

Cultivating Piety in The Urban Landscape: A Study on The Spiritual Odyssey of Salafi Women in Jakarta

A Thesis

**Submitted to Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



**Universitas
Islam Internasional
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by:

Diah Ayu Agustina

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ABSTRACT

Name : Diah Ayu Agustina
Programme : Islamic Studies
Title : Cultivating Piety in The Urban Landscape: A Study on The
Spiritual Odyssey of Salafi Women in Jakarta

This thesis aims to shed light on piety cultivation among Salafi women through their engagement in studies hosted by the Nurul Iman Mosque in Blok M Square. This study investigates Salafi women's experiences after attending regular studies and the role of Nurul Iman Mosque as a center for spirituality and Sunnah studies for urban areas in nurturing Salafi women's piety. This thesis investigates the subjectivity, agency, and ethical forms of Salafi women who frequently attend sermons at mosques using Saba Mahmood's Politics of Piety theory. This study involves four months of fieldwork (March to June). Data were gathered by participant observation and interviews with 26 persons, including DKM Nurul Iman Mosque Management, Blok M Square Management, a trader, and 23 female congregants. Using a qualitative research technique, including interviews and observations, this study attempts to fully understand the growth of piety among urban Salafi women in mosque settings, capturing their lived experiences and explaining the variables that form their spiritual journeys. This study argues that Salafi women who actively participate in mosque studies have a profoundly positive impact on their own piety, spirituality, and overall well-being. The study reveals that mosque studies act as a catalyst for change, nourishing the soul and creating a strong bond with God. These women receive comfort, inspiration, and information that strengthens their religious commitment through the numerous studies offered. Mosques serve as social gathering places that promote a sense of sisterhood and belonging while providing a safe area for spiritual inquiry and self-improvement. This study also emphasizes the value of mosque studies in motivating urban Salafi women to reflect on and enhance their lives. Through sermon teachings and reminders, women are encouraged to evaluate their behavior and strive for ongoing growth in pursuing piety.

Keywords: *Piety, Salafi Women, Mosque, Cultivation, Nurul Iman Mosque.*

الملخص

الاسم : دياه أبو أغسطسينا

القسم : الدراسات الإسلامية

الموضوع : محافظة التقوى في المشهد الحضري: دراسة حول الرحلة الروحية للنساء السلفية في جاكرتا

تهدف هذه الرسالة إلى إلقاء الضوء على زراعة التقوى بين النساء السلفية من خلال مشاركتهن في الدراسات المستضافة من قبل المسجد نور الإيمان في بلوك إم سكوير (Blok M Square). تهتم هذه الدراسة بتحقيق تجارب النساء السلفية بعد حضورهن للدروس المنتظمة ودور المسجد نور الإيمان كمركز للروحانية ودراسات السنة في المناطق الحضرية في محافظة تقوى نساء السلفية. تبحث هذه الرسالة في الذاتية والوكالة والأشكال الأخلاقية لنساء السلفية اللواتي يحضرن الدروس في المسجد باستخدام نظرية سياسة التقوى (Politic of Piety) لسابا محمود (Saba Mahmood). تجري هذه الدراسة أربعة أشهر من العمل الميداني (مارس حتى يونيو). تم جمع البيانات من خلال المشاهدة المشاركة والمقابلات مع ٢٦ شخصاً، وهم إدارة المسجد نور الإيمان، وإدارة بلوك إم سكوير، وتاجر، و٢٣ مسلمات. باستخدام تقنية البحث النوعي، بما في ذلك المقابلات والمشاهدات، تسعى هذه الدراسة لفهم الكامل لنمو التقوى بين النساء السلفية الحضرية في إعدادات المسجد، والتقاط تجاربهن المعيشية وشرح العوامل التي تشكل رحلاتهن الروحانية. تقترح هذه الدراسة أن النساء السلفية اللواتي يشاركن بنشاط في دروس المساجد لهن تأثير إيجابي بشكل عميق على تقواهن وروحانيتهن ورفاهيتهن العامة. تكشف هذه الدراسة أن دراسات المساجد تعمل كمحفز للتغيير، تغذي الروح وتخلق رابطاً قوياً مع الله. تحصل هذه النساء راحة وإلهام ومعلومات تعزز التزامهن الديني من خلال الدروس المتنوعة المقدمة. تعمل المسجد كمكان تجمع اجتماعية تشجع على الأخوة والانتماء مع توفير منطقة آمنة للتفكير الروحاني وتحسين الذات. تؤكد هذه الدراسة أيضاً قيمة دراسات المسجد في تحفيز النساء السلفية الحضرية على تأمل وتحسين حياتهن. من خلال تعاليم الخطب والتذكيرات، يتم تشجيع النساء على تقييم سلوكهن والسعي للنمو المستمر في سعيهن التقوى الكامل.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التقوى، النساء السلفية، المسجد، المحافظة، المسجد نور الإيمان.

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

Arabic	Roman	Arabic	Roman	Arabic	Roman
ا	a	س	s	ل	l
ب	b	ش	sh	م	m
ت	t	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ث	th	ض	ḍ	و	w
ج	j	ط	ṭ	ه	h
ح	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ي	y
خ	kh	ع	'		
د	d	غ	gh		
ذ	dh	ف	f		
ر	r	ق	q		
ز	z	ك	k		

Short Vocal

Arab Alphabet	Roman Alphabet	Arabic Example	Transliteration
َ	a	جَلَسَ	<i>jalasa</i>
ِ	i	رَكِبَ	<i>rakiba</i>
ُ	u	كُتِبَ	<i>kutiba</i>

Long Vocal

Arab Alphabet	Roman Alphabet	Arabic Example	Transliteration
اِي/اِ	ā	جَرِي/سَافِر	<i>jarā/sāfar</i>
يِ	ī	سَلِيم	<i>salīm</i>
وِ	ū	سَجُود	<i>sujūd</i>

Diphthong

Arab Alphabet	Roman Alphabet	Arabic Example	Transliteration
وِ	aw	مَولَا	<i>mawlā</i>
يِ	ay	غَيب	<i>ghayb</i>

Notes:

1. Consonant with shaddah (◌◌) for instance, أُمَّة is written as *ummah* (double letters).
2. Arabic letter *hamzah* (ء) at the beginning of a word is transliterated into “a” not into “`a”. For instance, أحمد is written as *aḥmad* not *`aḥmad*.
3. Arabic script of *alif-lam qamariyah* (ال) is written as “al” at the beginning of words and *alif-lam shamsiyah* (ا) is written in accordance with the first letter at the beginning of words. For instance:
المائدة : al-māidah
الرحمان : ar-rahmān
4. Arabic letter *ta' marbutah* (ة) is written as “h” when it is located at the end of the words, such as البقرة is written as *al-baqarah*. When located in the middle of a sentence is written as “t”, such as أمة وسطا is written as *ummatan wasaṭan*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praise and thanks be to God SWT. Salawat and blessings be upon His Majesty Muhammad peace be upon him.

This thesis is my academic responsibility while studying at Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia (UIII). The completion of this thesis is undoubtedly inextricably linked to the efforts, support, and involvement of numerous people who have assisted both directly and indirectly. I owe Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia (UIII) a huge debt of gratitude for providing me with a postgraduate scholarship to finish my master's degree and take advantage of the welcoming academic environment at the Faculty of Islamic Studies.

I am deeply indebted to Prof. Syamsul Rijal, Ph.D., who served as my supervisor, for his encouragement, persistence, and patience while assisting and directing me in compiling this work. He made a significant contribution by offering advice that helped me refine my research's analysis and enhance its content.

My gratitude also extends to the Faculty of Islamic Studies (FIS), which provided an excellent and welcoming academic environment and facilities that helped shape my academic life and intellectual attitude while studying at UIII. I want to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Noorhaidi Hasan, Dr. Yanwar Pribadi, Bhirawa Anoraga, Ph.D., Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, S.J.D, Mrs. Haula Noor, Ph.D., and all lecturers for enlightening me with various new ideas and perspectives, particularly about Islamic contemporary studies, a field I had never dabbled in before. As genuine scholars, they bring much inspiration. My compliments also go to the member of the FIS staff, Anindhita Timika Aryani, S.Kom.I, M.Sc., Fakhriyan Ardyanto, S.M., and other staff, who have greatly assisted me with numerous administrative concerns.

I appreciate my fellow graduate students at the Faculty of Islamic Studies for their friendship, assistance, comprehension, and willingness to share their knowledge and experiences.

I would like to offer my heartfelt gratitude to all interlocutors who volunteered their time to be interviewed. I am deeply grateful to the Mosque Prosperity Council (DKM) of the Nurul Iman Mosque, represented by Ustadz

Fauzar Nasaruddin as the Head of the Da'wah Division, and to Mr. Muhammad Luthfi Ramdhani, a representative of the mall management, who have been willing to provide the information and data needed. I want to express my gratitude to female congregations for being so gracious as to share their insights and experiences throughout their participation in the Nurul Iman program.

My beloved and most excellent spouse, Mohammad Syarofuddin Firdaus, deserves my sincere gratitude and admiration for always supporting and encouraging me to study and complete this work. For the miraculous gift in my belly who dutifully accompanied the composition of this work. Keep growing and waiting for your coming. As soon as this thesis is born, hopefully, you will be born in this world as well. Last but not least, my heartfelt thanks and appreciation go out to my loving parents and parents-in-law, who always remember me in their prayers and show me unending love and support. I would also like to thank my siblings for their assistance in numerous as well as everyone who assisted with the development and fulfillment of this thesis. *Jazākumullāh aḥsan al-jazā*

Diah Ayu Agustina

ABBREVIATIONS DIRECTORY

DDII	Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia
DKM	Dewan Kemakmuran Masjid
DRM	Digital Rantai Maya
JI	Jamaah Islamiyyah
LEMKARI	LEMBaga KARate-do Indonesia
LIPIA	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Arab
MWL	Muslim World League (<i>Rābiṭa al-Ālam al-Islāmī</i>)
NU	Nahdhatul Ulama
RSCM	Rumah Sakit Cipto Mangunkusumo
WAMY	World Assembly of Muslim Youth

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

On a Saturday afternoon, thousands of people crammed into the Nurul Iman Mosque area at Blok M Square and spilled out onto the courtyard. As far as I could tell, the mosque was packed with people thrilled to participate in this study. Some came in groups with friends and family, while others came alone. The back of the women's area appeared to be dominated by wives who accompanied their children. While listening to the preaching, they took care of their children. In contrast, the front and center areas are populated mainly by young people. Most female attendees wear a black gown and veil nearly completely encasing their bodies. Several wear colorful dresses that cover their body without face covering, while few wear suits that look trendier.

The committee had to ensure that every congregant present could find a seat since the mosque was crowded and the number of attendees kept increasing. This caused the mosque management to appear busy setting up the seats of the congregants. People rushed to the mosque that weekend to attend Ustadz Nuzul Dzikri's study session, who was well-known as a *sunnah* preacher among young people and urban populations. The committee circulated with a board just as the study was about to start and urged the congregants to keep their composure and silence as the study got underway. When the preacher takes his seat and begins his lecture, the mosque is serene, with no discussion among congregants. A towering barrier separates the male and female parts. Four enormous screens were set up in front of the women's area. Almost everyone in the assembly closely listened to the lecture and took notes on the explanation given by the preacher. While some of them used their cell phones to take notes throughout the preacher's presentation, others appeared to have specific notebooks with them. This is the atmosphere for the study at the Nurul Iman Mosque, Blok M Square Mall, the hub of *sunnah* studies in the capital city. Housed in a mall, this mosque regularly organizes studies

virtually attended to and crowded by Muslims from metropolitan populations who wish to learn further about their beliefs.

The Muslim community's desire to attend various religious assemblies can be seen in nearly every region. People not only gather to participate in recitations in rural places, but comparable studies have also exploded in metropolitan areas, spawning a plethora of religious gatherings. Islam is increasingly popular among urban Muslims. Religion gains momentum and flourishes in modern society. As a result, urban piety¹ and urban Sufism² became a phenomenon and impacted the morals and behavior of Indonesian society.

Indonesia's democratic system has demonstrated consistency by giving its citizens the most incredible opportunity to express their opinions on any subject, including religion. This reformation era has turned into an opening faucet for the influx of numerous religious sects from the outside, notably the Salafi sect, particularly with the fall of the New Order in 1998. According to multiple experts, Salafism spread throughout Indonesia as Indonesia's political history changed, taking advantage of the opportunity.³

The Salafists recognize that Indonesian Muslims are deeply religious. The numerous spiritual manifestations presented in public demonstrate their completeness in practicing spiritual teachings. Indonesia is regarded as a lucrative market for fostering religious piety and the ideal location for commodifying spirituality in its different manifestations.⁴ Salafi groups are growing more assured that their understanding of religions will be widely embraced due to this fact. With straightforward arguments and slogans like "return to the

¹ Karen Bryner, "Piety Projects: Islamic Schools for Indonesia's Urban Middle Class" (PhD Thesis, New York, Columbia University, 2013); Ariel Heryanto, "Upgraded Piety and Pleasure: The New Middle Class and Islam in Indonesian Popular Culture," in *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia* (Routledge, 2011), 60–82.

² Dadi Darmadi, "Urban Sufism: The New Flourishing Vivacity of Contemporary Indonesian Islam," *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 7, no. 3 (2000): 205–10.

³ Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* (SEAP Publications, 2006); Arrazy Hasyim, *Teologi Muslim Puritan: Genealogi Dan Ajaran Salafi* (Ciputat: Maktabah Darus-Sunnah, 2018).

⁴ Greg Fealy, "Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia," in *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies), 2008).

Qur'an and hadith," "Islam is a religion of evidence, so all religious practices must have support in the Qur'an and hadith," and "if it is not in the Qur'an or hadith, then certainly religious activities are rejected," and so on. They are thus referred to as Salafis, a group that advocates for a return to and adherence to the beliefs or practices of the Salaf generation.⁵

Salafi groups concentrate on bringing their religious understanding to urban neighborhoods due to their precision reading, such as socio-religious maps. This is supported by Alvara's research, which discovered that roughly 22.5% of urban Muslims, particularly the younger generation under the age of 30, are not affiliated with traditional Islamic groups like NU and Muhammadiyah.⁶ Even though these two organizations share a sociological affinity with the majority of the urban community, Salafi organizations have always targeted young people, leading to the "*hijrah*" movement, a transfer from bad religious practices to better ones.⁷

The *hijrah* movement is mainly associated with Indonesia, but the concept of a Muslim becoming more religious is not exclusive to that country. It is a worldwide phenomenon known variously as "born-again" Muslims, a term borrowed from "born-again" Christians, a similar phenomenon in the United Kingdom. "Born again" refers to "someone who unexpectedly makes their faith the central tenet of their entire life."⁸ Many researches have been undertaken on the *hijrah* movement, defined as the process of becoming a good Muslim and applying Salafist beliefs in all parts of life.⁹

⁵ Roel Meijer, *Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement* (London: C. Hurst Company, 2009), 9.

⁶ Hasan Ali, Lilik Purwandi, and Moh. Firmansyah, "The Portrait of Urban Moslem: Gairah Religiusitas Masyarakat Kota" (South Jakarta: Alvara Research Center, July 2015), 8–9.

⁷ Taufiqur Rahman et al., "*Hijrah* and the Articulation of Islamic Identity of Indonesian Millenials on Instagram," *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication* 37, no. 2 (June 30, 2021): 154–70, <https://doi.org/10.17576/JKMJC-2021-3702-10>.

⁸ Olivier Roy, *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

⁹ Syamsul Rijal and Ade Masturi, "*Hijrah* Ke *Manhaj* Salaf: Ekspresi Dan Negoisasi Kesalehan Kaum Muda Urban," *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, July 4, 2022, 1, <https://doi.org/10.31332/ai.v0i0.3569>; Yuyun Sunesti, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Muhammad Najib Azca, "Young Salafi-Niqabi and *Hijrah*: Agency and Identity Negotiation," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 8, no. 2 (December 2, 2018): 173, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v8i2.173-198>; Rahman et al., "*Hijrah* and the Articulation of Islamic Identity of Indonesian Millenials on Instagram"; Kirana Nur Lyansari, "*Hijrah* Celebrity Creating New Religiosities, Branding Economics of Lifestyle in the Age of Muslim Mass Consumption," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 18, no. 2 (March 1, 2019): 211–32, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v18i2.3066>.

This trend assumes that urban communities are eager to increase their religiosity. Salafi groups' earnestness in using *hijrah* as a vehicle for propagating their religious doctrine has also given rise to a symbolic representation of this movement, beginning with changes in appearance through body covering and adhering to prescribed spiritual teachings like maintaining beards and wearing short pants. 'Active piety' is what Asef Bayat refers to.¹⁰ This phenomenon prompts Azyumardi Azra to coin the phrase "new attachment to Islam" (new Islamic orientation), which refers to the totality of upholding Islamic teachings by not only increasing the ritualistic component of required worship but also by leading a more Islamic lifestyle, such as donning a headscarf, veil, or robe, among other things.¹¹ Such a Salafi theological concept is a way to assert one's identity. They wish to give a fresh option for following religious laws as the belief of their group.¹²

Many urbanites, especially youths who frequently serve as the primary target, have become attracted to Salafis, who promote a conservative and rigid way of life. Their desire to leave the glittering world behind is considered satisfied by this way of living.¹³ Their goal is to influence Muslims, particularly urban youth, to live more pious lifestyles and become more devoted to Islam. Being more devout entails practicing Islam, where some organizations cite the teachings of Salafism while others follow a Salafism that is more tolerant of urban culture and materialism.¹⁴

Islam practice for Muslims entails a dedication to devotion and religion. In addition to reciting the *shahada*, Muslims must adhere to the other four tenets of Islam, which include prayer, fasting, *zakat*, and the Hajj. These four acts of performance molded the meaning of Islam.¹⁵ Muslims seek out numerous methods

¹⁰ Asef Bayat, *Post-Islamism: The Changing Faces of Political Islam* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹¹ Azyumardi Azra, "Konservatisme Agama (3)," *Republika*, August 17, 2019, <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/pwambh282/konservatisme-agama-3>.

¹² Rachel Ricardo, "Women and Piety Movements," in *The Sociology of Religion*, Bryan S. Turner (ed.) (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2010), 5.

¹³ Sunesti, Hasan, and Azca, "Young Salafi-Niqabi and *Hijrah*."

¹⁴ Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 1 (2007): 83–94; Jajang Jahroni, "The Political Economy of Knowledge: Salafism in Post-Soeharto Urban Indonesia" (PhD Dissertation, Boston, Boston University, 2015).

¹⁵ Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam?: The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton University Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400873586>.

to increase their religious knowledge because they strongly desire to practice Islam fervently. They can now easily access a variety of spiritual resources due to technology. They can find all the spiritual questions they seek with a single click. However, there is still considerable enthusiasm for attending religious gatherings.

In the past nearly two decades, there has been a drive to "Islamize" cities due to this intense desire to live according to Islamic principles. This effort has ranged from the most widespread activity, such as Islamic sermons, to developing Islamic venues in Indonesian metropolitan areas.¹⁶ The sermons on the streets, open fields, offices, and shopping malls are just a few examples of how religious rituals that transcend sacred spaces have become a frequent phenomenon. Additionally, people make an effort to visit these places to develop their piety and deepen their spirituality.

The Nurul Iman Mosque in Blok M Square is a prime example of how religious practices have penetrated public areas. Even though this mosque is in a mall, regular religious activities such as lectures are constantly held there. The studies here attract a lot of enthusiasm.

This study aims to shed light on cultivating piety among Salafi women in a mosque setting. This study will examine the mosque's role as a Salafi teaching institution, a hub for spirituality in urban populations generally, and an environment for cultivating piety among Salafi women in particular. Additionally, this study will detail the experiences of Salafi women who actively participate in studies at the mosque, particularly how these studies enhance their devotion and personal growth.

B. Research Objectives

This study addresses piety cultivation among urban Salafi women through their regular attendance at mosque studies. More specifically, this study aims:

1. To explore the role of Nurul Iman mosque in nurturing spirituality and piety among urban Salafi women by identifying the specific mosque practices or programs that have been influential in their piety cultivation.

¹⁶ Hew Wai Weng, "Making 'New' Muslim Places in Urban Malaysia and Indonesia," *International Institute for Asian Studies Newsletter*, 2014.

2. To examine the experiences of urban Salafi women attending sermons in Nurul Iman Mosque with a focus on their spiritual journeys, piety cultivation, transformative experiences, and community dynamics.
3. To understand how they negotiate and navigate their religious subjectivity within the tensions and lived realities they counter.

C. Research Questions

Starting from the previous background, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How does the Nurul Iman Mosque contribute to piety cultivation among urban Salafi women?
2. How do urban Salafi women perceive the impact of the mosque's studies on their personal development and piety?
3. How do they navigate and overcome challenges in lived realities to uphold their piety?

D. Literature Review

This literature review was carried out to understand past investigations thoroughly. A literature review will be conducted to identify gaps in earlier research while also confirming the uniqueness of this research. This literature review is separated into two themes to provide a more comprehensive study: research on the role of mosques in urban Muslim communities and studies on Salafi women.

1. Research on the role of mosques in urban Muslim communities

Studies on the role of mosques in urban Muslim communities have been conducted, and the findings show that mosques serve many functions. According to Al-Krenawi, mosques in Muslim communities serve many purposes besides serving as places of worship and offering educational services, political welfare, and

conflict resolution during clashes between groups, families, couples, and individuals.¹⁷

The conclusions of Ranjha and Roofi in their study “*Mosque as Community Welfare Center*,” which examines the function of mosques in Pakistan, indicate that mosques also contribute to community welfare. Their research contends that the primary social services offered by mosques include a place for religious instruction, financial aid to the destitute, upkeep of peace, guidance, counseling, and conversation about religious and secular topics. Additionally, it demonstrates how mosques today support societal well-being.¹⁸

The study by Mahmud et al. in “*Role of Mosque for Human Resource Development*” emphasizes mosques’ contribution to creating a moral and spiritually Islamic atmosphere in society. The study concludes that mosques serve as training for Islamic ideals and places for worship based on the Bangladeshi viewpoint. Additionally, inviting businesses and Islamic scholars to mosques to share their knowledge in numerous fields is crucial to unity and peace in society.¹⁹

The mosque serves as a hub for advancing Islamic principles and a breeding ground for an ideology. This is mentioned in *Ideological Framing, Mosques, and Conflict: Bargaining Position of Salafi Movement in Lombok, East Indonesia*, by Sapparudin and Emawati. This paper makes the case that mosques contribute to the intellectual framework that Salafists propagate and that the rise of social problems brought on by the spread of Salafism in Lombok mosques is a simple tactic to create new mosques and maintain control over existing ones.²⁰

In *Mosque Involvement and Political Engagement in the United States*, Aubrey Westfall explores mosques in the country. According to her research, mosques can help foster political engagement and integration by acting as a political

¹⁷ Alean Al-Krenawi, “The Role of the Mosque and Its Relevance to Social Work,” *International Social Work* 59, no. 3 (May 2016): 359–67, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020872815626997>.

¹⁸ Asif Naveed Ranjha and Yasmin Roofi, “Mosque as Community Welfare Centre,” *Research Journal Ulum-e-Islamia* 21 (2018).

¹⁹ Imran Mahmud, Shahriar Rawshon, and Md Jahidur Rahman, “Role of Mosque for Human Resource Development,” 2012.

²⁰ Sapparudin and Emawati, “Ideological Framing, Mosques, and Conflict: Bargaining Position of Salafi Movement in Lombok, East Indonesia,” *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 18, no. 1 (June 19, 2023): 231–44, <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol18no1.19>.

discourse and mobilization forum. The findings imply that not all mosque involvement has the same advantages in encouraging political engagement and that religious participation must actively engage with congregants' social lives to have significant political effects.²¹

Regarding the relationship between mosques and young people's social lives, Karimshah et al.'s research on mosques and young people in Brisbane demonstrates that the mosque plays a crucial role in the social lives of Muslim youth in Brisbane. It highlights the mosque's contribution to community development, religious education, social networks, and possibilities for social involvement.²² While this is going on, Wardak explores the function of Edinburgh's main mosque as a social control mechanism for the city's Muslim community in his book *The Mosque and Social Control in Edinburgh's Muslim Community*. His research underlines how vital Friday congregational prayer and mosque-based religious instruction (*sabaq*) are for preserving law, order, and societal harmony.

2. Research on Salafi women

The number of studies on Salafi women is substantial, though less significant than those on Salafis. Among these, studies by Nisa²³ and Sunesti et al.²⁴ focus on women's life experiences and involvement in Salafism, including those linked to agency and how they deal with any challenges they face. In “*Embodied Faith: Agency and Obedience Among Face-Veiled University Students*,” Nisa examines face-veiled university students' experiences and participation in Indonesia's Salafi Islamic revivalist movement. She was influenced by Saba Mahmood's work and perceived the women as religious subjects who performed the "embodiment" of their Salafi teachings. Her research indicates that completing religious obligations

²¹ Aubrey Westfall, “Mosque Involvement and Political Engagement in the United States,” *Politics and Religion* 12, no. 4 (December 2019): 678–709, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048318000275>.

²² Ameera Karimshah, Melinda Chiment, and Zlatko Skrbis, “The Mosque and Social Networks: The Case of Muslim Youth in Brisbane,” *Social Inclusion* 2, no. 2 (August 20, 2014): 38–46, <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v2i2.165>.

²³ Eva F. Nisa, “Embodied Faith: Agency and Obedience among Face-Veiled University Students in Indonesia,” *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 13, no. 4 (August 2012): 366–81, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2012.697187>.

²⁴ Sunesti, Hasan, and Azca, “Young Salafi-Niqabi and *Hijrah*.”

is women's top priority. Their personal experiences and the process of negotiating to wear the veil suggest their struggle to reconstruct their religious identity and their capacity to exercise a specific sort of religious agency.²⁵

While Yuyun et al. investigate the lives of young millennial Salafi-niqabi in Surakarta and their strategies for coping with power dynamics in daily life. The study focuses on how these young women who follow Salafi's ideas and practices—including donning the niqab and pursuing *hijrah*—manage their autonomy and negotiate their identities. The study provides insight into the obstacles and chances that young Salafi-niqabi women encounter as they work to express their religious identities and exercise agency in various domains of life. Using Macleod's theory of "accommodating protest," this study contends that the particular negotiations these young Salafi women must engage in are both a form of accommodation and a type of protest.²⁶

The interaction of Salafi women and digital media is another area of research. Nisa investigates how face-veiled (*cadari*) women in Indonesia use the internet. These women, who yearn to return to authentic Islam, are frequently perceived as repressed by mainstream Muslims. The article examines how women develop and sustain online subcultures. It focuses on the mailing list of one group of Salafi women and a *cadari*-run online company. The internet allows them to create unique paths that fit their subcultures.²⁷

According to Fatimah Husein, Indonesia's Islamic digital media landscape has given rise to many preachers, resulting in a far more diverse and open-minded religious environment. By concentrating on the female *majelis taklim* organizations *Majelis Mutia* and *Majelis Sahabat Cinta*, her research examines how Muslim women negotiate Salafism at the nexus of online and offline settings. She contends that discussions held online and in person during these gatherings have resulted in various negotiations that impact how Salafi principles are applied daily. The *majelis*

²⁵ Nisa, "Embodied Faith."

²⁶ Sunesti, Hasan, and Azca, "Young Salafi-Niqabi and *Hijrah*."

²⁷ Eva F. Nisa, "The Internet Subculture of Indonesian Face-Veiled Women," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (May 2013): 241–55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877912474534>.

taklim adherents can use this mismatch to follow a "softer version" of Salafi that occasionally appears to go against the same Salafi precepts.²⁸

The Making of a Salafi Muslim Woman: Paths to Conversion by Anabel Inge focuses on the lives of Salafi women in the UK and their conversion journeys. Her research helps us better understand the elements influencing women's conversion to Salafism in the UK and the conversion process itself. Her study focuses on their pious pursuits' motivations, difficulties, and practices.²⁹

Previous researches on Salafi women focus on their conversion experience and how they integrate their beliefs into daily life. My research aims to complement earlier research into Salafi devotees' involvement in religious studies, particularly at mosques, to uphold their piety. Since Inge's research focuses on Salafi women who participate in mosque group circles, it is close to the research I will conduct. Unfortunately, she has not explicitly addressed the mosque's role in cultivating and nurturing piety among these Salafi women.

As a result, this study comprehensively intends to analyze the role of the mosque in piety cultivation among urban Salafi women and how these women's experiences engaging in mosque programs have affected their piety and personal growth.

E. Theoretical Framework

This study adopts Saba Mahmood's "Politics of Piety" theory as its basic theoretical framework to examine the dynamics of fostering piety and the function of religious studies among Salafi women communities in the mosque environment. Although Mahmood's theory has been widely utilized in Islamic revival movements, I modified its applicability to my research by concentrating on agency, subjectivity, and the negotiation of piety within a religious framework. In this study, Mahmood's

²⁸ Fatimah Husein, "Negotiating Salafism: Women Prayer Groups and Their Preachers in Indonesia's Islamic Digital Mediascapes," *CyberOrient* 15, no. 1 (June 2021): 119–45, <https://doi.org/10.1002/cyo2.9>.

²⁹ Anabel Inge, *The Making of a Salafi Muslim Woman: Paths to Conversion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

theory examines how Salafi women who regularly attend sermons at mosques negotiate and navigate their subjectivity, agency, and spiritual, ethical formations.

Mahmood's theory provides insightful understandings regarding how people navigate agency, subjectivity, and piety within patriarchal frameworks. For comprehending the intricacies of women's religious engagement, her research on women's experiences in the Islamic revival movement, as described in "*The Politics of Piety: Islamic Awakening and the Feminist Subject*," is particularly pertinent. This theory applies to this study due to several essential ideas, including:³⁰

First, negotiation of religious subjectivity: Mahmood's theory examines how people bargain with their religious subjectivity inside religious groups. With this framework's aid, Salafi women attending classes can better interact with other Muslims at the mosque while navigating their spiritual practices, identities, and beliefs. This entails looking at how people handle societal demands of piety, evaluate religious doctrine, and create their conceptions. *Second*, gender norms and agency: Mahmood's work emphasizes how intricately religious piety, gender norms, and agency interact. This lens is used to examine how Salafi women negotiate and assert agency within the mosque's religious settings and how gender norms and expectations influence how they experience listening to sermons. This includes examining how gender roles, customs, and relationships affect people's spiritual development and pious upbringing. *Third*, embodied practices and ethics: Mahmood's analysis strongly emphasizes the importance of embodied activities and how they influence ethical formations. It is utilized to investigate how Salafi women who attend the mosque's embodied practices—such as prayer, recitation, and other rituals carried out during sermons—contribute to their moral and ethical frameworks. This entails examining how these practices affect their moral convictions, conduct, and righteous judgments. *Fourth*, conflicts and negotiations: Mahmood's theory provides insight into the conflicts and negotiations inside religious groups. It examines probable disagreements and bargaining that Salafi women might experience. How women negotiate their religious practices and interpretations within the larger Salafi community are examples of how to do this.

³⁰ Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400839919>.

Another possibility is to look at conflicts between individual piety and social expectations.

Based on this foundation, this study uses Mahmood's theory to examine how urban Salafi women cultivate piety in the mosque environment. Along with Mahmood's work, scholars such as Leila Ahmed have investigated women's experiences in Islamic civilizations, emphasizing their agency and subjectivity in religious situations. "*Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of Modern Debates*," Ahmed's book, gives insights that accord with Mahmood's theoretical framework and support the concept of agency and subjectivity in religious practice.³¹ Talal Asad's work also sheds light on how religious subjectivity is negotiated in modern situations. The idea that agency and subjectivity are not static but are molded by various circumstances within religious frameworks is supported by Asad's analysis of religious practices' social and cultural components.³²

These scholars' writings support that agency, subjectivity, and piety in religious contexts are intricate and multifaceted ideas. This scholarly integration enriches the framework of this study and offers a robust framework for examining the experience and development of piety among urban Salafi women in mosque settings. In conclusion, this study draws on Saba Mahmood's "*Politics of Piety*" theory to examine issues of agency, subjectivity, and the negotiation of piety within a religious context.

F. Research Significance

In summary, this research aims to describe the elements that contribute to urban women's interest in Salafism and the dynamics and methods in which they can be consistent with it. Salafis' rehabilitation of religious understanding for urban women forces them to manage their daily routines. Salafism opposes all forms of cultural fusion, including the clothing code. Salafism promotes the identity of its women by using unambiguous references, as mentioned in the Qur'an and hadith,

³¹ Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (Veritas Paperbacks, 2021).

³² Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford University Press, 2003).

to distinguish itself from other religious viewpoints already prominent in Indonesia. As a result, this work will contribute to the academic understanding of Salafi developments in Indonesia.

More practically, this study, which focuses on Salafi women in the Nurul Iman mosque in Blok M Square, South Jakarta, can serve as a model for Salafi mosques or other Islamic groups seeking to produce and sustain piety in the face of globalization. The mosque management and the ustad involved in this mosque's sermons have a very telling strategy to succeed in establishing new social engineering in religion, particularly in the manifestation of women's religiosity. In terms of age, young women (aged 35 and under) predominate among Salafi-understanding women. This demonstrates that Salafism, considered oppressive for women, is welcomed by young urban Muslim women.

G. Methods

This study employs a qualitative approach. The primary data sources for this study are the findings of field research and literature research. A literature review was conducted to examine the dynamics of urban Muslim religiosity and the rise of Salafism in Indonesia, as described in various books, theses, and academic papers. However, most of the information used in this study was obtained through fieldwork in 2023 at the Nurul Iman Mosque in Blok M Square over the course of around four months, from March to June. I frequently attended Salafi classes held at this mosque during that time. In addition, I took part in several Ramadan activities, including tarawih prayers, studying for Ramadan, and breaking the fast with others.

I employed semi-structured interviews when I met with The Mosque Prosperity Council, mall management, and economic actors (traders in Blok M Square). The goal is to comprehend the background of the Nurul Iman Mosque's conversion into a Salafi study hub as well as the administration approach used for da'wah and mosque development initiatives. I conducted interviews with the mall management to find out the synergy between mall management and mosque management, as well as the influence of this synergy on both. The purpose of the

interviews with the traders was to confirm the impact of the mosque's presence and regular studies on the commercial activity of the market in Blok M Square.

To obtain data from the study congregation, I conducted in-depth interviews with a sample of urban Salafi women actively involved in the study at Nurul Iman Mosque. To find informants from the mosque, I questioned congregation members before and after the study activity. I usually ask for their contact numbers or social media profiles to stay updated and follow up on conversations. In attracting informants, I frequently receive a rejection from certain congregants who do not want to be questioned, despite having previously had a rather deep interaction. The entire investigation complies with ethical guidelines. All participants provided their informed consent, and their anonymity and confidentiality were ensured. These in-depth interviews allow these female congregants to discuss their experiences, beliefs, and practices about the development of piety in the mosque setting. The interview covers significant issues such as their life history to investigate their background from multiple perspectives. Furthermore, their faith journey, motivations, and experiences while participating in religious activities at the mosque, the role of mosque studies and its impact on their spiritual development, and the challenges they face in maintaining their piety when confronted with the realities of life are discussed.

In addition to interviews, I performed participant observation in the mosque setting. As a participant observer, I immersed myself in the mosque community, actively observing and participating in study activities. This method allowed for a firsthand understanding of the mosque's practices, rituals, and relationships, allowing for a deep and contextualized investigation of urban Salafi women's experiences of achieving piety. Using a qualitative research approach, including interviews and observations, this study aims to provide a thorough understanding of the development of piety among urban Salafi women in mosque settings, capturing their lived experiences and explaining the factors that shape their spiritual journeys.

H. Outlines

The discussion of this study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which includes background, research objectives, research questions, literature review, theoretical framework, research significance, methods, and outlines.

The second chapter discusses the religiosity of Urban Muslims and Salafi enchantment. This chapter also reviews the development of Salafism in Indonesia and religious awareness among Muslim Urbanites. It also discusses urban Muslim enthusiasm for Salafism. The last section of this chapter analyzes Muslim women's complete adoption of Salafi principles.

The third chapter explains the existence of Nurul Iman Mosque at Blok M Square as a hub for Salafi studies that has become a magnet for spirituality in urban communities. This chapter also analyzes the role of the Nurul Iman Mosque in cultivating and nurturing piety among Salafi women who actively participate in studies at the Nurul Iman mosque by describing the programs worked on to achieve this goal. This chapter then analyzes the synergy between the Mosque Prosperity Council and mall management to create a space for the piety cultivation of urban communities, especially regarding the mall's authority and supervision of the mosque, as well as the mall's support for the mosque in managing activities that take place on their land. Furthermore, the synergy benefits both parties, where the mosque has full authority over its program and the opportunity to expand the mosque area. At the same time, the building manager gets economic benefits.

The fourth chapter analyzes the experiences of Salafi women who actively and regularly attend studies at the Nurul Iman Mosque, Blok M Square. This chapter begins with their motivations for attending the Nurul Iman study. Next, it discusses their preferences for the studies they participate in. This chapter then analyzes their transformative experiences after attending the studies, especially in maintaining piety and spiritual improvement, self-improvement, and growing a sense of belonging and sisterhood among fellow worshipers. The last chapter analyzes their challenges in maintaining piety and implementing the teachings they have learned and how they negotiate them.

The fifth chapter contains a conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

URBAN MUSLIM RELIGIOSITY AND SALAFISM

ENCHANTMENT

A. Introduction

The post-reform era has seen a rise in interest in the religious climate of urban Muslim populations. Since then, religion has manifested as a primary need that cannot and should be noticed in urban areas, known as a group of people who give little attention to components of their religious beliefs. Their awareness of this only emerges from somewhere. Many internal and external variables contribute to the genesis of this phenomenon. Regardless of these considerations, the rise in religiosity among urban Muslims should be celebrated. Because their lives are surrounded by a worldly milieu of materialism, consumerism, and hedonism, the problems and obstacles to switching to an eternal orientation appear more significant.

The growing religiosity of urban communities can be reflected in their style and dress. Things on the outside are a reflection of the religious beliefs they have. As a result, when urban Muslims grow beards, wear caps, slacks, hijab, and even veils, their religious allegiance may be determined. These sacred symbols carry the understanding of Salafi groups who want to campaign in this manner. The appearance of guys has remained the same, unlike women, who are educated to wear wide and long clothing. In their interpretation, the hijab does not simply cover the head and chest; it is also relatively wide and does not indeed follow the body's contours.

Many urban residents, particularly Muslim women, undergo fresh religious experiences during the time of these teachings. The Salafi propagandists who constantly use passages from the Qur'an and traditions from the Prophets to support their understanding make Salafi women more adamant in their decision. In light of this, this chapter aims to describe the religiosity of urban Muslims and the enchantment of Salafism that strikes many urbanites in this group. The structure of this chapter will be as follows; the first section deals with religious awareness

among Muslim urbanites'. The second section discusses the development of Salafism in Indonesia. The third section elaborates on urban Muslim enthusiasm for Salafism. The last section explores the complete adoption of Salafi principles by Muslim women.

B. Muslim Urbanites' Religious Awareness

It should be acknowledged that not all urban Muslims base their everyday activities primarily on their religion. But today, a notable increase has resulted from the influx of religiosity among the local Muslim groups. The city has begun to focus on faith as a theological feature full of sanctity. The city has been renowned as the fastest area of civilization and progress in numerous transcendent areas. The metropolitan socio-economic environment's rush and bustle makes its residents nervous and causes their hearts to feel parched. Religion is present in this stage as a source of water that can slake the thirst brought on by such metropolitan realities.

Azyumardi Azra claims that this circumstance gave rise to religious consciousness for urban communities as a look for significance in human spiritual existence.³³ This spiritual side needs appropriate ingestion. In response to this, the urban community turns to religion. In addition, religion might appear as a tranquil setting to promote inner tranquility. This is also consistent with what most people come to the world to do: find peace of mind. The existence of religion, which does not have a significant impact on day-to-day life, offers advice to accomplish this primary goal.

As a result, urban society's inner and spiritual development is not always closely correlated with the progress of the times highlighted by technological advancements. Many of them even start to feel elated as their faith wanes. One of the major ailments that cause metropolitan populations to face new issues with inner wellness is the overemphasis on ratio and technology in solving life's challenges. To put it another way, technological sophistication only sometimes succeeds in

³³ Maman Sudiaman, "Relijiusitas Masyarakat Urban (1)," *Republika*, July 13, 2017, <https://news.republika.co.id/berita/oszdc319/relijiusitas-masyarakat-urban-1>.

offering effective remedies to the issues that urban communities face.³⁴ Technology frequently provides false alternatives, particularly when it comes to spirituality.

However, the availability of technology has been demonstrated to offer the best help to urban religious groups. For instance, technological goods, television, and social media have aided urban Muslims in developing their Islamic quality in terms of knowledge and practice. They can more readily access and search for religious information according to their everyday needs. In reality, the advancement of technology can enable a community to consistently and simultaneously proclaim their religious beliefs. The increase in recitations and dhikr gatherings in metropolitan areas is proof of this. John Saliba contends that religion can unite people from different social groups into a single, strong tie.³⁵

Urban Muslim communities becoming more devout is not unique to Indonesia. For instance, Amelie Blom's study on the young Muslim generation in Pakistan in the 2000s. Blom asserts that one reason for people's excitement for enhancing religion is their understanding of the need to improve themselves and adopt a heroic demeanor, as demonstrated by religious activists. These components can reach a young person's core and inspire them to embrace Islam in their most accurate form. They feel apart from other Muslim groups and are viewed as "born Muslims" because of this. However, this sense of distinction—which includes thinking oneself superior to others—must ultimately be diminished because it is incompatible with Islamic principles.³⁶

The findings of Arif Zamhari and Julia Day Howell are consistent with Blom's study from above. Their respective studies demonstrate that urban communities' interest in religion grows daily. Recitations and dhikr gatherings are places where they are enthusiastic about adding to and gaining new Islamic insight. These two locations constitute a driving force for urban areas to obtain the most resources. In addition, the current situation may present a chance to get blessings from the kiai

³⁴ John Naisbitt, Nana Naisbitt, and Douglas Philips, *High Tech High Touch: Technology and Our Search for Meaning* (New York: Broadway, 1999), 80.

³⁵ John A. Saliba, *Understanding New Religious Movement* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003), 148.

³⁶ Amélie Blom, "Emotions and the Micro-Foundations of Religious Activism: The Bitter-Sweet Experiences of 'Born-Again' Muslims in Pakistan," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 54, no. 1 (January 2017): 123–45, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019464616683473>.

and habaib, who are respected for their in-depth religious understanding.³⁷ Their continual efforts to brighten up these spaces result from the beneficial impact it has on their daily life.

The rise in urban religion has also started to spread to diverse locations. In general, mosques, musallas, or significant places of worship are not the only sites where religion is practiced in metropolitan settings. Even common areas have been converted into venues of religious expression, which have much larger capacities than actual places of worship. These occurrences are indicators of a phenomenon known as the reconstruction of religious movements. This phrase aims to demonstrate that, over the past 20 years, there have been new symptoms in the religion of urban populations. Modernity permeates urban residents' daily life yet needs a factor that is superior to it, namely divinity or theology.³⁸ As a result, religion or God typically have their significance for urban cultures. They are constantly eager to share their religious lessons due to their life's spiritual experiences.

Furthermore, urban populations' rising religiosity has impacted many lives, not only private ones. Political, economic, and social issues from the public realm also influence and taint the subjects of discussion on religious stages. Urban populations are directly impacted by the quick globalization and instantaneous information that all of this takes place. To reach the desired result, which is to improve themselves in religion despite being surrounded by a materialistic and worldly environment, the problems of such an era still need to diminish their religious spirit. They consistently participate in religious events as a sign of their dedication to advancing their religion. They get even more enthusiastic about participating in various religious activities due to the density of activities and the distance.

The awareness mentioned above, or religious fervor of urban Muslim communities, has inadvertently refuted the thesis of several renowned sociologists, including Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, who claimed that when the world

³⁷ Arif Zamhari and Julia Day Howell, "Taking Sufism to the Streets: 'Majelis Zikir' and 'Majelis Salawat' as New Venues for Popular Islamic Piety in Indonesia," *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 2 (2012): 47–75.

³⁸ Warsito Raharjo Jati, *Politik Kelas Menengah Muslim Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES, 2017), 119–20.

becomes increasingly rational and modern, religion as something irrational will not sell and be eliminated from everyday life.³⁹ However, as can be seen above, reality has disproved this theory. Religion can navigate the daily struggles of modernity in urban areas. In addition, people require faith to overcome the difficulties they face in life. Furthermore, emphasizing religious beliefs makes them more eager to follow the rules and regulations they set forth. Ariel Heriyanto asserts that in light of such events, people of their generation continue to make efforts to maintain their religious beliefs while participating in modern society.⁴⁰

The contemporary world has brought numerous comforts to life in many different areas. Still, it has also given rise to many new issues intimately connected to humankind's existential principles, including faith.⁴¹ Modernity sometimes hailed as the advancement of the times, has robbed humanity of its inner qualities, such as moral and religious consciousness. To successfully reconcile irrational religion with modernity, which is full of rationality, social activities promoting religiosity should be recognized and enabled in light of the rise in religiosity in urban populations.

C. The Development of Salafism in Indonesia

Indonesia is one country that accepts a variety of religious perspectives. The democratic system that our country has embraced is crucial to understanding our reality. The radical, moderate, and liberal epistemic typologies of spiritual awareness are still widely used today. Undoubtedly, one of the three explanations is Salafi's performance, but this is not meant to support any one interpretation. A multinational organization with Saudi Arabian roots is the source of this concept rather than Indonesia. Since the post-reformation era, Salafism has become popular among Indonesian Muslims, particularly in metropolitan areas. In light of this, this

³⁹ Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1956), 15; Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Form of Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1912), 21.

⁴⁰ Ariel Heriyanto, *Identitas Dan Kenikmatan: Politik Budaya Layar Indonesia*, vol. translated from "Identity and Pleasure: The Politics of Indonesian Screen Culture" by Eric Sasono (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2015), 48.

⁴¹ George Ritzer, *Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2010), 163.

subsection will discuss the development of Salafism in Indonesia and how Muslims who reside in large cities may come to cherish it.

The term salafi derives from salaf. Salaf is a linguistic term that denotes the past. However, in terms of religion, Salafi is a belief system connected to the Islamic Salaf generation. The Salaf generation represents the first three centuries of Islam's history, precisely the time of the Prophet, his companions, and his successors.⁴² This interpretation concludes that Salafism is an axiomatically held belief system among a group of people alive now that is an understanding of the Salaf generation. This group emphasizes that it is a supporter of Salaf's beliefs. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, a person from Saudi Arabia (1703–1792), founded this organization.

Many academics had been perplexed by the attribution of the term "Salafi." Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, who allegedly never founded the Salafi movement, inspired this. As a result, Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab's ideologies are more commonly referred to as Wahabi. At the same time, Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1838-1897 AD) and Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905 AD) are generally recognized as the founders of the renewal movement in Egypt.⁴³ The name Salafi itself was originally frequently assigned to them. As a result of their frequent use of the word salaf in their campaigns, their group is typically associated with the term Salafi. However, over time, the Wahabi group began to use the term "Salafi" more frequently than the two Egyptian leaders mentioned above.

The theology of the Salafi movement and its preachers' appeal to adhere to the *manhaj* of the Salaf generation are two of the key reasons that the term Salafi is connected with Wahabi groups. For instance, Jawaz, one of the most respected preachers in Indonesia, firmly urges people to live their daily lives by what the Salaf generation understands. The salaf represents the pinnacle of Islamic civilization, and their view of religion is unquestionably still pure, following the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad.⁴⁴ As a result, when Salafism started spreading in Indonesia

⁴² Yazid Abdul Qadir Jawaz, *Mulia Dengan Manhaj Salaf* (Bogor: Pustaka al-Takwa, 2008), 14.

⁴³ Madawi Rasheed, *Contesting the Saudi State: Islamic Voices from a New Generation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 3.

⁴⁴ Jawaz, *Mulia Dengan Manhaj Salaf*, 5.

in the 1980s, female congregants wore face coverings while the men kept beards and wore robes, turbans, short pants, and wide black shirts.⁴⁵

Understanding passages about God's qualities through textualism is another Salafi trait. God is compared to His beings as a result of this insight. For instance, scriptures describing God's abode on the 'arsh, His omnipresence in the sky, His actual physical descent into the night sky every third of the night, and other theological arguments. Fundamentally, this idea differs from other Islamic sects in that it has its theological concept. The trio of tawhid— *Tawḥīd Ulūhiyyah*, *Tawḥīd Rubūbiyyah*, and *Tawḥīd Asmā' wa Ṣifāt*—represents this theological idea in Salafism.⁴⁶ Arrazy Hashim asserts that all Salafi scholars concur that the triad of tawhid is a notion based on this. The most important characteristic that sets this idea apart from other schools of Islamic thought is its adherents.⁴⁷

Education and the construction of places of worship have historically been the primary channels for the growth of Salafism outside of Arabia. Then, as a sign of cooperation and to build a bridge to the targeted Islamic world, the Saudi Arabian government founded several worldwide organizations, including *Rābiṭah al-'Ālam al-Islāmī* (Muslim World League (MWL)) and the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY).⁴⁸ The Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII)), established by Muhammad Natsir, was the first institution in Indonesia to collaborate with these two organizations. A program run by this school sends Indonesian students to the Middle East to further their studies of Islam. Saudi Arabia supports the organization financially in exchange.⁴⁹

Furthermore, in the 1980s, Saudi Arabia founded the Institute of Islamic and Arabic Sciences (LIPIA) in cooperation with DDII. At first, the main goal of this educational institution was to improve Arabic proficiency. But as time passed, the curriculum changed as it was modeled after the Riyadh-based Al-Imam Muhammad

⁴⁵ Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia*.

⁴⁶ ahmad S. Moussalli, "Wahhabism, Salafism and Islamism: Who Is the Enemy?," *A Conflict Forum Monograph*, January 30, 2009, 6, https://www.academia.edu/560657/Wahhabism_Salafism_and_Islamism_Who_is_the_Enemy.

⁴⁷ Hasyim, *Teologi Muslim Puritan: Genealogi Dan Ajaran Salafī*, 262.

⁴⁸ P. Mandaville et al., *Transnational Islam in South and Southeast Asia: Movements, Networks, and Conflict Dynamics* (Belanda: KITLV, 2009), 48–50.

⁴⁹ Dady Hidayat, "Gerakan Dakwah Salafī di Indonesia Pada Era Reformasi," *MASYARAKAT: Jurnal Sosiologi* 17, no. 2 (2014): 115–33.

Bin Suud Al-Islamiyyah University. As a result, LIPIA is sometimes referred to be a division of King Saud University.⁵⁰ Due to the two curriculums' closeness, LIPIA served as Indonesia's first entry point for Salafism.

In Indonesia, the Salafi doctrine has flourished thanks partly to the victorious cadres LIPIA has produced. These cadres gave free Salafi publications, especially to their congregation, and promoted the phrase "back to the Qur'an and Hadith." Numerous students from LIPIA are also sent to the Middle East to sharpen their attention and take their study of the classics of Turkish literature more seriously.⁵¹ Several LIPIA alums have now become essential figures in Indonesian Salafi circles, such as Yazid Jawwas at Minhaj al-Sunnah Bogor, Farid Okbah as director of al-Irsyad, Ainul Harits with Nida'ul Islam Foundation Surabaya, Abu Bakar M. Altway with al-Sofwah Foundation Jakarta, Ja'far Umar Talib founder of Ahlussunnah Wal Jamaah Forum; and Yusuf Uthman Ba'isa director of Pesantren al-Irsyad Tengarang.

Although not all LIPIA graduates are Salafis, many of them continue to hold to the beliefs they had before attending LIPIA. This is also true for students who can participate in DDII-organized study abroad programs in the Middle East. Before getting there, many of them choose to continue with their original notion. Take Muhammadiyah, Persis, and Nahdhatul Ulama as examples. The leaders of these organizations merely take advantage of the free education offered at DDII schools across the Middle East. They needed help changing the basic knowledge they had acquired while studying in Indonesia despite the Salafi ideologies from the factory in Saudi Arabia.

The Muslim Brotherhood, Hizbut Tahrir, and Jamaah Tabligh are only a few examples of other international Islamic movements that some people support. Later on, though, the ability of DDII to propose students for study in Saudi Arabia was revoked, and they were now in charge of choosing the students who would enroll in Saudi colleges. The struggle in the 1990s between the Saudi government and the Ikhwan cannot be divorced from this policy. The Saudis were pressured to reduce

⁵⁰ Jajang Jahroni, "The Political Economy of Knowledge: Shari'ah and Saudi Scholarship in Indonesia," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 1 (June 1, 2013): 165, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2013.7.1.165-186>.

⁵¹ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2009), 78.

the Brotherhood's presence in the kingdom during the Gulf War because it was thought it would harm American interests. Saudi Arabia undertook a de-Ikhwanization campaign on its campuses to comply with the demands of its coalition allies.⁵² But the pupils from Indonesia were unfazed by this phenomenon. Many Indonesian students still have a burning desire to study Islam in its native land of Arabia, where it originated.

Salafism never entered politics in Indonesia during its formative years under the New Order. Due to this, Salafis were labeled as practicing "Silent Salafism (Salafist-Quetism)" at the time. Since the beginning of their spread, they have tended to concentrate on education and da'wah as their main priorities. This consistency was seen during the Reformation and continues until this day. Generally speaking, most Salafi organizations continue to follow these two fields.⁵³ However, a limited number of Salafi factions have started to get engaged in interpersonal confrontations, as was the case with the Laskar Jihad, led by Ja'far Umar Talib, which defended Muslims in Ambon against opponents of other religions. In addition to Jamaah Islamiyyah (JI), other smaller Salafi groups that engage in violent acts are affiliated with international terrorist organizations.⁵⁴ In Indonesia, after the reforms, promoting the application of Islamic law through local laws and outspoken campaigns is another form of Salafism.⁵⁵

Salafism appears to have found a second home in Indonesia after this arduous trip of three decades. This concept has never diminished or left Indonesian territory. Of course, Salafism had many challenges during that lengthy period. The Salafi model and personality, which frequently assign blame to other parties and believes that their group represents the purest form of Islamic teachings, cannot be isolated from the dynamics of Salafi development in Indonesia. Other Islamic organizations will react by rejecting this global understanding in response to this attitude. For instance, Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) has been very outspoken about opposing this

⁵² Jahroni, "The Political Economy of Knowledge."

⁵³ Amanda Kovacs, "Saudi Arabia Exporting Salafi Education and Radicalizing Indonesia's Muslims," *GIGA Focus International Edition*, 7, 2014, 33.

⁵⁴ Andi Rahman Alamsyah and Vedi R. Hadiz, "Three Islamist Generations, One Islamic State: The Darul Islam Movement and Indonesian Social Transformation," *Critical Asian Studies* 49, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 54, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2016.1260887>.

⁵⁵ Haedar Nashir, *Islamic Shari'a Movement: Reproduction of Salafism in Indonesia*, *The Social Sciences*, vol. 11, No. 8, 2016, h. 14.

worldview up till now. NU frequently becomes the target of Salafism since it contains a wide range of religious traditions that are seen as *bid'ah* and lack a clear biblical foundation.⁵⁶

However, it must be acknowledged that Salafism has successfully ingrained itself in the hearts of many Indonesians despite the conflict between it and other local organizations. Mosques, campuses, television, radio, and social media are just a few of the places where da'wah are mushrooming in many directions, making Salafi thinking more widely available. This Salafi worldview is spreading its wings more and more in Indonesia thanks to the comparatively light and straightforward delivery method and the use of the Qur'an and Hadith as primary sources. Salafi preachers' earnestness and management skills cannot be separated from the movement's growth in different parts of Indonesia. Among the many Salafi preachers with thousands of congregants are Khalid Basalamah, Firanda Andirja, Syafiq Reza Basalamah, Badrussalam, and Muhammad Nuzul Dzikri.

D. Urban Muslim Enthusiasm for Salafism

Salafi Muslims can be recognized by their clothing, which includes beards, pants, veils, headscarves, and wide garments, as was discussed in the preceding sub-chapter. Today, these religious symbols are more common and self-assured enough to compete in the fashion industry. To herd Islam into a commercial setting, this reality has consequently pulled enthusiasts into a consumerist culture in an indirect manner.⁵⁷ Due to this method of religious expression, the demand for Islamic goods and businesses is rising. This led to the development of the hijab business, halal cosmetics, Islamic banking and finance, halal food, Islamic lodging, and so forth.⁵⁸ Compared to rural settings, these are more prevalent in substantial metropolitan areas. This indicates that a significant number of urban Muslims are interested in Salafism.

⁵⁶ Hasbi Aswar, "Politik Luar Negeri Arab Saudi Dan Ajaran Salafi-Wahabi Di Indonesia," *Jisiera: The Journal of Islamic Studies and International Relations* 1, no. 1 (2016): 15–30.

⁵⁷ Fealy, "Consuming Islam: Commodified Religion and Aspirational Pietism in Contemporary Indonesia," 15.

⁵⁸ Yuswohady et al., *Gen M: Generation Muslim* (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 2017), xv.

Before delving into the Salafi-style theological model, there is a timeline that describes how the urban Muslim population first came into contact with Salafism and their reasons for compatibility and *istiqomah*. Salafi is typically known in two ways: rather, through radio, television, websites, and social media. Salafi organizations are comprehensive and competent in using media to propagate the message. The Salafi-owned Rodja radio and television stations are now well-known and bold enough to compete with other mainstream media. Similar findings apply to Islamic websites; according to statistics from 2019, most of the 20 Islamic websites visited most frequently by Indonesian Muslims are connected to Salafism.⁵⁹

The spread of Salafism in urban areas gave this media optimization momentum. It is common knowledge that cities see faster technical growth than rural areas or small towns. Therefore, it makes sense that urban people would first come into contact with Salafism through the aforementioned technological advancements. Social media and YouTube, particularly now, have made it easier for urban Muslim communities to obtain this knowledge. It differs from the early 2000s when internet use was less common and complex than it is now. The only media available to Salafism at the time were radio and television. Due to this media's limited diffusion of Salafism, Muslim audiences in Indonesia were still unaware of it.

However, many Salafi preachers were involved in producing Islamic content as Indonesia's internet infrastructure became widely developed. They did this either singly or in groups. Islamic studies have undergone digitalization due to these expertly conducted Salafi recitations. Because of this, Salafi da'wah content has dominated Indonesian society's Islamic discourse during the past five years more so than, say, the Islamic range of other Muslim groups. Indonesian Salafis now use more traditional forms of mass communication in addition to new media due to their openness to the advancement of communication technology.⁶⁰ It may be claimed

⁵⁹ Muhammad Arif, in <https://islami.co/mengapa-islam-puritan-lebih-diminati-di-dunia-maya-dari-pada-islam-moderat/> accessed on June 20 2023. Compare with Ahmad Zaenudin, "Kompetisi Di Antara Berbagai Situsweb Islam," in <https://tirto.id/kompetisi-di-antara-berbagai-situsweb-islam-cEHi>, accessed on June 20 2023.

⁶⁰ Asep Muhamad Iqbal, "Cyber-Activism and the Islamic Salafi Movement in Indonesia" (Doctoral Dissertation, Western Australia, Murdoch University, 2017), 87.

that the dissemination of the Salafi agenda in urban society was successful due to the combination of these two tactics.

For instance, YouTube can be used to its full potential as online media to showcase one's activities, such as lectures, through images. Khalid Basalamah has achieved this by making the most of his YouTube channel to broaden the awareness of Salafism in Indonesia. He has 2.6 million subscribers and 3.7 thousand videos under the handle @khalidbasalamah.⁶¹ According to the audience, Khalid Basalamah's videos typically have thousands or even tens of thousands of viewers. The expertise of Khalid Basalamah in using the internet as a platform for his Salafi da'wah is also demonstrated by the fact that a staff of 18 individuals is employed to create and distribute his preaching videos. The team includes individuals with various skills, including graphic designers, video editors, video grinders, and two other social media specialists. Established in the middle of 2016, the squad posts a lengthy video to social media at least once daily. According to records, the YouTube platform was first used by Khalid Basalamah in 2013. Khalid Basalamah works with the multichannel network company Digital Rantai Maya (DRM) to spread his information as widely as possible.⁶²

This is merely from one YouTube account; it does not include other Salafi channels or offline congregants who go directly to the recitation location. This demonstrates that Salafists are serious about using online platforms like YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and Tiktok to spread their teachings. The current algorithm pattern on social media causes pieces of Salafi videos to show more frequently on the surface, even if the social media account owner does not intend to watch them. This oversight often piques their interest, leading people to look for other videos with the same frequency. They then get more interested in witnessing Salafism as its intensity develops.

The social network comes next. Friendship networks have a significant role in forming Salafi groups and radio, television, and online media. Salafism quickly forms a mass due to the emotional intimacy of friendship relationships. People just starting to become interested in Salafi studies will typically invite friends to join

⁶¹ Look at: <https://www.youtube.com/@khalidbasalamah/videos>, accessed on June 21, 2023.

⁶² Laporan Majalah Tempo, *Ustad Juga Manusia, Antara Tablig dan Monetisasi*, Edisi 24 Juni 2018, h. 31.

them at the event. As a result, a group of people who share an interest in Salafi studies was formed by the buddy who had been invited, inviting his other friends. Naturally, things sometimes go differently than planned with this second pattern. A person who asks his friends to watch or listen to Salafi videos frequently finds his efforts in vain. However, this rhythm has effectively brought life to Salafi's preachings.

The two-step flow model, which Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz created, is a theoretical idea that has some theoretical relevance to the second pattern mentioned above. The concept assumes that the congregants who are the focus of Salafi's thought are also actors who would invite their surroundings to join them. This phenomenon is well recognized and supported by the *hijrah* phenomenon observed in Indonesian cities, where Salafi preachers, mainly urban Muslims of the middle class, have been identified as one of the drivers. Most people who adopt the *hijrah* trend do so at their friends' urging to improve their religiosity. Urban Muslim populations undertaking this *hijrah* typically practice Islam differently than Muslim communities. They become a subculture among other Muslim groups as a result. A subculture is a society or group that consistently strives to draw attention to its distinctive qualities in the study of cultural sociology. Every organization seeks to forge an identity that may serve as a symbol for the group.⁶³

These Salafists are likewise engaging in this behavior. They develop a new way of life distinct from other Muslim urban groups—starting with necessities like clothing, food, and employment and moving on to tertiary requirements like halal-labeled cosmetics. This type of religious expression's origins are undoubtedly unusual and odd. Additionally, it occurs in urban Muslim middle-class communities, which already have a negative reputation from a spiritual point of view. It has progressively affected the perception of that image as people change every aspect of their lives based on the principles taught by Salafi proponents. Such symbolic religious gestures can ultimately be accepted and regarded as commonplace. Religious symbols with a strong Salafi character have proliferated and may be observed in many metropolitan locations.

⁶³ Corey M. Abramson and Darren Modzelewski, "Caged Morality: Moral Worlds, Subculture, and Stratification among Middle-Class Cage-Fighters," *Qualitative Sociology* 34 (2011): 143–75.

The majority of the urban Muslim population comprises intelligent individuals with nearly flawless levels of education. Salafi preachers reply that this high degree of education is a requirement that must have met them. The minimal level of education, or an undergraduate, is equivalent between the preacher and his congregation. As a result, many hold degrees in religious studies, ranging from the lowest, an undergraduate degree, to the greatest, a doctoral degree. This qualification is significant since it is a declaration of authority to speak about religion, as the academic degree shows. Additionally, as a sort of intellectual responsibility and authenticity, the literary references used to support this Salafi perspective are included. The Salafi preachers have used ethos, logos, and pathos to communicate this knowledge.⁶⁴

Ethos is a quality of credibility that can be detected in a speaker through the growth of their abilities and the force of their arguments. The logos component, however, focuses on developing ideas based on primary Islamic sources to support the narrative that one should "return to the Qur'an and Hadith," "the understanding of the salaf generation is the most appropriate," etc. This role model seeks to convey that their religious perspective is legitimate and defensible. The last is the anthos aspect, which attempts to appeal to people's emotions. After employing the logos aspect, they contrast it with the state of social customs, cultural traditions, and economy. As a result, Salafi preachers are seen by urban Muslim communities as having greater personal and emotional capacity than preachers from mainstream Muslim groups.

Three other elements also influence the interest and fervor of urban Muslim communities to adhere to Salafism.⁶⁵ Firstly, all Salafi recitation materials include direct quotations from the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. The straightforward reasoning that they frequently repeat is that the Qur'an and hadith/*sunnah* are the two primary sources of Islam and that, as a result, the honest Islam is that which is in agreement with these two sources also serves to support it. Therefore, it is invalid if a religious practice does not appear in these two sources. Preachers who follow the Salafi

⁶⁴ Michael H. Prosser, "Classical Rhetorical Theory," in *Encyclopedia Of Communication Theory* (London: SAGE Publication, 2009), 300.

⁶⁵ Mila Nabila Zahara, Dadan Wildan, and Siti Komariah, "Gerakan Hijrah: Pencarian Identitas Untuk Muslim Milenial Di Era Digital," *Indonesian Journal of Sociology, Education, and Development* 2, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 52–65, <https://doi.org/10.52483/ijsed.v2i1.21>.

school also know that most congregations are non-religious. With this reasoning, their ancestrally passed-down religious traditions become simple targets.

Secondly, there is much religious Salafi content on social media, and getting in touch with the preachers is simple. This makes it simpler for urban Muslims to benefit from Salafism's teachings in any circumstance. Urban Muslims are more ready to become more religious due to the ease with which they can acquire Salafi-style theological thinking. Furthermore, the preachers are accessible, allowing the congregation to talk and inquire about the theological issues they encounter freely. Urban Muslims have expressed their impressions of this kind of service. Modern life is based on accessibility and quickness, even regarding religious topics. Urban Muslims prefer to study religion in this way because it is immediate and practical.

Thirdly, Salafi preachers are resolute and concise. Although some people believe Salafi preachers to be rigorous and highly textualist, the truth is that urban Muslim populations embrace such an attitude. When conveying information, including information about religion, firmness, and clarity are indications of certainty and authenticity. Salafi propagandists offer the law directly in response to the questions of their followers while citing relevant passages from the Qur'an and Hadith. They also appear to rarely explain the differing viewpoints of researchers on a given issue. If they have already imparted it, they will provide considerations that lead to a legal result consistent with the two sources. This methodology ensures the congregation is clear and has a firm foothold from the primary source.

The enthusiasm of the urban Muslim community sprang from a desire among them to enhance their religion. Beginning with a sense of aridity and emptiness in religious understanding, they must discover a solution to the problem. Although some of them are categorized as upper middle class from an economic standpoint, their money cannot satisfy their spiritual requirements. They eventually began to hunt for answers to their anxiety until they encountered the Salafi preachers. In Lewis R. Rambo's concept of religious conversion, this stage proceeds progressively from crisis through the quest to meet.⁶⁶ This search process usually takes a long time. Finding a spiritually appropriate forum is a difficult task. It is

⁶⁶ Lewis R. Rambo, "Theories of Conversion: Understanding and Interpreting Religious Change," *Social Compass* 46, no. 3 (1999): 259–71, <https://doi.org/10.1177/003776899046003003>.

sometimes necessary to choose based on the arguments presented by the container's bearers.

As a result, many members of the urban Muslim community experiencing spiritual instability wander from place to place in search of the correct and adequate harbor. Some have participated in the late Jefri al-Bukhari's assembly, such as Abdullah Gymnastiar, Arifin Ilham, and the *Lintas Orbit* study led by Din Syamsuddin. However, only some were appropriate once-countered Salafi preachers through social media or invitations from their acquaintances. The previously described Salafi-style preaching strategy successfully attracts the attention of urban Muslims seeking to move. Everyone cannot complete such a lengthy procedure because people are firmly committed to their religious spirituality. As an everyday traveler, he will undoubtedly take care of the object he is hunting for. Similarly, urban Muslim communities experience this in terms of their religion. They will be reliable and fully concur with this Salafi understanding.⁶⁷

Thus, urban communities' spiritual awareness and their predisposition to Salafism have indirectly aided the growth of Salafism in Indonesia. This is directly related to the Salafi-style religious exposure approach, which differs from other Islamic groups or leaders in a significant way. Many urban Muslims find particular appeal in this group's strict and textual reputation, which accounts for the absence of jokes and laughing throughout the recitation. The Salafi preaching model has successfully achieved its goal of learning more about Islam. Because they always juxtapose religious texts—the Qur'an or hadith—in every speech, they do not appear to be very uncomfortable with the opposing arguments made by Salafi speakers against other organizations.

E. The Complete Adoption of Salafi Principles by Muslim Women

Muslims today are aware of their disadvantages relative to other Muslims. Saudi Arabia, a Muslim nation with several Islamic holy sites, has started to take catching up seriously. They are political, economic, educational, business, and technological

⁶⁷ Lyansari, "*Hijrah* Celebrity Creating New Religiosities, Branding Economics of Lifestyle in the Age of Muslim Mass Consumption."

elements. However, some Muslims simultaneously exhibit the opposite behavior. These Muslims desire a way of life similar to the Salaf generation of Islam, despite the advancement of the times.⁶⁸ Salafists have this kind of longing. As previously said, this group has a well-documented ideal lifestyle. The romanticization of the Salaf generation's life serves as a mirror for them to confront current realities.

Women from a dozen centuries ago have become a destination for today's generation of Muslim women, particularly those in Indonesia. Salafi women envision Islamic life differently than other women. Although there have been conversations regarding gender equality in many places, Salafi women have not accepted it. Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that the perspective of social construction related to women's tasks is more primary in the domestic realm than the public sphere, so they are encouraged at home with all of their activities, which is still more prominent than the idea of gender equality.⁶⁹ This construction indirectly supports Salafi doctrines. Thus, Salafi women are not startled by this viewpoint.

Some Salafi Muslim women find it tough and challenging to follow specific precepts regularly. Because the lessons' effects will induce people to avoid interacting with their immediate social, familial, and professional environments. As a result, many of them need to be consistent with this comprehension. They cannot continue because they feel alienated and unlike the environment that often surrounds them. Those who succeed, however, may be counted on to be highly motivated and prepared to deal with such societal repercussions. They typically have merely a hereafter-focused attitude. Therefore, they don't care about the numerous unfavorable ideas that only originate from people.

Similarly, many people who choose to wear the veil experience rifts with friends or family members who hold different religious beliefs when they interact with them in public. In many situations, people become apart and are no longer as harmonious as they once were, even with their families. But they keep going because they are adamant about taking this route. They put their social concerns

⁶⁸ Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20.

⁶⁹ Nafriandi, "Perempuan di Ruang Publik dalam Perspektif Hadis," *Kafa'ah: Journal of Gender Studies* 6, no. 1 (August 31, 2016): 57, <https://doi.org/10.15548/jk.v6i1.136>.

aside because they believe the veil is an essential Muslim garment that must be maintained. They will meet and congregate more frequently in a Salafi setting to lessen their loneliness because they know that making such a decision will be difficult. Their meetings' intensity reflects how certain they are that they are going in the correct direction.

Such behavior by veiled Salafi women gives the impression that they have a closed mindset and don't wish to interact with others who are different.⁷⁰ In this situation, the veil's use as a religious symbol has produced an exclusive air and constrained space for its wearer. Regardless of whether the symbol's connotation is correct or incorrect, it is undeniable that veiled women feel more at ease moving around in a similar atmosphere. They feel as though their religious beliefs have been validated. It is also accompanied by doctrines that reward the implementer.

Salafism also stresses the importance of women (wives) domesticating at home above engaging in outside activities. It is difficult for new Salafi women to wear the veil, just as it is difficult for them when they are used to engaging in activities outside the home rather than inside. They tend to their children's needs and only ever view the rooms and walls of the house during the course of a day. But with time, individuals come to comprehend and accept this predicament since they think it is a religious requirement. The moment they get it, they also understand that such behavior is not intended to be harmful. This domestication aims to keep them on track with their chosen *manhaj* and guard against outside influences.

Salafi women sometimes see domestication as a continuation of the hijab-wearing order. In other words, from the perspective of Salafi women, there are two ways to wear the hijab. First, she wore a headscarf to hide her limbs from non-*mahram* men's eyes. A popular definition of the hijab is in its first form. To limit their association with other men who are not *mahrums*, hijab also implies remaining at home. Here, interaction might be opinions or social connections in diverse contexts.⁷¹ Therefore, even though being home for an extended period initially

⁷⁰ Wiga Rahayu, "Profil Wanita Bercadar (Studi Kasus Wanita Salafi Di Kelurahan Tangkareng Timur Kecamatan Tenayan Raya Kota Pekanbaru)," *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa (JOM) Bidang Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 3, no. 1 (2016): 1–11.

⁷¹ Bakar bin Abdullah Abu Zaid, *Menjaga Kehormatan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Al-Sofwa, 2003), 30–31.

seems difficult and uninteresting, confidence and perseverance may get through it all.

However, Salafi women who already have a long-term job outside and wish to keep it, such as teaching at a school, selling in a market, or working, do so while continuing to follow religious principles. According to the Salafi perspective, a lady who wishes to leave the house must be escorted by her *mahram*. If she has a husband already, he should go with her. Observing Muslim women who adhere to this teaching must comply with the norm, which has become fundamental knowledge.⁷² They will try their hardest to make good on it. They typically get over it by traveling with other women if that is impossible.

Due to this conceptual framework, Salafi Muslim women remain separate from men. Unless there is a sharia-justified excuse, they won't talk or interact. This includes Muslim women who will restrict their involvement in public matters. Since social and political issues have the potential to lead to romantic connections with men who are not their *mahrms*, they won't get involved in them. Therefore, public-facing activities are carried out while wearing closed clothing and being accompanied by a *mahram* or her spouse as a sign of their religious understanding to avoid interacting with the general public, particularly men.

Although Salafi women adhere to the idea above, this does not imply that they are anti-technology and the internet. Even in one example in Maluku, Salafis used the internet to raise funds and disseminate information about their actions in Maluku to the outside world.⁷³ Although it is not stated if the culprits are male or female, the Salafi sect is aware of the times. This includes social media, which is at its peak right now. Salafi organizations actively use it to expand their beliefs and activities in many regions. Thus, Salafi organizations do not outright prohibit the use of social media. They see social media as similar to a knife in that it may be used for good or harm. In leveraging this technological advancement, Salafi women also behave in this manner. They only use social media for beneficial purposes, such as the media to find information on recitation and Quranic recitation. Because installing or posting their genuine images would not benefit them, they typically

⁷² nafriandi, "Perempuan di Ruang Publik dalam Perspektif Hadis," 70.

⁷³ Merlyna Lim, "Islamic Radicalism and Anti-Americanism in Indonesia: The Role of the Internet" (East-West Center, 2005), 10, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep06514>.

refrain from doing so. Additionally, according to their religious beliefs, women are not allowed to display photos of themselves publicly.

This applies to both the purchasing and selling of goods. As online vendors, for instance, they typically post a profile picture that substitutes for and represents their reality by wearing a niqab or veil. They do this to adhere to their religious principles and maintain mercantile activities while remaining inconspicuous to the outer world. A lot of them turn social media into a swamp for their companies. The availability of features like "once rowed two islands exceeded," "*shopee live*," or "*tiktok live*" is highly beneficial for them. This means they can practice their Salafi-style religious beliefs and their daily activities as entrepreneurs.

Therefore, Salafi Muslim women's belief that they should stay at home does not imply that they are cooped up and unable to interact with others. Social media's emergence, which has broken down barriers of time and location, may provide a way for them to continue communicating with the outside world. Interacting with the outer world from within the house allows for more control than doing so from the outside. Salafi women can uphold their convictions because of the sophistication of technology and its features.⁷⁴ They can set up shop however they like without compromising their religious beliefs.

Consequently, numerous assumptions about them are dispelled while interacting with a diverse society like Indonesia. This is because the Salafist perspective has established boundaries in the cultural, social, and political realms, particularly regarding women.⁷⁵ The numerous religious traditions in Indonesia, where men and women frequently interact, obviously challenge Salafi women who adhere to these traditions. No chance of mingling men and women here is done to go against Sharia law. Of course, it cannot avoid these occurrences under certain circumstances, just as with marriages, public recitations, and other events justified under Salafi's interpretation.

For Salafi Muslim women, domestication is seen as a duty that prevents them from participating in public affairs. Muslim women of the Salafi sect likewise

⁷⁴ Eva F. Nisa, "Internet and Muslim Women," in *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*, ed. Mark Woodward and Ronald Lukens-Bull (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 3, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73653-2_71-1.

⁷⁵ Hasan, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia*, 9.

appear to have nothing to lose by doing this. Their convictions are unwavering because of the descriptions of it in the Qur'an, the hadiths, and the promised rewards. Their primary focus is on the provision for the hereafter. As a result, they will undoubtedly take all reasonable steps, including those connected to the laws that apply only to women, no matter how minor the activities taught by this concept.

F. Conclusion

Islam's current journey should be acknowledged in light of the rise of urban Muslim religiosity. Due to urban life's constant loudness, the Muslim community experiences easy saturation, fatigue, and incredibly spiritual dryness. As a result, religion's presence has successfully provided a remedy. The spiritual issue was resolved thanks to their steadfast adherence to Christian principles. Many of them love their faith even more the more consistent they are despite all the challenges. Practically speaking, they will make every effort to attend religious gatherings hosted by organizations whose the Salafi understanding, which have provided solutions to their difficulties, while still juggling their busy schedules.

Furthermore, Salafism has established its teachings among urban Muslims by using solid arguments to persuade its targets, including women. However, few of them object to wearing a veil, or rather loose clothing, and the requirement of domestication for a wife, as well as other laws that constrain a woman. However, the promised advantages for Salafi Muslim women who follow these norms make them unconcerned about social change. They will continue to make every effort to carry out Salafi's beliefs. Additionally, as their group grows, the objections or concerns that existed in the early days of Salafism are fading.

CHAPTER 3

THE MOSQUE IS A CATALYST FOR PERSONAL TRANSFORMATION AND PIETY CULTIVATION

A. Nurul Iman Mosque: A Hub of Salafi Studies for Urban Communities

As soon as I enter the mosque's courtyard, I am greeted by the beauty of the mosque's structure, which is encased in a Middle Eastern architectural design. A small Kaaba with Hijr Ismail that boldly stands in the middle of the mosque courtyard gives the impression of being in the Masjidil Haram. The Nurul Iman Mosque is reputed to be the biggest mosque built on a mall in Jakarta.⁷⁶ In contrast to mosques generally found in shopping malls, typically situated on the ground floor or adjacent to the shopping section, this mosque was constructed directly at the top of the mall building, on the seventh floor.

According to the mall manager and the mosque architect, the mosque facade was purposefully designed in the style of mosques in the Middle East to reflect the intention of the Nurul Iman Mosque Prosperity Council (DKM) to make the mosque a learning center based on the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. The architectural style of the mosque is designed to mirror mosques in Mecca and Medina. In addition to the miniature Kaaba, the mosque's courtyard area features a small pond with three fountains and a small garden with date, olive, and tin trees from the Middle East. In the women's prayer area, the ceiling is designed to closely resemble the top of the Nabawi Mosque. This mosque consciously takes inspiration from the literature of Middle Eastern mosques. The design is intended to appeal to the psychology of congregants who may have missed the Masjidil Haram and Nabawi mosques, particularly those who have recently completed Umrah and Hajj. So that by visiting the Nurul Iman mosque, individuals can be transported back to that time.⁷⁷

According to mosque management, the Nurul Iman Mosque has a vast area with nearly 7,000 people. The existence of Nurul Iman Mosque is inextricably

⁷⁶ "Masjid Nurul Iman Menjadi Masjid Terbesar di Atas Mal Jakarta," Blok M Square, July 23, 2019, <https://blokmsquare.co.id/masjid-nurul-iman-menjadi-masjid-terbesar-di-atas-mal-jakarta/>.

⁷⁷ Interview with Muhammad Luthfi Ramdhani, Mall Management, June 16, 2023.

linked to the construction of Blok M Square. The Nurul Iman Mosque existed before the construction of Blok M Square. The Blok M Square area was formerly Melawai Market and Aldiron Plaza, owned by PD Pasar Jaya. This location became popular with visitors and became a South Jakarta trade center. A fire broke out in this area in 2015, destroying many stalls and the Nurul Iman Mosque, which was at the top of the building. After the fire, the management renovated and revitalized the building by uniting the two shopping areas into a magnificent mall known today as Blok M Square. A temporary mosque was built on the lower floor during construction, still named the Nurul Iman Mosque. This modest mosque can hold between 100 and 200 people. Although not as large as the burned-down mosque, daily activities such as prayers and studies run as usual. After nearly three years of building rejuvenation process, the Nurul Iman Mosque was ultimately relocated to the upper floor as before.⁷⁸



Figure 3.1 Nurul Iman Mosque front yard



Figure 3.2 Back of women's prayer area

⁷⁸ Interview with Fauzar Nasaruddin, Head of Da'wah Division of Nurul Iman Mosque Blok M Square, June 16, 2023.

Nurul Iman Mosque is famed for its splendor and is widely known for its sunnah studies, making it the hub of sunnah studies for the capital city's urban community. The Nurul Iman Mosque's transformation into a center for *sunnah* studies cannot be detached from Fauzar Nasaruddin's role as the head of the da'wah division. The Islamic learning in this mosque had been going on for a long time before Fauzar joined the management. Previously, the Nurul Iman mosque housed religious factions such as NU, Jamaah Tabligh, Shia, and Kejawen. But Fauzar alienated them since they were considered incompatible with *Sunnah* da'wah. Before joining the mosque management, he actively pursued Salafi studies in Bogor with Ustadz Yazid Abdul Qadir Jawwaz. He also frequently sought guidance and assistance from his master regarding the development of da'wah at the Nurul Iman mosque. He was appointed to be in charge of da'wah at this mosque in 2009. Over the next few years, he attempted to investigate the demands and needs of urban populations. He also gradually brought out preachers not part of the Salafi *manhaj*. Several people condemned his initial efforts to realign the mosque toward Salafi's understanding. However, he persisted in his conviction that the Salafi da'wah for which he fought conformed with the Qur'an and *Sunnah*. His initiatives have now paid off. Now, Nurul Iman Mosque provides all preachers from the Salafi community. With urbanites involved in the studies constantly, the Nurul Iman mosque has now grown as the center of *Sunnah* studies in the urban area. However, the term "*Sunnah*" appears to be more widely used than "Salafi," maybe due to the negative stigma attached to "Salafi."⁷⁹

B. Upholding Studies Consistency in Metropolitan Area

The mosque management organizes numerous programs to enliven the mosque and attract visitors. According to Nurjuman et al., the activities planned by the administration of the Nurul Iman Mosque include regular studies, both *kitab* and themed, *tahsin* classes, *muamalah* studies, special studies for kids, Quran education

⁷⁹ Interview with Fauzar Nasaruddin, Head of Da'wah Division of Nurul Iman Mosque Blok M Square.

parks, and Arabic language classes.⁸⁰ In addition to emphasizing education, Nurul Iman Mosque also organizes several social events, such as orphan compensation activities held every Friday and blood donation events held every three months in association with Cipto Mangunkusumo Hospital (RSCM) Jakarta.⁸¹ Additionally, the mosque administration recently reopened karate class enrollment.⁸² Both men and women are eligible for this program. The Nurul Iman Mosque also works with several communities and institutions to organize some events. The mosque management works with Rattil Ayatihi as the facilitator for the *tashih tilawah class*.⁸³ At the same time, the LEMKARI (LEMBaga KARate-do Indonesia) board of teachers instructs the karate class.

Among such activities provided by the mosque management, studies appear to be a magnet and draw for congregants to visit this mosque. Congregants throng and crowd the mosque area in several studies preached by renowned preachers. The studies are regularly conducted every day. They occur after weekday afternoon and evening prayers, almost twice daily. Weekends tend to see higher levels of study intensity. Nearly the entire day is dedicated to studying. Studies are typically held this weekend at *dhuha* time, following *zuhr*, *asar*, and *maghrib* prayers.

⁸⁰ Husnan Nurjuman, Ronny Yudhi Septa Priana, and Dewi Nursyamsiah, "Mosque Da'wah Communication Management In Fostering Millennial Congregation (Case Study Of Nurul Iman Mosque Blok M Square)," *Journal of Business Studies and Management Review* 6, no. 1 (December 26, 2022): 81, <https://doi.org/10.22437/jbsmr.v6i1.21501>.

⁸¹ Interview with Fauzar Nasaruddin, Head of Da'wah Division of Nurul Iman Mosque Blok M Square.

⁸² "Instagram @dojomnibmsquare," accessed June 23, 2023, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Ct1cx8gP0c1/?igshid=MzRIODBiNWFIZA==>.

⁸³ "Instagram @rattilayatihi," accessed May 28, 2023, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CssDPMbvSIZ/?igshid=MzRIODBiNWFIZA==>.

HARI/TANGGAL	PEMATERI	MATERI KAJIAN
SENIN 12 Juni 2023	15:30 WIB: Ustadz Dr. Elfa Hendri Mukhlis, MA 18:00 WIB: Ustadz Syaifiq Al Khatieb, Lc., MA	LIBUR Ad Daa' Wa Ad Dawa'
SELASA 13 Juni 2023	15:30 WIB: Ustadz Abu Hurairah, MA 18:00 WIB: Ustadz Habib Salim Muhdhor, Lc., MA	At Tadzkirah Kajian Islam Ilmiah
RABU 14 Juni 2023	15:30 WIB: Ustadz Idrus Yusuf, MA 18:00 WIB: Ustadz Khalid Basalamah	Riyadush Shalihin Dosa - Dosa Besar
KAMIS 15 Juni 2023	15:30 WIB: Ustadz Ustadz Wahab Rajasam, M.Pd 18:00 WIB: Ustadz Farhan Abu Furaihan	TEMATIK Kajian Kitab Rutin
JUM'AT 16 Juni 2023	11:45 WIB: Ustadz Mas'ud Mahmud, Lc 16:00 WIB: Ustadz Ahmad Haromai, MAg (MUI Pusat) 18:00 WIB: Ustadz Mohamad Nursamsul Qamar, Lc	Khutbah Jum'at Tematik Syarhus Sunnah
SABTU 17 Juni 2023	10:00 WIB: Ustadz Mufy Hanif Thalib, Lc 15:00 WIB: Ustadz Ahmad Bazher 15:30 WIB: Ustadz Umar Lathif 17:00 WIB: Ustadz Muhammad Nuzul Dzikri, Lc**	Kiat Membentengi Diri Sihir dan A'in Fikih Sirah Nabawiyah Kitab Riq'atun Wa Zuhumul Ma'ani Karya Syaifiq Al Khatieb Tasbeehun Sayid Wa Muballighin Fii Ahdabi Alim Wa Muballighin
AHAD 18 Juni 2023	10:00 WIB: Ustadz Luthfi Abdul Jabbar 15:00 WIB: Ustadz Abu Ihsan Al Atsary, MA 18:00 WIB: Ustadz Ega Abu Fahd, Lc	Kajian Rumah Tangga Ensiklopedi Akhlak Salaf Kitab Arba'in An Nawawi

Note: * Jadwal sewaktu-waktu bisa berubah, dan insya Allah akan kami update pada poster harian
** Akan dikonfirmasi ulang

Infak Dakwah Sunnah | BSI | 212-5555-46 | Kode Transfer 451 | an Masjid Nurul Iman Blok M Square

Figure 3.3 Study schedule at Nurul Iman Mosque, Blok M Square

The various classes offered at the Nurul Iman mosque can generally be broken down into the following groups: *first*, book studies. These lessons focus on discussing a specific book, and the explanation is modified to the book's chapter order. *Second*, thematic studies concentrate on a particular theme rather than a specific book. *Third*, scientific Islamic studies. These are customarily held on the second Sunday of each month. *Fourth*, intensive study is held every Saturday in the second and third weeks. It has two sessions a day. *Fifth*, general studies are carried out after asr on Saturdays of odd week. *Sixth* is Tabligh Akbar, held on the second Saturday of the month. However, these types of studies are primarily books and thematic in nature. Topics covered were hadith, jurisprudence, ethics, morals, creed, tawhid, *sirah*, *muamalat*, home series, major sins, and soul purification. Some of literatures learned in the Nurul Iman Mosque at Blok M Square are listed below:

No	Name of The Book	Author	Preacher
1.	<i>Al-Aqīdah al-Wasīṭiyah</i>	Ibn Taimiyyah	Ust. Abdullah Taslim, M.A.
2.	<i>Al-Dā' wa al-Dawā'</i>	Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyyah	Ust. Syaifiq Al Khatieb, Lc. MA.
3.	<i>Al-Mulakhas fi Sharh Kitāb al-Tawhīd</i>	Shalih al-Fauzan	Habib Salim al-Muhdhor, Lc. M.A.
4.	<i>Al-Tadhkirah</i>	Syamsuddin al-Qurthubi	Ust. Abu Hurairah, MA.
5.	<i>Arba'in al-Nawāwī</i>	al-Nawawi	Ust. Ega Abu Fahd, Lc.

6.	<i>Di Antara Kesalahan Para Suami dan Para Istri</i>	Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Hamd	Ust. Luthfi Abdul Jabbar
7.	<i>Al-Kabāir</i>	Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab	Ust. Khalid Basalamah
8.	Ensiklopedia Akhlak Salaf	Ust. Abu Ihsan Al-Atsary, MA.	Ust. Abu Ihsan Al-Atsary, MA.
9.	<i>Fikih Asma'ul Husna</i>	Abdurrazzaq ibn Abdul Muhsin al-Abbad al-Badr	Ust. Abu Utsman Abdullbarr Kaisinda
10.	<i>Fiqh al-Ad'iyā wa al-Adhkār</i>	Abdurrazzaq ibn Abdul Muhsin al-Badr	Ust. Nurdin Apud Sarbini, Lc., M.Pd.
11.	<i>Kiat Membentengi Diri dari Sihir dan Ain</i>	Abdurrazzaq bin Abdil Muhsin al-Badr	Ust. Mufy Hanif Thalib, Lc.
12.	<i>Kitāb al-Jāmi'</i>	Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani	Ust. Azhar Khalid bin Seff, Lc., M.A.
13.	<i>Kitāb Tawhīd</i>	Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab al-Tamimi	Ust. Arman Amri, Lc.
14.	<i>Nūr al-Taḳwa wa Ḍulumāt al-Ma'āshi</i>	Ali al-Qahtani	Ust. Umar Lathif
15.	<i>Sharḥ Riyāḍ al-Ṣālīhīn</i>	Ibn Uthaymin	Ust. Idrus Yusuf, MA.
16.	<i>Sharḥ al-Sunnah</i>	al-Barbahari	Ust. Mohamad Nursamsul Qamar, Lc.
17.	<i>Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr</i>	Ismail ibn 'Amr al-Quraisyi ibn Kathir al-Bashri al-Dimasyqi	Ust. Dr. Elfa Hendri Mukhlis, MA.
18.	<i>Tadhkirah al-Sāmi' wa al-Mutakallim fī Adāb al-'Ālim wa al-Muta'allim</i>	Badruddin ibn Jama'ah al-Kinani al-Syafi'i	Ust. Muhammad Nuzul Dziki, Lc.
19.	<i>Al-Uṣūl al-Thalāthah</i>	Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab	Ust. Ali Hazan Bawazier

Table 3.1 Some books learned at the Nurul Iman Mosque at Blok M Square

These preaching served as forums for the transmission of Islamic principles in their most literal form as well as places where ties between listeners and the preacher might be forged. *Tawhid* (monotheism), *aqida* (creed), *fiqh* (law), morals, *adab* (ethics), Qur'an, and Hadith studies were among the subjects covered. This variety was crucial because passionate followers were urged to attend lectures on every subject.

Books written by renowned Salafī figures, such as Ibn Taimiyyah, Ibn Qayyim, Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab, Shalih Fauzan, and others, are among those that are used as references and sources for studies at the Nurul Iman Mosque. Their names are shown in the table above. In many educational institutions, these

books serve as both primary teaching resources and reference books. *Aqida* (creed) is highly valued among Salafi pesantren. *Kitāb Tawhīd*, *Al-Uṣūl al-Thalāthah*, and *Kashf al-Shubuhāt* are among Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab's writings that are the main reference works utilized in some Salafi pesantrens.⁸⁴

Textbooks are undoubtedly an essential tool for disseminating their ideas. Online observations of numerous lectures given by Ustadz who led the preaching at the Nurul Iman Mosque revealed that the deliberate choice of literature was determined to be extremely important to nurture and instill Salafi understanding in attendees. One of these is a preaching given by Ustadz Mohamad Nursamsul Qamar, Lc., who covered subject from *Sharḥ al-Sunnah* by al-Barbahari. He stressed the need of making this book as a reference while learning about the Salaf *manhaj* in the commencement of his preaching.

He (author) declared this at the end of this brief book of the creed of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah. He stated that all you have read and every aspect I have collected in this book is from the Qur'an, the Sunnah of God's Messenger (peace and blessings of God be upon him), and what has been transmitted from the Companions and the Taabi'een up to the fourth generation of this ummah. Thus, one's obligation in relation to what this author writes is to believe, adhere to, accept, and practice what is discussed in this book. It's not that Sharḥ al-Sunnah has no merit above other books of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah. However, if we examine its substance, we see that the author solely refers to the Qur'an, hadith, and what was narrated from the salaf in this book. As a result, this is what a person must believe in and that he must follow the manhaj that the author described in this book. This is referred to as the manhaj al-salaf. What is manhaj al-salaf? It is the way that Islam is

⁸⁴ Chris Chaplin, "Communal Salafi Learning and Islamic Selfhood: Examining Religious Boundaries through Ethnographic Encounters in Indonesia," *Ethnography* 21, no. 1 (March 2020): 113–32, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138118795988>; Ibnu Hasan, "Paham Keagamaan Pimpinan Pesantren Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Pengembangan Pemikiran Pendidikan (Studi Fenomenologi Pada Pesantren Salafy Di Kabupaten Banyumas)." (Doctoral (S3) Thesis, Malang, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, 2017).

*practiced. Why do scholars claim that a manhaj salaf exists? because a khalaf manhaj exists.*⁸⁵

He endured to assert that the urgency of studying this book as a learning resource to deepen the manhaj salaf was due to this manhaj's desire to truly practice Islam in accordance with what was taught by the Prophet and also adhered to by his companions, not innovating in religion or even giving logic precedence. It is mandatory to adhere and execute the entirety mentioned in the Qur'an and hadith, regardless of whether it makes logical sense or not.

He cited a verse from Surah al-Mā'idah (5:35) to illustrate how *wasīlah* is to be interpreted. He gave the example of a group that is regarded as *khalaf* and who comprehend this " *wasīlah* " as *tawassul*, which can be done by embarking on pilgrimages to the saints' tombs and performing *tawassul* to the religious experts. Those who view " *wasīlah* " as obedience do not concur. He attempts to bolster up this interpretation by quoting Ibn Abbas' narration found in *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr* book. Here, he seeks to underline that their beliefs and interpretations are firmly grounded in the Qur'an and hadith, which is what leads them to claim belonging in the *salaf manhaj* because only the things mentioned by Allah and His Messenger and related by his companions are sufficient. Because all that they consider adequate is what Allah and His Messenger said and what his companions narrated.

The Nurul Iman Mosque also offers lectures in *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr* literature. When interpreting the meaning of *wasīlah* in the prior instance, the speaker attempted to cite this interpretation book. Additionally, this book usage as learning resources is due to the explanations it provides, which are based on hadith. Salafism has traditionally been known for its adherence to the Qur'an and hadith. Ibn Kathir's interpretation is referred to as *tafsīr bi al-ma thūr* and even comes in second place to Ibn Jarir al-Tabari's interpretation. Additionally, they take advantage of recourse to by other Salafi scholars such as in the study of the book of *Riyāḍ al-Ṣālīhīn*, which employs the explanation (*sharḥ*) book of Muhammad Ibn Salih al-Uthaymin.

⁸⁵ "Landasan Manhaj Salaf," *Youtube Masjid Nurul Iman Blok M Square*, May 5, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/live/A468UqWUB5U?feature=share>.

C. Bringing Ramadan to Life

The regularity of holding studies appears to be the greatest attraction of this mosque since the consistency of conducting studies will facilitate urban Muslims in finding Islamic learning spaces easily, especially when they are eager for religious teachings. Aside from regular studies, Ramadan draws urban residents to this mosque. Numerous events are held during Ramadan to brighten up this glorious month. In general, Muslims enhance their worship throughout Ramadan. They are vying to do good and raise the level of prayer. Many people take the opportunity to share, give alms, recite, and conduct other charitable acts and noble deeds.

Throughout Ramadan, the Nurul Iman Mosque hosts several activities. This is carried out to aid and promote the strengthening of urban Muslims' devotion. Unlike on regular days, when the study is held several times a day, the study is shifted to the midday prayer and towards breaking the fast in Ramadan. Approximately 1,000 servings of food, including *takjil* (snack for breaking the fast), main meals, and beverages, are also provided for breaking the fast by the mosque management. The number of people who attend every day suggests that the community well-received this activity. Additionally, *tarawih* prayers are held in this mosque. I got the chance to participate in the study, *iftar*, and tarawih at this mosque. When I arrived at the mosque, I noticed a large number of people who were eager to attend the study. The number of visitors increased as the time to break the fast drew near. Following the *maghrib* prayer, many congregants pass the time until the isha prayer by praying, reading verses from the Qur'an, and some appear to opt to go home. The mosque is situated inside a retail complex, so the number of congregants is considerable during the isha and tarawih prayers. When I went to the tarawih prayer, there were roughly 300 female devotees.



Figure 3.4 The ambiance of Ramadan maghrib prayer after breaking the fast

During the last ten days of Ramadan, the mosque management organizes an *i'tikaf* activity. The public interest in this event is quite significant, as seen by the quota of participants, which is constantly full. This *i'tikaf* exercise has two sorts of participants. The first group consists of participants who participate in complete *i'tikaf* activities for ten days and spend their time day and night at this mosque. Those who wish to participate in this program must register since they will be asked to relocate and reside temporarily in this mosque. Participants in the second category of *i'tikaf* are individuals who wish to partake in *i'tikaf* during the last ten days of Ramadan but are not obligated to remain overnight or participate in the entire program. Employees and college students make up the majority of this second group, who leaves the mosque in the morning and the afternoon to go about their daily routines of attending work or school. Additionally, they are also permitted to take part in *i'tikaf* for a short period as well.

Hanum, for instance, only partakes in *i'tikaf* activities on the odd nights of Ramadan. She spends even-numbered evenings at home. Hanum competed in the second division because she still had college commitments. Therefore, she would go to the mosque before breaking the fast, stay overnight, return home, and continue her lecture routine the next day. Regimen for at least the last ten days of Ramadan; this has been Hanum's.⁸⁶ Lina decides to engage in *i'tikaf* only on odd nights, as Hanum does. She will be at her home in Bekasi on the even nights of Ramadan.⁸⁷

The community was quite excited to take part in this *i'tikaf*. The participants ranged in age. Hanum claimed the mosque was packed with Muslims who wanted to worship for the remaining ten days of Ramadan. The subjects ranged in age from the young to the elderly. Many women brought their children to partake in *i'tikaf*, further crowding the mosque. Moreover, many older folks also participated in this event. The committee also accommodated the congregation's needs to lift their spirits during worship. The committee meets their consumption needs in addition to housing them. The committee supplies consumption for iftar, suhoor, snacks, and

⁸⁶ Interview with Hanum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 28, 2023.

⁸⁷ Interview with Lina, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 28, 2023.

varied foods given and provided throughout the night as the participants perform their *i'tikaf*.⁸⁸

The mosque seemed to organize this activity seriously. They truly give the best service and offer the highest level of service without charging for this action. The absence of any costs made the participants feel fortunate to have taken part in this activity. Furthermore, during *i'tikaf*, people are made to feel closer to God and to worship more intensely. After breaking the fast till dawn, participants are urged to spend their nights in devotion by reading the Qur'an and performing dhikr, which makes the *i'tikaf* livelier at night. During the last ten days of Ramadan, studies are held before Iftar and after *tarawih* from roughly 10 p.m. until 12 a.m. The nighttime activities continue with a joint *tahajud* prayer and dhikr or reciting Qur'an until dawn prayer. After the early-morning prayer, people are free to pursue their interests.

D. A Dynamic Synergy of Mosque and Mall for Islamic Enlightenment

Nurul Iman Mosque has grown into a mosque that thrives on its activities. Congregants are swarming into some of the studies. The effectiveness of the Nurul Iman Mosque as a spiritual magnet for the capital's urban community cannot be separated from the mosque management's success in managing activities. Furthermore, it is inextricably linked to the support of the mall management. This assistance undoubtedly contributes to the long-term viability of all mosque-organized programs.

1. Mall Support for the Mosque

a) Authority and Supervision

Unlike most mosques in residential neighborhoods, the Nurul Iman Mosque is over a commercial center. This circumstance necessitates collaboration between mosque and mall management. The activities carried out must be supervised and approved by management. Consequently, DKM will undoubtedly need managerial support to coordinate events. Up to this point, the mall's administration has given the mosque's circumstances full support and flexibility. Although the businesses

⁸⁸ Interview with Hanum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

downstairs are closed on the night of Ramadan, the mosque is open around-the-clock. Regularly, the mosque will be locked after the study or prayer sessions. On regular days, the mosque will be closed before the mall. The building management authorizes and allows the mosque to be operated 24 hours a day, particularly during Ramadan *i'tikaf*. This circumstance undoubtedly benefits the mosque in terms of the ease and success of organizing events to revitalize Ramadan with various noble activities. Fauzar, the mosque's manager, stated that the leeway granted by the mall management and its location had their advantages because it gave the mosque greater freedom to carry out such activities at night, mainly.

*If (this mosque) is located in a residential area, we cannot construct it this way because if it gets crowded, the nearby residents will complain. Who will be the ones who criticize us if we do this? There are no neighbors, the downstairs is quiet, and our voice doesn't carry there, so we have more freedom.*⁸⁹

As the management, Luthfi stated that his party supports all mosque events because they are well-coordinated. He underlined that the mosque is also responsible for the building management. Even while the mosque has full power to plan its activities, the management nonetheless puts limitations, particularly on the studies the mosque plans. Studies that include references to political concerns, opposition to the government, or state ideology are prohibited by management. The emphasis on self-improvement in studies is promoted. Luthfi is pleased with the mosque management's cooperation and constant coordination with the mall management. To provide maximum monitoring, management works with government authorities such as the police and Densus 88 to help control activities.⁹⁰

b) Expansion of The Mosque

We will notice how roomy the Nurul Iman Mosque is as soon as we enter the mosque area, and we might not even realize that we are in a place of worship inside a mall. Nurul Iman Mosque was most recently expanded in 2019. Women can

⁸⁹ Interview with Fauzar Nasaruddin, Head of Da'wah Division of Nurul Iman Mosque Blok M Square.

⁹⁰ Interview with Muhammad Luthfi Ramdhani, Mall Management.

currently pray in the newly constructed space. Fauzar claims that the approval of the DKM's request to extend the mosque area demonstrates the mall management's support for the mosque and freeing up study time.⁹¹ However, the regime owns the land on which the mosque stands. Previously, the area where women currently worship used to have undeveloped terrain. The building manager intends to construct a hotel in this area. The idea of creating a hotel is to draw more visitors to Blok M Square to stay in the existing hotel and shop there. But, regrettably, this dream was dashed because there are already numerous hotels in the vicinity of Blok M Square. As a result, the plan to build a hotel on the roof of the building was put on hold due to a lack of investors. Simultaneously, the mosque requested a land extension from the building administration. The management approved the proposal since they could see the business potential of this plan, especially since the mosque had long been crowded with devotees who wanted to attend the study, occasionally spilling outside the mosque's walls. Therefore, as the mosque is extended, more people will visit, increasing the number of people who visit the mall.

2. A Mutual Bond between Mosque and Mall

a) The Mosque as a Mediation Site

Aside from being a worship site and Islamic instruction, the mosque also serves as a forum for discussion to address issues frequently arising in society. The mosque, being a serene setting, is ideal for deliberation. Many mosques have been used to discuss various communal problems in the development of Islam today. The management views weekly gatherings as informal conversations attended by the building management, the head of mosque management, and the market participants of Blok M Square as a synergy to sustain the relationship between the mall and the mosque. This activity takes place every Friday at the Nurul Iman mosque. This is a concerted effort by mall dwellers to strengthen and harmonize their bonds.

⁹¹ Interview with Fauzar Nasaruddin, Head of Da'wah Division of Nurul Iman Mosque Blok M Square.

As a result of our relationship with the mosque, and the synergy between us and the mosque, all concerns regarding the mall are brought up in the discussion. Therefore, there is no crush. It is necessary to mention that point. "Sir, I believe my service cost is expensive. Can you lower it?" "Okay, I will let the board of directors know." At the mosque, we cannot get emotional and do such things. There is kinship. It turns into a forum for business owners to vent. A proposal for the merchants to carry out this task was also (conveyed) there: "Mr. Lutfi, can we open an exhibition downstairs?" Later, I would like to get it to the board of directors. So, it is preferable to a formal meeting. You may want to become enraged, but you won't because you are concerned for one particular congregation of congregants. It is for this reason that the meeting is quiet. The fact that it has become a complaint forum is crucial.⁹²

b) A Field of Blessings and Profits

The Nurul Iman Mosque existed long before the Blok M Square structure was constructed. This mosque even accompanied the history of this commercial center's existence. More broadly, it serves as one of the hubs for Islamic religious education and piety cultivation for urban Muslims and serves as a place of worship for all mall patrons. At the very least, the mosque's presence blesses the mall structure. The mall's management indicated that the attempt to extend the mosque, which was supposed to offer commercial benefits, was successful. He revealed that the expansion had a tremendous impact. He calculated that, on average, 30% of the mall's patrons were mosque-goers. Unsurprisingly, there will be more parking available as mosque attendance rises. Additionally, some of the additional mosque attendees will undoubtedly go shopping.

The two-year pandemic has significantly impacted the trade industry. Many stores have closed due to a need for more consumers. Many shopping centers are also faced with closure due to a lack of visitors, especially during the pandemic. They are unable to open their stalls. Many people have had to give up their jobs. Many stores have gone out of business, primarily as the culture of online buying

⁹² Interview with Muhammad Luthfi Ramdhani, Mall Management.

has grown and become the people's preference—the struggle to restore the economy after the pandemic challenges market participants. Business penetration is incredibly challenging. Various efforts were made to revive market activity. To attract visitors, the management of Blok M Square organizes multiple events, including opening a culinary market. Furthermore, the administration waived fees for manasik of *Hajj* training for school pupils. Regarding marketing, the management is attempting to sell and rent out shophouses at reduced rates. Nonetheless, the building management appreciates the mosque's significance in boosting its business, allowing them to remain strong in the face of bankruptcy.

*We greatly benefit from the mosque's impact. Especially if there is a study or Islamic moment, I can say that during the pandemic, the analysis above—which was still in progress even while our store was closed—kept this mall busy. The shop had not yet opened, the traders were still quiet, and there had been no sales, but this (the mosque) was already crowded and drew people on its own when it was permitted to open. The wisdom is incredible.*⁹³

The presence of a mosque, which contributes to the mall's income, encourages the management to support the mosque's activities. The most visible advantage is the increase in parking and visitors. He further mentioned that several retail malls are now attempting to offer their patrons welcoming and adequate prayer places. For him, this is a crucial factor to consider while developing a shopping complex.

One of the owners of a food store, Umi Annisa, stated that the presence of the Nurul Iman mosque brought blessings to her business. Her salary needs to be increased to support her expenses. She must pay rent for two outlets because she opened two outlets in a public space. As a result, the presence of the mosque above, which holds regular studies and attracts many worshippers, brings blessings to her shop. Her stall is visited during the research and by male congregants who have completed Friday prayers.

⁹³ Interview with Muhammad Luthfi Ramdhani, Mall Management.

*Friday is a joy, Masha God, the blessing of Friday. So this is Friday prayer, and the males dispersed; they came out and (ordered) goats. So, our (food) differs from the standard size; our goats are pretty significant. They were ecstatic, with some even saying, "Thank God, there is sunnah rice here." We immediately eat sunnah after prayer." Alhamdulillah, it is a blessing that I hope will continue.*⁹⁴

Ramadan is a blessing for Umi Annisa since she can make up to three million for her upstairs outlet and one to a half million for her downstairs outlet. Her favorite and most encouraging days are Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday when the study congregations flock and crowd. Her store is busier than usual, so she will serve extra portions because demand is also rising. The moment of *Tabligh Akbar* is likewise anticipated, not only by Umi Annisa but also by other traders. According to her, the traders, particularly those on the food court floor, will remind one other that there will be a grand ensemble tomorrow. Thus, they can prepare extra food portions to serve and distribute. This happens before the *Tabligh Akbar* moment.

⁹⁴ Interview with Umi Annisa, Owner of Nasi Kebuli Stall, June 10, 2023.

CHAPTER 4

EMBRACING PIETY: UNRAVELING THE EXPERIENCES OF SALAFI WOMEN IN PURSUIT OF DEVOTION

A. Introduction

The cultivation of piety is crucial for anyone's desire for a closer relationship with their faith. Women participate in Salafism, propelled by motivations that transcend societal standards and personal desires. Salafi women are steadfast in their religion, driven by an intense yearning for spiritual fulfillment and devotion to God. Their reasons are frequently motivated by a desire for sanctity, a desire to align their life with Islamic teachings, and a desire for a closer relationship with God. By partaking in the mosque's programs, they find an environment that cultivates their piety and encourages personal growth.

This chapter will investigate the experiences of women actively engaging in Salafi-based religious studies and activities at the Nurul Iman Blok M Mosque. The main argument built in the study is that these women's involvement actively contributed to the growth of their spirituality and personal development by providing them with life-changing experiences. While trying to uphold their piety, they frequently encounter several challenges, making reconciling religious beliefs with social expectations worthwhile. On the one hand, they try to live up to their learned values, but on the other hand, they must deal with the realities of life. They finally agree to negotiation.

The first section of this chapter covers the motivation for Salafi women's active engagement in the studies organized by Nurul Iman mosque. Their motivation is frequently a desire for purity and a relationship with God. The section goes through their preferences and motivations for participating in the study. The third section examines their transforming experiences due to regular participation in studies and mosque activities that promote spiritual and personal growth. The final section discusses how they deal with challenges while sustaining their piety.

B. Attending Sermons: In Search of Sacred Guidance

The current surge of spirituality in urban populations is an intriguing phenomenon. It is a movement to restore the ideals of the spiritual vision that the march of modernity has lost. Modernity, whose emergence was marked by the Renaissance in the 17th century, brings at least two sides: on the one hand, it hastened the advancement of science and technology, and on the other, it lulls humans into such progress that they do not realize they are enslaved by modernity that imprisons their souls. The void of meaning in urban culture causes people to seek a thirst quencher for a thirsty soul, resulting in a wave of spirituality in urban society today.

Due to its sacred status, religion is viewed as God's blueprint, designed to be utilized as a guide to address all of life's issues.⁹⁵ As a result, religion is widely accepted and practiced as the foundation of life. According to Milton Yinger, religion is a cultural understanding of the supernatural that people employ to solve numerous critical daily concerns.⁹⁶ Furthermore, it is consistent with Geertz's definition of religion as a symbol system serving social, cultural, and psychological purposes. When a modern man seeks a fundamental explanation for his existence amid urban dynamics, as well as the effects of protracted crises and moral decline that impact urban residents' quality of life, it appears that the spiritual route has emerged as a viable option. One of the manifestations of spirituality in urban areas is the growth of religious assemblies, such as the study held at the Nurul Iman Mosque, which piques the curiosity of modern educated urbanites. Its existence is more than a ceremony; it is a spiritual force that may raise awareness.

The fact that participants in the study were aware of religion's role as a foundation and life-guiding principle was mentioned in several informant narratives. After growing weary of the hustle and bustle of city life and various obstacles, religion becomes a source of serenity and peace for them. This is

⁹⁵ Jalaluddin Rahmat, *Islam Alternatif: Ceramah-Ceramah Di Kampus*, Second (Bandung: 1998, 1998), 89.

⁹⁶ J. Milton Yinger, "A Structural Examination of Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 8, no. 1 (1969): 89, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1385257>.

consistent with Suzanne Langer's assertion that faith results from human reaction to chaos.⁹⁷

Seli has consistently engaged in weekly study sessions in Blok M. She began participating in the study in 2019. Her need for serenity and peace in the middle of the chaos of metropolitan life is the main driver behind her attendance at the gathering. She believes that by attending the study, she will be able to recharge her energy, which has been depleted after a week of seeking a career and dealing with numerous challenges. She feels a renewed spirit and vitality after attending the study, which gives her more strength to tackle the day ahead.⁹⁸

Silva, who routinely attends the study at least twice weekly, made the same claim. She participates in the study because she believes that sometimes some issues she encounters cannot be resolved merely by sharing with humans but occasionally by listening to religious lectures. Coming to the study can offer her tranquility and keep her from overthinking.

I was looking for peace after college when I entered the world of work, and it was like there were trials; I mean not because of the world of work, but maybe (the problems) came so many times that eventually, I was in a situation where I couldn't consult humans anymore, where I couldn't find comfort by confiding in friends. I used to be able to do that. But now it appears that I can't. So, thank God, being able to come here is one of the efforts to heal the soul and relieve exhaustion. If we think that we are exhausted from the morning to the afternoon, then we must come here at night, but in reality, we are more exhausted when we are alone and doing nothing. That's even more exhausting. Overthinking is prevalent everywhere. But thank God, our heart is tranquil, affecting our body.⁹⁹

Exploring religious knowledge is another motive for attending studies, as other accounts demonstrate. For instance, Puspita has only recently begun participating in religious studies regularly. She never had before studied religion.

⁹⁷ Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art*, Third Edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 287.

⁹⁸ Interview with Seli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 20, 2023.

⁹⁹ Interview with Silva, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 17, 2023.

She only knew that she had to pray, and that was it for religion. She claimed that this ignorance of religion persisted up until the point at which she enrolled in college and declared Statistics as her major, a subject that did not allow for sufficient discussion of religion and spirituality. She did, however, become more religiously aware with time. She began to believe that religion is self-reflection and life guidance. Thus, she began to think that knowing religion was crucial. She was inspired to attend religious lectures after coming to this revelation.¹⁰⁰

From the different stories that have surfaced above, it is clear that some of the congregants who attend the study at the Nurul Iman Mosque claim that religion is the cornerstone and the ideal place to turn to when they have difficulties. As a result, they come to the sermons.

C. Preferences for Participating in Studies

An analysis of Salafi women's preferences in attending sermons in mosque programs reveals a wide range of motivations and preferences. The daily sermons at the Nurul Iman Mosque ensure that there is always a horde of people intending to participate in the studies. This scenario supports the diverse desires of the congregants because they can attend the study according to the time they have available or the topic of study they wish to pursue. In this section, I shall discuss the patterns and preferences of people who participate in the study. They can be classified into three types as follows:

1. Compatibility of *Manhaj*

The Nurul Iman Mosque has been converted into a *sunnah* study center for the metropolitan neighborhood. The preachers also belong to Salafi organizations with a similar outlook to the mosque, and the studies are always based on Salafi principles. Several interviewees claimed that the *manhaj*'s compatibility with their beliefs inspired them to participate in the mosque's studies. Most of them are Salafi converts.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Puspita, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.

Murni (21 years old) has attended studies at the Nurul Iman Mosque since 2018. She enrolled in these programs due to her friends' invitations to do so. She is drawn to participating in the studies because this mosque is not associated with groups in the neighborhood, such as NU or Muhammadiyah. Her sister, who initially adopted Salafi as her way of life, was an intermediary for her introduction to the movement. The term "recruitment through a network with interpersonal ties" refers to this type of procedure.¹⁰¹ Since deciding to follow in her sister's footsteps, she has begun to hunt for mosques and religious assemblies that share her viewpoint. Murni claims it is challenging to locate a mosque that adheres to Salafi principles in her area. Her hesitation to visit a non-Salafi Mosque was brought on by disparities in understanding in several areas, including how to perform prayers. She attended classes here frequently once she discovered that the Nurul Iman Mosque's orientation matched the *manhaj* she adhered to. She consistently attended studies three to four days a week while unmarried.¹⁰²

Rifa (22 years old) recounts a different experience, describing her determination to attend the study at Nurul Iman Mosque as a result of roaming and adventure. She was first exposed to Salafism when she joined the Rohis organization in high school. Da'wah activists use this student organization to transmit their understanding through Islamic mentoring programs.¹⁰³ Since becoming familiar with Salafi, Rifa and her friend, Nita (23 years old), have begun actively participating in studies at the Nurul Iman Mosque, the hub of the Salafi study center.¹⁰⁴ They continue to study at the mosque regularly.

Rifa embarked on a spiritual odyssey in which she attempted to investigate other religious assemblies and communities that did not conform to her Salafi beliefs. She had previously tried to attend classes in several locations, including those preached by renowned preachers such as Aa Gym, and frequently attended studies at the Nurul Iman mosque. She also attempted to join a student organization

¹⁰¹ John Lofland and Rodney Stark, "Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective," *American Sociological Review* 30, no. 6 (December 1965): 862, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2090965>.

¹⁰² Interview with Murni, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 10, 2023.

¹⁰³ Noorhaidi Hasan, "Introduction: Towards Popular Islamism," in *Islamic Literatures of The Millennials: Transmission, Appropriation, and Contestation* (South Tangerang: PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2018), 2.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Nita, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.

that actively held numerous studies in college. However, after trying to engage in those studies, she believed there was a mismatch, particularly in the student studies, in which she felt there needed to be more emphasis on logic and liberalism. Due to this disagreement, she stopped following those studies since she determined to follow the ones at the Nurul Iman mosque exclusively. She claims that the educational programs at the Nurul Iman Mosque, in which all of the teachings are consistently based on the Qur'an and hadith, are more in line with what she believes and has come to comprehend. As a result, it lends its permanence to the ideals she has nurtured since middle school.¹⁰⁵

Women who emphasize attending studies in mosques that adhere to their *manhaj* illustrate the significance of sticking to a specific interpretation of Islam. They seek mosques that reflect their view of Salafism, which emphasizes a return to the customs and teachings of the early generations of Muslims. These ladies respect consistency and uniformity in the mosque's rituals and ideas because it enhances their religious convictions and fosters a sense of community that shares a common perspective.

2. Influence of the Preacher and Topic

The *manhaj* base is one of the most critical aspects of congregants' willingness to attend the study. Nonetheless, several of the women I interviewed acknowledged that their preference for attending sermons at Nurul Iman Mosque stems from the preacher's influence and the issues presented. They are drawn to sermons where they can discover skilled and compelling preachers who provide sermons relevant to their spiritual needs. The sermon content, which frequently touched on topics pertinent to life concerns, provided them practical counsel and insights for daily living. The preacher's ability to reach these women's hearts and minds and the caliber of the sermon delivery is greatly appreciated.

Neli remarked that she enjoys attending studies linked to the issue of ethics and soul purification. She can easily modify the time she comes to the study with the study theme that will be elevated because the study timetable is clearly stated.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Rifa, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.

She claims that participating in studies related to the discussed topic will make it easier to meet her spiritual demands.¹⁰⁶ In keeping with the preceding narrative, Fitri also decided to attend studies in Blok M since numerous regular book studies are held there. She admitted that the lecture given by Ustadz Hamid on the concepts of soul purification was her favorite. After learning about the subject, she could undertake more self-introspection and felt better in self-control.¹⁰⁷

Silva claimed that she was interested in participating in the study at this mosque owing to the preachers' suitability, as opposed to the other two who chose to participate based on topic preferences. She admitted to listening to Ustadz Khalid Basalamah and Ustadz Nuzul Dzikri's preachings. The Nurul Iman Mosque has a weekly study program for these two preachers. As a result, Vina consistently shows up for their joint study. She is presently a teacher in one of Jakarta's private schools. The constancy of the regular study at the Nurul Iman Mosque allows her to organize her activities for a week easily. She has set a specific timetable to attend the sermons. Thus, she clears her schedule and refuses requests for private teachings on the days she will attend the study.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, Eli's drive and interest in attending the study were sparked by the preacher's lecture style, which kept her up and engaged. In addition, the rhetoric utilized by the preacher was highly relevant to the audience's daily lives.

*"So far, I've noticed that the preaching of the ustadz is laid-back but does not induce sleep. What makes me think, "Wow, this is cool," is this. Typically, if we attend a lecture with a laidback or "lackluster" delivery style, we will fall asleep quickly. Not with him, however. The second (reason) is that the words chosen are connected to our experiences. So far, what he says aligns more with what individuals go through. I enjoy his presentation style, and the issues he covers fit my needs better."*¹⁰⁹

Most informants shared similar narratives about how they felt at ease with the lecturing style and interaction of the preacher who participated in the study. Some

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Neli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Fitri, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Vina, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Eli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 20, 2023.

devotees who come to hear the lectures are also drawn to the figure of the preacher. As a result, some of them prefer to attend lessons taught by preachers they already know.

3. Convenience of Timing and Location

The Nurul Iman mosque is appealing due to the availability of daily sermons. Some informants expressed a strong desire to attend the studies, owing to a desire to satisfy their spiritual requirements. Due to their hectic schedules and other daily obligations, it can be difficult for them to attend a class, given their limited spare time. Some appreciate the Nurul Iman mosque's regularity in hosting daily studies since they can fulfill their spiritual thirst by attending classes on their off days.

Some working women can only attend the study on their days off. Seli, a private institution tutor, must work nearly seven days a week. Saturday afternoon is her only spare time. As a result, she can only attend the study on Saturdays after she has completed her teaching duties for the day. Her wish to participate in the study more frequently was brought up throughout the talk, but she can only do so once a week due to her limited free time.¹¹⁰

Numerous working women encounter similar situations as well. They must perform their responsibilities when strongly compelled to attend their courses. As a result, some of them frequently need help locating religious assemblies that can accommodate them. Those with busy schedules can participate in regular daily lessons at the Nurul Iman Mosque at times that suit them. This flexibility meets their desire for religious intake and guidance because they can attend the study at their most convenient time without feeling constrained by a defined timetable. The regularity of lecturers provides a continual supply of religious education and inspiration, reinforcing their dedication to lifelong learning and spiritual growth.

Other preferences indicate that attending the study is motivated by the mosque's advantageous location. The Nurul Iman mosque is conveniently located amid the city, close to a retail complex, and is reachable by various public transit options. Even though the mosque is in South Jakarta, most of the study congregation

¹¹⁰ Interview with Seli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

is from Jabodetabek and comes from other nearby cities. One of the devotees from Cikarang claimed she had to travel by *commuter line* and MRT to get to the study. She consistently attends the afternoon studies, which generally conclude after Isha's prayer. She is used to using public transportation back and forth from the study to her home at night. She said she took classes in Bekasi and those at the Nurul Iman mosque. Geographically, South Jakarta is farther away from Cikarang than Bekasi. However, she acknowledges that she favors and frequently attends classes in Blok M. Even though both of those studies end at night, she finds it simpler to obtain a ride home from Blok M. She laments how difficult it is to find a nighttime motorbike taxi in the Bekasi district, where she attends classes. Unlike Blok M, its advantageous location and abundance of public transit options allow her to relax and not worry about how to get home.¹¹¹

Women who value convenience in attending classes may select mosques that offer daily classes at various times and strategic places. This investigation emphasizes the significance of temporal flexibility, which allows them to attend based on their availability and meet their hectic schedules. It also highlights the importance of strategic sites in attracting many visitors, given that many city dwellers still rely on public transportation.

D. The Embodied Practices: Transformative Experiences and Personal Growth

The active participation of Salafi women in several studies and activities hosted by the mosque has influenced their spiritual, personal, and social life. This section will investigate their transformative experiences during their engagement with Nurul Iman mosque, specifically:

1. Nurturing Spiritual Growth

The mosque has significantly contributed to the spiritual development of Salafi women, who view the mosque as their primary source of religious knowledge. Religious education is crucial for spiritual growth. Participating and attending religious lectures can deepen one's dedication to religion, which in turn

¹¹¹ Interview with Ria, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.

can strengthen one's faith. Participation of Salafi women in mosque studies boosts knowledge acquisition. As their understanding of religious doctrine grows, it eventually guides how they ought to lead their lives.

According to Neli's perspective, she engaged in the study at the Nurul Iman Mosque because she required the lessons provided. Furthermore, as she begins her *hijrah* process, she must continue expanding her knowledge to ensure and encourage her journey. Based on this narrative, it is possible to conclude that the role of the studies held at this mosque will contribute to strengthening one's convictions, particularly for women who are undertaking the *hijrah* journey and need to remain steadfast in their beliefs.¹¹²

Hanum, who participated in i'tikaf throughout the last ten days of Ramadan, also recounted her experience. She stated that she wanted to participate in this activity because she wanted to spend the remaining days of Ramadan with positive habits since the last ten days of this month have unique features. This impulse occurred after attending the preachings during her studies. The preachers actively encouraged the congregation to take advantage and spend the last ten days of Ramadan with varied acts of worship. Hanum took full advantage of the chance to partake in i'tikaf during Ramadan because she wished to be granted the opportunity. She claimed she was constantly inspired to worship during i'tikaf, even late into the night. Being around people who shared her devotional mindset made her happier and inspired her to keep worshiping. She recalled how the frenetic i'tikaf events she took part in all encouraged the i'tikaf participants to spend their nights with more acts of worship, such as prayer, dhikr, reading the Qur'an, night prayers, and other acts of devotion that further strengthened their spirituality and drew them nearer to God. This story demonstrates how involvement in mosque events can enhance one's spirituality, motivating one to worship.¹¹³

Attendance at the study also helps to cultivate religious consciousness. Religious awareness refers to a person's inner aspect related to the sacred. Religious attitude is a condition in a person that urges him to act by his holy obedience. Thus,

¹¹² Interview with Neli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

¹¹³ Interview with Hanum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

religious attitude is a complex integration of a person's knowledge, feelings, and religious activities.¹¹⁴

Several informant accounts noted that their engagement in the mosque profoundly impacted them, particularly their spiritual experience. Hanum stated that after taking part in the study, she has been more aware of her role as a creature and servant of God, whose responsibility is to carry out her God's orders and avoid any prohibitions. She is more contemplative about her life's purpose since she understands her status as a creature. Her concern for her mission in life as a servant who must serve his Lord compelled her to keep striving to worship and cultivate higher faith and piety. She further said that her participation in the study contributed to her relationship with God and her interactions with human beings, where she had to behave morally and respect others.

*Self-preservation increases as a result. We anticipate constant growth in faith. To grow in faith and piety with God is the goal of participating in this study. More conscious of our roles as servants. Awareness of our lowly status as servants makes us more aware of the importance of treating others with respect, being kind to them, and being mindful of our ultimate goals. Other than worshipping God, what else do we live for? Consider the true meaning of life more carefully and with greater awareness.*¹¹⁵

Hanum's consideration of her experience is particularly significant since the effects of her regular studies helped her realize that she is a servant of God. Neal asserts that "all spiritual growth processes" depend on one's ability to know oneself. Numerous paradigms of spiritual knowledge have held this idea throughout history.¹¹⁶ Many spiritual belief systems are founded on the idea of knowing oneself.¹¹⁷ We can meet our spiritual needs by acknowledging and accepting personal responsibility for the common good, realizing how intertwined all life is, and giving back to others and the environment. As a result, as one

¹¹⁴ Elva Oktavia and Refika Mastanora, "Manfaat Mengikuti Pengajian Rutin Dalam Meningkatkan Kesadaran Beragama Masyarakat," *Istinarah: Riset Keagamaan, Sosial Dan Budaya* 1, no. 2 (March 5, 2020): 74, <https://doi.org/10.31958/istinarah.v1i2.1816>.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Hanum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

¹¹⁶ Judith A. Neal, "Leadership and Spirituality in the Work Place," in *Leadership: Theory, Application, & Skill Development*, In Lussier R, Achua C (ed.) (Cengage learning, 2015), 461–68.

¹¹⁷ Brian Spittles, "Fostering Spirituality in Community Development: The Role of Soul," *Spirituality and Health International* 9, no. 1 (March 2008): 8, <https://doi.org/10.1002/shi.317>.

progresses along the vertical axis of spirituality and learns to "know oneself as soul," so does one's understanding of the horizontal axis of spirituality of how interconnected one is to others. In other words, the extent to which one knows oneself as a soul corresponds to the area to which one also knows others as oneself.

2. Development of Ethical Formations and Moral Decision-making

Increased moral awareness is frequently reported among women who regularly attend classes. Their knowledge of the ethical standards, obligations, and values imposed by their religious convictions is aided by the lessons and discussions in the sermon. Furthermore, attendance at studies frequently assists in developing self-control in Salafi women. Through the lectures' teachings and reminders, individuals can cultivate self-discipline, regulate their emotions, and adhere to moral and ethical values.

Following her regular attendance at studies at the Nurul Iman Mosque, Raisa saw a favorable change in herself. She laments that she used to be a little temperamental since she was frequently irritable with her parents and was readily roused by emotions. She can better maintain self-control after attending the study and learning about ethics. She thought it would be unfortunate if she knew anything but did not put it to use. Surprisingly, Raisa was only consciously aware of her shift in attitude once several of her friends reacted positively to it.

I used to be irritated when I nagged my folks. We shall be embarrassed as well as educated. Our surroundings will know that we are learning, a beneficial activity that should alter our demeanor. But it could be better. In the past, I filled out a g-form (about) the advantages and negatives myself, and several friends said that after participating in the study, I became more patient. Perhaps it's partly because I've taken part in courses that make me feel guilty; I've studied, yet I'm still the same (unchanged). I need to be more patient, even when I'm struggling. I just recognized it because of my friends' feedback.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ Interview with Raisa, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, March 18, 2023.

Dita also related her perspective, saying that after participating in the study, she was particularly struck by how to interact with others, exercise self-control, and mold morals and mentalities for interactions with others. She had previously acknowledged that she was a sensitive person who would become quite sensitive if she heard hurtful remarks from others. She is undoubtedly occasionally upset and saddened by what others say about her. However, she thought that the impact of the studies had transformed her thinking and taught her to manage herself and her emotions after consistently attending classes, particularly those focused on soul purification. Now that she understands that people's criticism of her will pass and there is no need to take it personally, she can respond to harsh comments wisely. Furthermore, she has engaged in study as a means of improving himself rather than as a means of criticizing others.¹¹⁹

Rifa had a different experience when she was fascinated by Salafism. Her youthful vitality made her a powerful Salafi woman. She was eager to bring Salafi's ideas to her family and was passionate about implementing them. She vehemently opposed any customs in her family that she perceived to be against Salafi's beliefs. Tahlil and dhikr after the congregational prayer were topics she openly discussed and even loudly addressed to his family members. Her attitude subsequently led to conflict with her family. After frequently attending the study, Rifa became aware that what she was doing was improper. She insisted that the study had helped her understand the value of morality. She understood that she had been doing things incorrectly and should have acted with noble principles instead of imposing her will. From that point forward, she started to think back and work on herself and his family's relationship. Though she no longer engages in confrontation, she nevertheless places the highest emphasis on ethics and morals.¹²⁰

The existence of sermons allows Salafi women to engage in self-reflection and introspection. Individuals can be encouraged to critically evaluate their thoughts, actions, and behaviors and engage in self-reflection as a form of personal improvement through studies. In Islamic teachings, *murāqaba* (self-awareness)

¹¹⁹ Interview with Dita, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 17, 2023.

¹²⁰ Interview with Rifa, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

emphasizes the necessity of self-reflection and self-awareness in spiritual development.

The Nurul Iman mosque study program may also aid in developing self-control in metropolitan Salafi women. The lectures' teachings and reminders emphasize the necessity of self-discipline and devotion to moral and ethical ideals. Women who frequently listen to sermons can gain from the advice given in these religious gatherings, enhancing their capacity to practice self-control in various spheres of life.

Beyond religious understanding and emotional well-being, Salafi women's participation in sermons in mosque programs has a significant impact. Regular attendance fosters the establishment of ethics and influences how people make moral judgments. These results underline the tremendous influence of sermon attendance on the moral and ethical aspects of Salafi women's lives, highlighting the transformational power of religious participation in fostering moral development and awareness. They grew personally, gained self-awareness, and improved their general well-being due to this transforming event.

3. Sense of Community and Sisterhood Support

Attending sermons also promotes a strong sense of sisterhood among women. The mosque becomes a meeting place where they may interact with others who hold similar ideals, discuss ideas, and support one another as they pursue their religion. The women in the mosque have a strong sense of sisterhood, which enables them to develop close bonds, offer emotional support, and participate in religious activities together, all of which contribute to their sense of belonging.

The testimonies of the women I spoke with demonstrate the mosque's transformational impact as a place of support, acceptance, and belonging. According to several interviewees, involvement, and participation in the studies at the Nurul Iman Mosque gave them the impression that they had companions who shared their desire to learn and instill piety in themselves. Most individuals emphasized the importance of constantly living in a setting encouraging them to pursue *istiqāma*. One of the informants even said that when we feel lazy, this environment might help and motivate one another.

*We need to find friends who support us in our endeavors and have the same vision as us if we want to remain istiqāma. If we decline the lecture, they frequently inquire about our whereabouts. We are typically encouraged and welcomed back to the study if we make careless mistakes.*¹²¹

When they enrolled in the assemblies, several of these women even made new acquaintances. At the Nurul Iman Mosque, Hanum enthusiastically engages in her studies. She also participates in i'tikāf events throughout the final ten days of Ramadan. Hanum met several new pals who are her study companions during this i'tikāf. Despite coming from different cities, they constantly make plans to attend study together. Additionally, Hanum got to meet a lot of the middle-aged women who took part in i'tikāf. This gave her the impression that she had numerous ideological mothers. Hanum stressed the significance of having a support network to pursue self-improvement consistently. Despite not being a community, Nurul Iman Mosque creates a setting where women can constantly study and strive to grow in their piety. Even though they are not institutionalized in a community but have a shared goal, the people who come to the study at least shape the mosque's transforming potential in a fluid way through their interest.¹²²

Attending the study serves as a source of inspiration for ongoing education. Despite the ease with which information can be accessible online, several informants even stressed that they are more willing to attend offline studies than online ones.

*Participating in offline studies has a different vibe. Participating in offline studies is preferable since you will be more concentrated, whereas participating in online studies will distract you. When you come immediately to a study, you will be more encouraged because many individuals encourage you to join the study, particularly those from various circles.*¹²³

¹²¹ Interview with Nadia, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, March 18, 2023.

¹²² Interview with Hanum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

¹²³ Interview with Dina, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 10, 2023.

Mahmood's theory strongly emphasizes the development of ethical subjectivity and social relationships within religious communities. Mahmood's claim that spiritual practice and engagement can build a collective identity and sense of belonging is consistent with the women's experience of a strong sense of community within the mosque. These women can meet people with similar religious values and views, creating a sense of community and solidarity. The role of subjectivity and gender relations within religious communities is also addressed in Mahmood's theory. Salafi women who attend sermons report a sense of sisterhood, supporting Mahmood's claim that religious activities can foster environments of gendered solidarity and strength. The mosque offers Salafi women a place to interact, support one another emotionally, and participate in prayer activities. According to Mahmood's study, this sense of sisterhood and support is a significant component of their experience.

Regular study attendees report feeling a strong sense of belonging in the mosque. Establishing a close-knit community among the women in the mosque is facilitated by shared religious experiences, prayers, and interactions during sermons.

The effects and experiences of Salafi women participating in mosque study programs go beyond personal spirituality. Regular attendance generates a strong sense of sisterhood and community, with some women treating the mosque as their second home. The results underline the mosque's importance to women's well-being and sense of belonging while highlighting the transforming roles of sisterhood and community.

E. Religious Convictions vs Life's Realities: Navigating Tensions

A significant increase in persons leaving the so-called "young sparkling world" has been attributed to Salafism, which promotes a rigid and orthodox way of living as a Muslim.¹²⁴ Salafi refers to a group of Muslims that promote Puritanism. Maintaining Islam's sanctity requires applying Islamic ideas in their purest form. According to the Puritanization framework, religious activities should be founded

¹²⁴ Sunesti, Hasan, and Azca, "Young Salafi-Niqabi and *Hijrah*," 182.

on the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*, the two fundamental sources of Islam, to purify erroneous Islamic teachings and unauthorized religious innovations (*bid'ah*). To be a devout Muslim, one must undergo this purification to separate Islam from unIslamic elements.¹²⁵

When putting the teachings they acquire into practice, Salafi women who adhere to these conservative interpretations frequently encounter difficulties, mainly when there is a clash between social expectations and their beliefs. It becomes difficult to reconcile their religious practices and ideas with the demands of daily life. These Salafi women could experience pressure to uphold social norms that conflict with their conception of piety. This may result in social exclusion and a sense of isolation—the following lists some of the challenges they encounter and how they navigate them.

1. Family Dynamics

The initial issue that Salafi women might confront stems from the family dynamic. Some of the accounts from the women I spoke with demonstrate how frequently they experience rejection from their relatives. The story of Murni reveals many conflicts between her and her family. Murni was raised in a sizable, multireligious household. Although several of her relatives are non-Muslims, some have even converted; her parents are Muslims. She tries to interpret the rejection as an expression of parental worry about their kids' potential life decisions, which might differ from their own. Murni claims that her sister, who first decided to convert and don the veil in 2016, went through the most challenging phase of rejection. The veil she was wearing was torn and burned by her father.¹²⁶

(My parents) were initially unsupportive, and my older sister had her veil burned and destroyed by our father in 2016. I believe I was still in school at the time. When I witnessed my older sister being treated like that, I backed away even more because I didn't want to follow her. I didn't think of wearing this (niqab) since I feared being rejected by my family. Rejection can also be

¹²⁵ Ahmad Bunyan Wahib, "Being Pious Among Indonesian Salafists," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 55, no. 1 (June 26, 2017): 5, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2017.551.1-26>.

¹²⁶ Interview with Murni, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

painful. My father does, in fact, frequently recite the Koran, but he does it differently than we do.

Her fear of conversion stemmed from witnessing her sister's ordeal. *Hijrah* is frequently associated with radical groups and even terrorists, which can lead to widespread prejudice. Murni eventually decided to convert like her sister. She was initially less dedicated than her sister, who wore the veil despite her parents frequently forcing her to take it off. She tried an alternative, taking her niqab off in front of her parents and only taking it on when she was outside.

When I wear the niqab, it's like I'm concealing; for example, when I leave the house, I put on a mask; when I'm on the road, I put on the niqab. As a result, I keep it hidden and never wear it in front of my parents for fear of being pulled aside.

As of the end 2019, Murni had just begun donning the niqab. Along with the forced removal of the veil, her extended relatives frequently scoffed and mocked them. She and her sister are commonly viewed as a terrorist organization because of their veil-wearing. Since both were married to Salafi men who frequently wore short pants, they often received curse words and rude and lewd remarks. They made an effort to be patient rather than resist. The family slowly started to accept them. Murni claimed that despite frequently receiving expletives, her sister persevered in gently and meticulously teaching her father to read the Koran from scratch to mastery. Her father started to soften and stopped cursing and mocking them through this Koran blessing.

Perhaps it's due to my sister's patience. My father used to memorize the Quran but couldn't read it. My sister then taught him to read the Quran from Iqro until he could do so fluently. The Qur'an softens people's hearts, and before my father died, he was quite willing, no longer contested his daughter's choice, and never insinuated us again.

A similar narration also came from Inara, who endured tremendous rejection and insinuation from her family. When she made trivial mistakes, she was constantly

undervalued. She must appear perfect to her family since she wears the veil. Her relatives would question her veil and attire if she made a mistake. Inara believes it is unwise to attribute faults to clothing.

If I get a bit emotional, my extended relatives will mock me. "Don't just wear a long hijab, don't just wear a veil" I sometimes wonder why, if somebody does something wrong or you don't like them, you must incorporate the clothes they wear. What's wrong with this veil? What's wrong with this attire? Simply blaming the offender and correcting the issue should suffice when someone misbehaves.¹²⁷

Additionally, her family frequently questioned her worship practices, which they perceived as odd, and assumed she adhered to unreliable teaching. Nonetheless, she strove to cling to her convictions, ignoring that the concept of piety she understood differed from her family's. She treats every criticism as a challenge to defend her faith.

Since it's challenging, the first obstacle I had to overcome on my path was my family, the people closest to me who would initially disagree with me and have doubts about me. "Where do you study?" They believed I was picking up the wrong teachings when wearing the veil. "Why did you dress like this?" But I made an effort to demonstrate that the path I took was correct. In truth, this is the way to eternal life. There must be a test for those who seek God. When I think of the scripture where God says, "Do you say you believe before we test you?" I immediately assume that this might be the test.

2. Social and Cultural Adjustment

Additionally, it could be difficult for Salafi women to locate social networks that support their practices and beliefs. Navigating social circles that do not share their level of religiosity or have a different understanding of Islam can be challenging. This may result in feelings of isolation or a persistent desire to defend their decisions and opinions to other people.

¹²⁷ Interview with Inara, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 10, 2023.

Shofia used to work as a teacher at a Nature School (*Sekolah Alam*). She encountered several difficulties trying to adhere to what she had learned during her studies at the mosque. She must wear flexible attire when teaching in a Nature School to promote effortless movement. She found it challenging to wear long brackets all the time. Even though there is no set dress code, she frequently feels discriminated against; nonetheless, given the circumstances and the educational atmosphere, she must be able to adapt. However, she finds using music, which is relatively common in the school where she works, to be quite upsetting. She considers it a grave sin when she continues to do something that is clearly against the law. She ultimately decided to retire from her position as a teacher because maintaining her steadfast commitment to her religious practice was more essential than professional. She had become weary of always going through an inner conflict.

In nature schools, music is frequently used to help pupils learn, get them motivated, and allow them to channel their skills. It becomes the most challenging thing. Meanwhile, we already know (that music is haram). And if we already know the law and keep violating it, we sin many times. Ultimately, my job feels quite challenging since I must encourage them while learning the law. So, it was the pinnacle. When the music is turned on, I don't go to class. It ends up being the subject of a teacher's meeting, which is not good and becomes a matter of discussion. They stated that while we comprehend the legislation, professionalism is more vital. And in my perspective, being professional and selecting our religion are two very different things. Faith is essential and foremost. At this point, I have decided to resign.¹²⁸

Ria provided a juxtaposing story of how she experienced alienation from her friends who shared different worldviews. She tried explaining her changes to her friends so they might comprehend, but she did not necessarily remain away from them.

I occasionally find it weird to be with friends (having different beliefs). For instance, we typically have a group or circle of friends when celebrating someone's birthday. I once participated in (the celebration), but over time I

¹²⁸ Interview with Shofia, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 17, 2023.

*started to feel uneasy. I, therefore, decided to contribute but omit the party. Finally, I decided to convey this issue to one of my pals, who tolerated me after some time. Although I felt quite different, I didn't want to be considered disloyal. It seems unwise not to participate in the event as it is hosted by one of your friends.*¹²⁹

3. Gender Roles and Interactions

Regarding gender roles and interactions, Salafi women may have endured challenges. Gender segregation and modest behavior are frequently encouraged by Salafism. Some societies may expect women to work outside the home, participate in public life, or interact publicly with males. Consequently, tensions and conflicts between social expectations and religious commitments could be apparent.

Some women I spoke with declared they felt more comfortable working in a setting where women were the majority of the only employees. They claimed it is required to restrict contact with individuals of the opposite sex.

Izza expressed her gratitude for possibly pursuing psychology at a university in Jakarta. Apart from the fact that it is a subject she is interested in, her university colleagues encourage her efforts to uphold the Salafi principles she has acquired, mainly when dealing with people of the opposite sex. Most female students appear to be keener in psychology. Izza noted that since most of her classmates were female, she was relieved not to engage with the opposing sex.¹³⁰

Ningrum, who ultimately decided to resign from her employment, met with another fate. She recounted her professional development before opting to leave her previous employer. She had previously been employed in a Jakarta office. Many duties in her earlier workplace involved interaction with fellow employees of the opposing sex. She initially succeeded in accepting the situation and continued working while establishing rules on how to speak to males, such as speaking must be practical and on topic and refrain from laughing or drawing jokes between interlocutors.

¹²⁹ Interview with Ria, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

¹³⁰ Interview with Izza, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 10, 2023.

Women had better pick a job that kept them separate from men. Women's vulnerability to fitnah is a concern. It was challenging initially since I worked in a setting where male and female interaction was prevalent, mainly while teamwork was to be accomplished. Finally, I decided to hang in there, but there are restrictions regarding interaction (with men), such as the need for a firm tone of voice, the need to only speak about the matter at hand, and the prohibition of jokes, laughter, and staring. However, it was also uncomfortable for an extended period, so I left and pursued another employment. Gratefully, I've found a job as a teacher at a school that adheres to the Sunnah. Because it is a Sunnah institution, the atmosphere is also in tune with my beliefs, and all my coworkers are female.¹³¹

Fira, who works for a company in Jakarta, also shared a story about her struggle to get along with those of the opposite sex. She claimed she might restrict her communication with coworkers by declining to shake hands. It is not allowed to shake hands with who is not her *mahram*. When she is required to deal with her clients, she realizes it is tough to get through this. Even though she must shake hands with her male clients, she is adamant that she is profoundly opposed to what she is doing.

The handshake with men is something I still find to be challenging to do. I can communicate with my coworkers less while we're together, and I usually get along better with my female coworkers. However, it can be challenging if I meet a client because, occasionally, he is unaware of our predicament. I'm afraid I'll be perceived as unprofessional. Even though I still shake hands with male clients, I'm convinced I don't want to do so.¹³²

According to a few of the Salafi women's accounts above, most elected an environment that prevents women from mixing with individuals of the other sex (*ikhtilat*). Some are convinced that a woman should emphasize household duties after marriage.

¹³¹ Interview with Ningrum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.

¹³² Interview with Fira, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 10, 2023.

Raisa admitted that she now prefers to remain dwelling with her husband. She was formerly employed as a teacher in a primary school in Tangerang. She is grateful for her decision to focus solely on looking after her household and feels nothing to regret. She firmly believed that caring for the family and being a housewife were honorable jobs for women. It is not only a woman's nature but may also shield her from *fitnah*, mainly if she must go out to work. She also cited a study from one of the ustadz who was present at the Nurul Iman Mosque study:

I listen to Ustadz Nuzul's preaching that a married woman can still work, but since she's married, her most significant duty is assisting her husband at home and obeying him. You are free to work when you are not married. A woman's nature is to be at home; consequently, when she (a wife) works out, it is nothing to be proud of. If we listen to feminists, gender equality, women shouldn't be overly restricted at home. However, after we understand religion more, we find that when women go out, the devil adorns them. Sorry to say, but even if she thinks she looks natural, she might appear gorgeous to others, which would be more harmful.¹³³

Despite sharing the same perspective as Raisa, Rahmi contends that women endure the ability to evolve in their unique ways. She established an online fashion and snack business but prioritized caring for her family. In her opinion, a woman's primary responsibility is to care for her family, but it doesn't hinder her from obtaining a career. Additionally, the work does not have to entail her leaving the house. But even at home, she could start a business.¹³⁴

F. Conclusion

Attending Islamic studies allows Salafi women to cultivate their piety and spirituality. The studies transmit teachings, moral values, and guidances consistent with Salafi beliefs, which enhance their faith and commitment to religious principles. In general, their motivation to attend the studies stems from a desire for spiritual teachings and an understanding of the importance of religion as a

¹³³ Interview with Raisa, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant.

¹³⁴ Interview with Rahmi, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 24, 2023.

foundation and guide to life. They desire to align their life with Islamic ideals because religion provides tranquillity and peace. Their piety and spirituality are cultivated and strengthened in the mosque setting. Preachers, administrators, and other congregants create a community that offers encouragement, guidance, and inspiration, eventually promoting community and sisterhood. This bond also plays a significant role in their spiritual and personal growth.

This chapter argues that consistent attendance at studies contributes to their transforming journey, particularly in molding their religious subjective and personal development. Their active engagement in various mosque events catalyzes their transformative journey, empowering them to cultivate piety and spiritual growth. However, they frequently have to deal with live realities. Different pressures come from their family, as well as their social and cultural worlds. They must reconcile their commitments and other aspects of their lives. These obstacles offer them chances for empowerment, growth, and self-discovery. It also emphasizes their agency and resilience in nurturing their piety amidst the complexities of contemporary life.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study examines the development of piety among urban Salafi Muslims through participation in studies held in the Nurul Iman mosque. The emergence of piety movements among urban Muslims cannot be separated from urban Muslims' awakening and religious consciousness. They seek sanctuary and a place to nourish their spiritually because they want to live under religious supervision. This religious consciousness stems from their understanding of religion's position as the basis and foundation of their lives. Another factor is that they believe religion can guide all of their issues. The surge in religious engagement is accompanied by Muslims' eagerness to discover locations and sites that might enhance their piety and self-development. Salafism appears to be the religion of choice for urban communities seeking a way of life. Even though Salafism promotes a strict and rigid way of life, many people, particularly young people, are drawn to it. The desire to abandon the dazzling life of the world and return to religious teachings drew them to Salafism. Returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah and living according to what the three generations of salaf practiced became the propaganda they used to disseminate their ideas. They propagate their beliefs through the media, educational institutions, communities, and mosques, as well as through numerous association activities.

Nurul Iman Mosque is a hub of Salafi study in a metropolitan city. This mosque plays a major role in developing Salafi awareness among the urban Muslim community. The studies arranged are usually always packed with urban Muslims who want to pursue their studies here. This mosque, located in the city center, has become an axis for cultivating piety and spirituality in society in general, and the Salafi community in particular. This mosque is also a popular place for Salafi women seeking to learn more about Islam. These women can deepen their piety and self-development through the mosque's different programs. Among the efforts undertaken by the mosque to propagate its teachings and foster community spirituality is the organization of routine studies. The main draw of this mosque is regular studies. The women who attend these studies obtain information from the mosque's studies, and their involvement in group activities has an impact on their

spiritual and personal development. As a result, the mosque serves as an educational and spiritual center, offering a supportive setting for these Salafi women to preserve and enhance their religious commitment and relationship with God. Ramadan activities are among the other programs available in addition to studies. Throughout the month, these activities have promoted spiritual growth. Many Salafi women are so involved in these activities that they are willing to spend time at the mosque during Ramadan i'tikaf.

Regarding the experiences of Salafi women who actively participate in studies to promote piety and self-development. The study's findings emphasize the importance of mosques as spiritual and intellectual hubs for urban Salafi women. The mosque serves as a platform for religious activities such as prayers, recitations, and lectures, providing them with a setting that fosters devotion and spiritual growth. Mosque-based activities and initiatives play a significant role in nurturing their piety by providing opportunities for study, mentorship, and community engagement. Mosques also provide sites for the formation of strong networks, sisterhoods, and support systems, allowing urban Salafi women to negotiate the obstacles of modern life while adhering to their religious convictions.

This study argues that Salafi women who actively participate in mosque studies have substantial transforming experiences in terms of strengthening piety, and spiritual and personal betterment. The mosque's supporting communal setting fosters a sense of solidarity and fraternity among people, which helps to improve their commitment. An essential part of our research was the transformational journey of urban Salafi women in the pious women's movement. They find empowerment and independence in pursuing their beliefs by actively participating in mosque activities. These women are challenging cultural norms and redefining gender roles within the Salafi community through their collaborative efforts. Their stories of perseverance and drive highlight the transformational power of faith and the possibility of personal growth in an urban setting.

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Interview

- Interview with Dina, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 10, 2023.
- Interview with Dita, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 17, 2023.
- Interview with Eli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 20, 2023.
- Interview with Fauzar Nasaruddin, Head of Da'wah Division of Nurul Iman Mosque Blok M Square, June 16, 2023.
- Interview with Fira, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 10, 2023.
- Interview with Fitri, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.
- Interview with Hanum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 28, 2023.
- Interview with Inara, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 10, 2023.
- Interview with Izza, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 10, 2023.
- Interview with Lina, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 28, 2023.
- Interview with Muhammad Luthfi Ramdhani, Mall Management, June 16, 2023.
- Interview with Murni, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 10, 2023.
- Interview with Nadia, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, March 18, 2023.
- Interview with Neli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.
- Interview with Ningrum, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.
- Interview with Nita, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.
- Interview with Puspita, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.
- Interview with Rahmi, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, June 24, 2023.

Interview with Raisa, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, March 18, 2023.

Interview with Ria, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.

Interview with Rifa, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 21, 2023.

Interview with Seli, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 20, 2023.

Interview with Shofia, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 17, 2023.

Interview with Silva, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 17, 2023.

Interview with Umi Annisa, Owner of Nasi Kebuli Stall, June 10, 2023.

Interview with Vina, Nurul Iman Mosque Congregant, May 14, 2023.

ATTACHMENTS



Study atmosphere at the front of the women's prayer area



Study atmosphere at the back of the women's prayer area

MALL CUSTOMER TRAFFIC DATA FOR JUNE 2023

NO	Hari	Tanggal	Jumlah Pengunjung (Orang)
1	Thursday	1-Jun-23	58,256
2	Friday	2-Jun-23	60,460
3	Saturday	3-Jun-23	67,138
4	Sunday	4-Jun-23	45,800
5	Monday	5-Jun-23	46,378
6	Tuesday	6-Jun-23	48,024
7	Wednesday	7-Jun-23	50,460
8	Thursday	8-Jun-23	52,422
9	Friday	9-Jun-23	55,816
10	Saturday	10-Jun-23	60,718
11	Sunday	11-Jun-23	57,262
12	Monday	12-Jun-23	47,964
13	Tuesday	13-Jun-23	40,222
14	Wednesday	14-Jun-23	42,252
15	Thursday	15-Jun-23	55,000
16	Friday	16-Jun-23	57,978
17	Saturday	17-Jun-23	59,950
18	Sunday	18-Jun-23	55,736
19	Monday	19-Jun-23	40,264
20	Tuesday	20-Jun-23	44,222
21	Wednesday	21-Jun-23	44,498
22	Thursday	22-Jun-23	43,002
23	Friday	23-Jun-23	52,054
24	Saturday	24-Jun-23	55,966
25	Sunday	25-Jun-23	60,286
26	Monday	26-Jun-23	56,242
27	Tuesday	27-Jun-23	40,024
28	Wednesday	28-Jun-23	39,538
29	Thursday	29-Jun-23	33,794
30	Jumat	30-Jun-23	51,746
		Total	1,523,472

