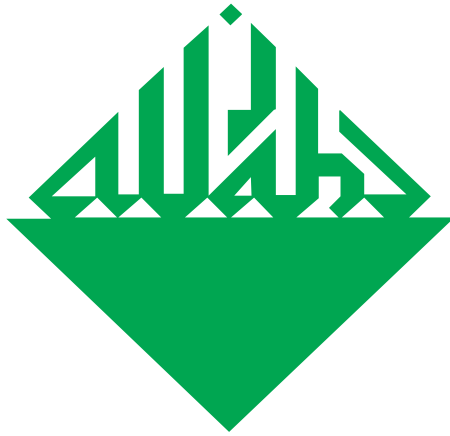


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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THE WORD 'LEBAI' AND ITS ETHNIC ORIGINS:
REASSESSING AN EARLY DESIGNATION
FOR MUSLIM RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS IN THE MALAY WORLD

Alexander Wain

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Doing Hijrah through Music:
A Religious Phenomenon
Among Indonesian Musician Community

Abstract: *This paper studies the variants of hijrah movements among Muslim youths in Bandung, Indonesia, in responding music. Hijrah (to migrate spiritually) was first interpreted as abandoning the past sinful life into the path of Islam. In its development, it is defined as leaving behind “un-Islamic” activities, including music. The latter meaning of hijrah conveys to ex-musicians performing hijrah to completely abandon music and even destroys their musical instruments. Among hijrah groups, Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah conveys the detrimental effects of music for Islamic morality and faith. For them, music will drive Muslims to the jāhiliyah (ignorance), shirk (polytheism) and bid’ah (innovation/heresy). Amidst this situation, Komunitas Musisi Mengaji (KOMUJI) emerges to practicing hijrah by performing musical activities and even employing “musicizing” as a way to attain the true path of Islam. This paper reveals the different views of those groups concerning music and hijrah, as well as shows an alternative path amid Islamism and globalization.*

Keywords: *Hijrah*, Spiritual Migration, Religious Education, Musicizing.

Abstrak: Artikel ini mengkaji varian gerakan hijrah pada kalangan anak Muda Muslim di Bandung, Indonesia, dalam menanggapi musik. Hijrah pada awalnya dimaknai sebagai meninggalkan jalan sesat di masa lalu untuk menuju jalan Islam. Pada perkembangannya, hijrah kemudian dimaknai sebagai meninggalkan kegiatan yang 'tidak Islami,' termasuk bermusik. Pemahaman hijrah yang terakhir ini membawa mantan pemusik berhijrah dengan meninggalkan music dan bahkan menghancurkan alat musiknya. Di kalangan kelompok hijrah, Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah menyerukan dampak buruk music bagi moral dan keyakinan Islam. Bagi mereka, music akan membawa muslim menjadi jahiliah (bodoh), shirk (menyekutukan Tuhan) and bid'ah (menyimpang). Di tengah situasi ini, Komunitas Musisi Mengaji (KOMUJI) tampil untuk mempraktekkan hijrah dengan melakukan kegiatan musik dan bahkan menggunakan "music" sebagai cara untuk mencapai jalan Islam yang benar. Artikel ini mengungkapkan perbedaan pandangan kelompok-kelompok tersebut tentang musik dan hijrah, serta menunjukkan jalan alternatif di tengah Islamisme dan globalisasi.

Kata kunci: Hijrah, Migrasi Spiritual, Pendidikan Keagamaan, Bermusik.

ملخص: تقوم هذه المقالة بدراسة نوع حركة الهجرة في أوساط الشباب المسلمين في باندونغ بإندونيسيا في استجابتهم لقضية الموسيقى. فقد تم تفسير الهجرة في أول الأمر على أنه ترك الطريق الضال في الماضي والتوجه نحو طريق الإسلام. ثم تطور الأمر إلى أن تفهم الهجرة بمثابة التخلي عن الأنشطة «غير الإسلامية»، بما في ذلك الموسيقى. وقاد هذا الفهم الأخير الموسيقيين السابقين إلى الهجرة من خلال التخلي عن الموسيقى وحتى تدمير الآلات الموسيقية. ففي أوساط مجموعات الهجرة «حركة الشباب المهاجرين» التي تحذر من الآثار السيئة للموسيقى سواء كانت أخلاقية أو اعتقادية. إن الموسيقى - في رأيهم - ستؤدي المسلمين إلى الجاهلية والشرك والبدعة. وفي هذه الظروف، ظهرت حركة مجتمع الموسيقيين القارئ للقرآن (KOMUJI) لممارسة الهجرة عن طريق القيام بالأنشطة الموسيقية، علاوة على استخدام «الموسيقى» طريقاً للوصول إلى الطريق الصحيح للإسلام. وتكشف هذه المقالة اختلاف آراء المجموعات حول الموسيقى والهجرة، وتشير إلى الطريق البديل بين الإسلاموية والعولمة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الهجرة، الهجرة الروحية، التربية الدينية، ممارسة الموسيقى.

A discussion of the relationship between music and Islamic teachings is an old, but interesting and controversial one. Islamic laws are classified into several categories, between obligatory (*fard*) and forbidden (*haram*), with the intermediate categories of recommended (*sunnah*, *mandūb*) indifferent/permissible (*mubāh*, *halāl*), and reprehensible (*makrūh*) (Saefullah 2017). Yusuf Qaradawi (1994) supports a view that allows musical activities on the condition that the lyrics and the way of singing are not contradictory to Islamic teachings and morals (Gazzah 2008). Muhammad Syaltut, a former rector of Al-Azhar University, claims that music is “one of the instinctive pleasures of life, like the touch of soft clothes, the taste of delicious food, or the smell of delightful scents” (Al-Faruqi 1989). On the other hand, there is also a prohibition on music based on the *lahw al-ḥadīth* (idle talk) tendency of music, which “distracts and diverts people from God’s path” (Nasr 1976). According to this view, music that incites the players or listeners thereof to become negligent and idle is forbidden, insofar as it leads to a ‘forgetfulness of God’ or ‘immersion in worldliness’ (Murthy 2010). Nonetheless, the presence of music in the Muslim community continues to grow rather rapidly. It particularly appeals to young Muslims, and has lately become a mode of existence for many of them.

Indonesian Muslims enjoy music, as demonstrated by the large number of Islamic music groups, such as Bimbo and Kyai Kanjeng, and the existence of Islamic music genres (Fogg 2014), such as *qaṣīdah*, *nashīd*, *ṣalawah*, and dangdut (Notosudirdjo 2003). Anne K. Rasmussen, an ethnomusicologist, states that Islamic art and Islamic music or Islamic musical arts are discussed in many contexts, even among the most conservative religious authorities. Hence, although there is tension in the discourse of music in Islam, which leans more toward prohibition, “music is not banned out of hand and in fact has an acknowledged place in Indonesian Islam” (Van Zanten 2011). Music has become an identity especially for young Indonesian Muslims, especially during the holy month of Ramadhan. During Ramadhan, they dress in Islamic clothing while playing Islamic music, but, since early 2010, a shift has started to take place. Several musicians “spiritually migrated” (*hijrah*) to the world of Islamic preaching, left their musical activities, and even claimed musical activities to be *haram* (forbidden). Some of the popular musicians who forbade music include Harry Mukti, Danny, Yuke Semeru (bass player

of Gong in 2000, a legendary rock band of Indonesia), and Andri Ashari (ex-vocalist of *Rumah Sakit*) (Tanjung 2017).

There are two important keys in the above phenomenon, i.e. “spiritual migration” (*hijrah*) and “the prohibition of music”. *Hijrah* means ‘migration’ or ‘to abandon’, ‘to leave’, ‘to emigrate’, ‘to give up’ or ‘to separate’ (Esposito 2009), as well as “to break ties of kinship or association with a certain group” (Reda 2017). Its meaning, however, has led to comprehensive Islamic lifestyle changes for many (Waliyuddin 2019). After migrating spiritually, some opted to identify as a *Muslim kaffah* (a full Muslim), and even desisted with activities they considered deviant, such as music, dating, usury, and exposing their *awrah* (the intimate parts of the human body according to Islam that must be covered by clothing). Instead, they now carry out activities according to the *Sunnah* (the way of the Prophet).

The awareness to spiritually migrate is growing rapidly in Bandung (Otterbeck 2004). Indeed, it has already influenced many Bandung musicians to desist with their own musicianship. Those spiritually migrated musicians do not, however, necessarily always avoid playing music. Rather, there is a group of spiritually migrated musicians in Bandung who continue to play music and have formed an organization called *Komunitas Musisi Mengaji* (KOMUJI) or the Community of Musicians Learning Islam. Playing music with KOMUJI instead becomes a means by which to spiritually migrate.

The term “*hijrah*” (spiritual migration) has become popular as a method of change after Hanan Attaki established *Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah* (“Spiritually-Migrated Youth Movement”) in March 2015 (Ja’far 2020; Waliyuddin 2019). In the music world, *hijrah* as a phenomenon started with the emergence of the “One Finger Salute” movement in 2010 in the Indonesian metal music scene. The “One Finger Salute”, which symbolizes *tauhid* (The Oneness of God), is a substitution for the “three-finger salute” symbol (Hidayatullah 2014), which is normally used as a cultural communication code among Indonesian metal fans (metalheads) (Bastian 2013). The movement enjoyed its first wave of momentum at the “Urban Garage Festival” held at Rossi Music Center, Fatmawati, South Jakarta in March 2010. At the festival, Ombat, the vocalist of Tengkorak and a senior member of Indonesia’s metal music scene, announced the “One Finger Salute” movement. Ombat asserted, “Frankly, while doing band activities, we neglected our spiritual

activities. Yeah, we neglected *ṣalah* (daily prayers), ourselves and many more. However, when we realized that this generation has become easy prey for the Zionists, then (we decided) this is the moment to change the old paradigm into a new paradigm. We are *ngeband* [doing band activities], but we also practice *ṣalah* five times a day and the other commandments of Islam” (Tengkorak Grind 2012).

“*Ngeband*, but still remaining obedient to Islamic rules”, was the original concept of “spiritual migration” for musicians. This phenomenon, from a cultural-studies perspective, can be referred to as “conducting counter-culture by borrowing images and the cultural practice of metal as a weapon of resistance” (Hidayatullah 2014). A similar label can be applied to *Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah* (Spiritually-Migrated Youth Movement), which provides resistance against the dominant culture deemed to inflict ontological insecurity and existential uncertainty (Kinnvall 2004). One of the efforts made by individuals to respond to this uncertain experience is to seek reaffirmation by approaching a non-dominant group which gives more certainty and security. Kinnvall proposes the idea of home as a fortress of certainty and security, as well as something that forms spatial context where daily routines can be performed in stable conditions. The new house is formulated differently. *Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah* is more cautious of musical activities. Meanwhile, KOMUJI treats music as a counterculture and a method to spiritually migrate.

Many young Muslims use music as a form of “counter-culture” and “counter-establishment” expression. For example, Jacobsen writes about a young Norwegian Muslim who felt that his Muslim identity had been “marginalized within the mainstream cultural productions”. This led him to music, which he found to be “articulating and giving voice to the shared experiences of being” (Jacobsen and Vestel 2018). On the other hand, Katy Khan discovered that music has become a medium for voicing criticisms among young black Muslims towards the policy of the US government and, moreover, “in America popular black Muslim singers have generated a counter-culture, seeking to provide ‘alternative viewpoints’ on Muslim identities” (Khan 2007). John Baily, in the *‘Music is in Our Blood’: Muslim Gujarati Musicians in the UK*, concludes that for young British Muslims of Indian origin, music is “an area of contestation, with competing claims that ‘music is in our blood’” (Baily 2006).

Music is indeed neither a mere activity nor a commodity; music is “participatory and evokes an image of people engaging with people”, as King (2016) states. Music itself has many meanings, more than just a beautiful melody perceived by our senses. King states that “the fundamental nature and meaning of music lies not in objects, not in musical works at all, but in action, in what people do. It is only by understanding what people do as they take part in a musical act that we can hope to understand its nature and the function it fulfills” (Roberta R King 2016). Based on the notion that music is “not in objects”, Small proposes the name “musicking” to describe “[taking] part, in any capacity, in musical performance” (Small 1998). Musicking “includes the full range of activities surrounding music events, performing, listening, rehearsing or practicing, composing, dancing, using, taking tickets, and offering refreshments” (Roberta R King 2016).

More than just a series of activities, musicking is a form of human connection, “in which everyone who is present is taking part, and for whose success or failure as an event, everybody who is present has some responsibility” (Small 2011). Based on this concept of musicking, KOMUJI, which is “spiritually migrating while still playing music”, are not simply a group of individuals who play music, but rather a group of individuals interrelated through music, seeking to construct a new identity after performing the *hijrah*. This conclusion came from the fact that music encourages people to connect, and to communicate and negotiate with each other to reach a mutual understanding emotionally, cognitively, and behaviorally. In the midst of this communicative relationship, music encourages people to transcend, imagine, process, and bond on the same sonic plane (Roberta R King 2016).

Not all members of KOMUJI are musicians; some listen, while others manage shows, some are *ustādh* or religious teachers, and some are family members of musicians. Everyone is united as a music community (R. R. King and Tan 2014) and experiences, in a “Turnerian sense”, what King refers to as “a momentary suspension of social status where a community of people experiences themselves on equal footing” (Roberta R King 2016). The group, which accommodates musicians and music fans who have “spiritually migrated”, does not only conduct religious studies, but also creates its own music projects. Expressive activities through music, in turn, will articulate “collective identities

that are fundamental to forming and sustaining social groups, which are, in turn, basic to survival” (Turino 2008).

This study aims to provide insight into the perceptions of young Muslims who undertake the *hijrah* and incorporate music into their Islamic identity, and actively debate the role of music in Islam. This research focuses on KOMUJI, an aforementioned group of Muslim musicians who have spiritually migrated but still play music to express their Islamic identity. Based on the relevant literature, Muslims who perform music are often stigmatized as being deviant. In addition, music has been associated with an identity construction and a freedom of expression. This leads to two major questions: 1) How can KOMUJI attribute meaning to music in relation to the *hijrah*? and 2) How does their musicking shape their *hijrah* values?

This study relied on KOMUJI focus group discussions and involved other non-KOMUJI parties. Besides KOMUJI activities, there were several other opportunities to discuss in a non-formal forum, such as during practice, before shows, during performance preparation meetings, and during coffee breaks. In addition, some religious activities (*hailalah* or “congregational prayers”) in mosques or in a KOMUJI member’s house afforded the opportunity to discuss deeper and understand their motivation to spiritually migrate outside of the non-verbal assessment.

Social media access provided this study with an additional method of data gathering. This provided further opinions from some related music figures, as well as those with knowledge of spiritual migration and the status of music in spiritual migration. Interactive media, such as Facebook and Instagram, was instrumental in terms of finding data on *hijrah* phenomena and music, as well as individual experiences of mobilizing social movements.

The *Komunitas Musisi Mengaji (KOMUJI)*

The KOMUJI, or the “Community of Musicians Learning Islam”, is a community of musicians that organizes regular religious studies gatherings in Bandung. KOMUJI was founded in 2011 and has since been coordinating and convening religious studies gatherings and musical performances, which has included it inviting religious lecturers and musicians to its forum. KOMUJI also promotes its activities via social media and *WhatsApp* groups. Eggie Fauzy, one of the founders of

the circle, explains that this group was founded because many musicians were tired of the hollow and meaningless world. They performed the *hijrah* to deepen their understanding of religion and heighten their religious devotion. “As they get older, musicians need new positive energy. Our idea is to study religion without having to abandon music,” remarked the manager of *Pemuda Harapan Bangsa* band (Susanto 2017). KOMUJI comprises approximately 200 musicians, all of whom seek solace from religious teachings. Of those 200 musicians, many are well-known and include Yuki (the vocalist of Pas Band), Kikan (the former vocalist of Coklat), Opick (a religious music singer), Denny (the vocalist of Java Jive), Alga Indria (the vocalist of Panasdalam), and Ernie (the bassist of She).

Typically, KOMUJI musicians have not attended *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), but rather received their religious education through religious studies classes held in Bandung, and via social media. The growing prevalence of Islamic studies, which increased following the political demise of President Suharto, in turn, spurred on their own interest in Islamic studies. Initially, they joined the masses who gravitated towards the study of Islam, but their religious convictions were confirmed by the increased number of musicians who were left disaffected by the music world.

“Indeed, I was not educated in Islamic schools, but I was educated in an Islamic family,” Eggy, whose parents are board members of *Dewan Masjid Indonesia* (the Indonesian Mosque Council), remarked. Eggy believes that Islamic teachings justify condemning others with different views (Interview with Eggy, Bandung, February 23, 2017). Thus, along with similar-minded friends, he formed a new study group. Ernie from She Band, Upit, and Maryam (three female musicians who always wear the hijab) had a similar realization, namely that they needed to learn more about Islam from more open-minded and trusted *ustadz*. “When we decided to wear the hijab,” Ernie, the vocalist of She, confessed, “we only followed the trend. Several study groups made me realize the responsibility of wearing the hijab for female Muslims is to protect our *aurat*. I accepted [the responsibility]. However, when they forbade music, I refused. I want to keep playing music while wearing the hijab!” (Interview with Ernie, Bandung, February 23, 2017).

KOMUJI convenes many regular religious study groups, including that led by Yajid Kalam, a young *ustādh* from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU),

who leads a virtual discussion on basic *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) every Friday night. Similarly, Hilmi Fuad and Dang Fathurrahman teach *tasawwuf* or Sufism, which explores ways of purifying the soul. The group members study religion in open spaces such as building terraces, cafes, and city parks. The participants are mostly independent musicians, while some are signed to major record labels. During Ramadhan, for instance, they hold Qur'anic discussions more frequently than usual and do charity work. Besides conducting religious activities, these musicians write Islamic songs and perform in various cafes, colleges, or *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools), either at the invitation of the venue or as a self-organized event.

Since its establishment in 2011, KOMUJI has sought to accommodate the needs of Bandung musicians who want to have a “spiritual migration”, but who also at the same time want to continue playing music. KOMUJI was founded by a group of musicians, all of whom were once managed by Eggy Fauzi. Several of these musicians happen to be members of *Tarekat Tijaniyah* (Sufism of the Tijani path), a group led by Dang Fathurrachman, who is also a musician. However, the membership of this study group continued to expand beyond the circle of the *Tarekat*, with more and more people, non-followers of the *Tarekat* participating in the group's activities. The group has also inspired musicians from other regions to open branches, such as those in Garut, Kuningan, Jakarta, and Purwakarta.

There are two religious scholars whom members view as the mentors of the KOMUJI: Dang Fathurrahman and Yazid Kalam. Dang Faturrahman, who received his undergraduate degree in anthropology at Padjadjaran University and his master's degree in management at Nanyang University in Singapore, is an Islamic preacher with extensive religious knowledge and sound systematical thinking. He is the grandson of K.H. Badruzzaman, a legendary Islamic scholar who led the Islamic boarding school *Al-Falah Biru* in Garut, and who is also a *murshid* (teacher) at *Tarekat Tijaniyah* in West Java. Dang Faturrahman, along with his music group, released an album in 2001 entitled *Tadzakkuriz Zaman* (“The Contemplation of Time”), which was distributed by Musica Studio. The album received an award at the Sufism Music Festival in Morocco in 2001. Dang also released an album called *Tentang Jiwa* (“On Soul”) in 2002, distributed by EMI Music, and a mini-album called *Dang Fathurrahman* in 2015, distributed by I Pro Music.

Meanwhile, Yajid Kalam, 40, is a young *usatādh* who graduated from a boarding school in Cipasung, Tasikmalaya. He is also a board member of Nahdlatul Ulama's West Java branch and his research interests include *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *akhlāq* (morals). He is the one who convinced the group of the permissibility of music. In doing so, Yajid referred to the account of Imam Al Ghazali in *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, that, depending on the context, the status of music may alternate between *haram* (forbidden) and *ḥalāl* (allowed). He proved that there are a few Hadiths that forbid, allow, and even encourage music. "The Prophet Muhammad once listened to music and singing in his house; there are also accounts of The Prophet's companions who played music," Yajid Kalam commented (Susanto 2017).

The musicians of KOMUJI are the representations of "*Muslim Tanpa Masjid*" (Muslims Without Mosques), a term coined by Kuntowijoyo (2001). They were not born into Islamic cultures and schools (*pesantren* or *madrasah*), yet they have the spirit to fulfill their Islamic identity by re-learning Islam. They also took Qur'anic recitation classes once a week, which enabled them to learn how to read the Qur'an properly (*tajwīd*) and beautifully (*tahsīn*). "Apparently, [the Qur'an] is difficult to read using *tahsīn*... it's easier to read musical notes!" Alga claimed (Interview with Alga, Bandung, August 11, 2017). KOMUJI members have created WhatsApp groups for Islamic studies, and there is even a WhatsApp group with a stand-by teacher, managed by KOMUJI teachers (Dang Faturahman, Yazid Kalam, Hilmi), to rectify and enrich their Islamic understandings. "We are aware that although the internet provides an abundance of Islamic knowledge, learning directly from well-known teachers is more reliable." Daus Hadi argued (a musician graduate from Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah, Garut) (Interview with Daus Hadi, Bandung, February 23, 2017). Daus is one of the few KOMUJI musicians to have graduated from a *pesantren*; the others received their religious education from public schools or from books. A musician's educational background directly influences their choice of music genre and the lyrics they write.

Understanding Music and *Hijrah* in Indonesian Islam

KOMUJI once held a religious discussion on the spirituality of music. The speaker was K.H. Lukman Hakim, a musician and Sufi practitioner who often teaches the book *al-Hikam*. The discussion was convened in

the hall of a hotel in northern Bandung. Several singers performed, before the discussion commenced at 1:10pm. The moderator wore a black shirt, short trousers, and had styled his hair into a Mohawk. He was apparently a punk music lover. The discussion proceeded in a relaxed manner, with the moderator interrupting with the occasional witty comment, which triggered laughter from the audience.

When it was KH Lukman Hakim's turn to discuss the spirituality of music, the moderator interrupted: "Wait a minute, *Pak Kyai*, what is the law for a moderator who leaves the discussion for a while?" Some participants laughed, while some suggested a break for afternoon prayers. Meanwhile, KH Lukman allowed the moderator to leave for praying. The moderator left the stage with a backpack on his shoulder, which turned out to be a *musalla* (a small mosque). I followed the moderator, saw him taking *wudū'* (ablutions), and then removing a sarong from his backpack. He was praying solemnly and uttered the *dhikr* after the prayer. Not long after that, the organizer came after the moderator saying, "Hurry up... the event is almost finished!" After that, the moderator was back on stage wearing the same pair of shorts as before and had reverted to his easy-going attitude.

These are examples of KOMUJI-organized activities: listening to Islamic sermons, having discussions, doing charity work, conducting services, but all around music. In early 2018, KOMUJI affirmed its belief that musicking could be a means to *hijrah* by compiling all the spiritual songs its members have written. "We want this compilation album to be a reminding friend to all the people who are performing the *hijrah*. The messages are simple: Islam is beautiful, *hijrah* is not extreme," Eggy, the coordinator of KOMUJI, said. Then, Eggy mentioned the *Pemuda Hijrah* ("the *Hijrah* Youths"), another community that promotes *hijrah* among young people:

"At first, the activities of the *Pemuda Hijrah* were so *soft*. They use slang to attract the youngsters, and even some well-known musicians decided to perform the *hijrah*. Long after, the group went on even further. The musicians received more teachings on the total (*kaffah*) *hijrah*, in which they announced that music is forbidden... Some of the members pledged to no longer play music in front of the congregation as a symbol of their firm decision to perform the *hijrah*" (Interview Eggy, Bandung, January 2, 2018).

KOMUJI was created as a "middle-ground" for musicians to perform the *hijrah*, "because there are a lot of musicians who do, in fact, want to perform the *hijrah*, but are reluctant [to do so] after hearing of

musical instruments being destroyed and the prohibition on music”, Eggy added. Dadan, a KOMUJI member, added that, “There are many musicians who found truth through music [...] via the same path that we would like to walk.” (Interview Dadan, Bandung, January 2, 2018).

On the other hand, there is a belief that musical activity is forbidden. To obtain data on the prohibition on music among those embarking on the *hijrah*, we conducted several interviews. Of our interview respondents, two *ustadz* from a *hijrah* group firmly stated that music is prohibited. “Playing music is evidently forbidden. Ibn Qayyim in *Ighāthat al-lahfān* states that songs can deviate someone’s heart from understanding, contemplating, and practicing the content of the Qur’an.” The consciousness of the individual who plays music is definitely preoccupied with music, so without being aware he will waste time. “When will he have time to read and contemplate the Qur’an? If his life is not filled with reading the Qur’an, then what is the difference between who he is now and who he was before *hijrah*? No good comes from playing music.” (Interview with Ali, activist from the al-Lathiif mosque, Bandung, where Youth Hijrah activities are held, 16 March 2018). Ali’s opinion resounds with the popular Islamic website www.rumaysho.com. On that website, there is an article by Muhammad Tuasikal entitled “*Saatnya Meninggalkan Musik*” (It’s Time to Leave Music), which was published on 17 July 2009. In that article, Tuasikal emphasizes that reading the Qur’an is a substitute for music, so the need for a melodious experience can be channeled through it (Tuasikal 2009).

Another religious teacher, Umar, from the *Pemuda Hijrah*, confirms the prohibition on music with the argument of soul purification. An individual who is performing the *hijrah*, according to Umar, must continue to focus only on Allah and not be distracted by other matters. Music has a charm that makes people distracted, hence it is considered the opposite of the solemnity of the *hijrah* process. Many internet sites support the prohibition on music for Muslims. Some, such as kisahmuslim.com condemn music as the cause of the demise of Islam in Spain, citing the Qur’an that a country’s demise is the result of people no longer doing good deeds (Hud [11]: 117). These sites claim that the reluctance to perform good deeds is because Muslims in Spain like music: “Andalusian people were preoccupied with listening to music. Music was more popular than the Qur’an recital, hadith reading, and

made people forget to contemplate the verses of Allah” (N. Hadi 2014). Islamqa.info not only forbid music, but also condemns Islamic scholars who allow music and criticizes them for “defending lusts”.

On the contrary, KOMUJI believes that music is a path to *hijrah*. KOMUJI opened a coffee shop to facilitate regular religious study and musical activities. Eggy, who had been a professional music manager, encourages musicians from KOMUJI to perform at certain events. In 2017, for example, Eggy organized the National *Santri* Day, an event held by PP RMI (the Rabithah Ma’had Islamiyah Association) of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). At the event, KOMUJI members performed as Islamic musicians. Alga, as the master of ceremonies, came forward dressed in a sarong with his hair styled in a Mohawk. At first, the performers were worried that they would not be well received by the NU audience, but this was not the case. “NU accepted us as we were, and that confirmed our conviction to perform the *hijrah* with music,” Alga stated (interview with Alga, Bandung, October 5, 2018).

Not all Islamic discourses on the internet forbid music. There are two articles that provide support for music, such as articles on *Hidayatullah* and NU Online websites. On *Hidayatullah* (Hidayat 2012) there is an article written by Nuim Hidayat (Lecturer at the Preaching College of Moh. Natsir, Jakarta), which discusses the permeability of music based on a balanced textual and historical review. “Among those who forbid singing and music are Imam Ibnu al Jauzi, Imam Qurthubi, and Imam asy-Syaukani. Meanwhile, those who allow music are Imam Malik, Imam Ja’far, Imam al Ghazali and Imam Daudazh Zhahiri. They all use arguments from the Qur’an and the Hadith,” writes Nuim Hidayat. Then, Nuim writes:

“The *dalīls* [the Quran and hadith references] used by those who forbid sound, art and music are not strong. As mentioned above, there is no *dalīl* that firmly asserts this. Moreover, there is no human being that we should follow besides the Prophet. The Prophet himself does not forbid music. Therefore, Imam Abu Bakr Ibn Arabi (in the *Quran Ahkamul* Volume III, pp. 1053-1054) states: “There is no single reference in the Qur’an or Sunnah that forbids singing. Instead, there are many authentic hadith that permit it. The narrated hadith and verses used to show the prohibition [on music] are false in terms of the *sanad* [narration] and *i’riqād* [credibility].”

Nuim tends to allow music, citing the historical precedent in Islamic civilization that “[t]he past Islamic caliphate never banned people from learning the art of sound and music. People were allowed to build

music schools and musical instrument factories. They were given the passion to write books on the art of sound, music, and dance”. Nuim concludes:

“Unfortunately, nowadays, music has deviated far from Islam. Music is no longer used as a preaching tool, a *jihad* (struggle) tool or a tool to show the love for Allah and His Messenger, to show love for science and so on. Currently, music is used just for entertainment, and moreover there are many activities associated with music which deviate from Islamic teachings. Therefore, now is the time for Muslims to restore music back in accordance with Islamic teachings. So, there will appear musicians or music with Islamic nuances.”

Meanwhile, the official website of Nahdlatul Ulama, www.nu.or.id (October 1, 2009 11:10), posted a piece by Jamaluddin Muhammad (the chair of *Komunitas Seniman Santri* (KSS) or “Santri Artists Community” of Pondok Pesantren Babakan Ciwaringin, Cirebon) entitled “*Pandangan Ulama terhadap Seni Musik*” (“Islamic Scholars’ View of Music Art”) (Mohammad 2009). This piece provides balanced reviews on the *fiqh* of music, then proposes a framework of “form and content” to make music activities unforbidden. Through the dialectic of form-content, Jamaluddin Muhammad asserts that the prohibition of music does not refer to musical instruments (flute or guitar), but to “another matter” (*amrun khārij*), namely that music is usually played in dubious venues or involves the consumption of alcohol.

Jamaluddin Muhammad also confirms two reasons for the permissibility of music. First, music is not concretely forbidden by the Qur’an and Hadith, and because music is in the field of *mu‘āmalah* (social matters) the law is not straight forward. Second, he refers to al-Ghazali’s principle of form-content relation that listening to music or singing is no different from listening to the words or sounds derived from living beings or inanimate objects. Every song conveys a message. “If the message is good and contains religious values, then it is not much different from listening to a sermon or religious lecture, and vice versa” (Mohammad 2009).

The musicians in KOMUJI choose to perform music as a form of gratitude to God for the talents God has blessed them. “This musical talent must be a gift from God the Most Beautiful,” Ustadz Yazid explained. “If we make a good use of this talent to intensify our worship of God, it will become a blessing” (Interview With Ustadz Yazid, Bandung, June 5, 2018). The musicians in KOMUJI deem music to be

mubāh (allowed), which could place it in either the negative or positive category, depending on the intention. “Our intention is to *hijrah* while maintaining our musical activities. Therefore, we have to complete our *hijrah*, as well as producing beautiful music!” Alga Indria remarked (interview with Alga, Bandung, October 5, 2018). In response to a debate on Inul Daradista’s dangdut music, which was deemed *un-Islamic*, Abdul Hadi emphasized the characteristics of Islamic music that make it beautiful in nature (A. Hadi 2001).

KOMUJI musicians take an interesting stance towards music. Besides refusing to deem music *haram* (forbidden) in *fiqh*, they blend pop music—not the common Indonesian Islamic genres such as *qaṣidah* (Van Zanten 2011), *gambus* (Berg 2011)—with Islamic lyrics (Capwell 2011). The songs they produce fall within the genres of pop, ballad, rock, and other popular genres. The lyrics do not only revolve around God, but also invoke the Prophet Muhammad. “Our lyrics aim to encourage the youth to make a change for the better based on our Islamic core values,” Eggy explained. KOMUJI has five core values: (1) Uniqueness: being aware that everyone or group has their own characteristics; (2) Difference: understanding that difference is a necessity no one can avoid; (3) Equality: being aware that every individual or group is equal; (4) Diversity: accepting diversity as a source of social trust not as the root of social tension; and (5) Brotherhood: having a sense of brotherhood among everyone and group (interview with Eggy, Bandung, December 25, 2018).

***Hijrah* with Musicking**

Hijrah, or fully experiencing one’s Islamic identity while playing music, at least for Indonesian musicians, started with the “One Finger Salute” movement in the metal music scene. Metal musicians, such as Ombat, realized the existence of cultural “colonialism” in metal music towards their Islamic identity. “Frankly, while conducting band activities, we neglected many things (in religion). We neglected the *ṣalāh* [daily prayers], neglected ourselves, and so on. However, after we became aware that this generation has become easy prey for the Zionists, (we realized) this is the moment to change the old paradigm into a new paradigm. [We] play music, but we still perform the *ṣalāh* five times a day and perform other duties as well.” (Grind, 2012) “[...] There was a Tengkorak fan who wanted to perform a prayer, then said

to his friend, ‘Let me do a prayer first.’ His friend responded, ‘That’s crazy! Why does a metalhead still perform the *ṣalāh!*’ Exactly at that time, I realized that we have been colonized culturally.” (Interview with P. Yuliandri & M. H. Nasution, Bandung, November 16, 2012). However, for Ombat, the process required to change the paradigm does not require leaving music:

“Since the birth of metal, the propaganda of Satanism has become a phantom and developed rapidly in the Western world. Like how it is in the battlefield, if the enemy fights with a weapon, then we also must fight with a weapon. Likewise, if the enemy fights the young generation with metal, then we also must fight with metal. Through metal, we can kickback” (Tengkorak Grind 2012).

Ombat admits that he himself was ignorant of this situation, as are the majority of metalheads in this underground subculture. However, at one particular stage of his life he realized that the world of metal music that he pursued all this time had made him go astray from his Islamic values. This realization was strengthened when an American music anthropologist, Jeremy Wallach, enlightened him on the symbolizations in metal music, which derive from Judaism (Saefullah 2017). Since then, Ombat sought to change metal music from a tool of culture colonialization to a tool of cultural resistance. From then on, Ombat, with his band Tengkorak, started to convey themes of *jihad* and anti-Zionism in their music, and changed the “three-finger salute” into a “one finger salute”, in an effort to remind his fans of the essence of *tawḥīd* (Hidayat 2012).

“We are not metal *a la* the West. We are different in terms of exceptionality and attitude. We still conduct prayers and fasting, as well as avoid religious prohibitions, such as drugs, alcohol, and other forbidden things. Music indeed makes us negligent. It brings more bad than good. However, we have to realize that every time there is a great temptation to destroy our morality, we should prevent and resist it with style. We show them that we are different. That alone can make the powerful enemy frustrated and failed in corrupting the youth. They thought that we are metal to the core, who can easily be brain-washed (when in fact we are not). The point is, music is permissible, but don’t follow the ideology of satanism” (Hidayat 2012).

Wallach, a professor at Bowling Green State University, Ohio, is one of the first anthropologists to study Indonesian popular music and new genres derived from the West in the mid-1990s. Ombat most likely

met Wallach during his research in Indonesia. Wallach mentioned Tengkorak as one of the underground bands that “forged distinctive individual styles and produced songs that directly address the fears, emotions, and aspirations of contemporary Indonesian youth” (Wallach 2005).

Wallach concludes that pop music is a place where differences are allowed, which means it was able to unify the people in Indonesia (Wallach 2017). Moreover, dangdut, as a popular musical genre in Indonesia, is a representation of the people’s true desire, such as the desire to gather, mingle, have fun, and accept differences. Even though dangdut appears not to have any social messages, in some cases it might imply resistance against the government. Contrary to dangdut, underground music groups explicitly encourage their listeners to be more politically aware, urge them to think independently, to draw their own conclusions, and to not take everything for granted.

In addition, underground music says a lot about community and brotherhood, both of which are compatible with Indonesian culture. At this point, metal music is not the antithesis of Western individualism, but has instead become communal, and even has a strong underground network (Bastian, 2013). These music groups have encouraged their listeners to respond to sociopolitical changes in Indonesia since the New Order and this continues today. Along with the upsurge of Islamism in Indonesia, popular music groups also respond differently: either pro-*hijrah* or anti-*hijrah*.

KOMUJI has the same spirit, notwithstanding that not all its members are musicians or metalheads, insofar as the community encourages all musicians to express their *hijrah* through music.

“If everyone who is blessed by Allah with musical ability stops playing music, then who will fill that void? Everyone likes music. It’s the will of Allah. Even reciting the Qur’an should be melodious. The *azan* (call to prayer) has melodic patterns. They all show that there is music in Islamic teachings, don’t they? If there are no Muslim musicians while the youth in the future keep listening to music, then the music [they will listen to] will be produced those who do not have the spirit of Islam. This is more dangerous” (interview with Hilmi, Bandung, July 10, 2018).

“If the path to God is as simple as breathing, playing music can be a path towards God, can’t it? I believe in it. I’m certain” (Interview with Alga, Bandung, October 5, 2018). On his decision to *hijrah* through playing music, Alga remarked, “Surely, it’ll be harder, because it has to

always be balanced between the process to be a devout Muslim while playing music as well” (interview with Alga, Bandung, October 5, 2018)

On the other hand, the *hijrah* musicians who forbid music demonstrate the opposite position. “Spiritually migrating and leaving music is difficult. Imagine living with music for years, but then suddenly having to abandon it. However, Allah should always be more important” (Interview with Husein, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

A wholesale *hijrah* is defined as leaving the past, as found in these two interviews:

“*Hijrah* is a moment of leaving old habits and identity for new ones. Music is my past, along with its bad habits. Playing music will only entail the bad habits attached to it. How can I perform the *hijrah* if that happens.” (Interview with Marzuki, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

“*Hijrah* means leaving past habits that prevent Islamic identities. Music is one of them, as well as dating, usury, dressing up to receive compliments from others, hanging out at morally decadent places. We should leave everything and change it to a new way: Islam.” (Interview with Andi, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

KOMUJI realizes that playing music can have a negative impact in certain instances. Hence, KOMUJI conducts a number of Islamic “studies” to increase people’s motivation to *hijrah*. The majority of these sessions are conducted at coffee shops, or other “secular” places, such as bookstores, parks, and hotels. “The study circle should be made as informal as possible,” Muaz, a musician and KOMUJI activist, said. “After all, many people are ashamed to come to mosques, or Islamic teaching places. At the coffee shops, they feel like they’re at their own home”. Muaz is an activist member of KOMUJI from an urban *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school), who regularly comes to cafes to offer people Qur’anic instruction. Several people who later joined KOMUJI started Muaz’s *iqra* (Qur’anic recital) lesson, which then grew their interest of studying Islam.

“What I say is very simple: ‘Ma’am, sir, could you please spare me your time? Just five minutes to learn how to read the Qur’an!’ Some of them were surprised. I understand they were surprised – we were in a café; why should we suddenly learn to read the Qur’an. After all, their motivation to enter the café is not to learn the Qur’an. The funny thing is some of them gave me a frown, assumed that I was weird, but then they came secretly to learn to read the Qur’an for five minutes. Miraculously, the next day, they

came to learn to read the Qur'an again. There was a girl who did not wear a veil at the first meeting, but then at the fourth meeting, she brought a veil even though she still wore 'sexy' clothes. We have to embrace them; give them a chance" (Interview with Muaz, Bandung, December 5, 2018).

One regular KOMUJI activity is "the Café of Sufi", which is both a music gig and an Islamic study. The Islamic study took place at "The 5th Café Sufi", at Café Guswin, in Geger Kalong, northern Bandung, as if it were a meditative show. When people entered the café, the light was off and the room was pitch black. Slowly, the sound of percussion filled the room and was later complemented intermittently by the *beluk*, which is a loud and low-pitched traditional vocal, which creates a meditative atmosphere. After a while, the light was turned on and shone on a musician who began to sing a song about repentance. At the end of the song, someone recited the opening grace and the room returned to pitch black. After that, several songs were played and, during the break, someone recited some religious reflections.

"Allah has believed in you, in all of us, that we are worthy to be *khalifah*, God's representative, God's assistant to take care of the earth, to be full of His Grace. The devils do not believe, they underestimate us, humans. Unfortunately, throughout our lives we have proved what the devils believe: we've eventually betrayed Allah's trust. So... come back... come back...!" (Interview with Dang Fatuhurohman, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

Several songs were played again, songs written by KOMUJI musicians, with lyrics about the awareness of God. For the last song, a musician sang:

"Longing becomes everlasting, calling your name over and over,
Longing becomes everlasting, calling your name over and over
Over and over... Over and over..."

Then, in the dark, someone led a *dhikr* (chant): *Lailahaiillallaah... Lailahaiillallaah* (there is no god except Allah). The audience joined in the chorus of the chant, while the instruments from the last song were still playing. The chant grew stronger: "*Lailahaiillallaah... Lailahaiillallaah...*" then changed to "*Allahu... Allahu...*" The music stopped, but the *dhikr* continued, "*Allahu... Allahu...*" and then ended with a shout "Huuuu... Huuuuu..." The light in the room was switched on and the audience gave a round of applause. Some members of the audience were sobbing.

“Somehow I felt sad when we recited the *dhikir*. I recite this kind of *dhikir* often, but it has never been as touching as this. This is probably the effect of the music,” explained Iceu, a housewife. Another audience member, attending a KOMUJI event for the first time, said, “I was very happy that KOMUJI musicians performed tonight to bring the people toward Allah. It’s so serene that I can’t explain it. I want to be involved (Interview with Ian, Bandung, October 27, 2018).”

“Music can also accompany a *dhikir*, and the effect is unexpected,” explained Iqbal, another spectator. Backstage, a member of the support staff who was assigned to manage the sound and equipment, felt satisfied: “Just imagine, sir, the lighting depended solely on the switcher. We didn’t believe it at first that the result would be like this. It turned out so cool. It’s even cooler that I saw some participants shedding tears” (Interview with Iqbal, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

This is most likely what Herbert refers to as a transcendental experience (Herbert 2011), which occurs when music induces “states of ecstasy” or “deeply emotional occurrences that leave people without words to adequately articulate the phenomenon” (Roberta R King 2016). At the same time, music, in general, ignites our imagination, producing “sensory, emotional and physical effects.” King writes of this condition as one whereby one is “often caught off guard or surprised by one’s thoughts and feelings, people listening to music can envision possibilities within the realities of specific actualities—political exigencies, time periods, physical locations, and religious differences” (Roberta R King 2016). Music also produces a situation that encourages one “[to process] one’s own life experiences”, and which directs us toward social integration that makes us whole (Turino 2008). This experience happens not only to the musicians, but also to those who listen, whether casually or earnestly, as well as helpers who produce such music events. Therefore, music has some kind of special bond, a “sonic bonding” that “fosters the emergence of interconnected and participatory relationships capable of enduring beyond the music event itself” (Roberta R King 2016).

The event continued and Dang Fathurrahman came to the stage to explain the aim of the show. “Be glad for those who are blessed with musical ability. They will always serve Allah with happiness. There are many ways to serve Allah. One of them is with music!” (Interview with Dang Fatuhurohman, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

Most KOMUJI members are students of Dang Fathurrahman, *muqoddam* or *murshid* (spiritual mentor) of the *Tarekat Tijaniyyah*. Besides being a spiritual mentor, Dang Faturrahman is also a musician. As a follower of the *Tarekat Tijaniyyah*, most KOMUJI members strictly observe religious rituals. For example, they perform a mass *dhikr*, chanting *Lailahailallah Hailalah (haylalah)* every Friday evening. Besides that, there are also members of KOMUJI who follow the *Tarekat Qudsiyah*, *Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah*, or the *Jamaah Tabligh*, such as Yuki of PAS Band. Everyone gathers without making an issue of their different affiliations.

“Through music, we exchange feelings of understanding with each other, together making everything beautiful. Wouldn’t it be interesting if we did that in daily life?” (Interview with Daus Hadi, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

“KOMUJI becomes a shared home. Every religious sect can exist here. (We are) on the process (of changing). There are even some who are still trying to regularly do the five daily prayers. Everyone learns together. We easily understand each other. Maybe because we have gone through the process to understand each other through tone and rhythm” (Interview with Egy, Bandung, March 12, 2018).

KOMUJI as the Identity of Young Muslims in Indonesia

KOMUJI has provided many people a safe and secure home where they can engage in an identity transformation process of sorts (Dupuis and Thorns 1998, 28). Having experienced a form of “homelessness”, because of the uncertainty and discontinuity (Kinnvall 2004, 747) of modern society, in KOMUJI they have a new home. Yuki of PAS Band realizes that his past was plagued by promiscuity, Ernie of *She* is horrified seeing the lifestyle of celebrities, and Egy felt an emptiness while he lived like a bohemian. Hence, together they built KOMUJI.

KOMUJI is an alternative home. KOMUJI members view the *Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah* as another alternative, but deem it too mainstream, and as preventing them from assuming their source of identity, namely music. That is why they built a new home, which on one hand enables them to fight against the dominant popular culture, and on the other, offers an alternative for performing the *hijrah*. KOMUJI carries out the process of rebuilding their identity, as well as its “home” (Melucci 1989, 109).

The identity built by KOMUJI and the *Pemuda Hijrah* is bicultural: half of their identity is rooted in local culture and the other half in global culture. In other words, besides bearing a global identity, they continuously develop a local identity based on the local context, environment, and tradition in which they grew up (Arnett 2002). The difference between the two lies in the assumption about identity. While *Pemuda Hijrah* imagines the existence of a wholesale Islamic identity, KOMUJI does not.

What *Pemuda Hijrah* does, referring to Almond et al., is a process of identity stabilization to “prevent the risk of being absorbed in modernity like a whirlpool” (Almond, Appleby, and Sivan 2003, 30). *Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah* can be addressed as an enclave culture which builds a wall of virtue based on moral values. The wall of virtue supposes the separation of the safe and morally superior enclave from the center community trapped in the temptation of modernity. Morally-corrupted people outside the wall view them as residents of the polluted, contagious, and dangerous land (Almond, Appleby, and Sivan 2003, 33–37). *Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah*, referring to research by Noorhaidi Hasan, has an affinity with the *Laskar Jihad* (the Jihad Troops) in which they both emphasize the importance of obedience to the faith, morality, and different lifestyles. This movement condemns deviations, avoids unfaithfulness, and rejects the outside world, thereby developing exclusive behavior that veers toward isolating themselves from the outside world. They view the outside world as an ignorant world full of *shirk* (polytheism) and *bid'ah* (innovation/heresy), which should be abandoned. At the same time, they build an image of a perfect Islam, which they embody physically by growing beards and wearing *isbāl* (above the ankle) trousers, while alienating themselves from the identity of a modern lifestyle (Hasan 2008, 259–268).

Meanwhile, KOMUJI conducts its *hijrah* with a lenient, go-with-the-flow manner, as well as *musicking*. KOMUJI shows what Nilan called a hybrid lifestyle, in which its cultural patterns not only represent two authentic and original cultural practices or biculturalism, but also a “third space” cultural practice (Nilan 2006, 107–8). KOMUJI's identity is more complex and constantly evolving, as is its *musicking*.

Musicking causes the musicians in KOMUJI to become interconnected, have a mutual understanding, and move together to nurture their identity of “*hijrah* while continuing to play music”. All

musicians and their supporting cast perform for free. “No matter what, we cannot detach ourselves from music; moreover, if the music is made like this. With limited resources, the gig was a big success,” remarked one of the percussion players, full of satisfaction after one show. That is probably what musicking means: every individual involved, producing a synchronized tone and singing, a joint activity that makes them find a “new perspectives on each other’s common humanity, offers dignity and respect, and lays the groundwork for building trust” (Roberta R King 2016, 5).

In 2019, KOMUJI affirmed its influences by releasing a project called “revolution”, which aims to reinforce inclusivity among the youth who plan to perform the *hijrah* in Bandung, specifically among the indie music community. It does this by uniting musicians through creative collaborations as a campaign for inclusivity (Komuji 2020). The program invites indie musicians in Indonesia to produce popular music and to write inclusive lyrics about respect for differences and the courage to be different. KOMUJI conducts this program to counter “the rise of cult behavior and exclusivity among youth between the ages of 18 and 30 in Bandung—notably among young Muslims with interests in deepening their religious knowledge—represented by numerous youth communities in Bandung, such as *Pemuda Hijrah*, *Fun Ta’lim*, and *Pemuda Istiqamah*” (Komuji 2020). Prior to 2020, there were 100 youth music groups from different regions in West Java and the surrounding areas that campaigned for KOMUJI’s core values of *hijrah* while maintaining their musical activities.

Conclusion

The KOMUJI members in this study commonly believe that their decision to keep playing music while performing the *hijrah* does not violate Islamic teachings. Instead, musicking has become a way for KOMUJI members to symbolize their decision to *hijrah*. “If God’s path is as simple as men’s breath, then music must be one of them”, remarked a KOMUJI member.

In general, music is something deemed contrary to the spirit of *hijrah*, but KOMUJI’s position is that “through music, we can get closer to Allah”. Most musicians who perform the *hijrah* still forbid music because they believe “what promotes immorality must be immoral in itself”. This opinion is best explained by Salafi scholars

who interpret “the perfect Islam” as a pure belief void of non-Islamic activities, including music. This opinion can be described as an enclave culture, namely one that constructs a wall of virtue based on moral values considered part of a purist Islam.

KOMUJI’s activities are diverse. Instead of conducting them in traditional places, such as mosques, they perform at cafés. Their paths to *hijrah*, however, are not only through music. They form religious study circles, conduct charity work, and teach *iqra*. The members who are engaged in the activities are not limited to musicians. They help each other and find transcendence in “the Sonic Bonding”. Musicking is a path to *hijrah*, as well as a counterculture against the more established enclave culture of *Gerakan Pemuda Hijrah*. Musicking for KOMUJI members provides a “third path” for them amid globalization and Islamism invasions.

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3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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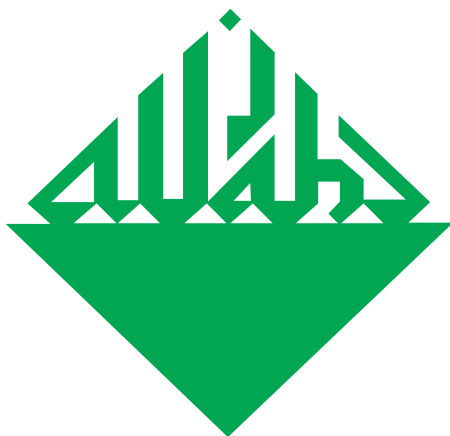
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في المعاهد الإسلامية بإندونيسيا:

مشكلاتها وطرق حلها

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