



Tracing the Infiltration of Jama'ah Tabligh Ideology During the COVID-19 Pandemic: A Living Tafsir Study

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Abstract:

This article aims to reveal the infiltration and movement of the Tablighi Jama'ah during the COVID-19 pandemic. The two main issues that will be answered in this article include the practice of implementing the Tafsir al-Jalalayn Study of the Probolinggo Tablighi Jama'ah Community and the issue of infiltration of the Tablighi Jama'ah Community Ideologization in the Study of Tafsir al-Jalalayn in Probolinggo. By using the living Qur'an research method and the Kholed Aboe Fadl, meaning negotiation approach, this research produces the following conclusions: first, the Tablighi Jama'ah who live in four villages in Probolinggo have an organized da'wah program, both in material and method. One of their activities is the recitation of the book Tafsir al-Jalalayn. The study of Tafsir Jalalayn is seen from the perspective of movement (haraki) rather than other approaches. Thus, recitation congregations are encouraged to carry out da'wah based on verses of the Koran. Second, the ideological infiltration of the Tablighi Jama'ah in Probolinggo was carried out in polite forms, such as the concepts of Khuruj, Jaulah, and Chillah.

Key Words: *Ideological Infiltration, Tablighi Jama'ah, Ideologization, Da'wah*

Abstrak:

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap infiltrasi dan gerakan Jama'ah Tabligh selama masa Pandemi Covid-19. Dua persoalan utama yang akan dijawab dalam artikel ini diantaranya; tentang praktik pelaksanaan Kajian Tafsir al-Jalalayn Komunitas Jama'ah Tabligh Probolinggo, dan; persoalan bentuk infiltrasi Ideologisasi Komunitas Jama'ah Tabligh dalam Kajian Tafsir al-Jalalayn di Probolinggo. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian living Qur'an dan pendekatan negosiasi makna Kholed Aboe Fadl, Penelitian ini menghasilkan kesimpulan sebagai berikut: pertama, Jama'ah tabligh yang tinggal di empat desa di Probolinggo memiliki program dakwah yang terorganisir, baik materi maupun metodenya. Salah satu kegiatan mereka adalah pengajian kitab Tafsir al-Jalalayn. Kajian Tafsir Jalalayn dipandang dari perspektif pergerakan (haraki) ketimbang pendekatan lain. dengan demikian, jama'ah pengajian dianjurkan melakukan dakwah yang berlandaskan pada ayat al-Qur'an; Kedua, Infiltrasi ideologis Jama'ah Tabligh di Probolinggo dilakukan dalam bentuk-bentuk yang santun, seperti konsep Khuruj, Jaulah, dan Chillah. Sementara tidak ada temuan data lapangan yang menunjukkan bahwa Jama'ah Tabligh melakukan tindakan kekerasan terhadap Masyarakat Probolinggo.

Kata Kunci: *Infiltrasi Ideologis, Jama'ah Tabligh, Ideologisasi, Dakwah*

INTRODUCTION

This research examines the spread of *Jama'ah Tabligh* ideology in the Probolinggo Regency using four indicators of the Salafist movement: militancy, ideologization, extremism, and exclusivism. The study was conducted at several points in Probolinggo Regency, one of the East Java Tapal Kuda regions. Data for this study were obtained through interviews with the leaders of *Jama'ah Tabligh*, members, participants, and the community involved in *Jama'ah Tabligh* activities.

Although the COVID-19 pandemic continued throughout 2021 to the present, religious movements have evolved, altering the patterns of proselytization and ideological spread of Jihadi organizations. Throughout the pandemic, Jihadi movements have framed COVID-19 as a test and wrath of Allah against humanity on earth. This framing of COVID-19 as divine wrath has significantly impacted recruitment strategies, supported by the fact that human efforts at mitigation and control have proven unable to curb the outbreak. Abdul Basit confirmed this in his research. According to him, Jihadi groups have moved massively and have used COVID-19 as an opportune moment for recruitment through social media (Basit, 2020).

The change in the proselytization strategy of the Jihadi movement due to COVID-19 has also occurred within the *Jama'ah Tabligh*—hereafter referred to as JT. Following the JT gathering in Malaysia on March 13, 2020, which hosted 16,000 participants from various countries, 700 of whom were from Indonesia (Zaenuri, 2020), and 75 tested positive for COVID-19 (Firmansyah, 2020). the continuity of JT's proselytization became a concern, especially for the Indonesian government (Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict, 2020). This concern was not because JT's proselytization was considered part of a hardline movement but because three of its proselytization teachings violated government regulations during the pandemic: *khurūj*, *jaulah*, and *chillah*, teachings that involve moving from place to place (Peraturan Pemerintah Nomor 21 Tahun 2020 tentang Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar Dalam Rangka Percepatan Penanganan Coronavirus Disease 2019/COVID-19, 2020).

The limitations on performing *khurūj*, *jaulah*, and *chillah* during the pandemic did not halt the progress of JT's proselytization, although these three teachings are platforms synonymous with JT. After a cluster of COVID-19 spread in Indonesia, JT shifted its movement (shifting movement) towards strengthening ideologization through both online and offline religious study sessions. Initially, they reviewed several books commonly used in Islamic boarding schools, such as *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, and *Faṭḥ al-Mu'īn*. However, as a Salafi movement, JT has a distinct proselytization strategy and methods of addressing community issues (Junaedi, 2013).

One of the JT communities that consistently conduct study sessions is located in five districts of Probolinggo. As an initial step in drafting this proposal, the researcher conducted preliminary observations of the JT community and

noted that they not only emphasize understanding of Tafsir studies but also focus on practical application. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Probolinggo JT gathered its members in mosques to study the Qur'an and other societal issues. These gatherings followed health protocols and had been permitted by local authorities (observation, 2021).

Nur Parman, a leader of JT who also leads the study of Tafsīr al-Jalālayn at Masjid Nurul Jannah Gending Probolinggo, chose to focus on Qur'an interpretation because he believes that every Muslim regards the Qur'an as a life guide and a tool for creating an Islamic society (Parman, 2021) Before the COVID-19 pandemic, two mosques in Probolinggo Regency—according to Nur Parman—had been conducting *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* studies since 2017. Since the pandemic, the participants have been JT members and the local mosque community.

The local community's interest in attending the study sessions conducted by JT at two locations in Probolinggo is a unique fact. As Rafiq's research indicates, Probolinggo is predominantly inhabited by residents affiliated with the Nahdlatul Ulama organization (Mun'im, 2013). Additionally, several NU Islamic boarding schools are near the JT mosque locations. Thus, despite being a minority organization, JT holds a favorable position within the Probolinggo community. According to Terry Eagleton, ideological infiltration can be achieved through rationalization strategies, which involve presenting seemingly rational arguments that are logically organized and borrowing opponents' strengths (Takwin, 2003). In this last strategy, the researcher assumes that JT's choice of study at Masjid Nurul Jannah, Gending, and Masjid Arrahmah Probolinggo City, with Tafsīr al-Jalālayn as a reference, is an effort to rationalize in Eagleton's sense and subtly infiltrate ideology into the surrounding community (Fawaid & Astutik, 2023).

From the background description above, this research aims to comprehensively discuss the phenomenon of ideological infiltration during the pandemic by tracking the religious studies of JT and the practice of teaching the Qur'an in the community. This phenomenon of interpretive practice—particularly by certain sects—is not only aimed at uncovering an interpretation but goes further to involve ideologization, or in simpler terms, a certain tendency that colors the understanding or interpretation of its products. To gather data, this study requires the direct involvement of the author to observe, assess, track, and interview several figures, community members, and participants at the research site.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study adopts a qualitative paradigm, utilizing semi-structured interviews and field observations as the main approaches (Creswell, 2016). As a qualitative paradigm model, the research is naturalistic, aiming to uncover and discover facts and understandings about the phenomena of JT and its study

practices in Probolinggo. The informants for this study are divided into three groups: leaders of the Tafsir Study Council, JT administrators in Probolinggo, and members of the Tafsir Study Council. There are also informants from organizations outside of JT, from whom issues regarding the current situation of JT's development and their views on JT activities will be explored.

The informants in this study are members of the JT community spread across five districts of Probolinggo Regency. In these seven districts, they routinely conduct study activities in several mosques, including Masjid Al-Rahman in Betek Taman Village, Gading District; Masjid Nurur Rahman in Curah Temu Village, Kotaanyar District; Masjid Baitullah in Seboro Village, Krejengan District; Masjid Al-Miskat in Mranggon Lawang Village, Dringu District; and Masjid Nizamuddin in Alassapi Banyuanyar Village. The study groups in these five villages and districts are continuous and often serve as cultural brokers in matters related to ideas and thoughts within the community.

The distribution map of the leaders, *Jama'ah Tabligh* community, and participants across various areas in Probolinggo is as follows: 1) Masjid Al-Rahman, Betek Taman Village, Gading District: This mosque serves as a central hub for JT activities in the northern part of the regency. Leaders and participants from this area frequently engage in extensive community discussions and religious teachings. 2) Masjid Nurur Rahman, Curah Temu Village, Kotaanyar District: Located in the eastern part of Probolinggo, this mosque is known for its active participation in inter-village JT events and serves as a key location for spreading JT teachings in the region. 3) Masjid Baitullah, Seboro Village, Krejengan District: This mosque is a significant center in the south, where many community leaders and participants gather for regular study sessions and planning of JT activities. 4) Masjid Al-Miskat, Mranggon Lawang Village, Dringu District: Situated in the western part of the regency, this mosque facilitates discussions and studies related to JT teachings and serves as a venue for large gatherings. 5) Masjid Nizamuddin, Alassapi Banyuanyar Village: As a central location in the southeastern part of Probolinggo, this mosque attracts a diverse group of JT members from surrounding areas, focusing on in-depth studies and community outreach activities.

In addition to interviews, the observation method monitors, tracks, and records the phenomena developing within these tafsir study councils. During the observation process, the researcher adopts the role of an 'observer as a participant,' studying the JT community while remaining external to it. Despite this, field visits continue to be conducted at the five locations above during activities to maintain the validity of the field data. This approach allows for a nuanced understanding of the dynamics within the community, ensuring that the findings are grounded in actual observed behaviors and interactions (Knott, 2005). The data generated from observations, tracking, and field notes serve as the primary sources for this research. In addition to these firsthand accounts, literature, manuscripts, and monographs are utilized as secondary sources. This

dual approach ensures a comprehensive analysis, combining direct empirical evidence with scholarly resources to enrich the understanding and interpretation of the phenomena under study.

After the data collection, the next step is to analyze the findings from the field. In data analysis, this study uses three methods: 1) reducing the data found in the field, 2) presenting the data (data display), and 3) verifying the data found in the field (Huberman & Miles, 2002). This research also incorporates data analysis techniques used by Bogdan and Biklen, which include: 1) analysis of activity data that covers: a. decision-making related to the type of study and the delimitation of the study scope, b. developing analytical questions, c. designing the stages of data collection. This is done by considering previous observation results, d. providing comments on observations related to emerging ideas, e., writing memos/notes for researchers regarding the subjects studied, f. exploring literature sources related to the interpretation of *Jama'ah Tabligh's* understanding and the ideological infiltration in the study of *Tafsir al-Jalalayn*. 2) after data collection, the data will be analyzed to include: a. coding certain categories through a coding system to be determined later and b. they are developing a working mechanism for the categorized data. Subsequently, the data is presented well. The final stage the researcher conducts is the data analysis of the research findings. The analysis process is carried out by providing interpretations of the data, formulating hypotheses, and comparing them with findings in the field, whether resulting from documentation processes or interviews. Hypothesis testing is done by aligning with the available data. A new hypothesis will be formulated if the tested hypothesis does not align with the field findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Portrait of *Jama'ah Tabligh* In Probolinggo

A crucial factor in profiling *Jama'ah Tabligh* in Probolinggo, East Java, is the external backdrop that encompasses their long history of thought formation. This historical background includes education, the educational culture of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*), and their socio-historical context (Mannheim, 2017). This inquiry aims to reveal data on the extent to which the *Jama'ah Tabligh* movement and its ideologies are present in its social context and how they play their role as propagators of the Islamic movement in the Probolinggo.

Probolinggo Regency was established based on Law No. 12 of 1950 concerning the Regional Government of Regencies in East Java, as stipulated in Article 2, paragraph (1). Over time, Probolinggo Regency evolved into a Small City Regional Government, underpinned by Law No. 17 of 1950, granting it the authority to manage its domestic affairs. In 2010, the capital of Probolinggo was moved to Kraksaan District, previously located in the Mayangan area within the urban region of Probolinggo City.

Astronomically, Probolinggo Regency is located at coordinates 111°50' - 113°13' East Longitude and 7°40' - 8°10' South Latitude, stretching along 56 km

of the northern coast of Java Island with an area of approximately 1,696,616.65 hectares. Geographically, Probolinggo Regency is bordered by the following administrative regions:

North : Madura Strait

South : Lumajang Regency and Jember Regency

East : Situbondo Regency

West : Pasuruan Regency.

Probolinggo Regency comprises 24 districts, 330 villages/urban villages, 1,527 hamlets, 1,631 Neighborhood Associations (RW), and 6,091 Community Units (RT). The districts in Probolinggo Regency include Sukapura, Paiton, Sumber, Besuk, Kuripan, Kraksaan, Bantaran, Krejengan, Leces, Pajarakan, Tegal Siwalan, Maron, Banyuanyar, Gending, Tiris, Dringu, Krucil, Wonomerto, Gading, Lumbang, Pakuniran, Tongas, Kotaanyar, and Sumberasih. Regarding village composition, Paiton District has the most villages, totaling 20, while Kuripan District has the fewest, with only 7 villages.

Generally, the population of Probolinggo consists predominantly of two ethnic groups, the Javanese and the Madurese (Baidawi et al., 2023). These two groups live harmoniously side by side, using a blend of Javanese and Madurese languages, or a Madurese dialect of Javanese, except in some areas where distinct ethnic groups and languages exist, such as the Tenggerese in Probolinggo Regency.

Regarding religious beliefs, Islam is the majority religion in the Probolinggo area, accounting for over 94% of the population. The propagation efforts of Madurese clerics in Probolinggo have significantly boosted the percentage of Muslims in this region. Clerics from Madura established most Islamic boarding schools and religious educational institutions in Probolinggo Regency. Additionally, the main market stores in Probolinggo Regency are predominantly run by immigrants.

There are two major religious organizations in Probolinggo: *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) is the largest, followed by Muhammadiyah, the second largest. Despite having different visions, missions, and movements, these two organizations collaborate on various programs. Apart from these major organizations, there are also minority organizations in Probolinggo Regency, such as *Jama'ah Tabligh* and LDII, with *Jama'ah Tabligh* having the most followers among the minority groups.

Genealogy Of Jama'ah Tabligh: From India To Malaysia

Jama'ah Tabligh was founded by Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas bin Muhammad Ismail al-Hanafi ad-Diyubandi al-Jisti al-Kandahlawi (1885-1944) in 1927 in Mewat, south of Delhi, India. The movement has been known by many names, reflecting its multifaceted nature. It is referred to as *jamā'at* (party), *tahrik* (movement), *nizām* (system), *tanzīm* (organization), and *tabligh* (proselytizing). Additionally, some people recognize this group as the "*Bhopali Jama'ah*" because,

following the death of its founder, its annual convention has often been held in Bhopal—now in Madhya Pradesh (Gaborieau, 2000). The founder of the movement preferred to call it *Tahrīkī Imān* or the Faith Movement. He viewed the Muslim community as already established, and therefore, he did not consider that he was founding a new community.

Several sources indicate that the objective of the *Jama'ah Tabligh* movement is to reform individual behavior to develop an ideal Muslim society through the teachings of Prophet Muhammad (Baskara, 2020). The establishment of *Jama'ah Tabligh* also aims to encourage the Muslim masses to revert to the teachings of Prophet Muhammad as the ideal form of life and to steer clear of materialism in the hearts and minds of Muslims. Additionally, it seeks to instill in them high moral standards and guide them toward the truth and spirituality of Islam (Saepuloh et al., 2022).

There are several reasons why the *Jama'ah Tabligh* movement emerged in India. Firstly, it was a response by Mawlana to the militant Hindu purification movements occurring in India at that time. In 1922, Hindu revivalist movements launched well-organized campaigns to reclaim many Muslim groups who retained some Hindu customs (Effendi, 2020). Mawlana aimed to purify Muslim practices in Mewat, South India, where *Jama'ah Tabligh* originated, not only because some Muslims were converting back to Hinduism but also due to the continued adherence to Hindu cultural traditions.

Secondly, the establishment of *Jama'ah Tabligh* was a reaction to the decline of the caliphate movement in the Islamic world. It is believed that in the 1920s, the rise of Islamic revivalism in the Muslim world was associated with the failure of the Islamic Caliphate. Several Islamic movements promoted a return to the Qur'an and the Sunnah as the path to the realization of a new Islamic society, often referred to as the Islamic Caliphate. In this context, *Jama'ah Tabligh* aimed to unify the community through education and individual reform (Bustamam-Ahmad, 2008). Mawlana was disappointed with the failure of the caliphate movement and the assertive role of Hindu leaders in the independence movement in India. It is often claimed that *Jama'ah Tabligh* is an apolitical Islamic movement that is indifferent to the establishment of an Islamic state. However, the movement has a specific political agenda, which it pursues through individual reform.

In 1952, *Jama'ah Tabligh* was introduced in Kuala Lumpur by Maulana Abdul Malik Madani, a representative from the Markaz in Nizamuddin. The choice of Kuala Lumpur was not arbitrary. The reason was that major urban areas in Kuala Lumpur, such as Penang, Kuala Lumpur itself, and Singapore, had large communities of Indian Muslims. After a few years, *Jama'ah Tabligh* quickly made significant inroads into the Malay community, extending even to rural areas (Wahidi et al., 2019). In the 1970s, *Jama'ah Tabligh* began to recruit Malay individuals for its membership. The first group they approached was led by the head of Darul Arqam, Ustaz Ashaari Haji Muhammad. He subsequently

undertook a journey (*khurūj*) with his followers as members of *Jama'ah Tabligh* to Singapore for 10 days (Bustamam-Ahmad, 2008). Additionally, the *Jama'ah Tabligh* community in Kuala Lumpur began to travel to various countries to spread the message of Islamic proselytization, including Indonesia. They engaged in informal discussions with individuals, urging them to return to the true path of Islam.

From Malaysia to Indonesia

No monograph specifically explains the arrival of the Tablighi *Jama'ah* to Indonesia. However, according to Muhammad et al. (2021), the Tablighi *Jama'ah* first arrived in 1952 AD in Medan, led by Miaji Isa. Isa named his group the *Jama'ah Khuruj*, namely, congregations who go out on the Path of Allah to improve themselves and invite others to return to the Path of Allah. However, the Indonesian Tablighi *Jama'ah* demonstrated its movement intensively in 1974 AD, right when the Jami' Mosque in Kebon Jeruk, Jakarta, was built as a headquarters for the activities and movement of the Tablighi *Jama'ah* at the national level.

The Kebon Jeruk Mosque, Jakarta, is a trace of the spread of the Tablighi *Jama'ah* in Indonesia (Aziz, 2004). This cannot be separated from the role of a retired ABRI, Lieutenant Colonel Dzulfikar, who encouraged and organized this jamaat. At that time, the Tablighi *Jama'at* recruited 12 selected people as coordinators of national da'wah activities and were known as *Ahlu Syuro* (Sarwan, 2021).

From Kebon Jeruk, the spread of the Tablighi *Jama'ah* in Indonesia continues to grow. This is, for example, the first *ijtima'*, the Tablighi *Jama'ah*, held in Medan in 1980 AD, which was attended by more than 1000 congregations (Aziz, 2004). The choice of Medan as the first place of *ijtima'* was because the spread of the *Jama'ah* started from the Medan and North Sumatra areas. Then, in the following year, precisely in 1981 AD, the *ijtima'* was held at the Kebon Jeruk Mosque, Jakarta, where 10,000 worshipers attended, 10 times larger than the first. This congregation's development indicates that the Tablighi *Jama'ah*'s development in Indonesia is very rapid (Razak, 2008).

In 1986, Tablighi *Jama'ah* activities began to enter the East Java region. Al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School, Probolinggo Magetan, witnessed its spread in this region by presenting a preacher from Pakistan led by Professor Shobur. The presence of the Tablighi *Jama'ah* in East Java was to introduce a militant model of da'wah, which does not only rely on wills but also actions. The head of the Islamic boarding school, Uzairon, welcomed this da'wah program and intended to help develop it in East Java. Since then, the al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in Probolinggo has become the Tablighi *Jama'ah* Markaz.

From Magetan to Probolinggo

After adopting the Tablighi *Jama'ah da'wah* system, the al-Fatah Islamic boarding school declared it in the form of an Islamic boarding school program, namely that every student at the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school must preach to the homes of residents in Probolinggo villages. The house-to-house missionary movement in Probolinggo villages positively improved the economy and religion—the number of students studying at PP. Al-Fatah Probolinggo, according to the Magetan Kominfo report, improved the economic level of the Probolinggo occupation (Kominfo, 2022). From house-to-house practice, in 1997, the Al-Fatah Islamic boarding school expanded its preaching targets to several areas and cities outside Magetan, including Probolinggo.

The Tablighi Jamaat in Probolinggo must be somewhat dated for its establishment. However, from several field interview data, it is estimated that this community spread in the 2000s, especially in the West Probolinggo area, Kademangan. Geographically, Kademangan is a meeting point between three regencies: Lumajang, Jember, and Probolinggo. The directions to Lumajang and Jember inevitably pass through Kademangan, which also has a bus terminal connecting the three regencies.

One of the sources the writer encountered in the field is H. Nur Parman, a Tablighi Jamaat member from Batam. Parman explained that he and 12 other groups came from Probolinggo towards the east to practice one of Tabligh's teachings, *Khurūj*. Upon reaching Kademangan, Parman and the twelve other groups dispersed to several areas: the Gending area, Kotaanyar, Krejengan, Dringu, and Banyuanyar. Parman admitted that he came to Probolinggo in August 2004 and has lived in Gending ever since. H. Moh Syafi'i is a member of the Jamaat who lives in the same village as Parman (Parman, 2022). The presence of this twelve-member *Jama'ah*, according to Parman's statement, was well received by the people of Probolinggo. They are still interconnected with each other. Every sweet Friday night, members of this Tablighi Jamaat gather.

The activities of these twelve members of the Tablighi Jamaat, according to Akbar Fathony, one of the Tablighi Jamaat members living in Kotanyaar, involve preaching in their hometowns and opening study circles in mosques. As information, one of the Tablighi Jamaat's preaching targets geographically is areas with mosques that are not well-maintained. Thus, the prosperity of the mosque serves as the entry point for the Tablighi Jamaat. Akbar Fathony also does this. One of the mosques used as the center of his study circle is called Nurur Rahman, located in the Curahtaman, Kotanyaar District village. Fathony has been enriching the Nurur Rahman mosque to the extent that it now has hundreds of congregants. One of its attractions is the Tafsir Jalalayn study circle, which concludes with a morning meal together (Fathony, 2022).

In addition to Akbar, Muhammad Hasanuddin also claims to have been one of the instructors at the Baitullah Mosque in Seboro Krejengan village since 2009. At the request of community leaders, Hasan teaches subjects such as

jurisprudence, hadith, and, most recently, Tafsir *Jalalayn*. According to his statement during the interview, he arrived in Seboro village because he married a local woman, who was also the daughter of a community leader. From this esteemed family, Hasan continues the legacy of his father-in-law as a mosque caretaker at Baitullah Mosque.

Based on the interview data with leaders of the Tablighi Jamaat, the spread of the Tablighi Jamaat in Probolinggo is carried out massively and through familial ties, especially through mosque prosperity programs and study circles.

Identification of the Ideology and Doctrine

Several indicators from several interviews can be captured for analysis in this chapter. One is the aspect of the Ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat and its Dissemination Patterns and Issues of Radicalism concerning the Tablighi Jamaat. In simple terms, ideology refers to the fundamental concepts or understandings underlying how a community thinks and acts. Jary and Jary add that ideology can legitimize and justify one group to another. Ideologically, the Tablighi Jamaat is rooted in the same ideology as all Muslims in general. *Tabligh* believes in the five pillars of Islam and the six principles of faith. Both principles are the foundation that *Tabligh* believes in. It is part of *Tabligh*'s commitment to implementing pure Islamic teachings. Maulana Ilyas, the founder of *Tabligh*, invites Muslims to return to the teachings of Islam consistently and purely (Jary & Jary, 2005).

The basic ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat is then directed to form a distinctive aspect of *Tabligh* that is different from other Islamic movements. Barbara D. Metcalf states that the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat and its doctrine are derived from the Quran, Hadith, and several textbooks written by Islamic scholars such as *Riyadus Salihin*, *Fadhailul A'mal*, *Hikayatus Shahabat*, and others (Metcalf, 1993). However, ideology and doctrine are one form of the dialectic between ideology and social, political, and cultural realities. Specifically, the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat may also correlate with the social and religious communities in Mewat, Northern India.

Regarding the ideology of the Tablighi Jamaat, two fundamental aspects should be noted (Göktaş et al., 2022). First, the basic aspect of Islamic ideology believed by every Muslim is Tawhid (the Oneness of God). Second is religious morality, such as the reciprocal relationship among human beings. These aspects may greatly influence the ideology of *Tabligh* and the doctrine that articulates into six principles. The six principles are duties for every Muslim, such as believing in one God, Allah, and His messenger (*Shahadah*), praying five times a day (*Salah*), respecting other Muslims (Ikram al-Muslim), having sincere intentions (*Ikhlas al-Niyah*), and sacrificing and dedicating time for preaching (*Dawah*). The six principles constitute a system of thought and a way of thinking that guides every Muslim to engage in religious activities. These principles are fundamental to the Tablighi Jamaat, and every Tablighi adheres to and applies

the six principles as their ideology and doctrine.

Based on six principles, the *Jama'ah Tabligh* expands the legal rules governing their attitudes and behaviors in proselytization. In the teachings of *Jama'ah Tabligh*, 28 important points must be followed by the members. These points are divided into seven doctrines. First, every Muslim must do more in four areas. This includes *dakwah* Allah (inviting to the rules of Allah), which can be done by discussing the greatness of God and His creation; *ta'lim wa ta'allum* (learning and teaching), regarding both the moral superiority of humans and the superiority of religion; *dzikir* ibadah (reflecting on religious worship), such as praying together, mostly recommended prayers (*sunna* prayers), reading the Quran, praying at all times, praising the prophet (*salawat*), and seeking forgiveness from Allah in the morning and evening; and *khidmat* (serving) within *Jamaah Tabligh*, the community, and oneself.

Secondly, Muslims should do less in four points, such as eating and drinking too much and sleeping excessively. It is advised to sleep only six hours a day. Muslims should be in the mosque except for proselytization work. Finally, Muslims should not talk excessively about wealth or anything business-related. Thirdly, Muslims must set forth four points, such as praying to God, asking of His staff, not being *isyrof* (excessive), and not being *ghashab* (using someone else's property without permission). Fourthly, Muslims must adhere to four points. Muslims must be obedient and loyal to religious leaders (amir); maintain the dignity of the mosque, such as not discussing politics in the mosque, as it is for prayer and *dzikir* (always contemplating God); give priority to collective rituals (*ijtima'i*) over individual rituals (*infirodli*) and be patient and calm.

Fifthly, Muslims should avoid four points. These include avoiding *masail khilafiyah* (pluralism in scientific paradigms, both in belief and in Islamic jurisprudence), avoiding talking about politics, discussing the faults of society and scandals in the community, and differences in social strata. Sixthly, Muslims must maintain relationships with four types of people. These are ulama (Islamic scholars) and their followers; *mursyid* (leaders of the *thariqat*) and their teachings; *mushanif* (authors of Islamic books) and *da'i* (Islamic scholars and Islamic priests). Finally, Muslims must eliminate four points such as criticizing, discriminating, humiliating, and arguing.

The ideology and doctrines of *Jamaah Tabligh* have influenced the proselytization system, such as *khuruj* (proselytization trips), *ta'lim* (learning about religious teaching), *jaula* (proselytization visits), and bayan (lectures or religious speeches). Every *tabligh* implements four proselytization systems in religious activities almost daily, and the system is an integrated activity. For example, when a member of *Jamaah Tabligh* joins *khuruj* for several days, he will also participate in *ta'lim*, *jaula*, and bayan. These four systems of proselytization are daily activities for every *tabligh*, and these activities signify proselytization.

Proselytization itself is the primary goal of this religious movement. Proselytization means an invitation for every Muslim to do their best in

articulating religious teachings. Proselytization is not only for *tabligh* but also for every Muslim everywhere. The founders of the Jamaah *Tabligh* Movement emphasized proselytization as a duty of Muslims. For a *Tablighi*, every *tabligh* or Muslim must undertake religious proselytization travels and proselytization (*khuruj*) at least once in their lifetime. However, every *tabligh* should participate in proselytization for one day a week, seven days a month, 40 days a year, and 120 days throughout their life.

Radicalism Infiltration of Jamaah *Tabligh* Probolinggo

As a transnational Islamic movement, Jamaah *Tabligh* has come under negative scrutiny, especially after terrorist attacks in various countries. Connections of Jamaah *Tabligh* with terrorist acts are infrequently observed. This has sparked debates among some scholars about whether Jamaah *Tabligh* is a radical religious movement or even a terrorist movement. Discussions about radicalism are also tied to the meaning of jihad as a measure of radicalism. Jihad is often understood as a holy war to fight against other religious communities recognized as enemies or against evil. In the sense of holy war, jihad is linked to issues of radicalism and terrorism.

Regarding this issue, according to Barbara D. Metcalf, the spotlight on Jamaah *Tabligh* as a radical group intensified after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the U.S., This was partly due to the physical appearance of *Tabligh* members, which resembled that of Arabs. In America, Barbara D. Metcalf claimed that it was difficult to distinguish between Jamaah *Tabligh* and the Taliban. Both groups have a similar physical appearance and historical connections rooted in the Deoband Madrasa (Metcalf, 2003). The physical appearance of *Tabligh* members may arouse suspicion among Westerners that Jamaah *Tabligh* is an Islamic militant group or jihadist organization.

Based on these views, it is logical for scholars to debate whether Jamaah *Tabligh* is radicalizing the movement or merely a religious missionary group. Regarding this debate, there are three groups of scholars. The first group identifies Jamaah *Tabligh* purely as a Muslim missionary group. The second group tends to be more analytical, suggesting that Jamaah *Tabligh* could be both a missionary group and a radical movement. The last group firmly states that Jamaah *Tabligh* is a radical movement and has a direct pathway towards radicalism and terrorism.

The first group identifies *Tabligh* Jamaat as an Islamic missionary movement, viewing its emergence as a social, cultural, and religious phenomenon. Numerous scholars have studied Jamaah *Tabligh*, including Barbara D. Metcalf, Muhammad Khalid Masud, Farish A. Noor, Jan A. Ali, Kamaruzzaman Bustaman-Ahmad, and Abdul Aziz. Barbara D. Metcalf has examined various aspects of Jamaah *Tabligh*, such as the role of women within the movement and the roots of the *Tabligh* movement. Metcalf views Jamaah *Tabligh* as a unique manifestation of Islamic revivalism (Metcalf, 2003). In her

2003 work, Barbara D. Metcalf found similarities between her research and the works of Muhammad Khalid Masud. Although both Metcalf and Masud extensively studied various aspects of *Jamaah Tabligh*, they tend to avoid identifying *Jamaah Tabligh* as a radical group. Furthermore, Metcalf highlighted significant differences between the *Tablighis* and the Taliban. The Taliban are more inclined to engage in politics, whereas the *Tablighis* tend to be apolitical, focusing on missionary activities within Islam.

The research conducted by Farish A. Noor and Kamaruzzaman Bustaman-Ahmad was focused on the same Southeast Asian region. Farish A. Noor collected data in Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, analyzing the growth of *Jamaah Tabligh* in Southeast Asia and noting that *Tabligh* utilized networks of Indian descent to introduce and spread *Tabligh* teachings. Kamaruzzaman Bustaman-Ahmad studied *Jamaah Tabligh* in Aceh, Indonesia, and Malaysia, observing that *Jamaah Tabligh* influenced not only Muslim communities but also Islamic organizations, particularly in Malaysia.

Other scholars like Pabbajah et al. (2022), who conducted similar research, described *Jamaah Tabligh* as a unique religious movement. Another researcher, Ali, classified *Jamaah Tabligh* as a transnational Islamic movement with high survivability in the modern world, describing it as a traditionalist Islamic movement that has endured in modern and Western societies with minimal influence from modernity.

Moreover, Dzaky et al. (2021) categorized *Jamaah Tabligh* as a peaceful fundamentalist group. He was cautious about labeling *Jamaah Tabligh* as either a radical movement or merely an Islamic missionary group. Dzaky aimed to analyze *Tabligh* comprehensively across all dimensions, including its emergence, growth, and involvement in various societies. Marc Gaborieau pointed out that *Jamaah Tabligh* differed from radical groups as it tended to use Sufi practices in its missionary work. He highlighted that although *Jamaah Tabligh* believes every Muslim should participate in jihad, they interpret jihad as a struggle for self-reform (*jihad bi nafs*) rather than as holy war (*jihad bi saif*).

However, Gaborieau also noted in his other works that some *Tabligh* members supported movements like the Taliban, which are considered radical. Muhammad Amir Rana, reporting from the Institute for Peace Studies, stated that *Jamaah Tabligh* is not a terrorist group. However, he acknowledged some connections between individual *Tabligh* members and acts of terror, noting that young *Tabligh* members joined to learn basic Islamic knowledge.

Contrasting these views, some opinions claim that *Jamaah Tabligh* is a fundamentalist movement linked to networks of radicalism and terrorism. Amir Ali identified similarities between *Jamaah Tabligh* and *Hizbut Tahrir*, a transnational Islamic political organization. He claimed that while both are different organizations, they share similar goals. While *Hizb ut-Tahrir* is associated with a radical Islamic political movement, *Jamaah Tabligh* is seen as fostering a radical movement.

Ali discussed the differences between *Jamaah Tabligh* and *Hizbut Tahrir*, yet he also stated that *Jamaah Tabligh* could be considered a radical organization like *Hizbut Tahrir*. Alexiev argued that *Jamaah Tabligh* believes jihad can be conducted through self-reform (*jihad bi nafs*) and by waging war against followers of other religions (*jihad bi saif*). However, *Jamaah Tabligh* predominantly prefers the former, focusing on reforming belief and personal quality. According to Alexiev, *Tabligh* has adopted a Wahabi-Salafi jihadi ideology, a radical group, making it challenging to distinguish between the "jihad" ideology of *Tabligh* and that of Wahabi-Salafi jihadists. Furthermore, Alexiev noted that *Jamaah Tabligh* has been involved in sponsoring terrorist groups.

CONCLUSION

Based on the data obtained and the analysis conducted, this study concludes the following points: *Jamaah Tabligh* faces challenges on crucial issues such as radicalism as the world's largest transnational movement. Additionally, its emergence as an Islamic revivalist movement closely associated with the Wahhabi school must be considered. The Deoband School's background also indisputably inspires radical groups' emergence. The rise of transnational Islamic political groups like *Hizbut Tahrir*, *Jamaat-e-Islami*, *Harakat al-Mujahideen*, the Taliban, and others have led to allegations of *Jamaah Tabligh* being a radical movement.

However, certain facts and records researchers hold do not support the claim that *Jamaah Tabligh* is a radical group. In some cases, although the spirit of *Jamaah Tabligh* has inspired the emergence of radicalism in some regions or countries, this notion still requires deeper analysis. This is different in the Probolinggo area, where *Jamaah Tabligh* merely emphasizes daily rituals and devotion with personal discipline in practice.

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