



## HIJRA COMMUNITY AND RELIGIOUS MODERATION AMONG MILLENNIALS IN SOLORAYA

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### **Abstract**

**Keywords:**

*hijra community;  
hijra movement;  
Legawa and Bi-  
Adzab communities;  
religious expression*

*The development of the hijra community in Soloraya has significantly influenced all societal levels, particularly the millennial generation. This research aims to identify the model of religious moderation within the millennial generation in Soloraya, focusing on the hijra community, especially the Legawa and Bi-Adzab communities. Employing a descriptive qualitative approach, the analysis utilizes an interactive model encompassing data reduction, delivery, and conclusion drawing. The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities leverage public spaces for discourse, promoting a moderate, friendly, and welcoming interpretation of religion. Legawa and Bi-Adzab encourage Islam to enter deep into the public sphere so that it can access facilities properly so as not to threaten democracy and pluralism. These communities advocate for a deeper integration of Islam into the public sphere, ensuring proper access to facilities without compromising democracy and pluralism. Legawa and Bi-Adzab have become symbols of cultural resistance against Islamic movements advocating takfiri ideology and the Islamic caliphate, which are less accommodating of local traditions deemed *laisa minal Islam*. These communities prioritize local religious traditions in their activities, aiming to shape identity and enhance moral values. They serve as spiritual spaces that strengthen faith and promote a universal respect for local customs. The ultimate goal of Legawa and Bi-Adzab is to elevate the spirituality and religious devotion of the millennial generation.*

### **Abstrak**

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**Kata kunci:**

komunitas hijrah;  
gerakan hijrah;  
komunitas  
Legawa dan Bi-  
Adzab; ekspresi  
keagamaan

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Fenomena berkembangnya komunitas hijrah di Soloraya telah merambah seluruh lapisan masyarakat khususnya generasi milenial. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui model moderasi beragama generasi milenial di Soloraya berbasis komunitas hijrah, khususnya komunitas Legawa dan Bi-Adzab. Penelitian ini bersifat deskriptif kualitatif. Analisisnya menggunakan model interaktif meliputi reduksi data, penyampaian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Komunitas hijrah Legawa dan Bi-Adzab menjadikan ruang publik sebagai tempat wacana untuk mengedepankan agama yang moderat, ramah, dan menyenangkan. Legawa dan Bi-Adzab mendorong Islam untuk masuk jauh ke dalam ranah publik agar dapat mengakses fasilitas dengan baik agar tidak mengancam demokrasi dan pluralisme. Kegiatan keagamaan Legawa dan Bi-Adzab menjadi simbol perlawanan budaya terhadap gerakan Islam yang mengusung ideologi takfiri, khilafah Islamiyah, dan kurang bersahabat dengan tradisi lokal yang dianggap laisa minal Islam. Legawa dan Bi-Adzab menempatkan tradisi keagamaan lokal sebagai agenda utama kegiatan untuk membentuk jati diri dan meningkatkan akhlak. Legawa dan Bi-Adzab menjadi ruang spiritualitas penguatan keimanan sehingga mendorong sikap universal yang menghargai lokalitas. Meningkatkan spiritualitas dan ketakwaan beragama generasi milenial menjadi tujuan akhir Legawa dan Bi-Adzab.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

After the fall of the Soeharto regime in 1998, Indonesia was like a house that opened its doors wide to all ideologies, including the anti-

mainstream religious movement that carried the Islamic caliphate. The public sphere during the Orde Baru (New Order) came to power and was controlled and controlled by the state. However, as the reforms started to extend to the leadership of community groups and practical politics, the philosophy evolved in tandem with the emergence of trans-national Islamic movements such as Hizbut Tahrir (HT), Ikhwanul Muslimin (IM), Salafi, Wahhabi, Shi'ah, and Jama'ah Tabliq (JT). Islamist militia groups, according to Hasan's term carry the slogan "Islam is the solution", trying to put With the legitimacy of religion and language governing social, political, and economic spheres, Islam occupies a position of political authority (Hasan, 2011). In Indonesia, their political proselytizing movement metamorphoses in the form of new knots in various social movements at the local level, such as *ta'limul qurra'*, *halaqah* in mosques, campuses, and public studies. As the "hijra movement" is a new religious movement with populist connotations, millennials are its primary target. For ideological reasons, they established educational institutions, a non-profit organization, and the media as part of religious social movements. (Mibtadin & Hedi, 2020).

Islamists viewed the opening of the post-reform space as both a framework for political opportunity and a source of euphoria to manifest religious identity in a massive, ideological, and demonstrative fashion in the Great Solo (Solo Raya) public sphere. This provides further evidence supporting the notion that Islamists exploit the public sphere of Solo Raya as a means to obtain the support of the broader community to dominate the discourse. The public sphere became an area of power struggle for socio-religious elements in the Solo Raya to urge agendas, interests, and ideologies. One of them is the pervasive presence of hijra communities in urban areas and communities. In terms of religion, the hijra community embodies the form of "popular Islam" today experiencing a shifting

paradigm of epistemology from a trilogy of tawhid, *fiqh*, and (*akblaq*) sufism towards the construction of faith, hijra, and jihad. This shift encourages hijra communities with new patterns of religious expression according to their religious reasoning. Their religious comprehension tends to be textual in nature, and they have a preference for restricting certain religious themes to specifics, such as the term “jihad,” which is exclusively associated with physical conflict. Meanwhile, “hijra” is only understood as a change in attitude from the un-Islamist to the Islamist. At the same time, the term Islam in meaning has a broad understanding only because the importance of identity and the ideology of that meaning is narrowed.

According to Abdullah (2005), the current religious crisis can be attributed to the unidirectional approach of Islamic studies, which rejects the critical historical perspective and emphasizes theological normativity. The normative theological approach, at its core, posits subjective and ideological attributes. (Barbour, 1990). This attribute served as a catalyst for Islamists and hijra communities in Solo Raya to establish theological communities—new enclaves characterized by the use of Islamic symbols, religious identities, and exclusive, rigorous, and truth-seeking religious practices. Accumulating these three fundamental characteristics encourages the hijra community to prioritize truth claims over honest and argumentative dialogue. Islam loses contact with humanity when it asserts the truth since the religion merely demonstrates a dogmatic side with a fundamental nature and no regard for human values (Smith, 1991).

Popular Islam has currently penetrated all strata of Solo Raya society, including students, youth, and millennials, in the guise of a hijra community; their presence even surpasses that of religious organizations. Doctrinally, popular Islam is present in Solo Raya public sphere as a form of adaptation strategy to the dynamics of the times that shape identity and habitus. The existence of Islam is popularly adopted and becomes a way

of life for the hijra community in Solo Raya, both fashion, music, language style, and daily activities that seek to reflect semi-Arabic-Islamic values. Favorable to the diversity of those who practice Islam is the prioritization of the following core values: First, local traditions that are influenced by sufism to produce local Islamic customs. Secondly, popular Islam is not only understood as the modernization of Islam *an sich*, but more than that, applying Islam flexibly in everyday life by staying within the corridors of sharia. Third, the notion of popular Islam itself cannot be equated with “populist”? Or majority. Fourth, popular Islam emphasizes Islam’s rise for community empowerment (Weintraub, 2011). The phenomenon of popular Islam developed in Solo Raya community into a political movement to strengthen its own identity intended a form of construction attached as a form of communal symbol that binds together. The meaning of construction is meant to be a form of “pasting” of cultural symbols that become personal and collective identities.

The prevalence of mainstream Islam, which this hijra community adopts as a worldview and then uses the shari’a as a guide for values and standards. Societies of the Solo Raya are receptive to Islam through hijra communities, characterized by a “habitus” of behavior that evolves into a distinct custom that sets it apart from other communities. The emergence of popular Islam in Solo Raya served to underscore the imperative for the exploration of an authentic Islamic identity that originated from Arab culture and was purportedly Islamist. This need for identity search prompted the hijra community to initiate the emergence of *taklim* assemblies, understood as a symptom of strengthening religious expression in Solo Raya society. In addition, *Arabic Pop* is proclaimed through the use of Arabic terms in everyday conversation such as the words: *ana, antum, abi, umi, milad, ukhti, akhwat, akbi, ikhwan, syukuran, Hijra*, and *jaḥakumullahu khairan*, are terms that have been cultivated among them. In addition, establishing public spaces for the hijra community is connected with

the growth of social media, which is an essential means of presenting Islamic identity in Solo Raya community. This hijra community primarily uses social media such as Facebook (FB), Line, Skype, Messenger, and Instagram (IG) to frame religious discourses and social movements. Their idol figures are also “social media scholars”, for example, using Instagram (IG) to invite ‘*amar ma’ruf nahi munkar*’ contains such as studies, meet-up members, Quotes, *amaliyah* (religious practices), and agendas. The agenda of the hijra community: #MUSLIMFEST, #KOMUNITASHIJRAH, #HPUSTATOGRAFIS, #AYOHIJRAH, #YUKNGAJI, and others.

The question arises, why is Solo Raya region a thriving field for popular Islamic phenomena in the form of hijra communities with various types and religious ideologies?; how is their study material? In principle, this hijra community movement is in the form of religious activities that are happy fun, relaxed, based on hobbies, and not formal. For example, they held an event entitled “Solo Hijrah Day,” which became a forum for young people still confused about choosing which community to participate in the hijra movement. At this point, assistance is needed so their religious expression does not go outside the circle of religious moderation. Most of their communities are hobby-based, such as touring Muslim Biker, this being an entry point for them to learn religious knowledge or pay. They are very concerned about small things related to morality issues, such as courtship, lifestyle, tattoos, and fashion. Some of these hijra communities are not surprising. They hold free tattoo removal services centered at the MUI (Indonesian Ulema Council/Majelis Ulama Indonesia) Surakarta mosque, hold camping agendas, fashion fairs, book fairs, *Ayo Ngopi*, bikers, and dare to give alms.

The success of the hijra community in developing its ideology in Solo Raya is marked by the strength of its grassroots base through *halaqah*, *nge-date*, *ngabuburit*, talk shows, and other religious activities that are fun. For example, the Hijra community, “Yuk Ngaji Soloraya” led by Taufan;

“Pemuda Hijrah Solo Fath”— stands for Komunitas Sahabat pioneered by Aziz Abu Faiz Mubarak (Joko); the Blessing Alms Community driven by Dinar Bella Ayu Najma, Abdurrochman, and Ayu Indika; Fasthabiqul Khairat—initiated by Rayhan Janitra; “Dakwah Islam Solo”, “Komunitas Hijrah Jemaah (KBH)”, and “Komunitas Sahabat Hijrah (KSH)” led by Yusuf; and the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities in Wonogiri with the figure of Ahans Mahabie. The existence of hijra communities in great Solo networked with each other and formed ideological nodes between each other. This article is valuable in showing their understanding of Islam and photographing their Islamic religious expressions.

Research on the Hijrah Community has been carried out by previous researchers (Aini & Akalili, 2021; Anang, 2023; Duraesa & Ahyar, 2021; Fansuri, 2023; Farhan, 2020; Farhan & Suryani, 2020; Hamudy & Hamudy, 2020; Hidayat, Sholihin, & Wanto, 2021; Jubba, Nugroho, Destrianti, & Sholikhah, 2021; Juliansyahzen, 2023; Loh, 2011; Mustofa, 2023; Qomaruzzaman & Busro, 2021). However, this research is different from various previous studies. The difference lies in the theme. This research examines not only the dynamics and movements of the hijra community but also its relationship with religious moderation. Religious moderation is an important theme in Indonesia, considering the fertile development of Islamic religion in Indonesia. This condition has an impact on Indonesia’s vulnerability to the growth and development of radical movements and terror in the name of religion. Religious moderation is an important idea to fight the development of radicalism and terrorism in the name of religion. Because this research links the development of the hijrah community, it involves the hijrah community, which is in line with religious moderation. Thus, this research also differs in the aspect of research informants.

## **METHODS**

The research of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities movements and their understanding of Islam and Indonesianness concerning religious moderation is descriptive qualitative research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Creswell & Creswell, 2017). This research is expected to reveal the existing meaning in terms of the thoughts and actions of the research object. This research uses the sociology of religion approach (Connolly, 2001), religion as a social fact, something real and observable that affects people's behavior (Sodik, 2006).

Religion becomes part of the actual behavior of its adherents, seen in the daily lives, ideas, activities, and works of religious believers (Kahmad, 2002). The sociology of religion approach studies the social aspects of religion (Suprayogo & Tabrani, 2003). Data collection is done in three ways (Sutopo, 1998): direct observation, in-depth interviews, and recording documents regarding the hijra community movement in the great Solo, understanding religious moderation, and religious expression. Its data analysis using an interactive analysis model includes data reduction, data delivery, and drawing conclusions (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2019). Data triangulation and informant reviews test the correctness and validity of existing findings.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### ***Public Spaces And New Religious Movements: The Search For Identity***

Surakarta, or Solo Raya (the Great Solo), is a municipality with six buffer districts: Sukoharjo, Wonogiri, Klaten, Boyolali, Sragen, and Karanganyar. The six districts become Surakarta's social, economic, cultural, and religious buffer. In the last four decades, Surakarta has become a fertile "field" for Islamism, marked by the large number of pesantren, educational institutions, and *halaqoh* to seed intolerant ideologies. Solo Raya has various pesantren with different ideologies, educational patterns,



and characters. This makes the great Solo Islamic colors diverse, and there are Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII), Majelis Tafsir Al-Qur'an (MTA), Wahabi, *laskar*, and Salafi. Their existence supports the socio-religious movement of Islamist groups in Surakarta (Hedi & Mibtadin, 2018). The presence of Islam in public spaces is seen as spreading Islamic symbols and values to society by utilizing open access. Public spaces, whether real or virtual, are used by society to communicate and negotiate ideas and interests, including religious ones (Hardiman, 2009). Religious discourse in the public sphere is related to the political dimension in which various social forces seek to articulate their importance to the state (Habermas, 1991).

An increasingly democratic public space where Islamic symbols come with a variety of expressions and orientations beyond the ideological and political face is what the hijra community was born in. Its appearance in the great Solo public sphere became a counterweight to the movement and a counter to the discourse of the anti-mainstream movement in society. The presence of Islamism in the public sphere is not directly a threat to democracy itself. Its existence is not monolithic but plural, as is politics in all civilizations (Hefner, 2000). They are here to articulate Islam amid the currents of globalization. Islam, if not articulated in the public sphere, is contrary to democratic values (Hasan, 2011).

One of them is the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities. In name, *legawa* means accepting all of God's destiny with sincerity in living life. This name was chosen in the hope that those who participated in the Hijra could *legawa* and *narima ing pandum* all the will of Allah Swt after trying to be better. This community exists since 2017 with 27 members, religious activities *ngaji kitab kuning* (yellow book), grave pilgrimage, and Javanese *gamelan* practice. Whereas the name Bi-Adzab was chosen from the Arabic term, *bi* means with; and Adzab means ethics or morals. Through this name, it is hoped that those who join this community will

behave in their daily lives based on the morals exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Communities emerged in 2019 consisting of 32 members, fun religious activities such as Salawat with Javanese *gamelan*, *tadabur alam* (acknowledging God through the creation of the universe), religious pilgrimages, and other traditional Islamic religious traditions.

The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities make public spaces a place of discourse and collective action on religious freedom. Public space requires religion because, without it, it seems to lose touch with morality, values, and the meaning of life. In many places, the rise of religion in the public sphere is in accordance with democracy and the politics of citizenship (Hasan, 2011). The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities encourage Islam to go deep into the public sphere so that it can access that space properly so as not to threaten pluralism, democracy, and society. Their presence in the Solo Raya public space is a form of expression of the diversity of symbols, identities, and Islamic values in society by taking advantage of open political opportunities.

On the other hand, the opening of the contestation space lacks the appreciation of mainstream groups by consolidating themselves to strategize to seize space and push the agenda. Instead, the opening up of space after Islamism used the 1998 reforms to show force and urge ideological agendas amid the plurality of national life. In effect, the sense of nationalism and moderate religiousness began to be marginalized by strengthening religious radicalism in the public sphere.

Hijra shows a changing identity for the better with a community formed by itself based on a shared vision, ideas, and intentions to make life better. Social media is also an effective tool for massive campaigns and building communication in creating hijra communities in the millennial era, such as those on Facebook (FB), YouTube, Telegram, Line, and Instagram (IG). The phenomenon of hijra communities that appear in various circles is, on the one hand, a positive sign for the millennial

generation to explore and practice religious teachings, especially amid the currents of globalization, technological sophistication that also offers the world pleasure with its frenzied frenzy, resulting in the birth of hedonists, materialists, and individualists (Farhan & Suryani, 2020).

“Hijra, according to Arabic, means to move. Both in terms of condition status and location. What starts from practice is not good to be good, or practice that is already good to be better. A good hijra is a totality and gradual hijra. Totality alone is not good, gradual is not good either. Because of the totality in the hijra after he died. The Hijra must be gradual and not direct; it must be done little by little. If it is not gradual, the Hijra will stop halfway and not as expected. Hijra is a change that, afterward, brings about a good change in a person. Process from bad to good, indecisive to calm, and dark to light. In short, Hijra is the best option for those who want to leave bad deeds or who are in an indecisive position in life but still want to go to good.” (Ahans interview, 12/09/2022).

In principle, the dynamics of social, cultural, economic, and religious change play a role in the emergence of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities, namely responses to problems of social, Islamic, and national reality in Solo Raya. Some hijra communities, such as Legawa and Bi-Adzab, in religious discourse offer a soft approach. Still, some put forward hard textualists as a response to the diversity of mainstream groups that promote violence, intolerance, and dryness of spirituality. Their behavior is principally driven by a motive from within a person to do something. In communicating with people around them, they are encouraged by something as a motive, such as a past impulse or an impulse to influence others. In addition to motives, the meaning aspect also shows the communication behavior of hijra actors, which has implications from the results of interaction with others (Anang, 2019). Their social movements considered the existence of mainstream Islam to be threatened, especially the traditions of religious practices such as

*shalawat, maulid nabi, yasinan, tablil*, sued and even tried to muzzle Islamism. According to Wiktorowicz (2003), a movement with a set of agents of its social movement has a specific political purpose. They are rational actors, respond to stimuli, and form the same movements as other actors in the world.

The hijra community is experiencing a reasonably dynamic development due to its social capital, such as media, charity, and social networks. The presence of the hijra community in the public sphere aims to form a new religious discourse to strengthen the popular Islamic ideology in the great Solo community. With their religious activities, they framed anti-mainstream religious discourse to mobilize potential into actual mobilization in convincing the broader community so that they were encouraged to join. The framing process is a conscious attempt to form a common understanding of the world and themselves for socio-religious societal change. Framing aims to fight for discourse and meaning in society (Hedi & Mibtadin, 2018). Framing is carried out to convey discourse to the public through media and other social spaces involving people in the movement (Situmorang, 2007).

“Hijra is not just a change in the physical appearance of things, from open to closed clothing, from not veiled to veiled, and from not bearded to bearded. Hijra is a move from *maksiat* to obedience in totality and gradually. They also contextualize the meaning of Hijra to the present. For us, the meaning of Hijra that fits the present is to move from a dark past to a better person in the future, *minal dbulumat ila al-nur*.” (Ahans interview, 25/08/2022).

The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities, in the formation of mainstream Islamic discourse, use a *tausyiah* approach, studies, hobby-based religious activities are fun, using millennial language, and other framing. For them, this is a strategy to get the attention of the younger generation and

the great Solo community. Their existence became their social groups that filled the public space of the great Solo to voice popular Islamic religious discourse. In the public sphere, religious discourses fight each other for dominance, and framing is a form of negotiation with other social groups in formulating a religion-based social order. The presence of Legawa and Bi-Adzab in the public sphere to offer a culturally based moderate Islam by means of the formation of new religious discourses. Their existence in society has its own identity that distinguishes it from others. The concept of Hijra is the change of the individual in a better direction, both in terms of appearance and attitude. This allows the communication behavior of hijra actors to also change (Sari & Mahadian, 2018).

“The hijra community is a social group that wants to establish itself as a better person, religious, and holds the teachings of Islam correctly. This community mostly comes from the younger generation who have emigrated from their past and started studying religion with *istiqamah*. Community is an arena for the gathering of the younger generation who try to be good people, can study, advise each other, give support to each other in kindness, and are close to Allah SWT. A community that invites for better change, especially in religion.” (Ahans interview, 8/10/2022).

The emergence of religious movements in the public sphere is driven by three things: resources, motivation, and political environment (Mibtadin, 2017). In social movements, resources can be material, mass media, legitimacy, authority, identity, and institutional (Meyer & Tarrow, 1997). The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities, for example, have material resources in the form of young generation pilgrims with all their potential, including social networks, education, and political access. The existence of ideological networks and movements spread in Soloraya became a framing medium to campaign for moderate Islamic discourse.

According to de Tocqueville (2002), religion is seen as an institution in the realm of superstructure, and transcendent, and influences the creation of conditions considered ideal for its adherents. Religion should not be dominant through a single religious group, including giving legitimacy to political movements as the only truth. Religion must be relevant to the times (*as-shalih li kulli zaman wa al-makan*), so as not to lose the transcendence of its life. The more religion is synonymous with specific institutional arrangements, the more it is considered to lose its transcendence value (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993). The presence of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities are due to two things: first, the formation of new religious discourses that encourage the spread of popular and moderate Islam in society, and second, the development of Islamic culture, which becomes values, norms, and moral guides in society.

“Most of them are millennials, looking for self-identity and meaning in their lives. His background varies both educationally, socially, and religiously. They, in terms of religion, are still said to be less like ordinary people, so they need to pay a lot of religious knowledge. They practice their religion by trying their best as the Al-Qur’an and As-Sunnah command and stay away from His prohibitions. So far, we encourage that religion is not always related to the worship to Allah SWT alone. Islam is our guide in carrying out daily life. Our job is to escort them so their religious thoughts and practices do not break out of the mainstream and moderate currents.” (Ahans interview, 11/08/2022).

The religious activities of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities are used as references and proselytizing media to encourage the growth of new religious awareness among millennials and the community. They use new religious concepts packed with culture-based methods, models, and approaches to deliver new ones, especially targeting millennials. This pattern is intended to invite millennials and the Solo Raya community to

bring the reality of life closer to the existence of divinity. Their presence as alternatives and spiritual consultations has become a phenomenon in the revival of community spirituality (Jamil, 2007). Its presence in the public sphere with the “popular Islamic” ideology of *Aswaja An-Nabdliyah* in Solo Raya changed the map of religious social movements in this region, which had been dominated by anti-mainstream groups and was less friendly to local culture. Moderate Islam is present in the great Solo public sphere as a strategy of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities to adapt to the dynamics of the times that eventually form their identity politics. The ideology was adopted and became a way of life for millennials and the great Solo people in all areas of life.

The hijra Legawa and Bi-Adzab communities movements and other social groups in great Solo society became a phenomenon in itself as a construction of religious ideology attached to communal symbols to bind together. The meaning of ideological construction is the attachment of cultural symbols to a collective identity. Its presence with the concept of moderate Islam and popular Islam as a worldview for millennials and the great Solo people who have hijra so that they experience a shift in religion and place the value of *syar'î* as a norm guide in the practice of their religious daily life. Popular Islam formed in the identity politics of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities in the Great Solo community as *habitus*, a form of behavior that develops into its habit, distinguishing it from other social groups. The phenomenon of new religious movements and the rampant hijra community made the great Solo a laboratory of religious and social movements with various social prototypes. Their existence encourages the strengthening of popular Islamic religious ideology in the Soloraya public sphere to strengthen identity so that it can be accepted in the midst of people's lives.

## ***Hijra As A Religious Expression Of The Milineal Generation: The Promotion Of Moderate Islam***

Globalization is characterized by advances in science and technology that cannot be avoided by society, rural and urban. They are faced with two choices: maintaining traditions or following the flow of modernization. The presence of modernization in the midst of Solo Raya people's lives changed the social, cultural, and religious faces of shifting due to education, economic progress, and transportation factors. As a result of the shift, people are uprooted from their cultural roots so that they experience a crisis of spirituality and moral decay. This reality encouraged the flourishing of new religious movements, including hijra communities in urban and rural communities. According to Stanislov & Drov (1996), this phenomenon of the revival of spirituality indicates the existence of problems of religious psychology, alienation, and the spiritual crisis of modern society. This alienation encourages them to seek peace of mind through a new spiritual space as a form of religious expression. Through fun religious activities, recitation, music, pilgrimage, biking, camping, and dhikr assemblies, the hijra community encourages millennials in the great Solo to rediscover their existence as complete human beings with all their human nature.

Several factors encourage the hijra community to develop in the great Solo. First, the rise of "spiritual groups" has become a space for searching for the meaning of life and psychological therapy to solve psychiatric problems so as not to experience a split personality. Second, through "spiritual groups," they socialize to strengthen *al-ukhawah al-Islamiyah*. For Solo Raya people, the "spiritual groups" in the form of a hijra community become a space for searching for identity and inner experience through various diverse activities in the midst of modernity. Modernization, anti-modernization, liberation theology, new religious



movements, and religious syncretism are the five ways that religion has responded to modernity (Kurtz, 2011). There are symptoms of the rise of sufism as a form of revival of new religions, including the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities. Spiritual groups such as the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities emerged driven by two things: first, the existence of a spiritual crisis, and second, the emergence of religious radicalism. These two factors combine with religion in a textually legalistic way that is at odds with human values to generate mental dryness, spirituality, and divided personalities in society. They are looking for fresh approaches to religion that are both tolerant and humanist (Jamil, 2007). The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities are form of new religious movements (NRMs), namely the revival of spirituality into a contemporary religious phenomenon among millennials in the great Solo community. Urban sufism's symptoms are the opposite of rural sufism movements, which are low tradition and located in rural suburban areas (Mibtadin, Habib, & Mustolehudin, 2021).

The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities are form of rural sufism and a model of the search for rural spirituality, to borrow Gellner's term, sufism in the lower traditions opposed to the cosmopolitan tradition, a legalistic variant held by the clergy (Gellner, 1983). As a rural religious heritage component, sufism became the first element of modernism to be displaced. This presumption is incorrect because sufism as a component of rural religious traditions continues to exist and even expands, popping up everywhere and even becoming an urban Sufism movement. The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities are ideologically tied to the Pesantren Hanacaraka with the ideology of *Aswaja An-Nabdliyah* actively mobilizing grassroots masses to form religious enclaves in the form of "spiritual groups" such as recitations, *taklim* assemblies, *shalawat* dhikr assemblies, and pilgrimages of the guardians of Allah Swt for strengthening the faith of rural communities. Legawa and Bi-Adzab are included in the carriage

of rural sufism, whose development is immensely encouraging regarding religious expression and as a forum for strengthening spirituality among millennials. When looking at the Qur'anic presentation of Hijra, then Hijra must be related to three things, first avoiding something negative, secondly there is something in religion that must be fought for, Third, religion in the ways established by religion. Deep in practice, hijra behavior must be in accordance with the principles of his religion, both physically and mentally (Fuad, 2019).

“Legawa and Bi-Adzab are trend centers for millennials because religious activities are not rigid, not necessarily in mosques, sometimes in the courtyard of pesantren while drinking coffee and playing music, in tourist locations, religious pilgrimages, or other places that are young people. This makes *ngaji* not something creepy while laughing together interspersed with religious studies. They also formed a “Mandraguna” music group to gather, express, and convey longing greetings to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH by chanting *shalawat*. Legawa and Bi-Adzab are space for millennials to learn sufism in small ways with existing salaries.” (Ahans, interview, 18/08/2022).

The tradition of sufism does not simply die but transforms form and movement according to its locality setting (Howell, 2001). The social base of sufism in urban and rural areas, especially among millennials, is in the midst of the crush of a materialistic life, giving rise to life pressures and lifestyles that are instantaneous. This makes them feel alienated from themselves, their families, and the environment, especially with the existence of smartphones that increasingly distance people from religious teachings. The existence of urban sufism, rural sufism, and hijra communities such as Legawa and Bi-Adzab are expected to help them gain peace of mind through religious practices and spirituality. Ultimately, urban sufism, rural sufism, and hijra communities have different spaces and segmentations. The hijra community is a slice of urban segmentation and rural sufism. Urban

sufism is segmented into urban communities, rural sufism in suburban areas is practiced by traditional Islamic circles. The form is in the form of praise, dhikr, and prayer aimed at strengthening faith and alleviating the dryness of the soul and spiritual thirst of the village community in facing social problems (Mibtadin & Habib, 2022). The existence of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities in the community doubles as a form of religious expression but also a safeguard against existing religious traditions. Human cause and Its development have formed a stock of knowledge between Hijra and Street culture, which is considered equally fun and makes them comfortable (Berger & Luckmann, 1967).

“Our religious activities (Legawa and Bi-Adzab) are routinely carried out every Friday night and Sunday night after the completion of Isya prayers such as reciting *shalawat*, *ngaji kitab kuning* (yellow book), yassin, *Manaqib*, *Diba’*, *Al-Barjanzi*, and others. In addition to strengthening the faith, Legawa and Bi-Adzab religious activities to maintain the Javanese Islamic tradition of reading the Prophet’s *shalawat* with *gamelan* accompaniment that can calm and soothe the heart. We encourage Islam to be placed as a social ethic, a form of concern for morality in order to create social welfare that manifests in social harmony. These religious activities are also a medium for millennials to communicate with other groups and the community to convey the message of Islamic proselytizing.” (Ahans interview, 15/07/2022).

The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities are indirectly an effort to form a personality and build a community (*liyundziru qaumabum*), including millennials. According to Siradj (2014), related to the NU community has two tasks: first, character building in the form of spiritual and mental development, personality formation, and community character that has a responsibility to God, humans, and nature. Second, strengthen nation-building by instilling a love for the homeland.

Legawa and Bi-Adzab religious activities encourage millennial awareness to be open to socio-religious change by mobilizing the culture of local communities such as *tablil*, *shalawat*, tambourine (*badrah*), and others so as not to be eroded by the currents of modernization. This is in keeping with Legawa and Bi-Adzab's vision, religious in the present but still cultured. Legawa and Bi-Adzab encourage millennial religious patterns based on noble morals as personal goodness. In sufism it is known as *takballqu bi akhlaqillah* with tawhid as the core values leading to an attitude of tolerance, respect for others, and humanizing people. Legawa and Bi-Adzab became mediums for building millennial characters to become *Al-insan Al-kamil*, people who are able to implement the names of Allah Swt in daily life. *Al-insan Al-kamil* is the plenary human being who moved civilization based on good character to create peace and tranquility. In principle, the meaning of Hijra that has become an objective reality can form a specific pattern in individuals present in it, in this case, Legawa and Bi-Adzab. A role has similar objectivity, and roles can provide capital for behavior, kindness, and tranquility in someone (Ngangi, 2011).

The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities, with their religious activities, became symbols of cultural resistance in the Islamist movement that carried *takfiri* ideology, anti-mainstream, Islamic caliphate and was less friendly to local traditions that were considered not part of Islam (*laisa minal Islam*). Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities place local religious traditions such as *slametan*, grave pilgrimage, Javanese shalawat, and *rumaban* as the main agenda activities to form identity and improve morale. Legawa and Bi-Adzab, through their activities, show Islam is a friendly and accommodating religion with local culture. Islam is a religion of *rahmatan lil'alam* and is cosmopolitan and universal in all civilizations. Legawa and Bi-Adzab became part of the *Islam Nusantara* movement as an effort to find the right formula so that normative Islam from God could be contextualized into Javanese culture derived from humans without

losing their respective identities. In this context, religious Inclusion in a social institution is subject to a process other institutions also experience. Religion is a culture that man created and has developed an objective reality that was struck and hit by humans (Ngangi, 2011).

As part of the urban sufism of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities, it is a small attempt to affirm *kaffah* Islam based on the principles of *al-Islam shalih likulli zaman wa makan*. Legawa and Bi-Adzab, a spiritual space for strengthening faith, is expected to encourage millennials to have faith and a universal attitude based on the principle: think globally and act locally. Faith is a multidimensional concept that includes meaning-producing activities (Fowler, 1995). Faith is viewed as a component of relational behaviors that establish connections between the subject and others to share power and value centers. At this moment, religion manifests itself externally as an accepting mindset that promotes respect for others and advances dialogical ideas. This perspective on life is the outcome of having an open mind and being willing to accept the truth that comes from sources other than oneself. Legawa and Bi-Adzab have become new trends in millennial religion in society, especially religious perspectives, attitudes, and behaviors, always taking a middle position, acting reasonably, and not being extreme in religion. This moderate view became the perspective of Legawa and Bi-Adzab, understanding and practicing religious teachings in a non-extreme way. Because religious moderation as an attitude to continue to maintain and practice religion correctly tends to be one of the excessive directions (Akhmadi, 2019; Amrullah & Islamy, 2021; Miftah, Sutrisno, & Daulay, 2023; Muhlisin, Kholis, & Rini, 2023; Viktorahadi, 2022).

The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities became space of spirituality for the strengthening of faith and were able to encourage them to a universal attitude that valued locality. Faith is a multidimensional concept that includes creating meaning (Fowler, 1995). Faith is part of a relational activity that forms relationships between the subject, others, and

shared centers of value and power. At this point, faith reveals itself through an open attitude that fosters a cherishing and dialogical consciousness. This view of life gives rise to a relaxed attitude with a willingness to accept the truth that comes from outside of oneself, even though it comes from a different group.

The religious activities of Legawa and Bi-Adzab, instilled harmony, security, and *silaturahmi* as a form of God's guidance. Fowler called religious sense a "sense of oneness". One form of integrating worship values in the meaning of *hijra* with the dimension of social actions is Forms of efforts to realize social piety in everyday life (Department of Highways and Spatial Planning, 2020). Through cultural-based religious activities, the Legawa and Bi-Adzab *hijra* communities instill Islamic values as a form of God's guidance, and Fowler mentioned a sense of religion (Fowler, 1981).

Increasing spirituality and religious piety is the ultimate goal of Legawa and Bi-Adzab religious activities to encourage the strengthening of community diversity, especially among the millennial generation. The manifestation of faith as a dynamic living belief approaches the best value as a path to God so that Kamil people are created. The effort takes the form of a non-stop continuous process that occurs in daily activities in real life (Fowler, 1995). Legawa and Bi-Adzab became a space and a search for spirituality towards God with a dynamic life. Its existence becomes a medium that encourages the formation of a religious person or person of mature faith who interprets the world and creates a dynamic worldview.

Increasing spirituality and religious piety is the ultimate goal of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab *hijra* communities as an implementation of a sense of oneness that encourages the strengthening of diversity among millennials. According to (Fowler, 1995), the manifestation of faith as a living belief (*Lebensglaube*) that moves dynamically approaches the best value as the path to God. The effort is a non-stop continuous process that occurs

in daily activities in real life. The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities are searching for spirituality towards Allah Swt with a dynamic lifestyle. Legawa and Bi-Adzab became media that could encourage the formation of a religious person or person of mature faith to borrow Fowler's term. This person can interpret and create a worldview (*mabda al-bayah*) dynamically.

## **CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION**

### **Conclusion**

The phenomenon of the development of hijra communities in the Soloraya, including Legawa and Bi-Adzab have entered all walks of life, especially the millennial generation, and even their existence exceeds the barriers of religious organizations. Hijra shows an identity of change for the better with a community formed by itself based on a shared vision, ideas, and intention to make life more religious. The phenomenon of hijra communities that appear in various circles is, on the one hand, a positive sign for the millennial generation to explore and practice religious teachings. The Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities make public spaces a place of discourse and collective action on religious freedom to promote moderate, friendly, and fun religion. Their presence in the public sphere expresses the diversity of symbols, identities, and Islamic values in society by taking advantage of open political opportunities. Public spaces seem to lose contact with morality, values, and the meaning of life when they lack religion. Legawa and Bi-Adzab encouraged Islam to go deep into the public sphere to access facilities properly, not to threaten pluralism, democracy, humanity, and society.

### **Suggestion**

The religious activities of Legawa and Bi-Adzab became symbols of cultural resistance in the Islamist movement that carried takfiri ideology,

anti-mainstream, an Islamic caliphate, and was less friendly to local traditions that were considered not part of Islam. Legawa and Bi-Adzab place local religious traditions such as *slametan*, grave pilgrimage, Javanese *shalawat*, and *ruwahan* as the main agenda activities to form identity and improve morale. Legawa and Bi-Adzab became spaces of spirituality for the strengthening of faith and were able to encourage them to a universal attitude that valued locality. Increasing spirituality and religious piety is the ultimate goal of Legawa and Bi-Adzab religious activities to promote the strengthening of community diversity, especially among the millennial generation. The manifestation of faith as a dynamic living belief approaches the best value as a path to God so that *al-insan al-kamil* is created. What this article lacks is that it does not examine the formation of a religious discourse of the Legawa and Bi-Adzab hijra communities, so further, more specific studies are needed on the subject.

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