorary title given by society to certain figures to honour their breadth

of religious knowledge and good character.<sup>65</sup>

Although initially there were some misunderstandings toward the presence of *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Pamekasan Madura and some even repudiated them, as more *kiai* understood the nature of the group, they gave a green light sign for the group to mingle around Pamekasan community. Moreover, strong support given to *Tablighi Jama'ah* from prominent *pesantren kiais* such as *kiai* Salim Zayyadi (Pesantren Al-Islah, Bringin), *kiai* Maimun (pesantren Madukawan), *kiai* Rofi'i Baidhawi (Pesantren Al-Hamidi, Banyuanyar) and *kiai* Muhammad Asnawi (Pesantren Pakes) has paved the way for the *Tablighi Jama'ah* in preaching its doctrine among Madurese. As a result, many of their students (*santri*) and many of Madurese community collectively declared themselves as a part of *Tablighi Jama'ah* group. Yet, some *kiai* did not formally support the group, but they did not deny the existence of the group and condone the spread of the group in Pamekasan, Madura.

From 1994 to 2000 the preaching of the *Tablighi Jama'ah* proliferated and attracted many new members in Pamekasan, Madura. As a result, the *Jama'ah* needed a centre (*markaz*) as a venue for their activities. *Tablighi Jama'ah* used Masjid Pagentenan as a centre, but this lasted only two months. Due to the disagreement among some local people, *Tablighi Jama'ah* moved its *markaz* to another mosque located in the pesantren Madukawan. However, due to disagreement among internal family of pesantren, after seven months, the *markaz* moved to Palpetto' Mosque, a local mosque located in Plakpak village, sub district of Pegantenan, Pamekasan. In this new centre, *Tablighi Jama'ah* established a permanent *markaz* as the central of its *da'wah* activities. In addition, in this mosque is also used as the first *markaz* in Madura through which *da'wah* was conducted and preached in three other districts including Sumenep, Bangkalan, and Pamekasan. Currently, the number of *Tablighi Jama'ah* member in Madura is around five thousand people spreading in four

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<sup>65</sup> Hiroko Horikosi, *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1987).



districts.

## Conclusion

The use of the term Islamic fundamentalism is still debatable. To some extent, it does not have a negative connotation depending on how the group behaves in response to certain phenomenon that is considered threatening their existence. *Tablighi Jama'ah da'wah* movement is categorized as a puritanical Islamic fundamentalist movement because its *da'wah* movement mainly concerned with the basic scope of purifying *aqidah* (Islamic theology), *sharia* (Islamic law) and morals. The teachings and doctrines of *Tablighi Jama'ah da'wah* movement are classified into two categories; the first is the general teachings. These teachings apply to all members of *Tablighi Jama'ah* throughout the world. It includes (1) believing in the *Shahadah*; (2) performing prayers in *kehusu'* (solemn) and *kebudu'* (obedient) mannerism; (3) deepening knowledge and *dhikir*; (4) *ikramul muslimin* (Ennobling Muslims); (5) having sincere intention (*ikhlas an-niyat*); (6) *da'wah illallah wal keburuj fi sabilillah* (preaching in the name of Allah and for the sake of Allah). The second is the local doctrines that are developed for *Tablighi Jama'ah* in Pamekasan Madura. It includes (1) performing congregational prayers; (2) avoiding an active use of technology; (3) displaying sunnah appearance; (4) avoiding political practices; (5) living in a simple way and considering the materialistic world as less important.

In addition, *Tablighi Jama'ah da'wah* movement in Pamekasan, Madura is accepted by the local community for two reasons; *first*, Madura community abide their *kiai*, who accepts and participates in some of the activities carried out by the group. *Second*, the teachings of the *Tablighi Jama'ah* are still categorized as a part of *Ablussunnah wal Jama'ah* group, which base their foundation on the Qur'an and al-Hadith.

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