

**NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES: THE
CASE OF PUNK COMMUNITIES IN THE
TASAWUF UNDERGROUND IN CIPUTAT,
TANGERANG INDONESIA**

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.)



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Juan Fath Ibrahim

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MA in Islamic Studies

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the negotiation of identity between Punk and Muslim. This manifests the Hijrah Phenomenon in Pondok Tasawuf Underground, which has been active for the last six years. This movement identifies itself as a Hijrah community with tasawuf as an approach to street punks and several youth development programs, one of which is Auto Detailing training. Currently, members are recruited through Interpersonal communication between Street Punks in the TU Community and Street Punks in the Scene. In addition to offline da'wah, TU utilizes social media as a means of online da'wah by spreading Islamic teachings through Quotes and Videos of religious activities. Given that this phenomenon is one of the Hijrah phenomena that negotiates Street Punk Identity with religious piety, this study uses Religious Piety theory with the argument that the phenomenon of Muslim communities using religious labels or symbols, either Visible or Invisible, in the form of congregational prayer activities or the like, this is done to explore their religious piety in the public sphere. This research conducted for one month (Maret) on Fieldwork. Data collection techniques used semi-structured interviews, participatory and digital observation through WhatsApp status, Instagram, and Facebook. Interviews were conducted with 11 participants: one founder of the Tasawuf Underground community and ten Tasawuf Underground students. This thesis argues that the hijrah of street punks is influenced by the social network around the community space, whether through friends, family, or Islamic teachings obtained from hijrah communities. Tasawuf, as a more moderate and tolerant manifestation of Islam, is able to correlate punk culture and Islamic values proportionally. Such as interpreting the meaning of freedom which is not characterised by freedom without rules. Where Hijrah participants can do whatever they want such as making music, styling punk without violating religious norms. This is in line with what Abraham said that religious values can synergise with punk culture. In line with the theory of ambivalence between culture, fun and faith as presented by Samuli Schielke which describes the ambivalence in morality, religiosity and pleasure. It promotes Sufism as a more moderate and tolerant interpretation of Islam, provides an alternative route to socio-economic mobilization, and encourages communication and understanding of comprehensive Islamic teachings. This makes it possible to negotiate punk and Muslim identities in an inclusive and tolerant manner. This research is expected to contribute to the literature of Islamic activism studies, including the hijrah movement which is considered towards conservative turn. In contrast to this phenomenon the result show that hijrah punk is more direct toward moderates stance.

Keywords: *Negotiating, Punk, Piety, Tasawuf Underground, Hijrah*

الهويات التفاوضية: حالة مجتمعات البنك في تصوف أندرجراوند في تشيبوات، تانجيرانج،

إندونيسيا.

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ملخص البحث

هذه الرسالة العلمية تناول مفاوضة الهوية بين البنك والمسلم. وتظهر هذه المفاوضة في ظاهرة الهجرة في "معهد تصوف أندرجراوند"، التي كانت نشطة على مدى الست سنوات الماضية. تحدد هذه الحركة نفسها كمجتمع هجرة مع تصوف كنهج للبنانكات في الشوارع وعدة برامج تطوير للشباب، منها تدريب تنظيف السيارات. حاليًا، يتم تجنيد الأعضاء من خلال التواصل بين البنانكات في مجتمع "TU" والبنانكات في الساحة من خلال التواصل بين الأفراد. بالإضافة إلى الدعوة خارج الإنترنت، تستخدم "TU" وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي كوسيلة للدعوة الإلكترونية من خلال نشر العلم الإسلامي من خلال الاقتباسات ومقاطع الفيديو للأنشطة الدينية. نظرًا لأن هذه الظاهرة هي واحدة من ظواهر الهجرة التي تفاوض هوية البنانكات مع التقوى الدينية، يستخدم هذا البحث نظرية التقوى الدينية مع حجة أن ظاهرة المجتمعات المسلمة باستخدام العلامات أو الرموز الدينية، سواء كانت ظاهرة أو غير ظاهرة، في شكل أنشطة صلاة جماعية أو ما شابه ذلك، تتم هذه العملية لاستكشاف تقواهم الدينية في الساحة العامة. تم إجراء هذا البحث لمدة شهر (مارس) ضمن العمل الميداني. تم استخدام تقنيات جمع البيانات المقابلات شبه المنظمة، والمشاركة، والمراقبة الرقمية من خلال حالة "WhatsApp"، و"إنستجرام"، و"فيسبوك". تم إجراء المقابلات مع 11 مشاركًا: مؤسس واحد لمجتمع "تصوف أندرجراوند" وعشرة طلاب من مجتمع "تصوف أندرجراوند". يناقش هذا البحث السرديات التي انتشرت من خلال "البنجايان" وبرامج التمكين. يُقدم هذا البحث حجة بأن مجتمع "تصوف أندرجراوند" يستخدم برامج التمكين لجذب المشاركين والداعمين. وبالتالي، يزيد من تصنيفاته كـ ("الهجرة المستمدة")، و("الدعوة للهجرة")، و("استرجاع الهجرة"). تُرى هذه الأطروحة أن هجرة البنانكات في الشوارع تتأثر بالشبكة الاجتماعية المحيطة بمساحة المجتمع، سواء من خلال الأصدقاء، أو العائلة، أو العلوم الإسلامية التي يحصلون عليها من مجتمعات الهجرة. التصوف، كتجلي أكثر اعتدالًا وتسامحًا للإسلام، قادر على ربط ثقافة البنك بالقيم الإسلامية بنسبة مناسبة. مثل تفسير معنى الحرية التي لا تتسم بالحرية دون القواعد. حيث يستطيع المشاركون في الهجرة أن يفعلوا ما يشاؤون مثل صنع الموسيقى، وارتداء ملابس البنانك دون انتهاك القواعد الدينية. هذا يتوافق مع ما قاله إبراهيم بأن القيم الدينية يمكن أن تتآزر مع ثقافة البنك. وهذه الأطروحة تتوافق مع نظرية الاستزامة بين الثقافة والمتعة والإيمان كما قدمها سامولي شيلكي والتي تصف التناقض في الأخلاق والتدين والمتعة. تروج للتصوف كتفسير أكثر اعتدالًا وتسامحًا للإسلام، وتقدم طريقًا بديلًا للتحرك الاجتماعي والاقتصادي، وتشجع على التواصل وفهم العلوم الإسلامية الشاملة. وهذا يجعل من الممكن التفاوض على هويات البنك والمسلم بطريقة شاملة ومتسامحة. من المتوقع أن يسهم هذا البحث في أدب دراسات النشاط الإسلامي، بما في ذلك حركة الهجرة التي تُعتبر نحو التحول الاحترازي. وعلى العكس من هذه الظاهرة، تظهر النتائج أن الهجرة البنانكية تميل أكثر نحو موقف معتدل. سيكمل هذا البحث الأعمال السابقة حول ديناميات تطور مجتمع الهجرة في إندونيسيا، ليصبح بذلك دراسة إضافية في الميدان.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مفاوضة، فاسق، تقوى، تصوف تحت الأرض، هجرة.

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
آ/إي	ā	جَرَى/سَافِر	<i>jarā/sāfar</i>
ي	ī	سَلِيم	<i>salīm</i>
و	ū	سَجُود	<i>sujūd</i>

Diphthong

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

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GLOSSARY AND ABBRIVATION DIRECTORY

Glossary

Tawhid	The concept of the oneness or unity of God.
Akhlak	Moral and ethical behavior, conduct, and character
Iman	Belief and faith in the Muslim core principles of the religion
Ihsan	Virtue or Goodness, with a deep sense of sincerity and awareness of the presence of Allah.
Sharia	Islamic laws and principles that guide the moral os muslims, religious, and social aspects
Muroqabah	Mindfulness, practice of being constantly aware of and attentive to the presence of Allah
Amaliyah	A Specific action, task, or operation.
Akidah	beliefs and principles that form the foundation of a Muslim's faith.
Al-Qalb	Includes the thoughts, emotions, intentions, and the innermost essence of a person
Al-Fu'ad	Used to reflect on matters of faith, devotion, and the inner experiences of a person's relationship with God.
Al-Lubb	Intimate and profound aspect of someone, inner essence or core of a matter.
Irfany	Mystical knowledge
Kashfy	A spiritual experience or revelation
Ma'rifah	Spiritual insights and the direct recognition of divine truths.
Ittihad	Unity, Sense of unity and closeness with the Divine
Khauf	Reverence for Allah's greatness and a healthy fear of His displeasure
Raja'	hopeful and confident expectation of His mercy and reward
Al-Maqamat	various stages or levels of spiritual development

Zahid	Someone who voluntarily chooses to lead a simple and abstinent lifestyle
Syathahiyat	the eccentric remarks made by Sufis when they were in a state of ecstasy
Mursyid	Spiritual guide for seekers on their spiritual journey
Murid	Student of a spiritual guide
Wujudiyah	The relationship between the Creator and the created
Pondok Pesantren	Education that combines both religious and academic studies
Kyai	Islamic teacher or Religious Leader
Tarekat	An Order of Sufism that follows a particular set of spiritual teachings, practices, and traditions.
Walisongo	An Influential Islamic saints and scholars in Indonesia, there is Nine Saint
Majlis	Types of gatherings or meetings for different purpose including religious activities
Mengaji	the act of studying the Quranic verses and learning its proper pronunciation, intonation, and meanings
Pengajian	Lecture session focused on Islamic teachings, Quranic recitation, and discussions of religious topics.
Kejawen	Javanese spiritual and cultural tradition that has elements of both animism, Hindu-Buddhist influences, and Islam.
Taraweh	Optional prayer offered in congregation at the mosque after isha
Inabah	Methods for rehabilitation programmes for drug addicts, juvenile delinquents, and the mental disorders.
Hadas	Ritual impurity in Islamic jurisprudence.
Dhikr Talqin	Reciting or whispering the testimony of faith ("La ilaha illallah, Muhammadur Rasulullah")

Dhikr Khafy	Dhikr that is done by the tongue in a loud voice
Dhikr Jahr	Dhikr that is done by the heart and not mentioned by the tongue.
Satpol PP	Public Order Police Unit
Jatman	An autonomous body under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) that consists of the muktabarah tariqahs in Indonesia.
Pkbn	Non-formal education unit and a place to learn and exchange information for the community

Abbrivation

TU	Tasawuf Underground
TQN	Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqshabandiyah
JATMAN	Jam'iyah Ahlith Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyah
LDTQN	Lembaga Dakwah Tarekat Qodiriyah wa Naqshabandiyah
PKBM	Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Pertama

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Punk means "Public United Nothing Kingdom," where they do not care about government regulations because of a high sense of superpower. They are a community consisting of people who seek freedom on the streets. Then they think can find the true meaning of life if they live as punkers on the streets. Punk is a group of young people with the spirit of being anti-dictatorship, anti-oppression, and upholding individual freedom. However, Punk discussed about freedom and self-control without the bindings of social and religious norms.¹ This generated a lot of reactions from the public, who considered punk kids to be rioters and trash because of their interpretation of the meaning of freedom.

In Indonesia, punk is only a style synonymous with Mohawk hair which symbolizes freedom and anti-oppression, fashion for booth shoes means setting your feet on the earth, and music which symbolizes freedom of expression from the restraints of Suharto's regime at that time.² The miss interpretation of street punk children on the meaning of freedom has caused a lot of reactions from people who regard them as rioters. It is manifested by behavior and habits arising from drugs, drinking alcohol, gambling, and riots, which in practice violate the social norms of society. Plus, the comfort and slang after they do this in typical clothes.³

Street punk kids are part of a marginalized group of society. It has even become a sub-culture of society, directly related to the helplessness arising from family conflicts and extreme economic and social pressure. They consist of teenagers aged 12-18 years who are going through a transitional period looking for their own identity, their thoughts and stances are constantly changing.⁴ Choosing to live on the streets and being independent live from

¹ Endah Ratnawaty Chotim and Siti Umi Latifah, "Komunitas Anak Punk Dan Anomali Sosial (Studi Kasus Di Kecamatan Ujung Berung Kota Bandung) Endah," *Jurnal JISPO* 8, no. 1 (2018): 69–93.

² Jeremy Wallach, "Living the Punk Lifestyle in Jakarta," *Ethnomusicology* 52, no. 1 (2008): 98–116.

³ Jim Donaghey, "Punk Indonesia: A Brief Introduction" 6, no. 2 (2017): 181–88, <https://doi.org/10.1386/punk.6.2.181>; Wallach, "Living the Punk Lifestyle in Jakarta."

⁴ Chotim and Latifah, "Komunitas Anak Punk Dan Anomali Sosial (Studi Kasus Di Kecamatan Ujung Berung Kota Bandung) Endah."

their family members, they bring up a background and lifestyle that is free to do whatever they see as appropriate behavior, including promiscuity.⁵

When the social and cultural values inherent in Indonesian society are shifted to other situations that are different from the prevailing values, such as the emergence of a punk community with a norm-free and deviant lifestyle, social agitation arises in society so that Indonesian people consider "punk kids" and "streets" as urban landscape pollute.⁶ The dynamics of the society that is currently developing create the character of a society with a multicultural and multireligious vision so that it is sometimes seen as threatening local identity.⁷ People will feel that they have lost their "piety" identity due to the loss of moral, ethical, spiritual, and other aspects of life.

In marginalized societies, such as punks and street children, religion undergoes an acculturation process so that they have many perspectives in understanding the importance of religion, as well as the meaning and implementation, depending on the culture and social environment they occupy. Regardless of its function, religion provides a sense of peace and new spiritual beliefs to humans that underlie morals and behavior in changing the social environment.⁸ The emergence of mental agitation that street children feel with their return to God occurs because certain individuals are powerless to face reality.⁹ Therefore, under any circumstances, punk and street children are categorized as a population that is 'at risk' and 'vulnerable' to physical and psychological danger, with their situation filling the street space.

The concern of the Indonesian people in accommodating the development of punk and street children can be seen from the efforts to establish a community with various circles in it. One of them is a community called "Tasawuf Underground," founded on February 8, 2013, by Halim Ambiya, a lecturer at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah. The initial step of preaching through social media is Facebook. The community is called "Tasawuf Underground" because, at first the delivery of their da'wah was clandestinely

⁵ Harriot Beazley, "'Vagrants Wearing Make-up': Negotiating Spaces on the Streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia," *Urban Studies* 39, no. 9 (2002): 1665–83, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098022015171>.

⁶ Rachel Georgina Baker, "Negotiating Identities : A Study of The Lives of Street Childern In Nepal" (Durham, England, Durham, 1998), <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1052/>.

⁷ Rahmawati, "Peran Akhlak Tasawuf Dalam Masyarakat Modern," *Al-Munzir* 8, no. 2 (2015): 229–46.

⁸ Ratnah Rahman, "Peran Agama Dalam Masyarakat Marginal," *Sosioreligious* 1, no. 4 (2019): 80–89; George Ritzer, "Sociology : A Multiple Paradigm Science," *American Sociological Association* 10, no. 3 (2014): 156–67.

⁹ Pargament, K.I., Koenig, H.G. and Perez, L.M. (2000) The Many Methods of Religious Coping: Development and Initial Validation of the RCOPE. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 56, 519–543.

"underground," unlike the delivery of da'wah in general. Then it developed with offline studies such as at home or cafes. Furthermore, in 2017 this community began to expand its da'wah with a tasawuf approach and a coaching program called "pengenalan peta jalan pulang," or Introduction to the Map of the Way Home, to punk and street children in the Jabodetabek area.¹⁰

Halim Ambiya, on his journeys with punk children, often receives inappropriate treatment in the form of rejection from society when he invites "Punk" students to eat together, regardless of his identity as an ustadz. This phenomenon shows how attached the negative stigma of society to "punk kids and street kids" and the need for efforts to build morale and awareness of children with Islamic values in order to be able to negotiate and reconstruct the negative identity, mindset, and stigma attached to them before. As well as to understand who and how they live socially and spiritually.¹¹

I problematize how they negotiate and adapt to their "punk" identity in an environment of Indonesian society that tends to be religious?

Another phenomenon came from a senior santri of the "Underground Sufism" community from street punk children, sharing his experiences before joining this community. Punk is a lifestyle, music, and ideology without troublemakers.¹² The punk ideology is "anarchism," which wants to form community groups without a state. In other words, the state is a form of legal dictatorship that must end.¹³ Even though this literally has a political meaning, in its implementation anarchism has the meaning of being free without rules and restraints and at the same time being able to form its own rules of life.¹⁴

The stigma aspect of "punk" identity with the violation of social, moral and spiritual norms, which I have mentioned before, further marginalizes children in wider social interactions. I started to question the effect of representing society views on individual "punk" and street children and their potential to make changes in life and rebuild Islamic identity among them? I try to analyze the experience of punk kids and street kids,

¹⁰Ahmad Kamaluddin, "Regulasi Emosi Berbasis Al-Qur'an Dan Implementasinya Pada Komunitas Punk Tasawuf Underground" (Institut Perguruan Tinggi Ilmu Al-Qur'an Jakarta, 2021).

¹¹ Ahmad Barizi, Pendidikan Integratif: Akar Tradisi dan Integrasi Keilmuan Pendidikan Islam, (Malang: UIN Maliki Press, 2011).

¹² *Tasawuf Underground: Bukan Komunitas Anak Punk* (Indonesia: Froyonion, 2021), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=otDxUGP9nUY>.

¹³ Hamdani M Syam and Effendi Hasan, "Perkembangan Komunitas Anak Punk Di Kota Banda Aceh : Pandangan Masyarakat Dan Kebijakan Pemerintah Kota," *SOSIOHUMANIKA* 6, no. November (2013): 159–68.

¹⁴ Dick Hebdige, "Subculture: The Meaning of Style," dalam *Literary Theory: an Anthology*, ed. oleh Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 1258–67, https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=view_citation&hl=id&user=7ae7H5UAAAAJ&citation_for_view=7ae7H5UAAAAJ:0EnyYjriUFMC.

to bring up a bright spot. To what extent do they retain their original identity which influences their actions and beliefs? And I'm trying to question whether the identity of "punk" is still attached to them when they have a family and children and reduce the identity of "punk"? And how does the punk community survive against everyday needs and discriminatory attitudes?

B. Research Questions

- To what extent the Tasawuf Underground Community is able to rebuild the Islamic identity among Punk communities?
- Why did they choose Tasawuf Underground Community as a place for self-development and guidance?
- How do they negotiate the two identities, as a "punk" and Muslim, and reflect them in their life?

C. Research Objectives

- Trying to answer To what extent was the Underground Community of Sufism capable of rebuilding the Islamic identity of the Punk community?
- Trying to answer why they chose Sufism Underground Community as a place for self-development and guidance?
- Trying to answer how do they negotiate the two identities, as "punk" and Muslim, and reflect it in their lives?

D. Literature Review

Studies on the movement of the Underground Sufism community have been studied in general before by several scholars. However, they focus on the scope of psychology. Meanwhile, the negotiation of the identity and piety of the punk children did not get their full attention. To facilitate discussion, I have mapped this literature review into three sections.

1. The Development of Street Punk Education

Ahmad Kamaluddin's dissertation discussed "Regulasi Emosi Berbasis Al-Qur'an dan Implementasinya pada Komunitas Punk Tasawuf Underground." By using the concept of Psycho-Sufistic. This research found that the Psycho-Sufistic concept can change behaviour and dig into potential of the heart (qalb) in managing the emotions of Street Punk to prevent exaggeration in expressing the emotional turmoil comes up. Which was previously a deviation from socio-religious norms. Such as drunkenness, free sex, and

criminality. Now it becomes better in aspects of personality (well-being), acceptance, and self-esteem. In addition, it reduces their anxiety and mental distress.¹⁵ Meanwhile, Pratama explains that to encourage Self-Awareness. Can be done through several stages of social penetration such as: orientation stage, explorative affective exchange, affective exchange stage, stable stage, depenetration stage. Can produce positive psychological and spiritual values.

Meanwhile, Abdul Muaz argues that the combination of psycho-sufistic, self-actualisation methods can accommodate human aspects and then prevent humans from several pathologies, and is also suitable for use in mental and character development of street punk children.¹⁶ In addition, Imam Fauzi said that increasing cognitive, conative, affective and psychomotor knowledge can create and plan something new for the better future with the skills owned. As a result, it can be accepted by the surrounding community. This is evidence of the achievement of empowerment goals.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Rochman argues that apart of the family approach to fostering the morals of street children, it requires a good behavior repeatedly. In order to change all bad habits, children tend to imitate everything close to them.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Ade Irfan explained that a khatib must have a source of credibility where the khatib must be able to influence audiences with his charisma. The ability to invite congregations in the form of “street children,” verbal and non-verbal communication skills (social media) between the preachers and mad'u.¹⁹

Based on the previous works, it can be said that research on street punks in Indonesia has received sufficient attention, both in terms of education and psychology. However, the factor of street punks choosing the Tasawuf Underground community as a place to develop their potential is one of the focuses of this thesis study.

¹⁵ Kamaluddin, “Regulasi Emosi Berbasis Al-Qur’an Dan Implementasinya Pada Komunitas Punk Tasawuf Underground.”

¹⁶ Abdul Muaz and Adang Darmawan Ahmad, “Psycho-Sufistic Therapy of Underground Sufism Movement: A Healing Method Against Punk Community in Jakarta,” *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 8, no. 2 (2020): 131–44, <https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v8i2.5302>.

¹⁷ Imam Fauzi, “Pemberdayaan Kaum Marginal Melalui Keterampilan Wirausaha Sablon (Studi Analisis Deskriptif Di Komunitas Tasawuf Underground),” *Jurnal Syntax Admiration* 3, no. 3 (2022): 607–25.

¹⁸ Abdul Rochman, Siti Fatimah, and Muslihudin Muslihudin, “Konsep Pendidikan Akhlak Untuk Komunitas Anak Punk Menurut Pandangan Para Kiyai Cirebon Dan Praktisi Pendidikan Di Yayasan Wangsakerta Cirebon,” *Permata : Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 2, no. 1 (2021): 36–50, <https://doi.org/10.47453/permata.v2i1.199>.

¹⁹ Ade Irfan Abdurahman and Faisal Tomi Saputra, “Communication Strategy of Tasawuf Underground Community in Da’wah Towards Punk Community,” *KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 15, no. 2 (2021): 173–90.

2. Hijrah Youth Community in Indonesia

In Indonesia, young people are part of the dynamics of social change in a country transitioning from a post-authoritarian to a democratic state system and with the most significant Muslim majority in the world. Young people today want to be famous, modern, pious and moral. Regardless of religion, as they transition towards self-development, they are influenced by their living environment; home, school, internet cafes and places where they can share their dreams and hopes. However, most research emphasises troubled youth, adolescent vulnerability, and the search for identity. While the two different categorisations of young people, either as problems or agents of change who are resistant and heroic, are still not dominant.²⁰ The sharper model of adolescence's transition to adulthood relates to a specific time and place, and is not universal. However, it is often the case in family settings where the family remains the central focus of social life, maturing does not mean the rejection of traditions, the fading of religious beliefs, or the waning of trust in family support and the family remains the most important organisational principle and structure of society.²¹ During the transition period, the youth in Indonesia negotiated through the existing class structure, the social conservatism seen in the youth in Indonesia arose due to difficult economic times and as agents of the Islamic revival. However, the majority of youth support tolerance and focus on personal faith practices.²² This personal morality project takes place within a strengthened community commitment to live life according to Islamic values.²³ While The paper written by Dina Afrianty on "Islamic education and youth extremism in Indonesia" explains the extent to which Islamic higher education institutions in Indonesia have become a hotbed for religious extremists. As well as exploring the most influential source for teenagers (students) is through easy internet access so that they can be influenced by global and broader "radical movements". Afrianty revealed that College-age youth, in the midst of their own self-discovery, are particularly vulnerable, and this is becoming a real problem for educational institutions across the

²⁰ Rob White and Johanna Wyn, "Youth and Society: Exploring the Social Dynamics of Youth Experience," *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 39, no. 4 (November 2004): 479–479.

²¹ Pam Nilan, "Youth Sociology Must Cross Cultures," *Youth Studies Australia* 30 (September 1, 2011): 20–26; Andy Furlong, *Young People and Social Change: Individualization and Risk in Late Modernity* (Buckingham [England]; Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1997), <http://archive.org/details/youngpeoplesocia0000furl>; Rachel Thomson et al., "Inventing Adulthood: A Biographical Approach to Understanding Youth Citizenship," *The Sociological Review* 52, no. 2 (May 2004): 218–39.

²² Najib Kailani, "Muslimising Indonesian Youth," accessed August 16, 2023, https://www.academia.edu/2561739/Muslimising_Indonesian_Youth; Rifki Rosyad, *A Quest for True Islam: A Study of the Islamic Resurgence Movement among the Youth in Bandung, Indonesia* (ANU Press, 2007),

²³ Lyn Parker and Pam Nilan, *Adolescents in Contemporary Indonesia*, 0 ed. (Routledge, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203522073>.

country.²⁴ Terrorists are primarily young people desperate to do anything, including suicide. Indonesian Muslim leaders and analysts are divided on the root causes of this trend. One school argues that theological elements are the main factor behind young Muslims' willingness to join terror groups. Extremist groups indoctrinate vulnerable youth into an ideology of martyrdom, teaching them that dying in the name of Islam will ensure their entry into paradise. Others see youth radicalisation as a manifestation of a combination of social, political and economic factors that make young people despair about their future.

The hijrah movement that occurred communally gave birth to a religious-based social movement. The millennial Muslim movement has built a new identity as a religious community that adheres to Islamic rules, to be close to the Koran, pray on time, actively seek religious knowledge, and spread Islamic messages through social media platforms.²⁵ In participating in the “shift” hijrah movement, there is construction and framing of identity to become slang but religious youth behind the discourse on meaning that is believed to be the truth by the community. Moreover, Wahyudi said that the pemuda Hijrah used social media YouTube and Instagram to invite Indonesian Muslim youths, as well as changing the method of da'wah following religious symbols and adjusting their appearance and rhetorical style.²⁶ The shift in the meaning of hijrah influenced by social media is not always a role model for piety, but can also be the spread of frozen understandings, depicting the commodification of religions, and being seen as merely discussing issues of halal and haram.²⁷

Meanwhile, the meaning of "hijrah" undergoes transformation and contextualisation. In a contemporary context, the meaning of "hijrah" has become a jargon used by both individuals and groups to pursue certain goals, both spiritual and political. Windy Triana et al. explain that "Hijrah" has become a significant religious term used in the struggle against colonialism. They take the example of Darul Islam movement. In this context, they illustrate that Darul Islam's "hijrah" struggle against the colonisers had political and ideological nuances. Furthermore, Triana explained that when hijrah is placed

²⁴ Dina Afrianty, “Islamic Education and Youth Extremism in Indonesia,” *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism* 7, no. 2 (October 2012): 134–46, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2012.719095>.

²⁵ Mila Nabila Zahara, Dadan Wildan, and Siti Komariah, “Hijrah Movement: Millennial Muslim Identity Seeking in the Digital Era,” *IJSED* 2, no. 1 (2020): 52–65.

²⁶ Wahyudi Akmaliyah, “The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement,” within *The New Santri Challenges to Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesia*, ed. by Norshahril Saat dan Ahmad Najib Burhani (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2020), 239–57.

²⁷ Nurul Annisa Hamudy and Moh Ilham A Hamudy, “Hijrah Movement in Indonesia: Shifting Concept and Implementation in Religiosity,” *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 4, no. 2 (2020): 133–50, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2020.4.2.5784>.

in the context of conversion in religious patterns. So, "Hijrah" becomes part of a global phenomenon.²⁸ In line with the Hijrah movement in Indonesia, Kertosuwiryo interpreted Hijrah as a change of circumstances from the colonialization period, which was considered as Jahiliyyah towards an Islamic state that was able to break away from slavery and implement Islamic values into daily life. Thus, this perspective led to the DI/TII Islamic separatist movement.²⁹ Supposedly, the relevance of Hijrah and Jihad is an attempt to think critically and progressively in the era of globalisation, to counter rigid mindsets that do not embrace significant change.

In contrast to the previous paragraph, which explained the transformation of "Hijra" meanings, Basri explained that Islamic symbols appear in public spaces as identities that continue to adapt and compete with various other religious groups in popular culture. With certain symbols, Hijrah participants feel accepted as a large family of society within a shared identity. Basri further explained that when the migration phenomenon frees anyone to choose various ideologies, it will bring up two aspects: aspects of identity confirmation to contestation. The contestation of Islamism in Indonesia towards an Islamic political system by trying to place Islamic values in all aspects of life and political affairs. Therefore, Islamists consider that the order of life of a devout Muslim society can only be built in a state that implements sharia.³⁰

Meanwhile, Zulhazmi and Priyanti, in their article on "Eksistensi Komunitas Hijrah dan Dakwah Saat Ini: Studi pada Komunitas Jaga Sesama Solo," explains that the Jaga Sesama Solo Community in managing its da'wah accommodates the younger generation of Solo to study Islam. With da'wah, planning is carried out through da'wah goals, preparing the community's vision and mission, organizing da'wah, dividing the duties of the management, and selecting ustadz. Meanwhile, the Jaga Sesama Solo da'wah movement tries to present and optimize the younger generation and social media and modify da'wah activities with touring activities such as (Sunday Morning Ride with Iqro Bikers Solo Raya) and Pilgrimage (to Gresik, Surabaya, and Kudus).³¹ In line with Majlis Gaul in Jember City, which embraces the younger generation with the Fashion theme, this was initiated by the Hijrah trend. As a result, it encourages the Millennial Hijabers

²⁸ Windy Triana et al., *HIJRAH: Tren Keberagamaan Kaum Milenial di Indonesia*, ed. Hamid Nasuhi, vol. 1 (Ciputat, South Tangerang: PPIM UIN Jakarta, 2021).

²⁹ Anwar Sanusi, Anisah Anisah, and Didin Rosidin, "Hijrah and Islamic Movement in Indonesia: Sekarmaji Marijan Kartosuwiryo's Perspective," *Buletin Al-Turas* 28 (March 31, 2022): 19–30.

³⁰ Muhammad Basri, "Gejala Hijrah Di Indonesia: Transformasi Dari Islamisme Fundamentalisme Menuju Islamisme Populer," *MAARIF* 17 (January 24, 2023): 31–51.

³¹ Abraham Zulhazmi and Erma Priyanti, "Eksistensi Komunitas Hijrah Dan Dakwah Masa Kini: Studi Komunitas Jaga Sesama Solo," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 40 (December 31, 2020): 168.

movement to express their Hijrah movement through social media, thus influencing the "Syar'i" style of dressing following Islamic teachings.³²

Meanwhile, another Hijrah movement was accommodated by the Hijrah Festival held in 2018 at Jakarta which interpreted the creations of urban Muslim artists (Hijrah) with a collective call for Hijrah. Cooperation between artists and da'i. And the important role of social media technology in the success of the Hijrah festival. As a result, Hijrah mechanisms encouraged in the festival such as consolidating Hijrah da'i and strengthening the presence of People's Hijrah. Second, the Hijrah invitation to festival participants to follow religious values and commitment in the Hijrah process. Thirdly, the da'i's feeling of duality as they tried to adapt to the participants who were mostly urban youth who liked the combination of popular culture with Islamic education sessions with artists.³³ Moreover, apart from being a trend, Hijrah among celebrities can attract self-pity to continue to exist in the country's entertainment world.³⁴ Looking more Islamic, that way they can still compete to fill entertainment shows or market advertising products. But interinsically, celebrities choose to hijrah because they want a new atmosphere in life, especially the inner peace that has been difficult to obtain while living a life that for them is far from Islamic teachings.³⁵

Meanwhile, Musahadah and Triyono in their article "Fenomena Hijrah di Indonesia Konten Persuasif di Instagram." Explaining the delivery of da'wah with persuasive sentences on Instagram content can be done in various ways: direct persuasion, indirect persuasion, using hadith and prayer or hope, using stories, using expressions, using figures of speech and repetition. According to Musahadah, two important components such as rhetorical selection and persuasive strategies with straightforward delivery are special considerations in persuasive content on Instagram.³⁶ Meanwhile, an article written by

³² Miftahus Sa'diyah, Ach. Faqih Supandi, dan Nur Aini, "Hijrah and Muslim Medium Society Movements In Indonesia: Study of The Majelis Gaul Dakwah Movement in Jember City," *MANAGIERE: Journal of Islamic Educational Management* 1, no. 1 (24 April 2022): 29–46.

³³ Hadri Hasan, "Contemporary Religious Movement in Indonesia: A Study on Hijrah Festival in Jakarta in 2018," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 13, no. 1 (June 2, 2019): 230–65.

³⁴ Yumniati Agustin, Widyat Nurcahyo, and Irma Novida, "Keberagamaan Hijrah: Kebutuhan Ekonomi, Sosial Kultural, Dan Eksistensi Di Kalangan Selebritas," *MAARIF* 17 (January 24, 2023): 140–54, <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v17i2.199>.

³⁵ M. Nafi et al., "The Hijrah Trend Among Indonesian Celebrities in the Perspective of Psychology of Religion," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Colloquium on Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies, ICIS 2020, 20-21 October 2020, Jakarta, Indonesia* (Proceedings of the 3rd International Colloquium on Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies, ICIS 2020, 20-21 October 2020, Jakarta, Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia: EAI, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.20-10-2020.2305176>.

³⁶ Zahrina Sanni Musahadah and Sulis Triyono, "Fenomena Hijrah di Indonesia Konten Persuasif Dalam Instagram," *RETORIKA: Jurnal Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajarannya* 12, no. 2 (August 15, 2019): 117.

Firmansyah on "Hijrah, Antara Fenomena Sosiologis dan Teologis" explains that Hijrah is seen as a shift in religious labels, only existing in a crowd that ultimately creates a logical deadlock and forms a new social class. Moreover, the Hijrah group does not offer individual freedom but creates a generation with exclusive reasoning.³⁷

While the dissertation written by Hikmawan saefullah "Transformation of Youth Resistance: Underground Music Scene and politics in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia" explains The practice of hijrah among underground scene actors defines the latest transformation of this scene in post-authoritarian Indonesia. Some morally support underground scene friends to do hijrah, some are full of suspicion and criticism by questioning the sincerity of the participants which implies that their piety is rather superficial and artificial, moreover it is considered to only look Islamic in appearance and things that are commercial and commodification of religious symbols, ideas and rituals. Subsequently, youth resistance in Indonesia's underground music scene has undergone several transformations to be explicitly apolitical and towards a "conservative turn". These transformations are shaped by different social, political and economic conditions, which determine whether resistance is manifested covertly or overtly, or passively or actively. The oppressive nature of the New Order's demobilisation and depoliticisation policies allowed some segments of Indonesian youth to resist symbolically. Hikmawan explains that while the conservative underground movement reflects the social and economic problems faced by the participants, it also reflects the transformation of their resistance, in which Islam and Islamist ideas have been used to find solutions to the problems of their lives. The choice of Islam as a source of youth resistance can be understood due to the continued oppression and repression of the political Left and the popularity of Islamic conservatism and right-wing Islamist movements in the post-authoritarian era.³⁸

In contrast, the underground tasawuf community as a hijrah movement with a tasawuf approach was able to change the mentality and behaviour of street "punks." Seeing the negative stigma from society towards them, it is necessary to negotiate the identity of punk children who seem naughty to become new pious figures so that they can be accepted by society, without any deviation from cultural norms. This is what is of full attention in my research to prove the hypothesis.

³⁷ Firmansyah Firmansyah, "Hijrah, Between Sociological and Theological Phenomenon," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam Dan Filsafat* 18 (June 30, 2021): 29–46, <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v18i1.3707>.

³⁸ Hikmawan Saefullah, "Transformation of Youth Resistance: Underground Music Scene and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia" (Thesis, Australia, Murdoch University, 2022), <https://researchportal.murdoch.edu.au/esploro/outputs/doctoral/Transformations-of-youth-resistance-Underground-music/991005544955507891>.

3. Street Punk Identities Negotiations

Hariot Beazley wrote the article on "Vagrants Wearing Make-up: Negotiating Spaces on the Streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia." Describes how girls suffer discrimination on the streets and their position, making them twice as marginal as street boys. He argues that girls who live on the streets actively violate the constructs of femininity in mainstream society. Then Beazley tries to explain the pattern of behavior that they do as a survival mechanism which is then articulated through style, livelihood activities, production of street girl identities, and negotiating their social and personal space, which is different from boys as well as their gender relatedness on the streets which invites a response to patriarchal discourse in Indonesian communities where the stigma of girls not being allowed to be on the streets is still attached to society.³⁹ Meanwhile, Lorraine Young describes the urban environment and street children in Kampala, Uganda, as a place for them to develop an identity to gain legitimacy and be accepted by other road users if they adjust to the behavior and social norms in that place.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Laura Dryjanska argues that identity is a social representation, leading to the epistemological conclusion that worldviews are aligned with social constructivist approaches. She further explains that mass media, personal encounters, and interpersonal communication contribute much more significantly to the perception and construction of street children's identities through their perspectives on their personalities.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Papineau's thesis entitled "Hey! Let's Go [Back to Islam]! Exploring the Interplay of Punk and Piety in Java, Indonesia," Papineau mentions that conservative groups found and gained great momentum among urban Muslims, utilising social media and punk Do-It-Yourself (DIY) philosophy to accommodate Islamic practices. She suggests that the phenomenon of the Muslim Punk movement is the overlapping result of influential factors such as transnational Islam, disappointment toward punk scenes⁴² and the expansion of the Islamic market on the island of Java. Moreover, the Islamic market is a fundamental concept to position the trends of Muslim punks. In addition, Papineau argues that popular culture offers new possibilities for da'wah, which is often subjected to commodification, merchandising and branding to make Islamic da'wah more accessible

³⁹ Beazley, "Vagrants Wearing Make-up': Negotiating Spaces on the Streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia."

⁴⁰ Lorraine Young, "The `Place` of Street Children in Kampala, Uganda: Marginalisation, Resistance, and Acceptance in the Urban Environment," *Society and Space* 21 (2003): 607–27.

⁴¹ Laura Dryjanska, "Thematic Review: Negotiating Identities of Street Children. A Short Reflection Piece," *Papers on Social Representation* 23, no. 3 (2014): 1–27.

⁴² The term scene in the Indonesian punk context is a base or place where punkers gather to share feelings, and identity..

and attractive. And groups affiliated with Punk Muslims tend to favour more conservative Islamic practices than traditional Javanese teachings.⁴³

The study above shows how hard they try to find an identity space so society can accept it. So research on the negotiation identities and piety of street punks in the Tasawuf Underground Community will be conducted for the first time in this study.

E. Theoretical Framework

This research examines the hijrah phenomenon and street punk children's attitude toward changing social stigma after joining and attending pengajian in underground Sufism communities. Describing the hijrah movement of street punk children in the tasawuf underground community, I used the theory of religious piety. Hasan underlined the phenomenon of Muslim communities using religious labels or symbols, both visible and invisible, in the form of congregational prayer activities or the like, to explore their Religious piety in the public sphere.⁴⁴ Furthermore, negotiating identity at least involves a commitment to distance from current surroundings to be protected from temptation and then join an environment that guarantees and protects the Hijrah efforts being made to become a true Muslim.⁴⁵

Furthermore, I elaborate on how punks negotiate two identities, as "punks" and Muslims, and reflect this in their lives. By Ibrahim Abraham's implicit statement about "Christian Punk" that Christian punk is an international subculture that tries to reconcile and express the tendency of Christian theological beliefs with religious values that include: moral messages, evangelistic messages and repentance. Then the values of community and belongings, as well as a punk culture, through song lyrics. Thus a dual identity between punk and Christianity emerges. However, the case I am researching is "street punks" in the Tasawuf Underground Community. This means that I only use one element, namely the Community and Belongings perspective, to comprehensively explore and elaborate on the formation of a close-knit community, the role of the underground Sufism community as an alternative-based space in understanding religion and the support networks that emerge within street punks.⁴⁶

⁴³ Élise Imray Papineau, "Hey! Ho! Let's Go [Back to Islam]! Exploring the Interplay of Punk and Piety in Java, Indonesia" (Université de Montréal, 2019).

⁴⁴ Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Making of Public Islam : Piety , Agency , and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere," *Springer* 3 (2009): 229–50.

⁴⁵ Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Drama of Jihad: The Emergence of Salafi Youth in Indonesia," in *Being Young and Muslim: New Cultural Politics in the Global South and North*, ed. Asef Bayat and Linda Herrera (Oxford University Press, 2010), 1–21.

⁴⁶ Ibrahim Abraham, *Christian Punk: Identity and Performance*, 1st ed. (Great Britain: Bloomsbury, 2020).

Using these two theories, I combined the phenomenon I obtained in the field from interview data. To see how street punks negotiate their initial identity towards the values piety and to what extent Tasawuf Underground Community can rebuild Islamic identity among the Punk community. Finally, it could be shifting in the stigma that cannot be eliminated even though they join the Tasawuf Underground community.

F. Research Significance

This research is important for several reasons. First, as part of the study of Hijrah, this research will complement previous works on the dynamics of the development of the Islamic Activism Studies including Hijrah community in Indonesia which is considered towards conservative turn. In contrast to this phenomenon the result show that hijrah punk is more direct toward moderates stance. So it will be an additional Fieldwork and Participatory studies. Secondly, the findings of this research will contribute to the discussion about the "Tasawuf Underground" community that transforms into the Hijrah movement. By highlighting street punks who negotiate their initial identity with the value of piety, in an Indonesian society that tends to be religious. Third, by highlighting the social and religion interaction, this research will provide a more in-depth and diverse understanding of the negotiation schemes that Street Punk undertakes after Hijrah. Although there are some similarities and generality among hijrah participants who are street punks, there are also differences in the interpretation of hijrah manifested in the lives of former street punks.

G. Methods

This research conducted for one month (Maret) on Fieldwork. Data collection techniques used semi-structured interviews, participatory and digital observation through WhatsApp status, Instagram, and Facebook. Interviews were conducted with 11 participants: one founder of the Tasawuf Underground community and ten Tasawuf Underground students.⁴⁷

H. Outlines (Structure of Thesis)

This research consists of five chapters with description as follows: Chapter one, Introduction. This chapter will explain Introductory explanation that consist of: historical background, literature review, research questions, and methodology, Thesis Structure.

⁴⁷ Hanna Kallio et al., "Systematic Methodological Review : Developing a Framework for a Qualitative Semi-Structured Interview Guide," *JAW*, 2016, 1–12; Christine Dearnley, "A Reflection on the Use of Semi-Structured Interviews," *Nurse Researcher* 13, no. 1 (2005): 19–28; Kathryn E Newcomer, Harry p Hatry, and Joseph S Wholey, *EVALUATION HANDBOOK OF PRACTICAL PROGRAM*, ed. Kathryn E Newcomer, Harry p Hatry, and Joseph S Wholey (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2015).

In the second chapter, I discuss the Historical Context of Sufism in Indonesia. starting from explaining the historical journey and development of Sufism in the Indonesian context along with some of its teachings (fana and wahdat al-adyan) which developed on several islands such as Sumatra Java and Kalimantan. Then I briefly explain the Tariqah path and the role of Tariqah in the development of education in Indonesia so that it becomes a social movement of the community which then transforms into urban Sufism.

In chapter three I explain Tasawuf Underground for Punks, I briefly explain the background of both the method of dhikr talqin, jahr and sirr, the learning curriculum such as PKBM, the programmes and activities held. In this chapter I also briefly explain the Inabah programme and the socio-economic empowerment of former street punks such as the assembly and sale of custom motorcycles and carwash. And the position between the Tasawuf Underground hut and Suryalaya Pesantren. As well as the Hijrah scheme which includes Physiological and safety needs.

In the third chapter I discuss Tasawuf Underground and Youth Islamic Identity which explains about the formation of children's character is determined by the education they receive from infancy to a certain age. Then, the Hijrah Movement for Punks Through Collective Behaviour where it explains the categorisation, definition and reasons for hijrah

Negotiating New Islamic Identity: The influence of Underground Sufism in reconstructing Identity among street punks

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF TASAWUF IN INDONESIA

A. Introduction

Exemplary conduct in daily life is a necessity for a pious Muslim. The fundamental principles of monotheism (*Tawhid*) and moral conduct (*Akhlak*) are rooted in the Islamic faith (*Iman*) and excellence (*Ihsan*). Sufism, in turn, embodies the essence of this principle of excellence. Sufism is a part of Islamic law (*Sharia*), or in other words, Islamic law also encompasses teachings on Sufism.⁴⁸ The role of Sufism is to make religion not only rationalized but also understood and absorbed as a need and pleasure to deal with the creator of the universe, with a sense of *muroqobah* as proof of the servant's closeness to his God so that he avoids despicable acts that are detrimental and makes himself human quality.

Humans seek transcendental or divine values or supernatural forces much more substantial and greater than themselves. This is where I find that human nature as individuals requires a power far greater than themselves, or can be said to be spiritual beings in need of spiritual values.⁴⁹ Sufism is a field of study that cannot be separated from jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) and theology (*Tawhid*). The emphasis in the study of theology lies in fundamental religious matters, such as affirming God's existence. On the other hand, the emphasis in jurisprudence lies in *ijtihad*-related matters that are practical, tangible, and outward in nature (*Amaliyah, Haliyah, Furu'iyah, Hajiyyah*), which are considered exoteric (*Dhahiriyah*).

Meanwhile, the accentuation in Sufism lies in the inner dimensions, such as spiritual experiences and states, which are considered esoteric.⁵⁰ In essence, studying Sufism aims to attain an inner and spiritual existence that fosters a profound connection with God. Spiritual life represents a transformative stage where individuals fully acknowledge themselves as creations of God, aligning with their inherent nature.

Therefore, the authenticity of Sufism must maintain a balanced and proportional relationship with two aspects: faith (*aqidah*) and Islamic law (*shariah*), as they cannot be separated from one another. They should not operate independently. The authenticity of

⁴⁸ Aly Mashar, "Tasawuf: Sejarah, Madzhab, Dan Inti Ajarannya," *Al-A'raf* XII, no. 1 (2015): 97–117.

⁴⁹ Badrudin, *Pengantar Ilmu Tasawuf*, ed. Agus Ali Dzawafi, *A-Empat* (Serang: A-Empat, 2015).

⁵⁰ Syamsun Ni'am, *Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Tasawuf*, ed. Rose KR (Sleman, Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2014).

Islamic teachings, particularly Sufism, encompasses several elements, including the belief in the Oneness of God (*Tawhid*). The life of a Sufi practitioner (*salik*) is rooted in Tawhid, which means seeking no deity other than Allah, engaging in "pure worship" (*ibadah al-khulus*), and relying solely on Allah's satisfaction. They must consistently base all their actions on the guidance of Shariah, always striving to maintain a balance between their spiritual practices and worldly affairs.⁵¹

Researchers from various backgrounds have extensively carried out the study of Sufism. I delve into the studies of Sufism conducted by them, particularly those directly related to the writing of this master's thesis. In this writing, I trace the journey of Sufism from its early stages to its transformation into the social realm, particularly within Indonesian society, as a response to the needs of modern humans as social beings for divine values and spiritual dimensions.

B. Tasawuf and Thariqah Path In Indonesia

Before discussing other subtopics, firstly I explore into the etymology of Sufism. According to language experts, the term "tasawuf" has various interconnected derivations. As explained by Harun Nasution, for instance, it has five different meanings in different lexicons. Firstly, Al-Shuffah / أَهْلُ الصُّفَّةِ refers to the companions of the Muhajirin who stayed or sought shelter on the spacious porch of the Prophet's Mosque during the prophetic era after the migration. Secondly, "saf" denotes a row or line, commonly interpreted as a row in prayer. Thirdly, "sufi" / صَافٍ means "pure" because those who practice Sufism strive to purify themselves externally and internally by abstaining from actions that may incur the wrath of Allah SWT. Fourthly, "sophos" (Greek: Wisdom) and fifthly, "suf" (woolen cloth).⁵² On the other hand, Masignon and Razik argue that tasawwuf is a form of "Masdar Fi'il Khumasi," derived from the root word "showwafa" meaning a garment made of sheep's wool, as I explained earlier.⁵³ Linguistically, tasawuf can be understood as the attitude, mentality, and spiritual practice of maintaining personal purity by avoiding anything that may incur the wrath of Allah SWT through acts of worship, simple living, willingness to sacrifice, and exhibiting wisdom in goodness, thereby cultivating noble character derived from acts of worship and good manners acquired through the pursuit of knowledge.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ni'am.

⁵² Harun Nasution, *Filsafat Dan Mistisisme Dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1973).

⁵³ Musthafa Abd Raziq and Louis Massignon, *At-Tasawwuf*, ed. Ibrahim Hursyid, Abdul Hamid Yunus, and Hasan Utsman (Beirut: Dar Al Kitab Al Banaani, 1984); Christopher Melchert, *Before Sufism: Early Islamic Renunciant Piety* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2020).

⁵⁴ A Nata, *Akhlaq Tasawuf* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2010), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=SevTZwEACAAJ>; H Safria Andy, *Ilmu Tasawuf*, ed. Safria Andy (Medan: Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Studi Islam Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatra Utara, 2019).

If Sufism is broadly defined as Islamic mysticism,⁵⁵ However, its manifestation formed prior to the time of Junayd al-Baghdadi in the mid-9th century would be contradicted because the Sufis at that time strongly adhered to the teachings of Sharia as the fundamental basis before delving into the inner dimension.⁵⁶

I will emphasize the distinction between "Sufism" and "mysticism." In the previous sentence, if we look at it from an epistemological perspective, there are sources, objects, methods, and goals. The sources of Sufism are revelation, the Sunnah, and the reports of the Companions, while mysticism draws from thought, culture, and tradition. The objects of Sufism are the heart (*ash-Shadr*), the inner self (*al-Qalb*), the spirit (*al-Fu'ad*), the core (*al-Lubb*), and the soul (*An-Nafs*), whereas mysticism deals with the psychic, the inner, and the experiential. The methods of Sufism are intuitive, gnosis-oriented (*irfanīy*), experiential (*dzauqī*), and mystical unveiling (*kashfī*), whereas mysticism is attained through intuition, inner experience, and beliefs in the occult (things other than God). The goal of Sufism is to establish a close relationship with God alone in various aspects (*Ma'rifah*, annihilation or *fana'*, unity or *Ittihad*, and indwelling or *Hulul*), while the goal of mysticism is to attain proximity to God or other entities and achieve union.⁵⁷ Essentially, mysticism is a human behavior aimed at approaching the occult and the mystical, whereas Sufism encompasses broader aspects of devotion, righteousness, and obedience. Additionally, Howell rejects the Western conflation of the terms Sufism and mysticism because it portrays an intensification of faith and Islamic practices that differ from mysticism.⁵⁸ Furthermore, Sufism is a personal spiritual experience that cannot be felt by others, depending on one's perspective on the activities of Sufis. It also encompasses a variety of practice systems and is supported by social institutions, art, and scholarly justifications.⁵⁹

The interpretation of the term "Sufism" in my thesis is closely aligned with Junayd al-Baghdadi's explanation, which is the process of "moving away from blameworthy traits and embracing praiseworthy qualities."⁶⁰ This is evident from Basyuni's efforts to define the term Sufism into three categories: Al-Bidayah (the experiences of Sufis in the early

⁵⁵ Melchert, *Before Sufism: Early Islamic Renunciant Piety*.

⁵⁶ Mashar, "Tasawuf: Sejarah, Madzhab, Dan Inti Ajarannya."

⁵⁷ Ni'am, *Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Tasawuf*.

⁵⁸ Julia Day Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival Author(s)," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (2001): 701–29.

⁵⁹ Michael Laffan, "National Crisis and the Representation of Traditional Sufism in Indonesia: The periodicals Salafy and Sufi," in *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam*, ed. oleh Julia Day Howell dan Martin van Bruinessen (London: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2007), 6–18, <https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755607983.ch-001>.

⁶⁰ Ibrahim Basyuni, *Nasy'atu At-Tashawwuf Al-Islami* (Cairo, Egypt: Dar Al-Ma'arif, 1969); Abul Qosim Qusyairi, *Al-Risalah al-Qushairiyah*, ed. Abd Al-Halim Mahmud and Mahmud Syarif Bin (Cairo: Dar As-Sya'b, 1989).

stages, or in other words, humans as limited beings who cannot control their desires of the worldly life), Al-Mujahadat (discussing the spiritual experiences of Sufis in relation to their sincerity in overcoming the obstacles faced during their spiritual journey), and Al-Madzaqat (addressing the spiritual experiences of Sufis based on what they feel, meaning their ability to overcome all barriers in approaching the ultimate reality).⁶¹ When these three definitions are interconnected, it becomes apparent that the definition of Sufism refers to those who are interested in inner knowledge and strive to train their souls through various activities that liberate them from the influence of worldly desires. It involves the purification of the "heart," the cultivation of the mind, and self-actualization, aiming to attain a spiritual state where individuals worship Allah. as if they see Him, even though they do not see their Lord, for He sees them. Therefore, Sufism remains highly relevant to human behavior, soul, and spirituality in every era.

In this subsection, I will explain that the development of Sufism can be divided into several periods, starting from its formation, development, consolidation, philosophical phase, and purification. During the formation period, in the time of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and the Rashidun Caliphs, the term Sufism was not yet known, and those individuals were essentially Sufis.⁶² However, it does not mean that practices such as asceticism, fasting, or the like did not exist; rather, forms of asceticism were the embryo of the emergence of Sufism, which became a distinctive characteristic of the behavior of a Sufi. However, on the other hand, they did not glorify worldly life nor disregard it.

During this formation period in the 1st century AH, Hasan al-Basri (642-728 CE) emerged as the first and renowned ascetic (*Zahid*) figure in Sufism. He taught Khauf (fear) and Raja' (hope), which were followed by several teachers who introduced spiritual renewal among the Muslims. The ascetics of this period strongly emphasized both the outward (Shariah) and inward (Batin) dimensions.⁶³ Then, in the 2nd century AH, a female ascetic from Basra, Iraq, named Rabi'ah al-Adawiyyah (801 CE/185 AH) emerged. She spread the teachings of love for God (Hubb al-Ilah), which involved surrendering oneself entirely to Allah, eliminating expectations of rewards in paradise, and relying solely on fear of punishment in hell.⁶⁴ During this period, the ascetics (*Zahid*) started to discuss the nature of a pure soul, morality, its development, and other spiritual matters. These discussions led

⁶¹ Syekh Fadhlalla Haeri, *The Elements of Sufism* (London, England: Zahra Publication, 1990).

⁶² Badrudin, *Pengantar Ilmu Tasawuf*.

⁶³ Mashar, "Tasawuf: Sejarah, Madzhab, Dan Inti Ajarannya."

⁶⁴ Che Zarina Binti Sa'ari, "Tokoh Sufi Wanita Rabi'ah Al - 'Adawiyyah: Motivator Ke Arah Hidup Lebih Bermakna," *Ushuluddin* 25 (2007): 29–43.

to various conceptions of the stages of a Sufi's journey (al-maqamat) and the characteristics possessed by a seeker or Sufi Candidate (*Salik*) at certain levels (*al-ahwal*), using somewhat complex terminology.⁶⁵

Subsequently, discussions on the degrees of fana' (annihilation) and ittihad (union) emerged, which gave rise to three prominent figures: al-Muhasibi (234 AH), al-Harraj (277 AH), and Junayd al-Baghdadi (297 AH). They further developed Sufism both conceptually and contextually. whereas, Sufism was primarily a matter of individual knowledge, during the time of Junayd al-Baghdadi, it continued to progress towards conceptual refinement, including the development of terminology, epistemological concepts, and intuition.⁶⁶

Then came the period of development between the third and fourth centuries of the Hijri calendar, led by two prominent figures: Abu Yazid al-Busthami (261 AH) and Abu Mansur al-Hallaj (369 AH), each with their ideas. Al-Busthami advocated concepts such as *fana'* (annihilation), *liqa'* (meeting Allah in the perfect form of a human being/*Insan Kamil*), and *wahdat al-wujud* (the unity of the servant with the Lord). On the other hand, al-Hallaj espoused the concept of *hulul* (the disappearance of human attributes, leaving only the divine attributes within oneself, where God and the human spirit unite within the human body without implying incarnation), *Haqiqah Muhammadiyah* (the essence of Muhammad, the source of all occurrences), and *wahdat al-adyan* (the unity of religions).⁶⁷ However, Junayd al-Baghdadi's teachings differed as they originated from the Qur'an and Sunnah, emphasizing the foundational principles of *Thariqah* (spiritual path) and the methods of learning and teaching Sufism between the *Mursyid* (spiritual guide) and *murid* (student). During this period, two conflicting schools of thought emerged: Sufism influenced by philosophy (*tasawwuf-falsafi*) and Sunni Sufism, leading to intense debates and discussions.

During the consolidation period of the fifth century of the Hijri calendar, intense debates were resolved within the Sunni Sufi school of thought, with Abu Hasan al-Asy'ari criticizing the theories of Al-Bustami and al-Hallaj regarding what is stated in the *Syathahiyat*, which was considered deviating from the creed.⁶⁸ In this context, there was a process of returning Sufism to both the Qur'an and Hadith foundation. One of the prominent figures in this movement was Al-Qusyairi, Al-Ghazali, and Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani.

⁶⁵ Mashar, "Tasawuf: Sejarah, Madzhab, Dan Inti Ajarannya"; Zuherni Ab, "Sejarah Perkembangan Tasawuf," *Substantia* 13, no. 2 (2011): 249–56.

⁶⁶ A. J Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam*, ed. Routledge (London: Routledge, 2008).

⁶⁷ Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam: An Introduction to Sufism* (London: I.B.Tauris & co, 1989), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=zuAOVSMvzsYC>.

⁶⁸ Mashar, "Tasawuf: Sejarah, Madzhab, Dan Inti Ajarannya."

They distanced Muslim philosophers from the influence of the Gnostics. For example, al-Ghazali's theory of unity presented the theory of ma'rifah in attaining closeness to Allah without merging with Him.⁶⁹

This philosophical period was between the sixth and seventh centuries of Hijri. It gave rise to two important things, First, the revival of philosophical Sufism, and its figures, namely Ibnu Arabi with the concept of Wahdat al-Wujud, Suhrawardi with the concept of Isyraqiyyah, and second, the emergence of Sufism schools such as the Qodiriyah order founded by Sheikh Abdul Qodir al-Jilani centered in Baghdad, and the Naqshabandiyah order founded by Muhammad Ibn Baha centered in Central Asia. However, The existence of Sufism Although in the golden age/purification, both theoretically and practically, there were irregularities, scandals, and a decrease in the level of public trust in the image of Sufism as the emergence of heresy, mysticism, neglecting of shari'a and moral law. One of the figures who played a role at this time was Ibn Taymiyyah, who returned the teachings of Sufism to the doctrines of the Qur'an and Sunnah by living the Islamic teachings and continuing to involve himself in social activities.

Next, I will discuss the history of the development of Sufism in Indonesia and its influential figures. Although the arrival of Islam in Indonesia has various theories, Sufism in Indonesia has the nuances of the values of the previous beliefs. This is emphasized by Alwi Shihab that every Indonesian, no matter what the circumstances, is still affected by the initial belief, even though there are many "doctrines" attached to new beliefs, regardless of religion.⁷⁰ The notion that Islam came without military force or government support does not seem so significant, because the da'i in their activities did not have any tendencies, but the possibility that Islam entered through trade is less likely than the theory that Sufis made the migration.⁷¹ However, there is still a great deal of debate about the date of Islam's arrival, but I have categorized it into two phases. First, phase of the beginning of Islam in the seventh century Hijri, and the second phase that adheres to the first century Hijri.

In this first phase, the existence of Islam is evidenced by the writings and works of the Sufis of Baghdad and continued proselytizing to various countries in Asia. This is reinforced by the existence of Sufis such as Al-Jilli and Ibnu Arabi. And those who moved in the island of Java such as Hamzah Fansuri and Abd Rauf Sinkel in Malacca.⁷² Sufism

⁶⁹ Michael E Marmura, "Ghazali and Ash'arism Revisited," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 12 (2002): 91–110.

⁷⁰ Alwi Shihab, *Islam Sufistik: "Islam Pertama" Dan Pengaruhnya Hingga Kini Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001); Ni'am, *Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Tasawuf*.

⁷¹ T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (London: London Constable & Company Ltd., 1913).

⁷² Ni'am, *Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Tasawuf*.

became the most important factor in the spread of Islam in Indonesia due to the influence of Ibn al-A'rabi and Al-Ghazali on the early generation of Muslim thinkers, some of whom were followers of a tariqah.⁷³ However, Hurgronje argued that the role of Sufism in the Islamization of Indonesia was nothing more than heresy and folklore, which had nothing to do with Shari'a. Moreover, Sufism was respected by Indonesian Muslims because it had a remnant of Hinduism which was a determining factor in the success of Sufism in the process of Islamization of Indonesia.⁷⁴

Furthermore, Bruinessen adds that in the 19th century, Indonesians were lay Muslims in terms of religious knowledge, while their individual identities were still influenced by their previous religions, beliefs, and traditions, or in other words, "Islamic Identity".⁷⁵ In contrast, two different opinions emerged. First, the assumption that Islam was spread in the "same" way as Hindu-Buddhist beliefs, this will certainly be a factor in the failure of Islamic propagation. This is because Indonesian society perceives no superiority in Islamic teachings when presented in the same manner. Therefore, why Indonesian people convert to Islam if in the end it is the same as their previous religion.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the unilateral claim on Hamzah Fansuri's teachings being influenced by his previous belief in "pantheism" is not accurate, because these teachings have been influenced by the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabi and Suhrawardi, which has a Sufism and philosophical orientation, known as Tasawuf-Falsafi. From the previous statements, I would like to emphasize. If the conception of Tasawuf-Falsafi contradicts Sunni Sufism, it does not mean that it is a substantial contradiction, but rather an expression of the appreciation of tawhid in a new form without changing the essence of tawhid itself. Therefore, Al-Ghazali argues that if two schools meet on the same axis or more, it does not mean that they are influenced or imitate each other. Instead, psychological factors and conditions often determine and influence the meeting.⁷⁷

Then, the transition from personal Sufism during the philosophical era of the 6th and 7th centuries AH (Hijri) towards institutionalized tariqahs cannot be separated from the development and dissemination of Sufism itself. A murshid (spiritual guide) typically elaborates on Sufi teachings based on their personal experiences. With distinct teaching

⁷³ Marlin Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Sosiologis, Geografis*, ed. Gus Ballon (Bandung: Mizan, 1992).

⁷⁴ Ni'am, *Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Tasawuf*.

⁷⁵ Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Indonesia: Survey Historis, Sosiologis, Geografis*.

⁷⁶ Shihab, *Islam Sufistik : "Islam Pertama" Dan Pengaruhnya Hingga Kini Di Indonesia*.

⁷⁷ Faishal Badir Aun, *At-Tasawwuf Al-Islami At-Thariq Wa Ar-Rijal* (Cairo: Sa'id Ra'fat, 1983); Ni'am, *Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Tasawuf*.

systems among tariqahs, they establish organizations to preserve the authenticity of the murshid's teachings, utilizing specific locations as centers for "Ribat" or zawiyah activities.⁷⁸ Some of the tariqahs that emerged in Indonesia are Qodiriyah, founded by Sheikh Abdul Qodir Al-Jilani (1166 AD) centered in Baghdad, who inspired Hamzah Fansuri's journey as a Sufi writer and poet. Then the Shattariyah order was learned by Abd Ar-Rauf As-Sinkili from Sheikh Ahmad Al-Qoshashy in Medina. He managed to connect the seven dignities, better known as wujudiyah with sunnah understanding, but he rejected the wujudiyah understanding, which was then brought to Java by Abd Muhyi Pamijahan. In addition, Abd Ash-Shamad Al-Palimbani, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Abd Wahab Bugis and Abd Rahman Masri studied the samaniyyah tariqah in Medina from Shaykh Muhammad As-Saman. In addition, Ahmad Mutamakkin, prince of Benawa (Tuban), chose the Naqshabandiyah order which he learned from Sheikh Muhammad Zain Al-Mizjaji al-Yamani. Then Sheikh Hasyim Asy'ari, a Javanese scholar, studied the Qodiriyah wa Naqshabandiyah tariqah from Sheikh Nawawi al-Bantani and Khatib Sambas.⁷⁹

After a long journey, Sufism gave birth to many movements through the institution of tarekat. This subsequently mobilized the Islamic community against invaders, government dictatorship, and social inequality to establish legal, social, cultural, political and economic supremacy.⁸⁰ However, it is not uncommon to find disputes between the interests of Sufi scholars in keeping the Shari'a in line with Islamic teachings. and the authorities' interests in maintaining the stability of political existence. For instance, the resistance movement of the people of Menteng and the farmers of Banten against the Dutch colonization (1819-1888). On the other hand, the involvement of tariqah in political existence can be seen from the shaykh's support for the election victory of a certain party to achieve a goal and power that is valuable enough to be used for political-power interests.⁸¹ The study of Sufism and Tariqah and their influence on changes in modern society is an interesting one. From personal spiritual experience to transformation into the social realm of society, I will explain in the next sub-chapter.

C. Tasawuf As Social Movement

Tasawwuf as a dimension of spirituality is gaining prominence in the 21st century, as evidenced by the fact that tariqah practitioners tend to have networks and ties that are

⁷⁸ Andy, *Ilmu Tasawuf*.

⁷⁹ Ni'am, *Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Tasawuf*.

⁸⁰ Syamsun Ni'am, "Tasawuf Di Tengah Perubahan Sosial (Studi Tentang Peran Tarekat Dalam Dinamika Sosial-Politik Di Indonesia)," *HARMONI* 15, no. 2 (2016): 123–37.

⁸¹ Ni'am.

autonomous, self-regulating, self-financing, and strive for mutual benefit.⁸² In contrast, this has appeared since the early days of Islamic history. In addition, civil society has some potential in the networks of Sufism and Tariqah, as evidenced by the strong ties between Sufism practitioners in achieving public prosperity by developing education and emphasizing mutual trust. This is evident when I traced some literature that reports that the attention of the Turkish Naqshabandiyah Sufi order is no longer focused on the debate of "Mystical the union tih god," or Ittihad' and fana' self-dissolution but rather the control of passions to form a disposition that can do good (Iyilik) at God's command. This occurred because of the Turkish-secular order's strict prohibition of outdated Sufi practices. Therefore, Sufism instructs its disciples to be active in worldly matters in addition to the afterlife in a balanced manner to enable Turkey and the Muslim world to withstand the domination of Western culture, politics, and economics.⁸³ Moreover, Sufi political movements such as the resistance in Morocco and Al-Jazair to French colonization and the rebuilding of Libyan society and government have been largely pioneered by the Sanusiyah order. In other words, the Sufis sought to restore political stability to corrupt and authoritarian rule.⁸⁴

While in Indonesia tasawwuf transformed from spiritual-personal to the realm of social movements seen during the new order period right when the Soeharto government took place, orthodoxy-religiosity replaced syncretism-mysticism. Sufism's orientation to sharia experienced rapid development in rural-urban Muslim communities due to the strong influence of a Sufi figure politically and in urban communities.⁸⁵ Some of these explanations prove that Sufi practitioners play an important role in the process of social transformation. This is a form of refutation of the statement that Sufism is only an individual ritual practice to gain spiritual power or knowledge, or even more, so juxtaposed with mysticism where Sufism has a special domain in the spiritual realm. Moreover, I will explain that Sufism in its social transformation is not only limited to social movements in the political world, but also extends to education.

⁸² Martin van. Bruinessen, "Urban Sufism," in *Urban Sufism* 978979, ed. Martin van. Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2008), 1–521.

⁸³ Sulaiman, "Perubahan Sosial Berbasis Tasawuf: Studi Kasus Fethullah Gülen Dan Gülen," *At-Tahrir* 16, no. February (2016): 21–46; Laffan, "National Crisis and the Representation of Traditional Sufism in Indonesia: The Periodicals Salafy and Sufi."

⁸⁴ Ajid Thohir, *Gerakan Politik Kaum Tarekat: Peran Dan Dinamika Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah Di Pulau Jawa*, ed. Tim Penerbit Hilmi and Edi Laish (Tasikmalaya: Hilmi Inti Perdana, 2016).

⁸⁵ Martin van Bruinessen, "Saints, Politicians and Sufi Bureaucrats: Mysticism and Politics in Indonesia's New Order," in *Sufism and the Modern in Islam* (New York: I.B.Tauris London, 2007), 92.

However, the important role of education, especially in Indonesia, can be seen in the affiliation of a teacher to one of the international Tariqahs.⁸⁶ The extent of the relationship with foreign educational centers makes the establishment of knowledge, doctrine and practice stronger. Moreover, the development of Islamic education is marked by pesantren that are synonymous with the basic doctrines of Islam, with the method of teaching classical yellow books from one pesantren to another, and martial arts skills. Bruinessen asserts that all Sufi sheikhs or kyai tarekat in the new order period owned pesantren. In other words, the tarekat teacher acts as an educator, while the tarekat institution plays a role in developing influences on society. Moreover, many of them were actively involved as members of associations and politics, where the congregation was used as an important asset in increasing their existence.⁸⁷ In another words, Sufism has been transformed into a spirit that pervades the activities of Indonesian society. The "wali songo" da'i came to Java and integrated Islamic teachings with local cultural values and aesthetics. Then they sent students as preachers to the community by establishing Islamic boarding schools where teaching about the practice of Tariqah became the essence of the curriculum.⁸⁸ Consequently, the transformation of Sufism from the individual spiritual realm to the socio-educational realm is very visible.

Meanwhile, at this time the transformation of Sufism can be found in many Majelis and Islamic boarding schools with various teaching methods in Indonesia, some of which are: Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya, which is the largest Sufism pesantren in West Java with the Qodiriyah Naqshabandiyah tarekat teachings and Pondok Tasawuf Underground in Ciputat Tangerang. Although both adhere to the same order, they have their own characteristics as attractions. For instance, the Suryalaya Islamic boarding school has two main education components. First, the transfer of knowledge. Second, attitude change. In addition, Pesantren Suryalaya also teaches their santri that humans need a spiritual aspect that can guide humans to experience transcendent events, where the process of attachment and a deeper relationship, greater than just the relationship of fabricating nerve cells.⁸⁹ While the Tasawuf Underground hut uses Psycho-Sufistic methods that can change the behavior of social deviations that have been carried out by students so that they become better. Particularly, in terms of self-actualization, self-esteem, self-awareness and

⁸⁶ Bruinessen.

⁸⁷ Bruinessen.

⁸⁸ Laffan, "National Crisis and the Representation of Traditional Sufism in Indonesia: The Periodicals Salafy and Sufi."

⁸⁹ Arin Muflichatul Matwaya and Ahmad Zahro, "Konsep Spiritual Quotient Menurut Danah Zohar Dan Ian Marshall Dalam Perspektif Pendidikan Islam," *At-Tadrib* 3, no. 1 (2020): 41–48.

acceptance of the environment that is equipped with cognitive insights, and skills needed in society.⁹⁰ This is a real form of transformative Sufism. Where modern society needs a religious offer for the emptiness of spirituality.⁹¹

D. Urban Sufism: in Global Context

In this sub chapter I will examine the phenomenon of Sufism that occurs in urban communities "Urban Sufism" in Indonesia. Which is Urban Sufism in a broad context is one of the social movement which represents an increase in enthusiasm of urban communities for various socio-religious practices (Sufism), one of them marked by the hijrah movement of urban communities or Muslim individuals who are influenced by local traditions.⁹² Which is evident from their commitment and aim to express the reality of divinity and the spiritual dimension.⁹³ Furthermore, urban Sufism is a conventional movement (tasawuf) that is attached to the symbols of tarekat organizations such as Qadiriyyah and Naqshabandiyyah, whereas the tolerant and accommodating character towards local traditions has made the development of Sufism more rapidly.

Meanwhile, Komaruddin Hidayat saw four reasons of Sufism develop in several cities in Indonesia. First, Sufism is of interest to urban communities because it is a means of finding the meaning of life. As a result, Mengaji communities and hijra communities emerged. Second, Sufism becomes a medium for the development of intellectual dynamics. Third, Sufism as a psychological, mental and behavioral therapy. Fourth, as a medium to following trends and developments in religious discourse.⁹⁴ Which ultimately creates ritual and social piety. Furthermore, Hasan argued that the phenomenon of Muslim societies wearing religious labels or symbols, both visible and invisible in the form of congregational prayer activities or the like, is an attempt to explore the existence of their "religious piety" in the public sphere.⁹⁵ However, the commitment in reaching the "true Muslim" after migrating. A person is at least expected to be capable of distancing themselves from their

⁹⁰ Kamaluddin, "Regulasi Emosi Berbasis Al-Qur'an Dan Implementasinya Pada Komunitas Punk Tasawuf Underground"; Agustina Norma Pratama, "Tasawuf Underground: Menumbuhkan Self-Awareness Anak Jalanan Dalam Kesadaran Melaksanakan Ibadah," *Syntax Idea* 4, no. 10 (2022): 1471–80; Fauzi, "Pemberdayaan Kaum Marginal Melalui Keterampilan Wirausaha Sablon (Studi Analisis Deskriptif Di Komunitas Tasawuf Underground)."

⁹¹ Nilyati Nilyati, "Peranan Tasawuf Dalam Kehidupan Modern," *TAJDID: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin* 14, no. 1 (2015): 119–42.

⁹² Eric Ross, *Sufi City: Urban Design and Archetypes in Touba*, ed. Toyin Falola (New York, USA: University of Rochester Press, 2006).

⁹³ Julian Millie et al., "Post-Authoritarian Diversity in Indonesia's State-Owned Mosques: A Manakiban Case Study," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 45, no. 2 (2014): 194–213.

⁹⁴ Mohammad Misbah, "Fenomena Urban Spiritualitas Solusi Atas Kegersangan Spiritual Masyarakat Kota," *KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi* 5, no. 1 (2011): 135–46.

⁹⁵ Hasan, "The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency, and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere."

previous environments and negotiating their initial identities to make a truly hijrah.⁹⁶ In contrast, the essence of "religious piety" is a moral responsibility born from a mystical, or spiritual experience.⁹⁷ I emphasize that "inner piety" is the basic foundation in Sufism. Moreover, urban Sufism within its broad context as I mentioned in the previous paragraph embraces various phenomenon of urban social, for example spiritual movements that prioritize dhikr and prayer rituals without the organization of any tariqah.

Nevertheless, Misbah categorizes urban Sufism into several forms; First, urban Sufism is institutionalized. Like the paramadina waqf foundation. With activities and recitations by elaborating Sufism as an antique for urban people who are thirsty for spiritual values. besides that Suryalaya pesantren and Tasawuf Underground which elaborates the teachings of Sufism with general Islamic studies and psychology as a mental and moral improvement of urban society, but is not also loved by certain classes of society but the lower middle class. Second, Urban Sufism which emphasizes the power of dhikr and prayer without the intervention of a tarekat organization. Such as the recitation of Ustadz Arifin Ilham, AA gym, and Ustadz Yusuf Mansur by creating a dhikr formula that distinguishes one recitation from another, which has become an open secret. Then third, Urban Sufism as an organization or institution of conventional Sufism where tariqat plays a full role in urban and rural social communities such as tarikat Syadziliyyah, Qodiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah, tijaniyyah and so on. Fourth, Urban Sufism takes the form of eclectic spiritual teachings carried out with a spiritual training and meditation model. Not bound by one particular religious barrier but combines it into one. Like the spiritual activities carried out by Kejawen adherents, "ala-Anand".⁹⁸

The emergence of spiritual practices in general, and Sufism in particular, within the urban middle class is interesting. Because Sufism is more often identified with individual spiritual activities. Especially now that Sufism has transformed into a movement and social phenomenon of urban society. The phenomenon of Sufism regeneration has become a trend in modern society. One of them is the phenomenon of urban migration in certain communities regardless of the diverse classes that I will discuss in the next chapter in this thesis research.

⁹⁶ Hasan, "The Drama of Jihad: The Emergence of Salafi Youth in Indonesia"; Cecilia BJORKE, "Claiming Space: Discourses on Gender, Popular Music, and Social Change" (2011).

⁹⁷ Misbah, "Fenomena Urban Spiritualitas Solusi Atas Kegersangan Spiritual Masyarakat Kota."

⁹⁸ Misbah.

CHAPTER III

TASAWUF UNDERGROUND AND URBAN CONTEXT

The massive development of modernization among urban middle-class societies is consciously a process of change that occurs in a person, both attitudes, thoughts and religious rituals. Then the occurrence of change is influenced by a desire that has been desired since the beginning by the individual. Later, developed into a new idea, and spreads among the community. Or in other words, these changes occur in the social system of the local community as a result of the acceptance or rejection of an innovation. Furthermore, the results of the process of transforming the common life that happens in traditional societies towards patterns of economic and political stability characterize a modern state.⁹⁹ One of the impacts of modernization is seen in the process of change when people are updating and trying to get the ideal characteristics in the process of social transformation, as well as a shift in individual behavior on social values that exist in society.¹⁰⁰

In fact, the behavioral changes in punk communities, such as drunkenness, drugs, and riots, are not by the socio-religious norms of society. However, from the misinterpretation of the meaning of "freedom." As a result, the reaction of alienation and marginalization of themselves.¹⁰¹ Some scholars have interpreted PUNK as an ideology of rebellion and anti-establishment. Annisa stated that Punk is an ideology of rebellion, "Anarchism," and anti-establishment, with various characters from each member to build a group to secure self-identity and the characteristics of the punk community.¹⁰² In contrast, Halim Ambiya understands that anarchy is only an effect and medium of resistance to the entrenched system that hegemonizes society, not an ideology. Instead, punk ideology is "Do it Your Self" as a reflection of their independent culture and lifestyle imported from underground ideology.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, a life that has become a sub-culture of society gives rise to an attitude of resistance that stems from hatred and protest of social inequality, and a sense of dislike for oppression in any form (socio-economic, socio-political, socio-

⁹⁹ Ellya Rosana, "MODERNISASI DALAM PERSPEKTIF PERUBAHAN SOSIAL," *Al-Adyan X*, no. 1 (2015): 67–82.

¹⁰⁰ Rizky Budi Arrahman, "Dampak Modernisasi Fashion Terhadap Remaja Di Bangko Dalam Karya Seni Lukis Realis Kontemporer," *Serupa* 6, no. 1 (2018): 1–14.

¹⁰¹ Donaghey, "Punk Indonesia : A Brief Introduction."

¹⁰² Anna Rizky Annisa, Budi Wibhawa, and Nurliana Cipta Apsari, "Fenomena Remaja Punk Ditinjau Dari Konsep Person In Environment (Studi Deskriptif Di Komunitas Heaven Holic Kota Bandung)," *Share Social Work Jurnal* 5, no. 1 (2015): 1–10, <https://doi.org/DOI:10.24198/jppm.v3i1.13601>.

¹⁰³ Halim Ambiya, Interviews, Mp3, April 17, 2023; Wallach, "Living the Punk Lifestyle in Jakarta"; Kim Yujin, "Making 'Creative' Movement: Transformation of Urban Culture and Politics in Bandung, Indonesia," *Geographical Review of Japan Series B* 90, no. 1 (2017): 17–25, <https://doi.org/10.4157/geogrevjapanb.90.17>.

cultural).¹⁰⁴ Therefore, these expressions are manifested in various forms of art; one of them is music and fashion as a form of criticism and has philosophical value. In addition, young people joining the punk community feel that they find meaning and identity in the unique style that appears in punk. This is evident when I interviewed a former street punk in a boarding school. He said, "If my style is still punk, but what I change, lifestyle, clothes can be anything, it's so cool I can't explain attributes and fashion, it feels like drinking coffee in the morning."¹⁰⁵

While the identities and characteristics of the punk community are diverse, I categorize from the characteristics and behaviors described by Ratnawaty, such as Anarcho punks who consider violence an acceptable action to achieve change. Then Crust Punk is identical to Street Punk with a rumpled appearance, sharp criticism, protests, and street busking. In contrast to Anarcho and Crust punk, Glam punk is a punk community consisting of artists where experiences are poured into work and more closely avoid disputes with the community and other people. With an androgynous appearance, one of its interpretations is the Hanoi Rock band with a harsh but enjoyable sense of criticism. Furthermore, Nazi Punk which is the smallest minority group of the punk sub-culture, has a nationalist ideology that is closely related to white skinheads. At the same time, in terms of music, they criticize minority groups such as Jews, blacks, and multi-racial and homosexual groups.

In contrast to Nazi Punk, instead of opposing and hating homosexuals, Queercore Punk members consist of lesbians, homosexuals, bisexuals, and transsexuals. While Oi Punk consists of hooligans (A term that has been used since the mid-1890s. Commonly used to describe the name of a street gang in London). Oi means hey or hello in a cockney accent and is synonymous with skinheads, while skinheads are synonymous with racism. At the same time, Oi does not see differences in race, color, and belief. As for Scrum Punk, which is better known as the Stright Edge Scene. Has a difference in lifestyle with the punk scene in general by caring about cleanliness, moral goodness, respecting themselves and others, and not consuming psychotropic addictive substances. And SKA Punk is a combination of punk music with Jamaican Reggae music.¹⁰⁶ From several diverse punk

¹⁰⁴ Santika Andika Pratiwi and Firda Imah Suryani, "Dinamika Religiositas Pada Pengikut Komunitas Punk," *Literasi* 1, no. 1 (December 2020): 71–98.

¹⁰⁵ Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki, Interview, Lifestyle Punk Before and After Hijrah, Mp3, November 4, 2023.

¹⁰⁶ Endah Ratnawaty Chotim and Siti Umi Latifah, "Komunitas Anak Punk Dan Anomali Sosial (Studi Kasus Di Kecamatan Ujung Berung Kota Bandung)," *JISPO Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 8, no. 1 (July 8, 2018): 69–93.

identities, punk is just an art and lifestyle that transforms into an ideology and criticism of social oppression and inequality.

The existence slowly purified the deep-rooted negative stigmatization of punk children through the existence of the Tasawuf Underground community founded by Halim Ambiya; at that time, he was a lecturer at the Jakarta State Islamic University. However, when this thesis was written, he focused on printing books and fostering the Tasawuf Underground community. He was inspired by the kindness of the punk children who were in Thailand at that time there were riots, then rescued by them.¹⁰⁷ The Tasawuf underground community began as an online recitation on social media for all groups, which then turned into a street recitation movement, with punk children as the focus of empowerment. While the Tasawuf Underground community's goal is to develop and introduce da'wah with a Sufism approach both in social media and the surrounding environment. While the main program introduces the concept of "Peta Jalan Pulang " the first intention is the way back to God, with religion as a basic knowledge. And Second, the way back to the family is to equip and facilitate street punk children with skills such as barista, screen printing, laundry, custom motorcycle workshop, and car steam, which has been running for almost a year.¹⁰⁸

Besides tasawuf underground, similar communities exist, such as Punk Hijrah Bandar Lampung, Punkajian Bekasi, and Street Hijrah Bogor.¹⁰⁹ Those communities basically have the same principle: to become a place that teaches religious knowledge and self-development to foster the value of religious spirituality and punk children's abilities and skills so they can return to society. Especially if we look at the right of freedom of religion where carrying out religious rituals is the right of every Indonesian citizen to carry out the teachings of the religion as a form of individual spiritual expression.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile, religiosity is not only seen in the expression of religious rituals but in several aspects,

¹⁰⁷ Ambiya, Ideologi Punk.

¹⁰⁸ Ambiya.

¹⁰⁹ Ibnu Maksum, "Street Hijrah Bakery and Coffee Membina Punk Hijrah Bogor," *Suara Nasional* (blog), August 27, 2020, <https://suaranasional.com/2020/08/27/street-hijrah-bakery-and-coffee-membina-punk-hijrah-bogor/>; "Mengenal Punkajian, Komunitas Hijrah Anak Punk Di Bekasi," *Komunitas Indonesia* (blog), May 15, 2019, <https://komunita.id/2019/05/15/mengenal-punkajian-komunitas-hijrah-anak-punk-di-bekasi/>; "Komunitas Punk Hijrah Bagi-Bagi Iftar Tiap Hari Di Jalanan," *Republika Online*, accessed June 11, 2023, <https://republika.co.id/share/prmz9u458>.

¹¹⁰ Benny Prasetya, Sofyan Rofi, and Bahar Agus Setiawan, "PENGUATAN NILAI KETAUHIDAN DALAM PRAKSIS PENDIDIKAN ISLAM," *JIE (Journal of Islamic Education)* 3, no. 1 (December 12, 2018), <https://ejournal.stitmuhbangil.ac.id/index.php/jie/article/view/85>; Benny Prasetya, Aries Dirgayunita, and Samsul Hadi, "Bimbingan Orang Tua, Kedisiplinan dan Kosntribusinya Terhadap Pencegahan Perilaku Menyimpang," *Shautut Tarbiyah* 25, no. 2 (November 2019): 96; Pratiwi and Suryani, "Dinamika Religiositas Pada Pengikut Komunitas Punk."

including ideological aspects related to beliefs and truth in certain religions. Furthermore, religious ritual is how a person shows religious practice by expressing and committing to religion individually or collectively in the public sphere.¹¹¹ In addition, the factors of experience, feelings, perceptions, consequences, and one's knowledge of religious teachings by understanding them as a basis for belief and then Feeling religious sensations and the consequences that result when someone believes in the truth of the religious teachings.¹¹² This aspect is a comprehensive unity of elements so that a person can be said to be "Being Religious," which in its implementation becomes "Religious Piety" in behavior, not just claiming to have a religion "being religion."¹¹³

However, the correlation to street punk is the exploration of religiosity aspect, during its initial identity formation as part of the subculture of society, is significant. This research aims to examine and elaborate on the extent to which the Tasawuf Underground community is able to rebuild the Islamic identity of street punk individuals. and try to explore the dynamics of their religiosity after their conversion. These aspects will be discussed in several sub-chapter.

A. Punk as Sub-Culture

Subcultures emerge as an attempt to resolve problems arising from contradictions in the social structure collectively, and in doing so, they produce a form of collective identity, which they consider can be achieved outside of the terms of class, education and occupation.¹¹⁴

The overly broad definition of subculture has led to different meanings of "Sub." starting from geographical terms such as countries divided into "subculture regions" until cultural terms such as "smaller cultural fields". I am using a similar definition as described by Heanfler that subcultures are relatively diffuse "social networks" that share a common identity but have distinctive meanings around specific ideas, practices, and objects and a sense of marginalization from a perceived rejection of "conventional" society.¹¹⁵ From this definition shows us that a subculture must contain several elements including. Diffuse

¹¹¹ Hasan, "The Making of Public Islam : Piety , Agency , and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere."

¹¹² Pratiwi and Suryani, "Dinamika Religiositas Pada Pengikut Komunitas Punk."

¹¹³ Annisa Fitriani, "Peran Religiusitas Dalam Meningkatkan Psychological Well Being," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 11, no. 1 (2016): 57–80; Hasan, "The Making of Public Islam : Piety , Agency , and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere."

¹¹⁴ Mike Brake, *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures: Sex and Drugs and Rock n Roll?*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge Revivals, 2013).

¹¹⁵ Ross Heanfler, *Subcultures: The Basics*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Newyork: Routledge, 2014), <http://library.lol/main/F14B190A1CBFDC5928AC047C900FDBFC>.

social networks, shared identity, shared distinctive meaning, resistance and marginalization.¹¹⁶ Moreover, diffuse networks refer to one participant's connection through continuous interaction. This means that the diffuse network usually does not have a formal society's leadership or organizational structure. Furthermore, within a subculture, participants usually share a familiar feeling towards their subculture identity and recognize themselves as different from other groups. This was evident when I interviewed several informants who showed similar feelings arising from the marginalization of conventional society so that sharing stories with peers or elders can create a high sense of solidarity and comfort among subculture participants.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the interpretation of specific meanings owned by subculture participants is manifested in the ideas such as (values and philosophies). The practices (rituals and leisure) and objects (tattoos, attributes/emojis, and stickers); some underground participants, such as street punks, understand the philosophical meanings contained in the rituals and attribute objects they use daily, and some are difficult to explain.¹¹⁸ Moreover, subculture contains elements of resistance to the existing culture that has been hegemonic, pervasive, dominant and has become mainstream.¹¹⁹ However, resistance to the hegemonic culture and system was expressed through organizing and joining street protests, writing poetry and song lyrics, and using distinctive symbols attached to clothing.¹²⁰ Therefore, subculture groups are positioned in the opposite of hegemonic culture, as I mentioned earlier, where they distance themselves from the dominant culture.

However, not all punk communities are marginalized by social structures; some consciously choose to be part of a marginalized group, regardless of fashion and music art, even without symbols such as tattoos commonly used by punks. On the other hand, researchers often identify subcultures with the adoption of transgressive music, fashion, models, rituals and attitudes, such as the sensational punk style with Mohawks hair, ripped jeans, tattoos and piercing with provocative behaviour. I used the term transgressive adopted from Hebdige as the meaning of resistance, riot and provocation against society's mainstream culture. In addition, transgressive styles and attitudes have played a role in forming public stigma because their behaviour is considered deviant from the dominant

¹¹⁶ Heanfler.

¹¹⁷ Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki, Interview, Lifestyle Punk Before and After Hijrah.

¹¹⁸ Bintang, Interview, Mp3, April 4, 2023.

¹¹⁹ Ambiya, Ideologi Punk.

¹²⁰ Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, New Accents (London ; New York: Routledge, 1979).

culture.¹²¹ The messy character of punk, making it distinctively unique from mainstream culture, is deliberately antagonistic, uncontrollable and downright awkward. The development of the concept of subculture has functioned to explain deviant behaviours among marginalized people living in urban centres.¹²² The deviant behaviour of young people is more a reflection and reproduction of broader socio-economic forces such as rapidly changing societies produced by industrialization and urbanization.¹²³ Social pressures and goals imposed on people with insufficient material resources to accomplish, lead to crime and social deviance. Similarly, Merton emphasizes that the artistic goals set by the dominant society are often too high. At the same time, the social structure defines, regulates and controls the acceptable means to achieve these goals.¹²⁴ As a result, these underprivileged youth, such as the working class and street punks, resort to illegitimate means such as theft, drug trafficking and prostitution and other deviant acts. They see obtaining culturally-determined goals such as wealth, education and a promising career as well as power and influence over the surrounding community or as coping. Or it could be a mechanism to manage their frustration at not being able to achieve these goals.¹²⁵

Meanwhile, the current changes in punk appear in the accessories used and utilized as an industry and commercialized into merchandise. So they have the authority to regulate their economy. Whereas the accessories they use symbolize identity, they can now be easily obtained at punk accessories stores and consumed in general where punks, one of the subculture communities, adjust existing symbols with new meanings. Styles with Mohawks' hair, safety pins, chains, and piercings are symbols with new meanings as symbolic resistance. In line with this, Hebdige argues that the components of punk style are more than just commodities but carry solid symbolic meanings and contain messages of politics, identity, or more profound than that, and can be applied to disrupt dominant social

¹²¹ Beazley, “‘Vagrants Wearing Make-up’: Negotiating Spaces on the Streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia”; Donaghey, “Punk Indonesia: A Brief Introduction”; Baker, “Negotiating Identities: A Study of The Lives of Street Children In Nepal”; Shane Blackman, “Subculture Theory: An Historical and Contemporary Assessment of the Concept for Understanding Deviance,” *Deviant Behavior* 35, no. 6 (June 2014): 496–512.

¹²² Blackman, “Subculture Theory.”

¹²³ Heanfler, *Subcultures: The Basics*.

¹²⁴ Robert K. Merton, “Social Structure and Anomie,” *American Sociological Review* 3, no. 5 (1938): 672–82.

¹²⁵ Joanne M. Kaufman and Robert Agnew, *Anomie, Strain and Subcultural Theories of Crime*, ed. Joanne M. Kaufman and Robert Agnew, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2017), <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781351957984>; “Agnew, Robert: General Strain Theory,” in *Encyclopedia of Criminological Theory*, by Francis Cullen and Pamela Wilcox (2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320 United States: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010), 3–16, <https://sk.sagepub.com/reference/criminologicaltheory/n3.xml>.

norms and face the reality of subordination or marginalization positions faced by punk style wearers in society.¹²⁶

Meanwhile, the shared meanings found in subcultures are deeply applied and implemented into practices and rituals such as Christian punk, which combines beliefs, Christian values, and punk elements. by expressing Christian beliefs that include the spiritual life, repentance, social criticism, and moral values with everyday punk messages and styles, it is undeniable that the "counterculture" values and ethos of punk are in sharp contrast to the values and norms of mainstream Christianity.¹²⁷ The point is that Christian



Figure 3. 1 Punk Style

punk reflects "evangelical" Christian identity and beliefs in the context of a punk subculture through a combination of in-depth study of individual experiences, beliefs, and creative expression with self-identification as both Christian and punk, which in turn leads to identity negotiation and the emergence of multiple identities.

I found a similar phenomenon by Ibrahim Abraham in the Christian Punk community when observing street punks who are "Muslim" in a Tasawuf Underground community. However, the difference is the method used in conveying spiritual messages, moral values, and religious expression. Christian punks reconcile and express Christian beliefs, religious values, moral messages, and punk culture through contradictory lyrics of punk music.¹²⁸ Meanwhile, punk in Indonesia has a unique phenomenon. The "Islamic punks" that I found in the Tasawuf Underground community use Islamic teachings as an

¹²⁶ Hebdige, *Subculture*.

¹²⁷ Abraham, *Christian Punk: Identity and Performance*.

¹²⁸ Abraham.

ideology and Tasawuf as a religious approach, practice, and moral value. Moreover, some street punks are proud of their identity as a "punk," but still carry out religious teachings and practices (Dhikr, Sholat, Taubat, Fasting) as their expression regardless of the punk symbols or attributes they use, and without going to the streets and committing harmful acts.¹²⁹ This indicates that the dimensions of religiosity, such as ideology, rituals, experiential, intellectual, and the consequences that exist in the citizens of "punk Islam" consciously or unconsciously, align with their commitment and consistency with the environment and religious teachings or practices. However, the influence of religion in Indonesia extends to all areas of society and culture.¹³⁰ So it is not surprising that the influence of religion also has an impact on Indonesian punks.



Figure 3. 2 Punk After Prayer

Meanwhile, the view towards freedom value is not only owned by punks, but national, international, and religious where universally all of them understand it but how and what the value of freedom is understood. Suppose freedom is understood as the freedom to do anything without any restrictions. In that case, it certainly cannot be justified because human freedom is influenced by other freedoms that indirectly limit these freedoms with agreed social and religious norms. The concept of freedom owned by punks and Islam we call "Huriyyah" has noble values. All cultures can accept by focusing on behavior that does not damage social institutions.¹³¹ Nevertheless, the value of equality is not everything considered equal; punks understand the value of equality in law, equality in the eyes of God, and the social sphere.

The difference between street punks and street children is in their appearance and interactions, where street punks are more synonymous with teenagers who live on the street

¹²⁹ Pongki, Interview, punk style and self-identity, Mp3, December 4, 2023; *TASAWUF UNDERGROUND: BUKAN KOMUNITAS ANAK PUNK!*, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=otDxUGP9nUY>.

¹³⁰ Jim Donaghey, "'Shariah Don't like It ...?' Punk and Religion in Indonesia," *Punk & Post Punk* 4 (March 1, 2015): 29–52.

¹³¹ Halim Ambiya, Understanding the values of equality and freedom within punk culture., Mp3, April 17, 2023.

with punk lifestyle and fashion, tattoos, piercings and so on. while street children are more identified with those who are busking or working on the streets.¹³² Moreover, some of the factors that force a child to leave home to work and live on the street are due to decrease in family income, loss of support from family members due to illness, death, neglect or domestic violence and divorce. I found this from most of the former street punks who were involved in family problems, based on their stories in my interviews. Another cause was chronic poverty as mentioned by Kruger and Ennew, where there are cultural expectations, such as the stigma that a boy should work on the streets as soon as he can bear it.¹³³ And this case's structural cause is social exclusion. However, it is important to note that the categorization of street children is firstly those who live and work on the streets. Secondly, those who have a lifestyle and simply fulfill the desire to live on the streets in the context of street punks are included in this category. and they are all categorized as a population at 'risk' and 'vulnerable' towards physical and psychological harm with their circumstances filling the street space.¹³⁴

Although some societies rejected the development of punks, such as the people of Banda Aceh, who viewed the existence of punks negatively, because it contradicted Islamic religious values, traditions, and culture of the people of Aceh as well as a strong stereotype as an Islamic tourism city, despite the rejection experienced, punk children get exceptional education from police schools.¹³⁵ On the one side, negative stereotypes of street punks still exist in some areas. However, on the other side, some societies' efforts are seen in accommodating and empowering street punk children by forming or establishing foundations such as Wangsakerta Cirebon with participatory mentoring patterns to establish intense and equal relationships and relationships with street punk children.¹³⁶ Pesantren Roudhatun Ni'mah Semarang, with The exemplary method, advice, and guidance to implement moral formation, emphasizes character building on three elements, moral discipline and responsibility. Meanwhile, a community such as Tasawuf Underground uses

¹³² Agung Suharyanto, "Punk: Pengamen Jalanan dan Sebuah Subkultur Dari Kehidupan Urban di Kota Medan," *Anthropos: Jurnal Antropologi Sosial dan Budaya (Journal of Social and Cultural Anthropology)* 7, no. 1 (June 24, 2021): 98–105.

¹³³ Judith Ennew and Jill Swart Kruger, "Homes, Places and Spaces in the Construction of Street Children and Street Youth," *Children, Youth and Environments* 13, no. 1 (2003): 81–104.

¹³⁴ Beazley, "'Vagrants Wearing Make-up': Negotiating Spaces on the Streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia."

¹³⁵ Syam and Hasan, "Perkembangan Komunitas Anak Punk Di Kota Banda Aceh: Pandangan Masyarakat Dan Kebijakan Pemerintah Kota."

¹³⁶ Abdul Rochman, Siti Fatimah, and Muslihudin Muslihudin, "Konsep Pendidikan Akhlak untuk Komunitas Anak Punk Menurut Pandangan Para Kiyai Cirebon dan Praktisi Pendidikan di Yayasan Wangsakerta Cirebon," *Permata : Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 2, no. 1 (February 28, 2021): 36.

tasawwuf as the main approach and empowerment and character education implemented by the example of the teacher..¹³⁷

As I explained at the beginning of this subchapter, emphasizing the broad meaning of subculture reached the essence that subcultures are relatively diffuse "social networks" where street punks "specifically" have a shared identity, as well as distinctive meanings around specific ideas, practices, and objects, and a sense of marginalization from the rejection of the perceived "dominant" society. The emergence of street punks is motivated by decreased family income, loss of family support, and, most importantly, domestic violence and divorce. Meanwhile, the difference between "street children" and "street punks" is more visible in style and appearance. In contrast, the categorization of "pure" street children are those who work and live on the streets. Meanwhile, street punks live on the street to fulfill their lifestyle and desires. This was proven when I met the interviewees;

*"When I was still on the road, anything goes....get drunk!.... play with girls!.... do drugs!.... while I was young, I wanted to try everything."*¹³⁸

I argue that subcultures emerge as collective 'reinforcement' attempts to solve problems that arise from contradictions within certain social structures, such as social and economic marginalization. At least a sub-culture should contain several elements: Diffuse social networks, shared identity, shared meanings of distinction, resistance, and marginalization, as Heibdige argued in the previous discussion. These elements can categorize the street punk type in Pondok Tasawuf Underground that I observed. Furthermore, this network refers to the ongoing interactions and relationships between one participant and another. This creates a collective pattern of behaviour. A clear example of this phenomenon is a former street punk who invites his friend to attend the Tasawuf Underground community recitation, which slowly impacts collective behaviour and conduct. This creates a pattern of collective behaviour, as a real example of the phenomenon is a former street punk who invites his friend to attend the recitation of the underground Sufism community, which slowly has an impact on better behaviour and attitudes. Not all subculture participants are marginalised by social structures. I found some of them consciously chose to be part of a marginalised group without piercings and tattoos.

¹³⁷ Abdurahman and Saputra, "Communication Strategy of Tasawuf Underground Community in Da'wah Towards Punk Community"; Istiqomah Aisyiyah, "Tindakan Sosial Komunitas Tasawuf Underground Di Tebet Jakarta Selatan," 2020; Fauzi, "Pemberdayaan Kaum Marginal Melalui Keterampilan Wirausaha Sablon (Studi Analisis Deskriptif Di Komunitas Tasawuf Underground)"; Nur Arfiyah Febriani and Ahmad Kamaluddin, "Regulasi Emosi Berbasis Al-Qur'an Dan Implementasinya Pada Komunitas Punk Tasawuf Underground," *MUMTAZ* 6, no. 01 (2022): 73–102.

¹³⁸ Predator and Apay, *Life Style Before Hijrah*, Mp3, April 13, 2023.

Then eventually seek the establishment and choose to become lawyers, and criticise elegantly.

Afterward, Several things must be considered in the phenomena that occur in Christian punk, like two peas in a pod with Islamic punk. Christian punk has a mission to spread evangelical doctrine in the form of ideology, spiritual expression, and repentance into punk lyrics. Even if, it seems imposing, because religion and punk are such nemesis in the western world.¹³⁹ In contrast, “Islamic punk” that I found in the Tasawuf Underground community used Islamic teaching as an ideology, Sufism as an approach to emerge a sense of affirmation, as well as religious and moral practices and values. Meanwhile, Islamic punk has elements; Islamic ideology, shared feeling, religious expression, empowerment. Furthermore, religious expression has an impact on emergence; religious piety as a result, of religious experience and consequences, and is manifested in patterns of life.



Figure 3. 3 Symbol of Tasawuf Underground

B. Tasawuf Underground Community for Punkers?

The Tasawuf Underground is a community established to facilitate everyone who wants to learn religion on social media, Facebook, with Sufism as an approach. This community was founded on February 8, 2013; the initial work of this community in social media began by uploading some wisdom quotes and tasawwuf studies sourced from classical Islamic scripture *Al-Hikam*, by Sheikh Ibn Atha'illah and other classical Islamic Studies like *Al-Mawaizh fil al-Hadith al-Qudsiyyah* by Imam Al-Ghazali. So-called the

¹³⁹ Donaghey, ““Shariah Don’t like It ...?”

Tasawuf Underground community because the delivery of the da'wah is communicated underground, secretly, only limited to wisdom quotes, in contrast to the delivery of da'wah in general.

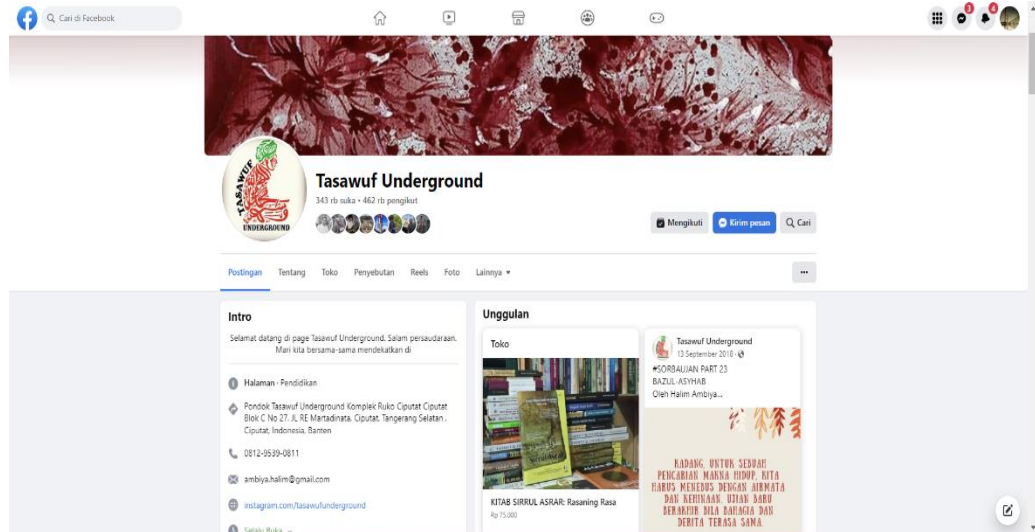


Figure 3. 4 Tasawuf Underground's Facebook

Halim Ambiya as the founder and supervisor of Pesantren Tasawuf Underground said that delivering da'wah messages through social media is quite effective because of its accessibility. The image of the tasawuf community fanspage on social media (facebook) reaches 462 thousand followers today. Meanwhile, the number of followers of the Tasawuf Underground community before reached only 420 thousand. This shows that the Tasawuf Underground community's facebook fanpage shows an increase per year of 42 thousand. In the interview that I did, he said:

"Tasawuf Underground was formed so that people can learn sentences of wisdom and the teachings of tasawwuf easily, without necessarily meeting a teacher or murshid directly, they can read in their room, in the bus, in the car, or wherever undergroundly.."¹⁴⁰

In fact, the statement above shows us that the phenomenon of urban Sufism is consciously or unconsciously taking place. Moreover, the message of da'wah from the point of view of Sufism is not yet known to many people. Therefore, the Tasawuf Underground community delivers its da'wah through social media so that more and more people are educated and familiar with the teachings of Sufism. Through social media, scholars often use Da'wah as an object of study, because it uses references quoted directly from classical Islamic scripture. Then, the da'wah message is wrapped into content that the reader quickly understands. Furthermore, this community expands its da'wah field by conducting offline

¹⁴⁰ Ambiya, Ideologi Punk.

studies at homes, cafes, and flyovers,¹⁴¹ The purpose of the da'wah message is to be accepted harmoniously and comprehensively, so discussions and other scientific dialectics can be formed.

Furthermore, in 2017, the Tasawuf Underground (TU) Community again widened the scope of its da'wah by guiding street punk children around Jabodetabek.¹⁴² The mentoring so-called the "way Home" concept by the Tasawuf Underground community;

"I substituted the word `repent' to soften the phrase, I thought we should made a the way home concept. Repent means go home. But we avoid that to make it more friendly, welcoming, and attractive to the children. The way home we introduce has two meanings; One is the way back to God, not death, you know... Second, the way home to the family."¹⁴³

"...then, what I want to emphasize is the way home. The way back to Allah must be through the right way. Because, as Muslims, we are taught shari'ah. Shari'at means a big path, the difference with thoriq or thoriqoh is usually because it is more descriptive that the path is small. What we are aiming for is heaven or Jannah."¹⁴⁴

Peta Jalan Pulang or abbreviated as (PJP) has two objectives; First, The Roadmap to Return to Allah. Introducing religious teachings and good morals allows them to understand their religion and be respected as humans who have respect. Second, returning to the family, in this concept, is the creation of economic empowerment and development



Figure 3. 5 Offline Preaching Tasawuf Underground Community Under Flyover

of abilities and skills that street punk children have previously had, such as screen printing, so that when they return to their families, they can be accepted by the community.

¹⁴¹ However, during my thesis research the Pengajian/preaching was centred at the kiosk in Ciputat, South Tangerang.

¹⁴² Halim Ambiya, cultivate spiritual awareness, Mp3, April 17, 2023. The phrase "Underground" means secretly as I mentioned above, without being seen by others..

¹⁴³ Halim Ambiya, History of Tasawuf Underground, Mp3, April 17, 2023.

¹⁴⁴ Ambiya.

The positive response of street punks can be seen when they are enthusiastic about "Hijrah" to study Islam. Furthermore, they learn to understand the meaning of each verse of the Qur'an and several other classical Sufi books that they love, because of the heart-touched advice, with the guidance of Halim Ambiya. He emphasized that fostering street punks is not the main characteristic of the Tasawuf Underground community but rather a form of concrete action from the practice of the knowledge of tasawwuf that has been practiced. Furthermore, he emphasized:

*"Street punks are part of the Tasawuf Underground (TU) community empowerment activities. So here I want to emphasize that Tasawuf Underground is not a punk community but merely a group of people studying Sufism and guiding street punk children."*¹⁴⁵

Therefore, this statement is concrete evidence that there is a misperception among the general public towards the underground Sufism community by mistaking the punk community as the primary "identity" of Tasawuf Underground. Consequently, the Tasawuf Underground community was assumed as part of street punk community gathered in one place with a different name.

1. Tasawuf Underground Activities

In this sub-chapter, I explain the research findings related to activities in the Tasawuf Underground Community, which is an empowerment program for street punks who are being fostered, such as spiritual-religious guidance, socio-economic empowerment, as I mentioned above, and legal aid.

1.1 Pengajian every Tuesday and Thursday at Pondok Tasawuf Underground Ciputat

Pengajian activities are usually held every Tuesday and Friday, starting from 4:15 pm to 6:10 pm, with different themes. These preachings are conducted in a third-floor kiosk, an ex-caffe shop now set up as a pondok and center for the study of Sufism by Halim Ambiya. With carpeting and mats, however, it makes street punks excited and make them feel comfort to attend pengajian. In addition, the presence of fans hanging from the ceiling makes the atmosphere calm and peaceful. They are preaching with Halim Ambiya and volunteers who come to help the learning process.

¹⁴⁵ Ambiya, Understanding the values of equality and freedom within punk culture.



Figure 3. 6 Halaqoh Santri Punk Tasawuf Underground

This Recitation is in the form of *Halaqoh*; one by one, street punk takes their turn to read the Qur'an or *Hijaiyyah* letters,¹⁴⁶ where I joined Halim Ambiya to teach and guide them to read the Qur'an or *Iqra*,¹⁴⁷ especially for those who don't know it at all. Meanwhile, on the average, the participants who attended were young, although some were adults. Meanwhile, the time of this activity was chosen from 4.15 pm to 6.10 pm because of the break time to break the fast while smoking and chatting lightly. Afterwards, at 19.15, the Tarawih prayer is continued in congregation (*Taraweh Prayer*) led by the street punk santri.¹⁴⁸ After that, it continued by studying classical Islamic books by Imam Al-Ghazali, Ibn Atha'illa As-Sakandari, and Sheikh Abdul Qadir Al-Jilani. Then, a question and answer session and discussion were held, which was greeted with enthusiasm by the participants, especially street punks.

¹⁴⁶ Hijaiyyah letters are the basic letters or letters of the alphabet in Arabic, which means spelling.. Mohammad Mufid Muwaffaq, "Huruf Hijaiyyah; Pengertian, Macam, Makna Dan Sifatnya," *Pecihitam.Org* (blog), March 26, 2020, <https://www.pecihitam.org/huruf-hijaiyyah/>.

¹⁴⁷ *Iqro* is a method of learning to read the Qur'an without spelling, but students or santri are given a teacher's example. Students immediately learn to read one, two or three letters, than words or sentences accompanied by pronouncing the correct letters. Fatkiyah, "IMPLEMENTASI METODE IQRA' DALAM PENINGKATAN KEMAMPUAN MEMBACA DAN AKTIFITAS PEMBELAJARAN AL-QUR'AN Studi Kasus Di Kelas II SD Negeri 2 Wates Kulon Progo Semester I Tahun Pelajaran 2018/2019," *El-Tarbawi* XII, no. 1 (2019): 93–110.

¹⁴⁸ I use the term Santri as a substitute for students in Islamic education. However, in this context, I use the term santri on street punks who are consistent and settled in the Tasawuf Underground community as an object of character, mental and moral development.

1.2 Dzikir Malam Jum'at dan Pemberian Nasihat di Pondok Tasawuf Underground



*Figure 3. 7 Reciting in Pondok
Tasawuf Underground*

The religious guidance apart of Sufism teachings is a Friday night dhikr. Santri of Pondok Tasawuf Underground are taught and guided to dhikr by Halim Ambiya. When I participated in the recitation of dhikr talqin together, the room atmosphere was calm and dark without lights; only our voices were heard reciting Tawheed sentences. I felt a peaceful, relaxed, and calm sensation after doing the dhikr led by Halim Ambiya. I don't know what happened to me, but I felt it. Moreover, the dhikr that was practiced by Halim Ambiya and the street punk santri is the daily dhikr of Jahr and Khafiy.¹⁴⁹ Which is usually practiced by Tarekat Qodiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyyah (TQN) Suryalaya.¹⁵⁰ Jahr dhikr consisted of Tawassulan, reciting Istighfar three times, salutation to the prophet three times, dhikr *Ilāhī anta maqshūdī wa ridlāka mathlūbī a'thinī mahabbataka wa ma 'rifatak*, reciting Tahlil 165 times. Furthermore, Dzikir Khafi, by saying *Allahu* or *Allah* follows the dhikr leader, is an essential aspect of dhikr.¹⁵¹ Moreover, street punk

¹⁴⁹ In TQN there are two kinds of dhikr, namely Jahr and Khafiy. Jahr means loud, which is done verbally. While khafiy or sirr means done by the heart and not mentioned by the tongue. The minimum limit of jahr is that our tongue mentions and only our ears hear clearly, while the maximum limit of jahr is sounding loud without limit. Meanwhile, khafiy can be done anywhere, anytime and in any condition, because it only exists in the heart. "Dzikir Jahr dan Khafiy," *TQNN* (blog), December 31, 2020, <https://tqnnews.com/docs/faq/tentang-dzikir/dzikir-jahr-dan-khafiy/>.

¹⁵⁰ I will use the abbreviation TQN (Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah) in the following discussion.

¹⁵¹ Halim Ambiya, Interview: spiritual, religiosity and dhikr aspect, Mp3, April 17, 2023.

children who have consistently stayed in Pesantren Tasawuf Underground received talqin dhikr with KH. Wafiuddin in Pondok Pinang who served as the general guidance of JATMAN and the Deputy Talqin of TQN Suryalaya.¹⁵² Furthermore, on Nuzulul Qur'an night we held dhikr together and received tausiyah from ustadz Halim Ambiya.

Although Tasawuf Underground adopts the concepts of dhikr, INABAH and hydrotherapy in Pesantren Suryalaya Tasikmalaya, Jawa Barat. Halim Ambiya emphasised that Tasawuf Underground is structurally not under the auspices of Suryalaya, institutionally standing alone. Nevertheless, practically and methodically adapts to the Suryalaya Islamic boarding school Halim Ambiya Said to me:

“Structurally, Tasawuf Underground is not under the auspices of Suryalaya. The practice, meditation and method follows suryalaya. But there is no instructional line from Suryalaya organisationally. Tasawuf Underground is an independent institution. However, our practice is the same as suryalaya. For example, we are of the shafi'iyah school and enter or register in a shafi'iyah institution, which is the same religious practice as the school. So it is clear that I am indeed a Tariqah Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyyah practitioner. What I apply here is the same as what I got at TQN and Suryalaya. So that in my spiritual empowerment program, I use Suryalaya's practice.”¹⁵³

¹⁵² Jam'iyyah Ahlith Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyah (JATMAN) is an autonomous body under the auspices of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) that consists of the muktabarah tariqahs in Indonesia. The organisation was founded in July 1979 AD coinciding with Rajab 1399 H. Literally, JATMAN means a collection of official NU tarekat practitioners.. “Sejarah dan Proses Lahirnya JATMAN,” NU Online, accessed June 23, 2023, <https://jabar.nu.or.id/sejarah/sejarah-dan-proses-lahirnya-jatman-uHBoA>.

¹⁵³ Ambiya, Ideologi Punk.

So we can conclude that Pesantren Suryalaya does not organizationally supervise Pondok Tasawuf Underground. Nevertheless, Pondok Tasawuf Underground merely adapts some of Suryalaya's methods practically. For an example, taking the essential elements of some dhikr applied in Suryalaya, which is then elaborated, makes it suitable to be applied to the street punk santri.

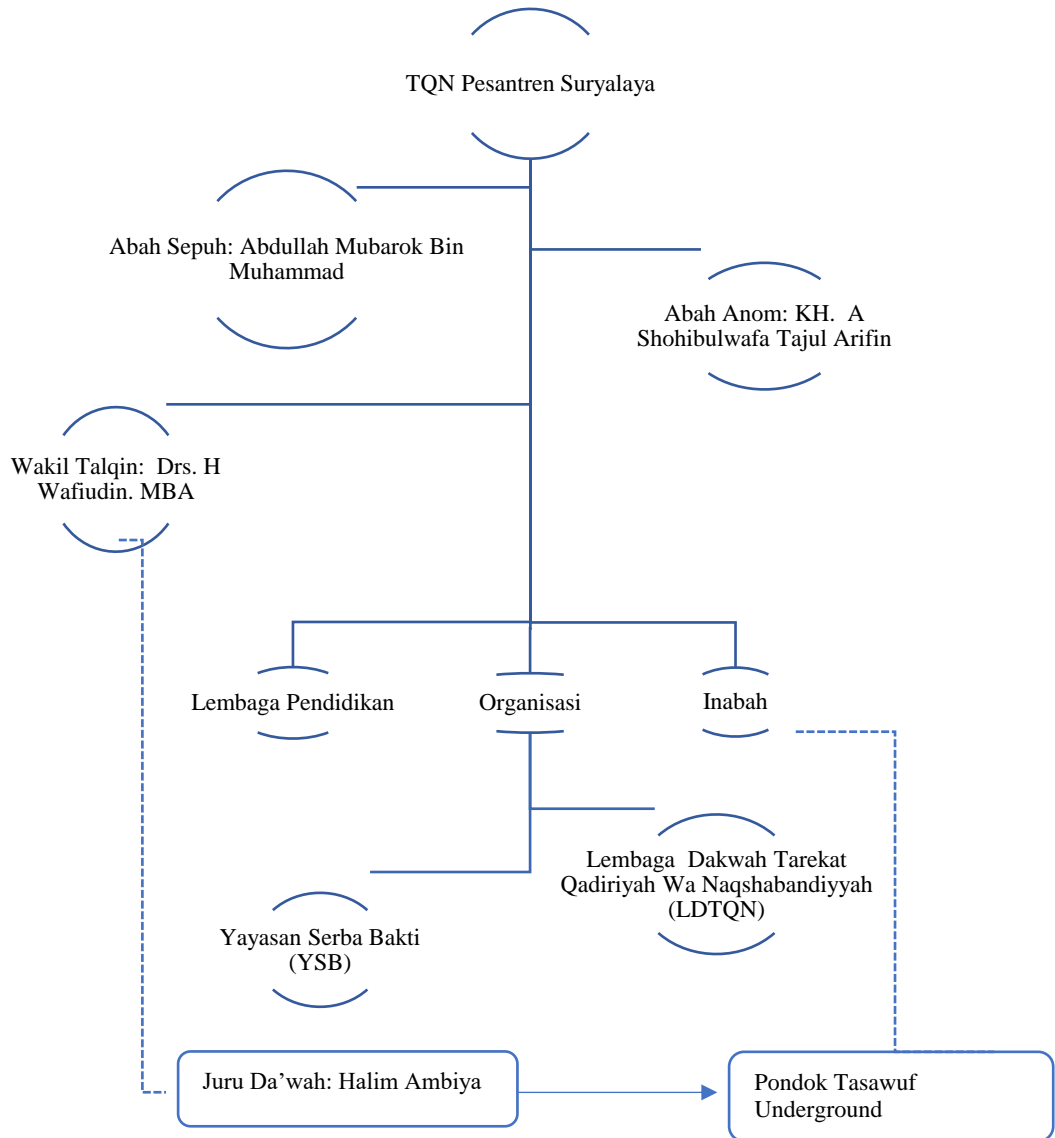


Table 3. 1 *Tasawuf Underground Position*

Moreover, Halim Ambiya is a proselytizer. But, he is not a part of the structure of the organization of Lembaga Dakwah Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah (LDTQN). Nevertheless, he was inspired by the concept of dhikr of TQN Suryalaya. The concept of Hydrotherapy in Inabah Suryalaya also inspired

Halim Ambiya. In this case, I will explain Hydrotherapy in Tasawuf Underground in the next discussion.

1.3 Inabah Ala Tasawuf Underground

Inabah is derived from the Arabic Anaba-Yunibu, which means return or recovery. To return someone to be close to Allah SWT. This term is embedded in the concept of rehabilitation of narcotics addicts, naughty children, and people with mental disorders. This concept has long been used and exists nowadays in Pesantren Suryalaya.¹⁵⁴ However, Halim Ambiya was inspired and modified this concept to accommodate and assist Tasawuf Underground students in finding their way home. This Inabah method includes Hydrotherapy, Sholat, talqin dhikr, and spiritual development. Halim Ambiya, Have modified some aspects, such as Hydrotherapy. Hydrotherapy is implemented by Pondok Tasawuf Underground as an ordinary shower without diving into the pool in the quarter night before Fajr. Moreover, he inserted food into the hydrotherapy element in Tasawuf Underground to awaken someone from the influence of psychotropics (the effect of Fly feeling) by feeding them with food:

“Hydrotherapy here is to make them clean from minor and major impurities. That is enough if they shower daily, clean from their impurities or their minor and major haddas. The bathing must be intensive for children who are more addicted to drugs initially. Not once or twice a day. But I see that most street punks I mentored were not severe, so they were treated like ordinary people. The most important thing is to provide them (people affected by psychotropic drugs) with bathing equipment; there is water, a vessel, and something that makes their bodies clean from impurities or hadats that is already part of hydrotherapy.”¹⁵⁵

“Furthermore, in the concept of rehabilitation, ya....., feeding is part of the therapy. Because at the beginning of the first week, early in the rehabilitation phase, they should be pure from minor and major impurities by hydrotherapy. The system is not too strict, tho. Second, giving food, children under psychotropic effects are still shaky, and even talking is delayed; if they are given food, they will wake up. One way to wake them up is by giving them food. So inevitably, this must provide rice continuously; there must be food that can and is healthy to eat because eating is part of hydrotherapy.”¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ “Inabah: Pondok Pesantren SURYALAYA,” accessed June 24, 2023, <http://www.suryalaya.org/inabah.html>.

¹⁵⁵ Halim Ambiya, Interview: Hydrotherapy Tasawuf Underground, Mp3, April 17, 2023.

¹⁵⁶ Ambiya.

After completing the Hydrotherapy process, santri of Tasawuf Underground are guided to follow the dzikir talqin with Halim Ambiya. As I explained earlier in the dhikr activity.

1.4 Socio-Economic Empowerment of Tasawuf Underground

During my observation, Tasawuf Underground students are taught to produce economically valuable products such as custom motorcycle assemblies with various designs according to customer requirements assisted by the experts in any motorsport from 150 to 250 cc. Meanwhile, they call this activity Burouq



Figure 3. 8 Burouq Assembly by Punks

Motor Custom by the social media account they use to promote their motorcycle design. Moreover, equipping several santri (street punks) with Coating or Auto Detailing skills for car washing and maintenance services; by Cleaning, Paint Correction, Protection, and Maintenance as the last step.

The pictures above shows santri Tasawuf Underground polishing and smoothing or plastering with yellow Duko paint on the Gas Tank of motorcycle custom. Meticulously and deftly the students are doing their jobs. Next, welding on the motor chassis, as the customer requests and the customized model. Moreover, there is a motorcycle shape that Bouroq Motor Custom has determined. Starting from the assembly to polishing the motorcycle body, and checking the spare parts, they do everything with the expertise of the volunteers. Furthermore, during my fieldwork, Tasawuf Underground has helped provide an equalization program for packages A, B and C, in collaboration with private PKBM.¹⁵⁷ which

¹⁵⁷ PKBM stands for Community Learning Activity Centre which is a non-formal education unit and a place to learn and exchange information for the community, which is formed and managed

is coordinated by Mrs. Atut's foundation. The santri of Tasawuf Underground who participated in this program are four people. Some of them are: Pongki, Wadoy, Bintang, Angga, whereas two of these participants have continued their studies in universities such as Pongki and Wadoy at the University of Pamulang where both of them took different concentrations. Pongki took a concentration in criminal law while Wadoy chose a concentration in civic education.



Figure 3. 9 Wadoy has Finished his PKBM

In addition to conducting the PKBM program, Pondok Tasawuf Underground held a Sharing Session Event on "Fighting Intolerance, Violence and Bullying: Experiences and Challenges." On Wednesday, June 7, 2023, at 1.00-4.30 pm. Several speakers from different institutions attended, such as Mas Indra, Policy Analyst of Youth Empowerment Kemenko PMK Republic of Indonesia. Dr. Halim Ambiya (Founder of Pondok Tasawuf Underground). Dr. Lucia Ratih Kusumadewi (Department of Sociology, University of Indonesia). Dr. Iyoh Siti Muniroh, PSIK Indonesia. Dr. Rahmat Hidayatullah, M.A. Islamic State University Jakarta, and researcher of Punk Culture. This event discussed preventive steps for preventing bullying in children, which all circles of society must take. The event was warmly welcomed by the participants and students of Tasawuf Underground with discussions and questions.

by the community which is oriented towards empowerment and the potential of the local community to increase community knowledge. TIM BASICS, *PANDUAN PENERAPAN PRAKTIK CERDAS PENGELOLAAN PKBM MANDIRI DAN BERKUALITAS*, ed. Theresia Erni (Jakarta: Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (DFATD), 2014), https://node2.123dok.com/dt03pdf/123dok/004/027/4027568.pdf.pdf?X-Amz-Content-Sha256=UNSIGNED-PAYLOAD&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=aa5vJ7sqx6H8Hq4u%2F20230624%2F%2Fs3%2Faws4_request&X-Amz-Date=20230624T011255Z&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Expires=600&X-Amz-Signature=feab60d53fb010856249be48cd332fb2a18fa24aa1d953abe5f7252df12a0422.

This matter shows us that the Tasawuf Underground community is severe in carrying out the guidance and empowerment programs for santri street punk. Whereas the previous research explained that the santri of Tasawuf Underground were provided with silk-screening, poly, embossing, barista, and laundry skills by inviting the experts to train and develop their abilities and skills, depending on the complexity and needs. Pondok Tasawuf Underground, aside from being a community for studying Sufism. They also act as a community that empowerment programs in the socio-economic field have characterized. This community is a unique appeal for street punks as self-development facilities. Halim Ambiya said:

*"Actually, it must be recognized that many institutions or individuals try to embrace. For example, personalities, or caring individuals, attempting to close to punk children, embracing, yeah...., there must be. But they might not be viral. Then there is da'wah, such as Jamaah Tabligh or there are preachers from certain mosques do that, or there are also those who are based on content, just a content only. Yet, their steps are not supported by a comprehensive methodology of da'wah. For example, Jamaah Tabligh, in several locations, especially in Jakarta. They are quite massive in inviting people to pray, to clean up. But they were only in the field of propagation, preaching, inviting people to pray, Let's go... Sholat!..., Let's go dhikr!... But after that, they were released. They don't think about the economy. They don't think about how to get them off the streets!.... They don't think how to find their job!. They don't think about how to educate them.! Da'wah is not merely inviting people to attend. Not enough!!! That's why many students who were in the Jamaah Tabligh before joined me."*¹⁵⁸

*"It's not just inviting, it's also educating. What is educating, oh teaching from A to Z. Salam until takbir, salat. How the technique of memorizing and reciting. How to be solemn, how to enjoy the prayer, they don't get it anywhere else. Then the formal education we are thinking about. Oh.... he must complete the study of package A, B, and C and go to the university. We have to get there. Then their economic and social empowerment, we create a platform. It's not only syiar. Not only content. But the real action to empower educationally."*¹⁵⁹

From Halim Ambiya's statement, Tasawuf Underground provides space for creativity and expression for street punk students to create their works. if we look at Tasawuf Underground as a place to "return home" or "hijrah" in terms of religious practice. Tasawuf Underground provides Freedom of Expression, such as a dress code. The street punks I met rejected Religious Formality practice, Such as using clothes; koko shirt, gamis, peci, or hijab. The hijab is not only worn by

¹⁵⁸ Halim Ambiya, Interview: Tasawuf Uderground as a place for self-development and Guidance., Mp3, April 17, 2023.

¹⁵⁹ Ambiya.

Muslim women. Instead, nuns also wear the same clothes. Religious formality emerges due to a lack of deepening of the significance of rituals, and considering them as a religious tradition is only an external factor of religious practice that does not indicate the level of faith of the individual.¹⁶⁰ One of my interviewees said:

*"My style is always punk, but what I've changed is my lifestyle, my clothes can be anything, I can't explain my attributes and fashion, it's like a cup of coffee in the morning."*¹⁶¹

*"Yeah...., style is not suddenly wearing Muslim clothes or anything, just regular clothes but the lifestyle I changed. The punk spirit remains. Pak ustadz doesn't change our casing, anything,!! What is important is that if you are here, you obey what he has taught, like praying, even if the time is not in congregation or sleep."*¹⁶²

Here I found that the Tasawuf Underground community gives the right to freedom of expression in religious practices, such as dress code. The street punks I met rejected anything formal or rigid, with no appreciation of religious practice, and viewed rituals only as legal traditions (religious formalism), Which means, that religious formality is only an external aspect of religious practice and does not indicate the level of individual faith significantly.¹⁶³

Furthermore, several factors made street punks choose Tasawuf Underground (TU) as a place for guidance and self-development. One of the factors is the empowerment aspect of religious, economic, education, and the virality of Tasawuf Underground on social media and some television channels such as SCTV. The existence of TU, which was viral on social media, received high exposure from the community, academics, and some punks and street children. The increased exposure of TU on social media gave the community trust that Tasawuf Underground could foster street punks. This is evidenced by several activities, such as making Adhan videos and the film of Para Pencari Tuhan on a television station. This is one form of acceptance of ex-street punks in society. In addition, The popularity of TU facilitates the process of legal assistance for santri, who are victims or perpetrators in criminal cases. It was proven that when the Ramadhan recitation was finished, one of the TU students was involved in a mid-

¹⁶⁰ Robertus Suraji, "FORMALISME KEHIDUPAN BERAGAMA (Studi Kasus Gereja Katolik Keuskupan Purwokerto)," *LOGOS* 14, no. 1 (May 12, 2019): 29–40, <https://doi.org/10.54367/logos.v14i1.407>.

¹⁶¹ Bintang, Interview.

¹⁶² Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki, Interview, Lifestyle Punk Before and After Hijrah.

¹⁶³ Suraji, "FORMALISME KEHIDUPAN BERAGAMA (Studi Kasus Gereja Katolik Keuskupan Purwokerto)."

range criminal offense. Immediately Pondok Tasawuf Underground provides legal assistance with a proportional settlement from several parties of Tasawuf Underground, the perpetrator, the victim, and the police in the field with quick and precise handling of the problem.

Social media is an enormous platform for transforming one's "image." Furthermore, it is proven when street punks show their consistency and commitment to be in the underground tasawwuf hut by changing their lifestyle while on the street by using visible religious symbols such as Koko clothes, Peci, and Turban (sorban). Then, visible religious rituals such as dhikr khafi (by saying the phrase of Allah in the heart), dhikr Jahr, and congregational prayer. All these things are done to gain religious piety both in private and public spheres.¹⁶⁴ However, some post their religious activities on social media, such as Instagram. It was done to get encouragement from their closest people.¹⁶⁵

C. Hijrah Scheme of Street Punk in Tasawuf Underground Community

In addition, the Hijrah scheme of street punks can be identified through Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of human needs theory that people are motivated to achieve certain needs. Our basic need is physical survival, and it will be the first thing that encourages our behavior. Once that level is met, the next level motivates us.¹⁶⁶ Meanwhile, any need contains various things grouped because they have a conceptual correlation. Moreover, a necessity is not necessary until one feels the lack of something which can identify a need. The hierarchy of needs consists of five levels ordered based on human needs. However, my concern with street punks and street children is Basic Needs, including Physiological Needs such as food, water, and shelter: Physiological Needs such as food, water, warmth, and rest. Physiological needs can be defined functionally and operationally as the lack of chemicals, nutrients, or internal (e.g., exercise/health) or environmental (e.g., heat or cold) conditions necessary for the body to survive, such that the prolonged

¹⁶⁴ Hasan, "The Making of Public Islam : Piety , Agency , and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere."

¹⁶⁵ Apay, Interview Media Social Instagram, Mp3, March 29, 2023; Wadoy, Interview: Media Social Instagram and Facebook, Mp3, March 28, 2025; Pongki and Nichol, Interview: Instagram Punk Hijrah, Mp3, January 4, 2023; Predator, Interview Media Sosial, Mp3, March 25, 2023.

¹⁶⁶ Robert J Taormina and Jennifer H Gao, "Maslow and the Motivation Hierarchy: Measuring Satisfaction of the Needs," *University of Illinois Press* 126, no. 2 (2013): 157–77, <https://doi.org/10.5406/amerjpsyc.126.2.0155>; Saul Mcleod, "Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs," n.d., 1–16.

absence of these can lead to psychological stress or even physical death.¹⁶⁷ Then, Safety-Security Needs: include personal security, employment, resources, and health. This is a fundamental element of human needs, such as a baby's cry towards a stimulus that endangers him/her falling from the parent's arms. It is a natural reaction that is done unconsciously.¹⁶⁸

1. Physiological Needs

In the case of street punks living in Tasawuf Underground, I observed that their physiological needs for food, clean water, a comfortable place to live, and comfortable clothes had been provided by Tasawuf Underground. Meanwhile, on the one hand, the food served during my observation did not seem to meet the nutritional needs. For example, when we broke Ramadan fast, the first food served was fried food and iced tea; although it looked delicious, it was not good for their health. However, on the other hand, the food served looks nutritious, such as rice boxes that include chicken, vegetables, and bananas in some events. Meanwhile, the air, bedrooms, water, and clothes they use are pretty comfortable. Compared to their "vulnerable" lives in the street, their existence in the Tasawuf Underground Hut is much better. I argue that street punks choose Tasawuf Underground as a place to commit to Hijrah because of the convenience they haven't gotten in their previous environment. In addition, the program of self-development conducted by Tasawuf Underground is spectacular. Yet, on the other hand, the necessity of personal income is still not fulfilled, as evidenced by some santri punks who returned to the streets. Based on the information that I have from the interviewee, it was explained that the income from the social-economic empowerment program, such as car wash is still insufficient to fulfill their daily needs, such as giving money to their parents when they are sick and visiting their younger siblings who are operating in the hospital.¹⁶⁹ Yet, only to fulfill the necessities of life and present a better attitude than before some say "I do busking on the street,

¹⁶⁷ Taormina and Gao, "Maslow and the Motivation Hierarchy: Measuring Satisfaction of the Needs."

¹⁶⁸ Mcleod, "Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs."

¹⁶⁹ Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki, Interview, Lifestyle Punk Before and After Hijrah.

but don't forget we have God.”¹⁷⁰ This statement shows that personal needs can defeat everything, but there are more critical things to beat, which limits them from doing whatever they want on the road.

2. Safety-Security Needs

Meanwhile, punk students have personally owned the need for a sense of security-safety provided by Pondok Tasawuf Underground. They felt like a family who shared their feelings, including myself. I positioned myself like them rather than a researcher. And I got a sense of the persecution they had felt in the past, leading to excessive resistance from people outside. Halim Ambiya as a friend who can ice-break, sing and laugh together. As a brother who guides his brothers and sisters to find their way home. And as a father who protects his children from criminal issues, either as victims or suspects, in order to get proportional law. Halim Ambiya Said;

“Anyone who has studied with me, if he or she was involved in a criminal issue, arrested by Satpol PP or police, then I prepared an advocacy. I ask for help from friends who are alumni of the Faculty of Law, Pancasila University, whether he is a victim or a suspect, to alleviate the law.”

This shows that Pondok Tasawuf Underground provides and facilitates In such a way as to prevent santri punk from returning to the streets. Meanwhile, in terms of health, as long as I observed, the students, while in Pondok Tasawuf Underground, gradually lived far from the influence of psychotropics. An environment like this can increase awareness, mental and physical health, and become a person who obeys religion and social norms. Astri explained that children on the street are vulnerable to health matters such as pollution and are susceptible to bullying and violations of social norms.¹⁷¹ However, Pondok Tasawuf Underground tries to provide various things such as education, religious and spiritual guidance, and socio-economic empowerment, as I have mentioned in the previous discussion, so street children's lives improve. So, I try to outline the factors that influence street punks to join Pondok Tasawuf Underground in general, besides

¹⁷⁰ Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki.

¹⁷¹ Herliana Astri, “Kehidupan Anak Jalanan di Indonesia: Faktor Penyebab, Tatanan Hidup, dan Kerentanan Berperilaku Menyimpang,” *Pusat Pengkajian, Pengolahan Data dan Informasi (P3DI) Sekretariat Jenderal DPR RI* 5, no. 2 (December 2014): 149–50.

their desire to "Hijrah" is to get a decent life both in terms of economics equipped with training, and educational empowerment, in addition to some complex needs.

CHAPTER FOUR

TASAWUF UNDERGROUND AND YOUTH ISLAMIC IDENTITY

A. Introduction

Nowadays, youth socialization is the main focus among educators, adults. Various cases have been discussed, from youth robbery, brawls between students, underage rape, and bullying that causes physical and mental disability, whether perpetrated by adults against young people or vice versa.¹⁷² Adolescence is a time of vulnerability and identity crisis with a period of life full of dynamic development and rapid fluidity, with a stage of life journey from childhood to adulthood.¹⁷³ The dynamics of society today are developing the character of a society with a multicultural and multireligious vision, so sometimes considered threatening to the existing mainstream identity. This threat is an identity crisis, loss of orientation of moral, ethical, and spiritual values, and personality maturity in the formation period. Moreover, conflicts and ignorance result in misperceptions and interpretations of meaning.¹⁷⁴

Similarly, in the case of street punks, most are 18 years old and have been living and working on the street. They are part of mainstream society. However, they are marginalized due to their powerlessness against family conflicts and extreme economic and social pressures, so the dominant culture marginalizes their existence.¹⁷⁵ Choosing to live on the streets and being independent from family members brings up a background and lifestyle of being free to do anything, which they consider appropriate behavior, including promiscuity.¹⁷⁶ The accumulation of

¹⁷² Kompas Cyber Media, "Kasus 'Bullying' yang Tewaskan Siswa SD di Tasikmalaya, KPAI Menduga Pelaku Terpapar Konten Pornografi," KOMPAS.com, July 23, 2022, <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2022/07/24/060600878/kasus-bullying-yang-tewaskan-siswa-sd-di-tasikmalaya-kpai-menduga-pelaku>; "Pelaku bullying anak 'terpapar pornografi', korban alami perundungan berat dan kompleks," *BBC News Indonesia*, accessed June 27, 2023, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-62257471>.

¹⁷³ Mahdi Nk, "KOMUNITAS PUNK: SEBAB, AKIBAT DAN METODE PEMBINAAN DALAM PERPEKTIF ISLAM," *Bimbingan dan Konseling Islam* 1, no. 1 (June 2018), <http://jurnal.ar-raniry.ac.id/index.php/Taujih>; S. Soetjningsih, "Tumbuh Kembang Remaja Dan Permasalahannya," *Sagung Seto. Jakarta* 320 (2004).

¹⁷⁴ Zahara, Wildan, and Komariah, "Hijrah Movement: Millennial Muslim Identity Seeking in the Digital Era."

¹⁷⁵ Chotim and Latifah, "Komunitas Anak Punk Dan Anomali Sosial (Studi Kasus Di Kecamatan Ujung Berung Kota Bandung)."

¹⁷⁶ Beazley, "'Vagrants Wearing Make-up': Negotiating Spaces on the Streets of Yogyakarta, Indonesia."

norm violations that I have mentioned earlier explicitly explains a need for practical efforts and preventive measures from parents, educators, and the surrounding community by organizing social activities such as recitation (not only reciting of the holy Qur'an, it can be attended to study Islamic religious teaching) with young people with exciting themes. Furthermore, some researchers define adolescence as a transitional period from childhood to adulthood.¹⁷⁷ As a result, Jose Batubara argues that adolescence is a transition period from childhood to adulthood with several hormonal, physical, psychological, and social changes.¹⁷⁸ In contrast. in the child protection law No. 23 of 2002 concerning child protection article one paragraph one a person is said to be a child if a person is not yet 18 years old including children in the womb.¹⁷⁹ Therefore, I assume that an individual is an adolescent when they are experiencing a series of transitional processes from childhood to adulthood in terms of several aspects: First, hormonal, physical, psychological, and social changes. Second, starting in the womb, less than seven years of age.

The establishment of a child's character is determined by the education he/she gets from the baby to the specified age, starting from the education provided by their parents and being the main person in charge.¹⁸⁰ One of the most important elements in human life is education to form a personal character that can develop culture, introspection, and tolerance. The children will develop a good moral character through good figures by parents and pedagogues.¹⁸¹ Education is essential in shaping civilization, overcoming social life problems, and shaping personality,

¹⁷⁷ DADAN SUMARA, Sahadi Humaedi, and Meilanny Santoso, "KENAKALAN REMAJA DAN PENANGANANNYA," *Prosiding Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat* 4 (31 Juli 2017), <https://doi.org/10.24198/jppm.v4i2.14393>.

¹⁷⁸ Jose Batubara, "Adolescent Development (Perkembangan Remaja)," *Sari Pediatri* 12 (November 23, 2016): 21, <https://doi.org/10.14238/sp12.1.2010.21-9>.

¹⁷⁹ Nurkholis Nurkholis, "PENETAPAN USIA DEWASA CAKAP HUKUM BERDASARKAN UNDANG-UNDANG DAN HUKUM ISLAM," *YUDISIA : Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Dan Hukum Islam* 8 (April 8, 2018): 75, <https://doi.org/10.21043/yudisia.v8i1.3223>.

¹⁸⁰ Bahagia et. al., "The Role of The Teenage Ta'lim Assembly In Establishing The Morality of Youth," : : *Religion Education Social Laa Roiba Journal* 4, no. 4 (2002): 959–67, <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.47476/reslaj.v4i4.1027>.

¹⁸¹ Partono Partono, "Pendidikan Akhlak Remaja Keluarga Muslim Di Era Industri 4.0," *Dirasah : Jurnal Studi Ilmu Dan Manajemen Pendidikan Islam* 3 (February 29, 2020): 71–84, <https://doi.org/10.29062/dirasah.v3i1.78>; Muhammad Hidayat Ginanjar and Nia Kurniawati, "Pembelajaran Akidah Akhlak dan Korelasinya Dengan Peningkatan Akhlak al-Karimah Peserta Didik," *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 6, no. 02 (November 21, 2017): 25, <https://doi.org/10.30868/ei.v6i12.181>.

character, ethics, and morals. This means the education's responsibility is not devolved entirely to the teacher as an educationist. Nevertheless, the parent's role is the main element of the education process.¹⁸² Character building through religion is a main component in shaping character and morals.

Social networks influence the acculturation process experienced by street punks toward religion. Religion provides a new peacefulness and unique spiritual beliefs as the foundation of morals and behavior.¹⁸³ In addition to religious trends within urban Muslim communities. The emergence of mental agitation experienced by street children in returning to God happened due to a particular individual's helplessness in facing reality.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, punks and street children are categorized as a high-risk populations and vulnerable to physical and psychological harm with their circumstances filling the street space. The emergence of agitation originated from the community's perception of street punks, considered as societal garbage that pollutes the urban landscape of Indonesia.¹⁸⁵

Some communities are concerned with accommodating educational development, empowerment, and the growth of religious values for marginalized people, such as punks and street children. This has emerged a new social movement within communities. The emergence of new social movements is a new discourse that continues to develop and change in modern society.¹⁸⁶ In the form of communities. Such as Punk Muslim, PunkKajian, street hijrah, Punk Hijrah, and one of them, the Tasawuf Underground community, which Halim Ambiya founded. I have mentioned some educational and empowerment programs at the end of sub-chapter three. This new social movement developed according to the tendency of the orientation of development in both education and the economy that was taking place and was considered capable of solving the problem of an identity crisis. So

¹⁸² Sri Sulastris and Roko Patria Jati, "Pembelajaran Pendidikan Agama Islam Siswa Tunarungu," *Jurnal Kajian Pendidikan Islam* 8, no. 1 (June 2016): 1–30, <https://doi.org/DOI:10.18326/mudarrisa.v8i1>.

¹⁸³ Rahman, "Peran Agama Dalam Masyarakat Marginal."

¹⁸⁴ Pargament, K.I., Koenig, H.G. and Perez, L.M. (2000) The Many Methods of Religious Coping: Development and Initial Validation of the RCOPE. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 56, 519-543.

¹⁸⁵ Baker, "Negotiating Identities : A Study of The Lives of Street Childern In Nepal."

¹⁸⁶ Zahara, Wildan, and Komariah, "Hijrah Movement: Millenial Muslim Identity Seeking in the Digital Era."

the new social movement transformed into knowledge inspired by the concern for the identity crisis among youth at home or marginalized on the street.¹⁸⁷

Tasawuf Underground Community is one of the socio-religious movements. If we talk about socio-religious movements, we cannot forget the hijrah phenomenon that Muslim communities have carried out. In this context, urban Muslim communities are lower middle class. Therefore, the implementation can be seen in religious behaviours changes in the forum of group activities.¹⁸⁸ The religious movement that transformed into Hijrah movement is an initiation not only being promoted by the millennial generation. Rather, various groups within all types of ages. One is the Tasawuf Underground community, which Halim Ambiya initiates. The phenomenon of hijrah is quite popular in various circles of the younger generation, including street punks. moving from a free lifestyle to religion, non-Islamic to Islamic, liberalism to conservatism. As if clashing the two entities of life. Moreover, the previous researchers' assumptions about the punk samples they got from various regions. Implicitly stating the effect after the hijrah phenomenon will likely go to the conservative realm.¹⁸⁹ However, it differed from the phenomenon I observed in the Tasawuf Underground community: "Santri Punk" disapproved of rigid and formal things in the religion. They believe that the lack of appreciation of their religious life shapes a pseudo-religious piety that can only be seen in the public sphere.¹⁹⁰

Several factors contribute to the formality of religion: Firstly, a misunderstanding of the relationship between religion and the state. With the abuse

¹⁸⁷ Donatella Della Porta and Elena Pavan, "Repertoires of Knowledge Practices: Social Movements in Times of Crisis," *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal* 12, no. 4 (November 13, 2017): 297–314, <https://doi.org/10.1108/QROM-01-2017-1483>.

¹⁸⁸ Rochimah Imawati, "The Contribution of Social Support and Religious History on Religious Conversion: A Quantitative Study in South Tangerang," in *Diversity and Disability Inclusion in Muslim Societies*, vol. 153 (International Conference on Diversity and Disability Inclusion in Muslim Societies (ICDDIMS 2017), Atlantis Press, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.2991/icddims-17.2018.15>.

¹⁸⁹ Saefullah, "Transformation of Youth Resistance: Underground Music Scene and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia"; Papineau, "Hey! Ho! Let's Go [Back to Islam]! Exploring the Interplay of Punk and Piety in Java, Indonesia"; Akmaliyah, "The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement."

¹⁹⁰ Suraji, "FORMALISME KEHIDUPAN BERAGAMA (Studi Kasus Gereja Katolik Keuskupan Purwokerto)"; Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki, Interview, Lifestyle Punk Before and After Hijrah.

of religious authority against the state or vice versa. Second, inappropriate actions toward the realities and differences of a plural society. Third, low religious devotion arises in the manifestation of worship and faith.¹⁹¹

Meanwhile, the street punks' role and position as actors in the hijrah movement, collectively or individually, have established a new identity as a "marginalised" Islamic society. Furthermore, the hijrah phenomenon could simultaneously shape collective and individual behavior regarding the awareness and importance of religion in human life.¹⁹² Hijrah's transformation happens from personal to communal movements. The hijrah movement became a social trend and was followed communally by society to become a pattern of hijrah phenomenon. The meaning of hijrah for young Muslims begins with a collective awareness of self-identity, which is part of Islam, so that awareness arises to contribute and practice their religion.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, Hijrah is not merely associated with role models of piety, commodification, Islamic markets, or even places that discuss normative issues such as halal and haram.¹⁹⁴ Instead, an interesting matter because it changes the perspective of young people that Islamic teachings are practical, adaptive, and accommodative. In addition, Hijrah has a broad meaning that is not focused on existence. Instead, the religious spirit is interpreted as a spiritual journey that can shape Islamic identity, especially for young people.¹⁹⁵

B. Hijrah Movement For Punkers Through Collective Behavior?

Street punk Hijrah is a new phenomenon in the Indonesian subculture scene.¹⁹⁶ Some researchers define and categorize Hijrah with various forms of meaning and purpose, like the form of Hijrah that the prophet Muhammad Saw, his

¹⁹¹ Suraji, "FORMALISME KEHIDUPAN BERAGAMA (Studi Kasus Gereja Katolik Keuskupan Purwokerto)."

¹⁹² Sahran Saputra et al., "Gerakan Hijrah Kaum Muda Muslim di Medan (Studi Kasus Gerakan Komunitas Sahabat Hijrahkuu)," *JUPIIS: JURNAL PENDIDIKAN ILMU-ILMU SOSIAL* 12, no. 1 (April 30, 2020): 32–33, <https://doi.org/10.24114/jupiis.v12i1.15009>.

¹⁹³ Zahara, Wildan, and Komariah, "Hijrah Movement: Millennial Muslim Identity Seeking in the Digital Era," 4.

¹⁹⁴ Papineau, "Hey! Ho! Let's Go [Back to Islam]! Exploring the Interplay of Punk and Piety in Java, Indonesia."

¹⁹⁵ Hamudy and Hamudy, "Hijrah Movement in Indonesia: Shifting Concept and Implementation in Religiosity."

¹⁹⁶ Papineau, "Hey! Ho! Let's Go [Back to Islam]! Exploring the Interplay of Punk and Piety in Java, Indonesia"; Saefullah, "Transformation of Youth Resistance: Underground Music Scene and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia."

Companions, and followers had done. Quoted from kertosuwiryo by Sanusi and friends, the concept of Hijrah understood by kertosuwiryo has two stages. First, Hijrah must be carried out with da'wah like Hasan albanna. Second, build an army by recruiting masses of people.¹⁹⁷

Furthermore, the meaning of hijrah taken from political cases referred to the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), which has a synonym between hijrah and migration. The term migrate is used in the context of economic activity. Meanwhile, Hijrah is used in the context of political movements by religious authority holders to ride or keep away from political pressure.¹⁹⁸ Meanwhile, abu bakar explained Hijrah in the context of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) conflict with the Philippine government. Hijrah is interpreted as the movement of MNLF followers from the Philippines, which requires refugees to get freedom asylums. However, this is not the final destination. However, they will be returning to their countries after the conflict has subsided.¹⁹⁹ Meanwhile, hijrah in the form of propaganda can be seen in the indoctrination developed by (ISIS) Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, by inviting Muslim communities across countries to respond the call of the Islamic caliphate in Syria and Iraq. or move from the jahiliyyah system to the Islamic system.²⁰⁰ The overall phenomenon of hijra movements initiated by jihadists has a propaganda element in the form of Islamic doctrine, wherein Islam is seen as a totalitarian religion.²⁰¹ Meanwhile, punks have their own meaning of Hijrah based on each individual's experience. based on several interviewees that I met, one of them said:

“The meaning of hijrah in my opinion is to clean up and improve myself from the mistakes I've made in the past. Now, God willing, I can fix it as best I can. This step is my future provision to my children and wife.”²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Sanusi, Anisah, and Rosidin, “Hijrah and Islamic Movement in Indonesia.”

¹⁹⁸ Triana et al., *HIJRAH: Tren Keberagamaan Kaum Milenial di Indonesia*.

¹⁹⁹ Carmen A. Abubakar, “MNLF Hijrah: 1974–1996,” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 8, no. 1–2 (March 1999): 209–21, <https://doi.org/10.1177/011719689900800112>.

²⁰⁰ Erkan Toguslu, “Caliphate, Hijrah and Martyrdom as Performative Narrative in ISIS Dabiq Magazine,” *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 20 (December 10, 2018): 94, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2018.1554480>; K. Schulze and Joseph Liow, “Making Jihadis, Waging Jihad: Transnational and Local Dimensions of the ISIS Phenomenon in Indonesia and Malaysia,” *Asian Security* 15 (February 5, 2018): 7–10, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2018.1424710>.

²⁰¹ Sayed Khatab, *The Political Thought of Sayyid Qutb*, 2016th ed., vol. 1 (Canada: Routledge, 2006), 76–77, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203086438>.

²⁰² Wadoy, The meaning of Hijrah According to Wadoy, Mp3, March 28, 2023.

I included some of the opinions expressed by santri punk Pondok Tasawuf Underground regarding the meaning of Hijrah in a spiritual context and the reasons why Hijrah has become a popular phenomenon among them. One of the reasons is. First, the phenomenon of Hijrah is a self-reflection of the spirit of Islam, which arises in each individual. Second, there is an encouragement of religious obedience behavior. Third, a place where they learn about Islam. Moreover, the dimensions of worship (prayer, fasting) and ritual (recitation, dhikr) produce significant influences and interactions in the circle of religious conversion because the changes involve a deep feeling of social solidarity in both dimensions of ritual and worship. Thus ultimately revealing, creating, and sustaining the identity, ideological and social environment in which people convert.²⁰³ The emotional response in this ritual is shared through the dzikir talqin simultaneously. Although, basically santri punk already has a sense of solidarity. But a deep sense of feeling and solidarity can be felt when performing the ritual of dhikr talqin simultaneously.²⁰⁴

Therefore, I assume that the views on the hijra of punk children must be analyzed exclusively religiously. I started with a case of Hijrah experienced by Wadoy, a student who lived in Pondok Tasawuf Underground. his stories of Hijrah is exciting. He started Hijrah in less than 3 years, leaving the old habitual lifestyle. However, it does not break the kinship with old friends. Wadoy has been active in the street punk scene since the second grade, Junior High School (SMP). He joined the street because of economic and family problems. Growing up in a lower-middle-class family environment required him to take to the streets. Before he joined street punk, he busked and sold newspapers on the road to fulfill his school needs. The factor that caused him to join the punk community began with a family upbringing that was too harsh. The next factor is the family's high pressure, so it has no room for freedom. The next factor is the absence of a nurturing figure in the family. Furthermore, his interaction with neighbouring friends is good enough to replace what he did not get in the home environment. Punk is like a family to him.

²⁰³ Lewis R. Rambo et al., "Sociology of Religious Conversion," in *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion*, ed. Lewis R. Rambo and Charles E. Farhadian (Oxford University Press, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195338522.013.006>.

²⁰⁴ Wadoy, The meaning of Hijrah According to Wadoy; Apay, Interview Media Social Instagram; Predator, Interview Media Sosial; Pongki and Nichol, Interview: Instagram Punk Hijrah.

Nevertheless, he experienced agitation feelings during the initial process of hijrah while doing dhikr together. Brings up the agitation and upheaval that happens in an individual's soul in such a form of guilt and sinfulness. This happens from the accumulation of agitation. He felt a deep interaction between God and himself, like a child confiding in his mother. Then, the response from old friends in the scene, when he seems to have migrated, is to respect each other with their respective principles and know each other's social boundaries: "Have you been reciting the Quran? I'm still drunk and still on medication; forgive me."²⁰⁵ He decided to leave the punk scene for a reason: "I'm already 30 years old, if I stay like this in the future what will I become, I have to become a better person."²⁰⁶ Age, future, and spirituality are just some reasons that drive individuals to migrate.

Meanwhile, some of the santri street punks I met did hijrah just because they followed the Hijrah trend. He asserted, "I hijrah, initially following friends, but, over time, I thought, how come my life was like this? Later on, how will my children become in the future? I want my children to be better than I am."²⁰⁷ This shows that being responsible in family life is the most important element to be part of a true Muslim rather than the punk scene itself. Another reason comes from the support of the surrounding community to remain consistent in hijrah "Yes, I thought, what's the point if I'm on the street again?! My mother also kept texting me " Don't go to the street anymore!" because my friends were also texting me, it's better there, my friends support me."²⁰⁸ Bintang was bullied by his fellow punks. However, in a different scene.²⁰⁹ His fellow punks bullied him, which was a part of his daily life. The bullying he feels explains his social and punk outcast status. Then, angga explained why he migrated "firstly, I have found a saturation point on the road. After all, I already have a child. Secondly, I got a good circle; there is someone who motivates and encourages me, and the sense of caring is more than a friend. In this hut, all my friends are in the same circle."²¹⁰ This statement explains that the

²⁰⁵ Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki, Interview, Lifestyle Punk Before and After Hijrah.

²⁰⁶ Wadoy, Apay, and Pongki.

²⁰⁷ Predator and Apay, Life Style Before Hijrah.

²⁰⁸ Bintang, Interview.

²⁰⁹ Istilah Scene dalam konteks ini adalah tempat tongkrongan punk jalanan

²¹⁰ Cemong Angga, An Interview: Post and Pasca Hijrah, Mp3, March 4, 2023.

environment or social network influences a person or group to hijrah. But implicitly the hijrah trend among them is quite influential.

Santri Punk Tasawuf Underground Views on Hijrah			
Name	Categorization of Hijrah Behavior	Definition of Hijrah	The Reasons
Debleng	Individual	Hijrah is a change from the bad behavior we used to do. Then we leave it and replace it with something new, which is much better than before.	Want to feel a self-change from a stagnant, boring life on the street. To become a better human being. then the encouragement from the family came.
Wadoy	Individual	The meaning of Hijrah is to improve ourselves as much as possible, from our mistakes.	The emergence of boredom and anxiety, caused the trauma experienced in the parents' household journey. As a result, there is a sense of seeking tranquillity.
Apay	Individual	Hijrah is the Way Home back to allah	extreme pressures and the stagnant life pattern. Emerge of a sense of hopelessness against society's
Predator	Collective	Hijrah is a shift away from the wasteful activities of life, towards a life that benefits many people.	Want to know the religious teachings correctly and truthfully. Emerged responsibility as a father. A sense of emptiness of spiritual values such as in dealing with problems. And because of seeing friends who used to be in the Hijrah scene become better.
Angga Cemong	Collective and Individual	Hijrah is a religious phenomenon that is currently a trend. In addition, it is an effort to get a better life.	Already found a saturation point about life. then friends who are in the Pondok TU (Tasawuf Underground) were once in a scene that now supports and hijrah together.
Bruri	Collective and Individual	Hijra is a change of attitude from a rogue attitude that requires correction.	due to the side effects of psychotropic drugs. in the form of remembrance of the dead. Encouragement from a friend to get better life.
Ihsan	Individual	The meaning of hijrah is to change the negative things in ourselves and our neighborhood into positive things.	Child factor and parental encouragement

Table 4. 1 Santri Punk vies on Hijrah

Meanwhile, punks' renewed interest in following a series of spiritual and religious practices in the phenomenon of (Hijrah) seems to have shifted from collective to individual. Although, not all cases that happened at Pondok Tasawuf

Underground are collective. Nevertheless, this matter was supported by one story of santri Punk who picked up hijrah or "Menjemput Hijrah."²¹¹ This is reflected by attending Pengajian in Pondok Tasawuf Underground individually (by his desire or will). The desire for a better life is their most significant encouraging factor, implemented through consistently attending every organized activity. One of my interviewees revealed "initially I wanted to remove tattoos. I met the number of the ustadz and removed the tattoos. I went back under Tebet again, I learnt the Koran, I immediately asked the ustadz, I asked to be taught the Koran. I can't recite the Koran yet. One of the factors that encouraged me to learn religion was that I wanted to change. Secondly, I was really bored on the streets like that, thirdly, I already have children, I already have a wife, I just want to change for the better." In addition, the spirit of picking up hijrah can be seen when he competes to recite the Koran with his son, who has Iqro 6. I assume that hijrah behavior is an individual behavior that appears in the punk scene on the hijrah phenomenon..

Meanwhile, the story of the santri punk who was "picked up by Hijrah" was seen from several factors. starting from monotony on the road, and the appropriate circle, supporting, and encouraging. Moreover, friends who are in Pondok Tasawuf Underground are old friends who used to be in the same scene.²¹² "Di Jemput Hijrah" means someone who gets a hijrah call from the invitation of the neighborhood, friends, or closest people. So that it appears in the hijrah character with collective behavior. Meanwhile, punk students who are "stopped by Hijrah" can be seen when they behave toward the (benefits) they get after Hijrah. This is evidenced by their actions that go back to the streets.

If we look at the table above, the three primary challenges generally faced by the punks I met at Pondok tasawuf Underground as they mature are: growing up (age, mentality, and character), work and money (financial realities), and family. These three things are the most critical factors affecting their Hijrah or eventual return to the streets. Aging punks or subculture participants over 25 years old

²¹¹ "Welcoming Hijrah" is the term I use to describe individual behaviour in the street punk hijrah phenomenon. Hijrah phenomenon that arises from individual awareness accompanied by a strong commitment that is applied in real action. In order to become a person who obeys religion and is better than before.

²¹² Angga, An Interview: Post and Pasca Hijrah.

usually have to deal with the 'inevitability of adulthood' and spiritual and emotional agitation, where participants encounter new resistance sites and negotiate their subculture identity, values, and ideologies. Whereby career, money (financial), and family are elements of basic human physiological needs. Apart from the return of TU students to the streets. The Pondok Tasawuf Underground has made concrete efforts in the empowerment program to fulfill their needs

C. Negotiating a New Islamic Identity: The Influence of Tasawuf Underground in Re-constructing Identity Among Street Punks

In the 'Western world,' most punks' involvement with religion is antagonistic and conflicting. The church is targeted against social control and God must be abolished.²¹³ However, there are activities and endeavours to convey evangelist ideology, and messages of repentance, via punk music. By incorporating religious beliefs and subcultural identities placed next to spiritual individualism. As a result, a dual identity emerges.²¹⁴ Meanwhile, the phenomenon occurred in Indonesia; Punk began in the early 1990s and emerged as a national political opposition against Suharto's New Order. The development of punk was quickly adopted as a meeting point for an underground community to protest against Suharto's repressive, authoritarian, dictatorial government. However, the end of New Order marked the beginning of an Islamic resurgence in Indonesia. Post-authoritarian political environment allowed for various Islamic expressions to emerge, such as Punk Hijrah community, Punkajian, Street Hijrah and Tasawuf Underground.²¹⁵ Indonesia is the most populous Muslim-majority countries in the world, and religion is always a central theme in every aspect of life.

The main focus of this thesis is the movement of the street punk community at Pondok Tasawuf Underground in negotiating their initial identity and Muslim identity. Therefore, the discussion is stimulated by several questions such as; how

²¹³ Donaghey, "Shariah Don't like It ...?"

²¹⁴ Abraham, *Christian Punk: Identity and Performance*, 16.

²¹⁵ Greg Fealy and Sally White, eds., *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, 1st ed., vol. 1–3, Indonesia Update Series (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies ISEAS, 2008); Saefullah, "Transformation of Youth Resistance: Underground Music Scene and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia," 284; "Komunitas Punk Hijrah Bagi-Bagi Iftar Tiap Hari Di Jalanan"; "Mengenal Punkajian, Komunitas Hijrah Anak Punk Di Bekasi"; Maksum, "Street Hijrah Bakery and Coffee Membina Punk Hijrah Bogor."

they negotiate and adapt to two identities "punk" and "Muslim" and reflect both in their lives within the environment of Indonesian society which tends to be religious. Punk is generally seen as an opposition to religion-driven oppression. However, the relationship between punk and religion has been dynamic and accommodating, especially in Indonesia.

According to Ibrahim Abraham, Christian punk tries to reconcile Christian ideology, religious values, and moral messages through lyrics that are elaborate with punk culture, which is considered contradictory.²¹⁶ Moreover, beliefs and identities are changeable, particularly within a subculture context primarily based on youth. Meanwhile, the interaction of two different cultures came from subculture and religion. As a result, transactional interactions emerge. Wherein individuals are negotiating their surroundings that mutually shape and influence the behavioural development within individuals. As a result, a new identity emerges that inherently and already established from certain cultural interactions.

Based on the phenomenon that I observed. Street punk communities are choosing Pondok Tasawuf Underground to negotiate their "Punk" identity by committing to participate in social, economic, and educational empowerment activities that have been provided to be accepted and get legitimacy from the community. The TU activities implemented in society are providing legal aid for lower-middle-class people who have stumbled upon criminal offences, coordinated by Pongki, an ex-street punk currently a seventh-semester Law student at one of the Universities in Pamulang as a mobiliser who directly goes to the field. During my observation. On 20 Ramadan, at 8 p.m., a mother asked for help for her son, who had been caught using Riklona, classified as a psychotropic drug. At that point, they are already at the local police station. Through good coordination from various stakeholders, TU was to solve the case with a conditional release decision. The legal assistance provided by TU to the community has at least reduced the negative stigma that has become a stereotype in the community..

In addition, a social service is held once a year during Ramadhan, by presenting 35 punks and street children. Aside from providing food and charity, the activity aims to invite punks and street children to join TU, so that they do not return

²¹⁶ Abraham, *Christian Punk: Identity and Performance*, 15.

to the lifestyle when they were on the street. This activity was carried out for 3 days from 04.00 pm-7.30 pm. The activity was quite successful as seen from a street punk who joined and stayed at Tasawuf Underground.

Later on, TU used Islamic teachings as an ideology by applying elements of Sufism in street punks' lives. Such routine spiritual activities were carried out twice a week using Dzikir Talqin together. By reciting Istighfar, Tasbih, and Tahlil, as I explained in the previous sub-chapter of TU activities. Wherein these are religious rituals that are invisible characteristics. Hasan argues that the phenomenon of Muslim communities who use religious labels or symbols that are Visible such as Koko clothes, Peci, Sorban. And religious rituals that are Invisible such as dhikr Jahr, Khafi (by saying the phrase of allah in the heart) and congregational prayers are done to explore their religious piety in the public space.²¹⁷ Furthermore, the effect felt by street punks after routine dhikr activities together. The emergence of calmness and comfort within. And my participant said:

*"I feel calm and comfortable when I do dhikr. So I used to talk to anyone, just listened, but there was no solution. But as long as I followed the direction from Pak Ustadz, I felt like I was confiding with God, I shared everything with God until my heart was relieved. And now I'm still doing many problems I have I've really stuck at night; I sneak into a quiet place, preferably in the room of Pak Ustadz, I turn off the lights, and the room was dark; I do dhikr Jahr and Khofi. What I was looking for, then was the same as now: serenity. Although in the past, I could calm down by getting drunk, but for a moment, in this Pondok Tasawuf Underground, we are taught to put our hearts into Allah lailahailallah in any situation. Now I apply that."*²¹⁸

Based on the statement above, it shows that the dimensions of religiosity (ideology, rituals, and experiences) that exist within santri street punks, consciously or unconsciously, developed in line with their commitments and consistencies towards their environment and religious practices. Spiritual practices carried out by each individual are a process of negotiating identity from punk to Muslim. Dhikr leads them to the highest awareness stage. As a result, the highest awareness can reach self-actualization.

²¹⁷ Hasan, "The Making of Public Islam : Piety , Agency , and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere," 230.

²¹⁸ Wadoy, The meaning of Hijrah According to Wadoy.

Meanwhile, the teachings that have been conveyed and practiced, one of them is the purification issue (Suci), with a moral message that the water is a medium to neutralize the soul. It was seen when one of the Santri who was under the psychotropic effect, then washed himself with ablution or bathing, in order to recover his awareness and turbulent soul. As a result, the individual interaction of TU students with the society gradually improves.

The presence of tasawuf underground is capable to rebuild the Islamic identity of street punks in line between punk culture and religion through universal values. Such as the value of caring for the communities, the value of close friendship, and human values. Moreover, a comprehensive understanding of religion on all universal Islamic values socially, economically, culturally, artistically, philosophically, and morals - tasawwuf as the beginning of the approach to encourage them to realise their resistance to the dominant capitalist system, by providing direction and guidance to street punks to continue their education until graduation.²¹⁹

The Hijrah movement has become a new phenomenon in society, especially among street punks, generating a diverse expression after or when performing hijrah. Reflected in the attitude of commitment they make to Islamic piety. This religious expression consequently produces a new identity as a Muslim where the negotiation of the two has taken place by accepting two dual identities as Muslim Punk. It can be seen from their daily behaviour, personally and in society. However, how to reflect this into their journey of life? Questions that I will elaborate on in the following discussion.

The Journey of Street Punk and Their Expression on Hijrah

The Hijrah participants from the street punk scene express their commitment after staying at Pondok Tasawuf Underground (TU) in different ways. Religious expressions can be seen from spiritual (Invisible) and physical (Visible) changes that are distinguished from their previous lives. Both changes generated curiosity among Street Punk Scene participants, initiated by the Hijrah participants' statements in public spaces, particularly social media. An example of the facts that

²¹⁹ Ambiya, Interview: Tasawuf Uderground as a place for self-development and Guidance.

I found in a caption by one of the hijrah participants "Time will continue to pass Yesterday, tomorrow, or now. When the road has been seen, step wisely because all cannot be repeated." And "The beauty of nature is inseparable from the beauty of the creator, so that it increases our faith and taqwa to God Almighty." I tried to examine my general observations about the expression of religious piety of the actors post-Hijrah.

The statements above can be understood from several perspectives. Firstly, others could judge the statement's content as hypocritical (*riya*) that someone now shows they are religious and committed to hijrah to become a better individual. Second, the expression was a normal behaviour of a person on social media to share and narrate their experiences in the public space. Third, the action is considered necessary to change other people's perspectives about them. Fourth, the statement of an individual who has migrated is only to be seen by friends or relatives in the same scene and hopes that those who see his post will follow the same steps in migrating or otherwise as a testimony of hijrah.²²⁰

The participants of street punks who have performed Hijrah and joined TU have shown significant changes in their offline and online behaviour in their daily lives. Interestingly on offline behaviour. Instead of being distanced from their old friends at the hangout, all of the participants I met on TU interacted with them as usual. Mutual respect among one another. Moreover, the *santri* of Tasawuf Underground are capable to invite their friends to do hijra. Evidenced by Ozi as one of the members of the Street Punk scene who attempted to hijrah and stayed in Tasawuf Underground. The behaviour towards other Hijrah participants outside TU (who come from *Majlis taklim*, or other communities) is treated with a tolerant attitude with mutual respect and appreciation due to a variety of different opinions. Regardless of who is right and who is wrong, they consider that all of them are learning together, the difference in opinion on religious issues which are subsidiary

²²⁰ I often use social media to explore the behaviour and expressions of the participants and detect some of their friends who have made hijrah with Tasawuf Underground. those who have made hijrah usually tend to share religious content (*Da'wah* messages, eflyer advice, videos of their activities while at Tasawuf Underground). on WhatsApp, Facebook or Instagram status..

in their view should not be debated.²²¹ Meanwhile, in the process of Islamic studies, these issues sometimes become debatable among the hijrah participants.

Meanwhile, in online behaviour, Street Punks often express their religious beliefs and understanding through Facebook, WhatsApp, and Instagram. This habit is followed by a step to commit continuously to following the Pengajian and staying at Pondok Tasawuf Underground. Participants who performed Hijrah at Tasawuf Underground usually posted their activities while staying there, both activities in the Tasawuf Underground environment such as recitation. Or activities outside TU, such as lecturing. And sentence or da'wah message or video of activities that are reposted from Tasawuf Underground Instagram. As well as Hadith quotations, Qur'anic verses and wisdom sentences from classical Sufism books such as Sheikh Abdul Qodir Al-Jilani, Imam Al-Ghazali, Qusyairi. Meanwhile, their activities with old friends on social media continue well, without any differences of opinion or mutual unfollowing on their social media.

²²¹ It should be noted that the expression of hijrah that I describe here is not necessarily done by musicians, artists or other influential people. However, in a broader context the expression of hijrah can be manifested by the behaviour of anyone who has made hijrah. While what is distinctive about this phenomenon is the change of belief or spiritual conversion, which has played a role in the existing culture of the youth subculture with changing fashion. Instead of shifting to a conservative understanding after Hijrah, the street punk participants in Tasawuf Underground have their own point of view in addressing this behaviour. With behaviour that does not "forbid" music as. Instead, they elaborate music with more Islamic lyrics and arrangements. Saefullah, "Transformation of Youth Resistance: Underground Music Scene and Politics in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia," 293.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The deviant behaviour against religious norms by street punks, such as free sex, psychotropic use and drunkenness, has generated social agitation in Indonesia's multireligious society. The emergence of mental agitation felt by street punks with returning to God occurs because specific individuals are disempowered to face reality. People will feel that they have lost their "godly" identity because they have lost their morals, ethics, spirituality, and other aspects of life. So that they choose Hijrah to rebuild the Identity of Piety by adopting a more religious lifestyle, it causes the negotiation of the identity of piety with the initial Identity in society. Public concern for the phenomenon of community hijrah can be seen from efforts to accommodate the development of youth, especially Street Punk, seen from establishing of the Tasawuf Underground (TU) community since 8 February 2013. This began with preaching on social media which then transformed into an empowerment programme focusing on street punks in 2017..

I emphasise the difference between Islamic mysticism and Sufism. Mysticism is often associated with human behaviour that seeks knowledge and the supernatural, which is clairvoyant and transcendent. Meanwhile, Sufism is a spiritual experience and human behaviour that includes obedience and devotion to Allah Almighty based on Islamic Shari'ah. With a tolerant and accommodating attitude, Sufism can exist in Indonesia and transform into a social movement, especially in the field of education. One of them is Tasawuf Underground. Furthermore, the rapid development of Sufism in Indonesia is influenced by the interest of urban communities in finding the meaning of life, resulting in the Hijrah community movement among the community. Furthermore, Sufism as a medium for developing intellectual dynamics. Then, Sufism as a method in psychological and mental therapy.

Pesantren Tasawuf Underground plays a role in building the Islamic Identity of Street Punks, by understanding and integrating universal values that exist in Punk with Islamic values such as community care and humanity. Proven by the legal assistance provided within Tasawuf Underground community for the public and

street punks who are victims or perpetrators of crimes. In addition, regular recitations are held twice a week with street punks and the surrounding community.

Tasawuf Underground was chosen as a place of guidance and self-development influenced by religious guidance factors such as Dzikir Talqin TQN and recitation with the theme of Sufism. Then the PKBM education programme factor. Economic empowerment means fulfilling psychological needs such as food, money and a sense of security. then legal aid. Halim told me, "Anyone who has recited the Quran with me, if he is involved in a criminal matter or is arrested by Satpol PP, arrested by the police, then I will prepare an advocacy." This statement is not only directed at street punks who have emigrated. However, the surrounding community who have joined the TU community are entitled to legal assistance. Then, the Viral factor on social media is a very important thing because it can have a big impact on fostering public trust. Such as the fasting activities of Street Punk such as reciting the Koran and learning hadith covered by the SCTV channel during Ramadan. This phenomenon occurs by using visible religious symbols such as koko clothes, Peci, turban. And invisible religious rituals include dhikr khafi (by saying the word allah in the heart), dhikr Jahr, and congregational prayer. All of these things are done to gain religious piety both privately and in the public sphere.

In negotiating two identities between punk and Muslim, Hijrah participants in TU show their consistency to stay and participate in the empowerment programmes provided such as recitation activities to obtain a comprehensive understanding of religion and apply it to their lives. This was proven by the attitude of street punks' appreciation of the meaning of Hijrah by rejecting formality in dress (caps, sarongs and gamis) when reciting the Quran or interacting with the surrounding environment. One participant said that the most important thing in Hijrah is a change in lifestyle, not outward appearance.

I found several mechanisms of the phenomenon of Hijrah Muslim Punk in TU community. First, changes in the behaviour of street punk children become better after receiving Religious Guidance in the form of Islamic Ideology in which Tasawuf plays a role as an approach and moral messages. In this case, I see that Pesantren Tasawuf Underground implements the value of Tasawwuf as a solution in changing the attitude of street punks so that they can motivate and appear with a

more religious and moderate lifestyle. This creates an anti-formality attitude in religion. I argue that Sufism's moral values can connect punk culture with Islamic values proportionally, such as understanding the meaning of freedom that is not characterised by freedom without rules. Hijrah participants can do whatever they like, such as making music and looking punk without violating religious norms. This is in line with what Abraham said that religious values can synergise with punk culture.

The second mechanism is Economic Status Empowerment where TU empowers the economy of street punks through the Custome Motorbike assembly programme and car wash services with Auto Detailing services. The participants did not fail to share the knowledge gained from training and experience with new participants. Third, the Communication pattern in the TU community uses an Interpersonal communication style where there is a communication process between two or more individuals in a more personal context, so that there is a shared feeling between Hijrah participants. Then Fourth, the Motives and Meanings of Hijrah that exist among Street Punk participants are factors of awareness of wrong behaviour. Family encouragement factors, basic needs factors such as food, money, security and comfort, I found this in a 50-year-old Hijrah participant for the reason of seeking security when he experienced illness.

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