RELIGION, CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION, AND MODERNIZATION: A Narrative on the Religious Paradigm Shift of the Community in Surakarta

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ABSTRACT

Globalization is characterized by advances in science and technology that are inevitable to the community, including the people of Surakarta. People in Surakarta are in a dilemma between tradition and modernization. Education, transportation, and economic advancement have transformed the social, religious, and cultural aspects of the people in Surakarta over the last three decades. Thus, how is the narrative of the paradigm shift of religiosity of the Surakarta community amid modernization? This descriptive qualitative study collected data through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The analysis employed an interactive analysis model. The findings revealed that the paradigm shift of religiosity of the Surakarta community is directly proportional to the social, political, economic, and cultural changes. There is a shift in the religious perspective of the Surakarta community known as hijrah from the abangan Muslim community to Islamist activism or new santri with all the limitations of understanding and Islamic doctrine, which requires assistance in terms of Javanese Islamic culture and local beliefs to avoid uprooting them. As a result of hijrah and becoming Islamic activism, people left the Javanese culture, such as Kejawen and local beliefs. However, some of them have transformed the culture to fit the teachings of Islam. So far, those who hijrah to NU still adhere to religious traditions and even change Javanese culture to suit the times. Meanwhile, Islamic activism has left Javanese Islamic traditions and local beliefs. The shift in religious paradigm asserts two things. They are internal and external encouragement. First, internal factors are in the form of encouragement from within religious communities. Second, external factors are external stimuli that can encourage a shift in the Surakarta community’s religious perspective.

Keywords: religion, religious culture, religious paradigm, modernization, Surakarta

INTRODUCTION

Following the fall of the New Order, Indonesia is like a house whose doors are wide open to all ideologies, even anti-mainstream religious movements that promote violence. Public space was formally controlled during the New Order to ease state control, but the reform era stretched to community organizations and practical politics. This ideology developed along with the rise of transnational Islamic movements such as Hizbut Tahrir, Ikhwanul Muslimin, Salafi, Shia, Wahhabi, and Tablighi Jamaat. The Islamist group with the motto ‘Islam is the solution’ seeks to place Islam in the state power as a system that regulates social, political, cultural, and economic aspects with the legitimization of religious language. Their liqo’ movement is modified at the local level, usually through halaqoh activities in mosques, which develop new cultures.
One of their movements is in the form of the hijrah community targeting the millennial generation. Apart from religious movements, they have also established educational institutions, non-profit charities, and the media, all aimed at ideological interests.

The openness of the post-reform age has become a euphoria for transforming Islamic culture and identity, which has exploded in Surakarta. Religion becomes a vehicle to gain sympathy and empathy from the wider community, allowing it to control public space in Soloraya. So far, the public sphere has been a battleground between socio-religious components seeking to exert dominance over agendas, issues, interests, and ideologies. The epistemological paradigm shift from monotheism, fiqh, and Sufism to faith, hijrah, and jihad is currently taking place in modern society's variety as an urban society in the shape of popular Islam. This shift gave the hijrah community a new style of religious expression based on modernity’s dynamics and a departure from previous religious traditions. The textual pattern of religious understanding narrows the theme of religion, such as jihad, to physical warfare. Meanwhile, hijrah is only understood as a change in attitude from being un-Islamic to being more Islamic, from traditional to modern. The term substantially has a broad meaning, yet the meanings are narrowed down because of the group’s interests. As a result, there is a religious crisis, and Islamic teaching becomes shallow, rigid, and orthodoxy.

According to Amin Abdullah, the existing religious crisis is due to the Islamic studies focusing on one direction of normative theology while ignoring another approach, historical criticism (Abdullah, 2011). The normative theology puts forward ideological characteristics and is subjective (Barbour, 1980). These characteristics encourage the hijrah community in Surakarta to form theological enclaves with symbols of Islam, religious identity, and religion tends to be exclusive. These three essential characteristics encourage the hijrah community in Surakarta to prioritize truth claims rather than argumentative dialogue. With the truth claim, Islam loses its human touch because it displays a dogmatic side with a fundamental character (Smith, 1991).

The public perceives a movement in the variety of the Surakarta people, from opposing Islamic events to the emergence of a new religion, populist Islam, which was begun by millennials through hobby-based recitations. The growth of the hijrah community is interpreted as a search for a new Islamic identity, with a wide range of types, religious interests, and beliefs, resulting in a vibrant public space in Surakarta. There is a substantive hijrah pattern that puts forward Islamic values and morality. In addition, textual-symbolic hijrah patterns were found; for example, they only strengthened religious symbols and normative doctrines, such as upgrading from wearing a headscarf to wearing the burqa, among others. For men, the hijrah encouraged them to grow their beards and wore Arabic clothes such as Arab men’s robes, trousers above the ankle, and Middle Eastern turbans. This indicates a transformation of religious culture in Surakarta society.

The growth of popular Islam in Surakarta emphasizes the necessity to find an original Islamic identity drawn from Arab culture that is believed to be Islamist. The desire for this identity quest motivates the hijrah community to form taklim gatherings, which are viewed as a strengthening expression of their faith. In addition, Arabic Pop has discoursed through the insertion of Arabic terms in daily conversations, such as
Ana, Antum, Abi, Umi, milad, ukhti, akhwat, akhi, ikhwan, syukran, hijrah, and jazakumullahu khoiron, have been entrenched among them. In addition, establishing the hijrah community in public space is associated with the growth of social media, which has become an essential means of presenting Islamic identity in Surakarta. This shifts the millennial generation's religious paradigm from offline reading to digital religion. This hijrah community mainly uses social media such as Facebook, Line, Skype, Messenger, and Instagram. Their role models are also “social media ulama” who use Instagram to invite ‘amar ma’ruf nahi munkar’ such as meet-up members, quotes, amaliyah, and agendas. The hijrah community agenda covers #MUSLIMFEST, #KOMUNITASHIJRAH, #HAPUSTATOGRAMIS, #AYOHIJRAH, #YUKNGAJI.

Why is Surakarta becoming a breeding ground for popular Islam in the form of hijrah communities with various religious ideologies? What are their religious expressions? This hijrah community movement takes the form of fun, relaxing, hobby-based, and casual religious activities. For example, they held an event called “Solo Hijrah Day,” which became a forum for those still confused about choosing which community they wanted to join in their hijrah. Most of them are hobby-based, such as touring and biking. This becomes the entry point for them to study religion or the Quran. In hijrah, they care about small things related to morality, such as dating, lifestyle, tattoos, and fashion. Unsurprisingly, they held free tattoo removal services, camping agendas, fashion fairs, book fairs, ayo ngopi (let’s have coffee), bikers, and charity.

The success of the hijrah community in religious transformation can be seen in the development of its ideology in Surakarta. It shifts the religious paradigm of the community. Their strong base marks this through halaqoh, ngabuburit, talk shows, lifestyle, fashion, and other fun religious activities. They also carry an Islamic pop culture that shifts traditional Islamic traditions of NU, such as yassin, tahlil, manaqib, berjanjen, shalawat, and others. Their movement is primarily a religious model for millennials, with Islam depicted in a modern environment. There is a hijrah community named Yuk Ngaji Soloraya led by Taufan, ‘Pemuda Hijrah Solo Fath’—which stands for the Komunitas Sahabat pioneered by Aziz Abu Faiz Mubarak, the Komunitas Sedekah Berkah led by Dinar, Fasthabiqul khairat initiated by Rayhan, Dakwah Islam Solo, Komunitas Hijrah Berjamaah, and Komunitas Sahabat Hijrah led by Yusuf. Their movement puts forward the tagline: “Dari Jalanan, Hijrah Menuju Taat (from the streets, move to obedience)” as a spirit to strengthen their community. This hijrah community in Surakarta forms an ideological knot. Taking a step from the preceding context, this article portrays the relationship between religion, cultural transition, and modernity because it shifts the religious paradigm of the Surakarta people as they enter urban society.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

This is descriptive qualitative research. It seeks to provide a comprehensive picture of the relationship between religion, cultural transformation, and modernity since they shift the religious paradigm of the Surakarta people who enter urban society. Qualitative nature is expected to help us understand the meaning of thoughts and actions of the object of research (Suprayogo, 2003). The approach used is the sociology of religion (Sodik, 2006). Religion is seen as an observable social fact.
Religion becomes part of the real life of its adherents, ideas, activities, and works religious adherents (Kahmad, 2002). This approach studies the social aspects of religion (Suprayogo, 2003). Data were obtained through direct observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation (Sutopo, 1988) in the form of religious relations, cultural transformation, and modernity because. Data analysis employed an interactive model comprising data reduction, data submission, and conclusion drawing. The conclusions obtained were tested for truth and validity: data triangulation and informant review.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Religion, Public Space, and Modernity: Shaping Culture and Identity Politics

The 1998 reformation changed Surakarta's social, political, cultural, economic, and religious life. The public openness and democratization formed after the fall of the New Order opened up opportunities for religious groups to articulate their political and ideological aspirations aggressively, reactively, and demonstratively in the public sphere (Idharam, 2011). Their existence as an Islamic society indicates religious politics are inextricably linked to ideological and political agendas to capture space and control discourse. They seek to claim space in a changing political situation. Its existence, while posing a threat to democratization, also demonstrates the growth of democracy. Anti-mainstream religious movements threaten democracy since varied public discourses and actions not only contradict democratic values but also undermine the growing foundation of human rights (Hasan, 2011).

The availability of public space to religion is an important topic since it demonstrates three points. First, there are efforts to modernize and strengthen the democratic system as the most effective system in accommodating the plurality of society. Second, the movement of religious fundamentalism is getting stronger, as marked by the movement to reject the democratic system because it is considered unable to provide a better life for the community. Third, the impact of public openness is the spiritual awakening of urban communities (Jamil, 2007). The dynamics of democracy in Surakarta have made mass organizations with various ideological styles, both "right" carrying purification and moderation, develop rapidly. Islamism uses this openness to express political rights and establish institutions that breathe Islamic ideology (Ulum, 2002). This openness also significantly promotes Islam's presence in the public sphere (Gaffar, 1999). During the early reformation, dozens of parties, mass organizations, and social institutions with an Islamic spirit thrived with various ideologies. Some of them are religious movements with Islamist ideologies that have built a more purificative discourse to formalize Islamic law in Indonesia during the reformation.

In Surakarta, with its democracy, the ideology of Islamism thrives; they freely develop movements and networks through the media. Even though their numbers are small, their movements are huge because they are structured to preserve their presence. As a result, the growth of religious intolerance in Islamism has filled the public sphere, and its presence has given the public sphere and democracy a distinct tint (Fanani, 2002). Democracy and public openness allow the Islamism movement to express its political interests and religious ideology (Hardiman, 2009). The presence of Islamism
with various ideologies in Surakarta's public space aims to seize freedom, dominate the discourse, and enliven democracy; some enjoy the existing facilities. Its existence is a strategy to spread symbols, identities, and religious values in the broader community by utilizing the openness of the current socio-political structure. Islamist groups aim to communicate and negotiate their ideas, perspectives, culture, and religious values with the broader community, both in-person and online (Hardiman, 2009).

Surakarta is presently transitioning towards a sociological urban society due to modernization; the people's character still preserves tradition, but they are also in touch with modernity. Surakarta is also an important center for socio-religious studies in Indonesia, given this city's many growing religious organizations. Various religious organizations range from the radical right to the liberal left, and even beliefs and mysticism exist in Surakarta. This is what makes Surakarta a social laboratory due to the dynamics of its citizens and the struggle for discourse and public space among elements. So far, the address of Islamism seems to dominate religious discourse in this city. It is not surprising that Surakarta has a stereotype as the city of Islamism. Surakarta has become a contestation region for Islamism events that are networked both locally and worldwide through various religious activities as a result of the emergence of the phenomenon of Islamic activities such as halaqoh, recitation, and khutbah (Mibtadin, 2019).

The proliferation of this Islamic activism movement has made Surakarta synonymous with radical religious movements. This is further corroborated by many educational institutions, recitations, halaqoh, media, and various taklim majlis, which are the basis for their violent ideology. At this point, mass organizations, mosques, media, and educational institutions have a significant role in accelerating the spread of ideology among Islamic activists in Surakarta. The functions of mass organizations, mosques, educational institutions, and the media have shifted, das sollen pushing for social change for community empowerment based on the religious spirit has now become a seeding violent ideology, spreading hoaxes, and hate speech. This city has evolved into a new culture called “the spirit of Java.”

It is not surprising that Surakarta has now signed a new Islamic revival movement. For instance, in various public spaces, several posters are seen inviting the general public to enforce Islamic law, the movement for the morning prayer in congregation, living hadith, and various other Islamic content. at this point, the mosque becomes the media and central agent that encourages the Islamism movement to reach a wider community. The mosque is being used for congregational prayers, Friday prayers, mass recitations, and even economic activities, as evidenced by actions dispersed across diverse congregational activities.

Mass organizations with various typologies and ideological styles, ranging from the radical right to the liberal left and even beliefs and mysticism, exist in Surakarta. This makes Surakarta a social laboratory because of the dynamics of its citizens and the struggle for discourse and public space among elements (Mibtadin, 2020). So far, the discourse of Islamism seems to dominate religious discourse in this city. Hence, it is not surprising that Surakarta has a stereotype as a “city of terrorism,” although recently, it has been echoed as a “city of prayer.” The rise of Islamic activism in Surakarta has caused the wider community to perceive the city as a battleground for
Islamist events that are networked both locally and internationally through religious activities such as halaqoh, recitation, and khutbah (Mibtadin, 2017). The fertile movement of Islamic activism makes Surakarta synonymous with the religious movement of Islamism.

Surakarta is currently experiencing a resurgence of Islamism, strengthened by using social media such as Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, Twitter, and others. For instance, in various public spaces, several posters invite the public to enforce Islamic law, the congregational dawn movement, living hadith, and other Islamic content. Through social media, they are also actively encouraging the enforcement of Islamic law with its content. Mass organizations, educational institutions, and social media are central agents that promote the splendor of Islamism so that it can be felt by the whole community, as seen by the many activities that are spread in various activities of Muslims in Surakarta. They used the euphoria of reform to express their political rights and freedom to establish mass organizations that breathe Islamic ideology (Ulum, 2002). Because of the openness of the governmental structure, the presence of Islam in the public sphere has grown significantly (Gaffar, 1999). During the early reformation, dozens of Islamic parties were established, and Islamic organizations also thrived, with various ideological orientations. MMI, FKWJ, JI, FPI, FUI of West Java, and KPPSI Makassar are examples of organizations based on the ideology of Islamism during the reformation period, which until now, are active in developing purificative discourse with the orientation of formalizing Islamic law in Indonesia (Gaffar, 1999).

Surakarta has long been seen as a barometer of Indonesian politics, particularly religious movements, and the city is known for its “short axis.” Surakarta has become an essential area for studying Islamism and has even become an interesting religious laboratory to follow its dynamics. The ideology of Islamism thrives; they freely develop their ideology and network with various media. Even though their numbers are small, their movements are huge because they are structured to preserve their presence. As a result, the religious intolerant Islamism filled the public sphere of Soloraya, such as FPIS, JAT, JAD, LUIS, JAS, DSKS, Laskar Hizbullah, Laskar Sunan Bonang, Laskar Jundullah, Laskar Zulfikar, Laskar Salamah, Laskar Teratai Emas, Laskar Honggo Darma, Laskar Hamas, Laskar Hawariyun, Laskar Barisan Bismillah, GPK, Brigade Hisbullah, Majelis Taklim Al-Islah. They were all present and added color to Surakarta's public environment (Fanani, 2017). Islamism can use an open public place to express its political interests and religious doctrine in an aggressive, reactive, and demonstrative manner (Idharam, 2011).

Islamism in Surakarta's public spaces aims to seize space, dominate the discourse, and transform religious culture. Islamism has simply used modern instruments such as electronic media to propagate religious symbols, identities, and ideals to a larger audience by leveraging the openness of open socio-political institutions, causing religious traditions to shift. Whether real or through virtual media, Islamism communicates and negotiates their religious ideas, views, and interests with the broader community (Hardiman, 2009). As a movement, Islamism places Islam as part of its political action, which relies on the paradigm that Islam is a perfect religion that has provided all the rules for the state and society. Islam is a solution for predominantly Muslim people because existing laws do not give a sense of justice (Effendi, 2010). There is a shift from traditional society to urban society and even
modern society. Surakarta is a house with wide-open doors into which any mass organizations, transnational Islamic ideology, and religious movements can enter, grow, and thrive. It is not surprising that Surakarta has become a public space for contesting Islamism events through various media. This discourse encouraged the proliferation of the Islamism movement, which led to religion-based violence and the marginalization of the local culture of Surakarta.

**Tradition, Modernization and Urban Society: A Shifting Religious Paradigm**

In Surakarta, the upheaval of fanaticism is felt for two reasons. First, the city of Surakarta has a stigma as a city that breeds terrorists. This can be traced to almost every terrorist issue; there are residents of Soloraya who are the suspects. Second, the city of Surakarta is also known to have a high level of socio-religious conflict that leads to relatively high violations of religious freedom. Urban Sufism has also spread to Surakarta. Surakarta has long been known as the center of Javanese culture, a plural city as well as a city that has spawned many radical Islamic activists. Various religious movements have long been born and developed in Surakarta, for instance, Serikat Islam (1905) and Sarekat Rakyat (1914) (Mulyadi, 1999). Currently, they are rapidly growing religious organizations such as Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, Majelis Tafsir Al-Quran (MTA), Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Jamaah Anshar Tauhid (JAT), Jamaah Anshar Syariah (JAS), LDII, Jamaah Al-Islam Gumuk, Jamaah Al-Madinah on various fronts, the proliferation of different ideologically-patterned groups, and various taklim, majlis, halaqoh, recitations, and a large number of hijrah communities thrive in Surakarta (Aijuddin, 2008).

One of the phenomenal urban Sufism in Surakarta is the Jama’ah Muji Rasul Putri (Jamuri), which was founded in 1998, precisely after the reformation. Jamuri is an urban Sufism specializing in its congregation for women, intended to develop moderate religious spirituality and strengthen the nationality through recitation. Now, it is led by Nyai Hj. Shehach Wal’afiyyah with a secretariat at Langgar Barokah Tegal Sari Laweyan, every event attended by approximately 500-1,000 worshipers spread from the Soloraya area. Its routine activities include general recitations, Maulid Al-Barzanji readings, tahlilan, and social services as a form of religious deradicalization and maintaining traditional Islamic traditions. Surakarta is a well-known city where numerous movements, sects, and Islamist groups have emerged, so it’s worthwhile to investigate this movement in greater depth from a social psychology perspective, such as the Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki, Jamaah Gumuk, Hidayatullah, MTA, Jihadi, Tahriri, Tarbawi, Salafi (Fanani, 2002).

In Surakarta, where there was a significant wave of Islamic radicalism, urban Sufism brought a new color to expressing spirituality based on local wisdom, challenging rhetoric and dogma, and indirectly promoting religious moderation. In addition, urban Sufism binds various groups with the same religious understanding of Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama’ah an-Nahdliyah in Surakarta. Traditional community groups such as NU, abangan, habaib, Arab, Banjar, and Madurese merged into Jamuri (Mulyadi, 1999). From a social psychology perspective, urban Sufism in Surakarta goes hand in hand with other urban Sufism communities such as Jamuro led by Gus Abdul Karim, Tali Jiwa, Ahbabul Mustofa led by Habib Shaykh, Ar-Raudah led by Habib Nouval Al-Idrus, Al-Hidayah led by Ustadz Soni, and Hubbun Nabi led by KH
Abdullah Faishol. This urban Sufism represents moderate Islam by prioritizing Islam and nationality in every recitation (Mibtadin, 2018). The existence of urban Sufism as a socio-religious movement seeks to transform Islamic culture in a new direction so that the wider community readily accepts it by still engaging tradition.

So far, popular Islam in the hijrah community has penetrated all levels of society in Surakarta, including the elderly, the millennial generation, and women. Even their existence is not limited to religious institutions. Doctrinally, popular Islam emerges in the public realm as a modernization strategy, forming identity and habitus. The presence of popular Islam was adopted and became a way of life for the hijrah community in terms of fashion, music, language style, and daily activities that reflect semi-Arabic-Islamic values. Its religious diversity carries popular Islam in prioritizing several central values. Local traditions were first influenced by Sufism teachings, resulting in local Islamic rituals. Second, popular Islam encompasses not only the modernization of Islam but also the flexible application of Islam in daily life while remaining within the confines of sharia. Third, popular Islam cannot be equated with populists or the majority. Fourth, popular Islam emphasizes the rise of Islam for community empowerment (Weintraub, 2011).

Identity politics emerged as a construction tied to communal symbols that bind together the Surakarta phenomena of popular Islam. The meaning of construction is ‘the assimilation’ of cultural symbols which then becomes a personal and collective identity. This hijrah group uses popular Islam as a worldview, with the sharia value serving as a guideline for values and customs. Therefore, popular Islam manifested in the hijrah community in Surakarta as ‘habitus’ is a form of behavior that later develops into a separate habit that distinguishes it from other communities. Surakarta is a crucial location for research on the phenomenon of religious movements and expressions among diverse religious groups in the famous Islamic world, whether Sufistic, abangan, traditional, modern, or radical. In comparison to other Indonesian regions, Surakarta has a sizeable Islamist movement. In Surakarta, the hijrah community thrives on developing its religious ideology, such as studies, lifestyle, and practical religion. Although the numbers are not significant quantitatively, the movement is quite massive and can be felt by the people of Surakarta and its surroundings. This is due to the success of the hijrah community in framing discourse, Islamic identity, and religious ideology.

The spread of the hijrah movement is a manner of the Surakarta community’s religious views evolving towards a new Islamist. It is vulnerable to social friction and violence in the name of religion, which is targeted at four things: (1) religious movements that are considered heretical; (2) religious movements that are considered to be tainting religion; (3) groups of people who are considered liberal; and (4) community groups with different religions. As a result, tolerance is a valuable commodity in Indonesia (Misrawi, 2008), including in Surakarta. In the last two decades, Surakarta has seen a rise in religious-based violence. The patterns include threats, raids, clashes between religious communities, sweeping, intimidation, and coercion. Issues that often arise include matters of ideology, differences in beliefs, violence against cultural practices, morality, and discrimination in specific religious communities.
The new Islamists in Surakarta's public space who call for purity are attempting to enforce Islamic law as a whole, support the execution of Islamic law, mobilize all Muslims to execute Islamic law, and oppose other ideologies that are not Islamic. Local cultural practices, religious traditions, and Kejawen Islam are considered contrary to Islam because it aims to unite the community in kaffah by returning to the Quran and hadith. With tauhid and Islam without local culture, the community is expected to practice religion correctly and avoid shirk and bid’ah. Every new Islamist movement highlights the examples from the Quran and hadith so that contemporary Islamists live good, correct, and appropriate Islamic teachings.

The emergence of religion-based violence in Surakarta stems from a weak historical awareness that has led to the disorientation of mass organizations with the reality in society. This can be seen from the themes promoted by the new Islamists in Surakarta regarding the caliphate, Christianity, Islamization, enforcement of sharia, and purification. This counterproductive gave rise to anxiety and fear, resulting in a conflict-prone situation. Surakarta has a high level of diversity where the power of civil society and mainstream mass organizations wants plurality and tolerance to be maintained. Conflict is a natural problem; what must be done is to manage conflict. According to Lederach, conflict must be addressed to increase justice (Lederach, 2003). Conflict is not only related to violence but also differences in perspective; in the social sphere, differences in religious views among mainstream, anti-mainstream, and purification at the level of thought are common. This can cause serious problems. The hijrah movement, which modern Islamists support by exhibiting purification, has posed no problems so far at the level of ideas. Still, when implemented in people’s lives, it faces numerous challenges.

The new Islamists in Surakarta proposed numerous solutions to the conflict that arose in the name of purification of Islamic teachings. First, to begin with, Muslims have not understood and believed in the Quran as the primary source of Islamic teachings; instead, they prefer to follow rituals that directly oppose the primary sources of Islam. Second, in response to their disagreements, the immature community likes to force their will on others who disagree, do not have the same ideology, and are not considered adversaries who must be battled and overthrown. Third, this encourages new Islamists to further increase da'wah based on compassion, inviting Muslims to correctly place the Quran and hadith to achieve true happiness and create peace, mutual respect, and shared goals (Mibtadin, 2008).

The most significant possibility for social strife stemming from purifying the new Islamists in Surakarta is their attitude toward prevalent local traditions. According to the new Islamists, purely religious people are Muslim without mixing religion with traditions. According to the Quran and hadith, Islam must be understood as it is not added to a local culture considered the laisa minal Islam. Islam mixed with various local traditions or cultures can bring religion to its impurity. This is contrary to Islam which is expressly said to be a perfect religion, the most superior religion that nothing can match.

According to the new Islamists, Muslims must believe that all human life has been predestined by Allah in the Quran and exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad in everyday life. If Muslims want the salvation of the hereafter, they must hold fast to the Quran and hadith seriously without mixing them with other values. For new
Islamists in Surakarta, salvation can be obtained hereafter by following the Prophet Muhammad as al-uswah al-hasanah. On the other hand, if Muslims do not follow the Quran and hadith correctly, it can be disastrous (Mibtadin, 2008). The hijrah movement with the new Islamic purification concept offers salvation according to the teachings of the Quran and hadith that are complete, comprehensive, and carried out without being added to the local culture. New Islamists believe that adding local culture to religious traditions by some Muslims is a form of bid’ah.

Many Muslims in Surakarta practice worship that is not founded on the correct justifications according to the Quran and hadith; hence the new Islamists are a result of the hijrah movement. They worship because it feels natural, as it has been practiced and passed down by their forefathers while incorporating local culture. They don't realize that; therefore, they fall into worship without guidance because it isn't based on the Qur'an's and hadith's reasoning. The new Islamists encourage their citizens and the public to understand the teachings of Islam and worship properly, so they must recite the Quran. By reciting the Quran, Muslims can sort, choose, and know which teachings are pure from the Prophet Muhammad and which are those that have no basis in the Quran and hadith (Mibtadin, 2008). Other religious groups have labeled the new Islamist viewpoint hard, puritanical, and less tolerant of local wisdom as ‘cultural radicalism.’

This new Islamist purifying view clashes with Surakarta society's religious practice, which still conforms to the Kejawen Islamic tradition in practice. The new Islamists reject all forms of worship mixed with local culture because it reduces purity and is considered the laisa minal Islam. For new Islamists, the true teachings of Islam are like those in the Quran and exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad through hadith; there is no need to add local culture that is not in line with Islam. Although the new Islamist purification movement does not directly interfere with the people who practice the worship, conflicts still occur because they separate cultures and religions. The new Islamist doctrine in Surakarta was put into practice by avoiding community traditions contradicting Quran and hadith. Regarding social, cultural, and religious traditions, the new Islamist movement tried to deconstruct local wisdom already established in the Surakarta community. Islamists want an Islamic culture to appear to take the place of a culture deemed incompatible with Islamic teachings. The shift in the religious paradigm as the impact of the hijrah movement has also brought about a cultural and traditional style that is trying to be imposed amid the dynamics and pluralism of the Surakarta society.

CONCLUSION

The shift in the religious paradigm of the Surakarta community is directly proportional to dynamic social, political, economic, and cultural transformations. The shift in the religious perspective of the Surakarta community is a hijrah even though it is strictly understood from the abangan Muslim community to the new Islamist with all the limitations of understanding and Islamic doctrine. Hence, assistance is required regarding Kejawen Islamic traditions, local beliefs, religious traditions, and other spiritual associations. Even though they have become new Islamists, some still adhere to the existing traditions of Kejawen and local beliefs. They believe local religious and cultural traditions must be transformed according to Islamic teachings. The difference
between traditional Muslims and new Islamists is in their attitude towards four things, namely nationality commitment, forms of tolerance, non-violent views, and accommodation to local culture. These four things become taboo for new Islamists because they contradict their religious beliefs. Meanwhile, for traditional Muslims, these four measures of religious moderation are being developed to create a balance of discourse. Internal and external factors drive the shift in the religious paradigm of the Surakarta community. First, internal factors include psychological encouragement from one another to improve one’s self-esteem to become a better person. Second, external factors such as social media, hijrah communities, and other Islamist ideas, foster a shift and change in the Surakarta community’s perspective.

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