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UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

web: <https://iatmagister.uin-suka.ac.id/>  
IG: @iatmagister.uinsuka

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**Prof. Dr. Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy** adalah dosen di Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta. Ia memperoleh gelar master dan doktoralnya dari program studi Agama dan Studi Lintas Budaya, Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta. Minat penelitiannya meliputi studi Living Qur'an dan Hadis serta isu-isu agama dan lintas budaya. Ia menjabat sebagai Pemimpin Redaksi Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin sejak tahun 2021. Email: [saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id](mailto:saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id)

## DAFTAR JUDUL

<b>TAHUN 2022</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Judul</b>	<b>Jurnal</b>
<b>1</b>	Violations of Islamic law in male–female relations: the shifting of nyubuk tradition of the customary peoples of Lampung	Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies; Vol 11 No 1 pp. 93-103.
<b>2</b>	Dysfunction of Muslim’s Public Resource: A Study of Waqf Land Disorganization in Indonesia	De Jure: Jurnal Hukum dan Syar’iah, 14 (1). pp. 92-110
<b>3</b>	Best Practices for Identifying Hoaxes: An Analysis of the Methodology of Hadith Transmission	Islamic Quarterly 65 (2), pp. 255-276
<b>4</b>	The Rejection of Women Imams in Indonesia: Between Religious and Socio-Cultural Texts	Journal of International Women's Studies: Vol. 24: Iss. 5
<b>5</b>	Penafsiran atas QS. Al-Hujurat [49] : 11 Perspektif Ma'na cum Maghza	Lebih Dekat dengan Ma'na-Cum-Maghza Sahiron Syamsuddin
<b>6</b>	The Successful of Student Well-Being Development Through Child-Friendly School Programs	International Journal of Elementary Education Volume 6, Number 2, Tahun 2022
<b>7</b>	The Contestation of Islamic and Nationalists Parties in 2019 Election	ICON-DEMOST 2021, September 15, Semarang, Indonesia
<b>8</b>	Qur'anic Interpretation of Ashura Day Celebrations in Mappasagena Culture of Buginese Community of South Sulawesi - Indonesia`	Cogent Arts & Humanities Volume 9, 2022 - Issue 1
<b>9</b>	Gender Equity in Inheritance System: The Collaboration of Islamic and Bugis Luwu Customary Law	al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum dan Pranata Sosial, 17(2), 2022
<b>10</b>	Muslims Resistance to Health Protocols in COVID-19 Funeral: A Study of Islamic Law	Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam, Volume 6 No. 2. July-December 2022
<b>11</b>	COVID-19 Pandemic in Indonesia: Some Reflections from Baḏl Al-Mā' ūn by Ibn ḥajr al-‘Asqalānī	2022: Afkar: Jurnal Akidah & Pemikiran

		Islam, Special Issue on COVID -19
<b>12</b>	Tiga Lapis Makna Ayat Toleransi dalam Mori Sama	QOF, 6(2), 157-176

<b>TAHUN 2023</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Judul</b>	<b>Jurnal</b>
<b>1</b>	Contemporary Fragments in Islamic Interpretation: An Analysis of Gus Baha's Tafsir Jalalayn Recitation on YouTube in the Pesantren Tradition	Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu al-Qur'an dan Hadis Vol. 24, No. 1 (Januari 2023)
<b>2</b>	Virtual Friday Prayer Practices During the Covid-19 Pandemic in Indonesia	Islāmiyyāt: International Journal of Islamic Studies. 2023 Special Issue, Vol. 45, p143-155. 13p.
<b>3</b>	Dynamics and Typology of Quranic Content in Tiktok	Jurnal At-Tibyan: Jurnal Ilmu Alqur'an dan Tafsir, Vol 8 No 1 (2023)
<b>4</b>	The Viral of Hadist: Dimensi dan Makna Meme# Hadis Dalam Media Sosial Instagram	Satya Widya: Jurnal Studi Agama Vol 6 No 1 (2023): (Belum tersedia secara online)

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## Violations of Islamic Law in Male–Female Relations: The Shifting of Nyubuk Tradition of the Customary Peoples of Lampung

Suhairi<sup>\*</sup>

Siti Nurjanah<sup>2</sup>

Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy<sup>3</sup>

Khoirul Abror<sup>4</sup>

Mufliha Wijayati<sup>5</sup>

Agus Alimuddin<sup>6</sup>

Ahmed Sarjoon Razick<sup>7</sup>

Anas Tajudin<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1,2</sup>Department of Syari'ah Economy, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Metro Lampung, Jl. Ki Hajar Dewantara No.15A, Iringmulyo, Kota Metro, Lampung 34112, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup>Faculty of Ushuluddin and Islamic Thought, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Jl. Laksda Adisucipto, Caturtunggal, Kec. Depok, Kabupaten Sleman, Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia

<sup>4</sup>Department of Syari'a Economy Law, Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Bandar Lampung, Jl. Letnan Kolonel H Endro Suratmin, Sukarame, Kota Bandar Lampung, Lampung 35131, Indonesia

<sup>5</sup>Department of Islamic Family Law, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Metro Lampung, Jl. Ki Hajar Dewantara No.15A, Iringmulyo, Kota Metro, Lampung 34112, Indonesia

<sup>6</sup>Department of Syari'a Economy, Institut Agama Islam Negeri Metro Lampung, Jl. Ki Hajar Dewantara No.15A, Iringmulyo, Kota Metro, Lampung 34112, Indonesia

<sup>7</sup>South Eastern University of Sri Lanka, 7VW2+Q2M, Oluvil, Sri Lanka

<sup>8</sup>University College of Islam Melaka, KM 25, 78200 Kuala Sungai Baru, Melaka, Malaysia  
\*Corresponding Author

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### Abstract

Advances in media and communication technology have wrought significant shifts in the nyubuk tradition of the customary peoples of Lampung Pepadun. Male–female relations, once clearly regulated by customary doctrine through nyubuk, are now mediated by social media technology that facilitates the violation of customary and Islamic laws. This article examines how nyubuk, a cultural medium for communication that has traditionally been used in spouse selection, has shifted as social media has become widely available. More specifically, it seeks to understand how the nyubuk tradition has come to disappear without any significant resistance. In doing so, it applies a qualitative descriptive approach, with data having been collected through interviews. This study finds that despite generations of practice, shifting social and cultural practices have threatened nyubuk with extinction, and the practice has increasingly been replaced by social media. As a result, behaviors that violate social and religious norms have become increasingly common in society. Male–female relations, traditionally regulated under Islamic norms through nyubuk, have become increasingly open as cultural spaces have been replaced by social media. This has facilitated transgressions and other violations of Islamic law by young men and women. Obeisance of religious law depends significantly on local cultural authorities, and where these authorities are ignored, once dominant laws and practices may become extinct.

**Keywords:** legal violations, Islamic law, youth relationships, local tradition, social media

## 1. Introduction

As information technology and media have become increasingly widespread, traditional mechanisms for regulating interpersonal relations have weakened. At the same time, this shift from cultural to internet-based communication media has transformed the norms and laws of society. For example, amongst the customary peoples (*masyarakat adat*) of Lampung Pepadun, the *nyubuk* tradition that has long shaped male-female interactions during spouse selection has been eroded by the widespread use of WhatsApp and other social media platforms. Interactions on these social media platforms have tended to violate the customary and Islamic laws observed in society. Campbell (2010) has argued that religious (and even customary) communities must continuously negotiate the changes wrought by new technologies to maintain their faith and their beliefs; among the people of Lampung, this negotiation has not occurred, and the *nyubuk* tradition has weakened.

Studies of the traditions of the customary peoples of Lampung have shown two tendencies. First, studies have tended to seek a broad-stroke portrait of local culture (Irianto & Risma Margareta, 2011; Ningrum, 2017; Rosmana, 2010). As a result of ethnification, the customary peoples of Lampung have developed their local traditions and produced their understandings of *pili pasegri* (self-worth) to ensure their continued survival and to reposition their indigenous identities (Irianto & Risma Margareta, 2011); Second, studies have positioned the negotiation and acculturation of Lampung culture vis-à-vis the religions practiced in Lampung (Humaedi, 2014; Isnaeni & Hakiki, 2017; Nurdin, 2009). Particular focus has been given to the intersection between Lampung culture and Islam, which Isnaeni & Hakiki (2017) liken to two sides of the same coin. Islamic law and local culture have become inexorably intertwined in Lampung, the result of successful assimilation. However, religious-cultural traditions have had difficulty enduring in the modern era. The erosion of *nyubuk*, a cultural communication medium traditionally used to regulate male-female interactions during spouse selection, is but one example; this blend of religion and culture, long ignored by scholars, has become less prevalent in the modern era.

This article seeks to investigate how *nyubuk*, a cultural medium for communication, has waned in the face of media technology. More specifically, it seeks to answer why the *nyubuk* tradition—a customary mechanism for mediating the communication between young men and women—has been allowed to fade without any significant resistance. This exploration of the *nyubuk* tradition and its potential extinction will also contribute to a broader understanding of the significant social transformations that have been instigated by the rise of internet technology.

This study departs from three arguments. First, it argues that the *nyubuk* tradition has faded as social differentiation has delegitimized communal cultural practices. Second, it argues that traditions cannot be maintained where high levels of social mobility exist, and thus traditions must be reoriented. Third, social differentiation and mobility have delegitimized cultural representatives, thereby resulting in the deauthorization of traditional leaders. Cultural and religious leaders are no longer viewed as representing the cultural order, and as such the cultural practices they advocate have been eroded.

As information and media technology has become increasingly widespread, the traditions that have regulated interpersonal relations and interactions have been eroded. This includes *nyubuk*, a cultural mechanism traditionally used to regulate male-female relations during spouse selection, which has been replaced by communication media in recent years. This shift has not only transformed male-female relations, but also the norms and laws of local society, violations of which have become increasingly common.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Social Differentiation

Social differentiation theory holds that individuals' diverse attitudes and behaviors can be attributed to their specific educational, economic, and cultural systems (Belhoste & Monin, 2013). This theory



provides an implicit definition of diversity, one rooted in disparity. Rehbein (2011) argues that social differentiation works through symbols, particularly language. All societies, all communities, and all cultures have their specific language or sociolect, having created specific linguistic systems as a means of distinguishing "us" from "them", "high" from "low", and incorporating this distinction within social functions, activities, and resources. Parsons, meanwhile, understands social differentiation as one of four modes of social evolution, all of which share one functional commonality: a social system (in Wortmann, 2012). Lenoir even argues that social spaces are "spaces of distinction", rather than realities in and of themselves; they are shaped by diverse hierarchies and dimensions (Valle & Godoy, 2019).

Bases of social differentiation include (1) sex, (2) age, (3) race, (4) class, (5) sexual orientation, (6) disability, (7) religion, and (8) belief (Valentine & Sadgrove, 2012). Individual actors' abilities, observation of cultural practices, and specific interests further influence their social differentiation (Schimank, 2015). In a study of Roman-era Britain, for instance, Cheung et al. (2012) found that social hierarchies were more distinct in urban settlements than in rural areas. Access to resources and goods, and even basic needs such as food, was determined by status within the hierarchy. Similarly, Ojong (2020) shows that hierarchies and social distinctions exist in various community events and rituals, where participants are differentiated based on their class, sex, heritage, property ownership, and indigeneity. Owing to their position in the hierarchy, some members of traditional communities may enjoy better socio-economic conditions than others. This does not determine social class but produces "complex hierarchal spaces" that may provide fertile ground for conflict (le Grand, 2019).

## 2.2 *Social Mobility: A Factor in Socio-Cultural Change*

The term 'social mobility' was first introduced in 1920, being used broadly by Sorokin to refer to the movement of individuals within social spaces. It is often used to refer to the movement of individuals within the social hierarchy, often as a result of individuals' efforts to increase their power, status, or prestige (Paisey, Paisey, Tarbert, & Wu, 2020). Mobility has been strongly influenced by industrialization and economic development; at the same time, however, it has been positively correlated with income gaps and immigration (Yaish & Andersen, 2012). Blau argues that mobility subjects individuals to significant pressure, which may be manifested in instability in their habitus—and, thus, suffering, discomfort, instability, and a sense of loss (Clark, Cummins, Hao, & Vidal, 2015). Supporting this, Wang & Gao (2013) cite an informant as stating that, based on the principle of social mobility, high-performing individuals must be stationed somewhere that acknowledges their value. "It is not that rural areas are best for us to recognize our value; we have no opportunity to improve ourselves."

Individual achievement and economic success may be realized through various instruments, from the meritocratic to the paternalistic (Gimpelson & Monusova, 2014). Victoriano, Paez, & Carrasco (2020) identify mobility strategies as consisting of four key dimensions: (1) time, (2) space, (3) money, and (4) social interactions. Melamed (2015) identifies several categories of mobility: social mobility, religious mobility, and educational mobility; all of these can be used to analyze the specific structures and patterns within society. Vielpeau, Lebel, Ardouin, Burdin, & Lautridou (2011) show that individuals' experiences with mobility are shaped by both structural factors (for example, market conditions) and individual factors (for example, motivation). Faist (2013) identifies two types of mobility, horizontal and vertical; the former refers to the movement between different positions at the same level, while the latter refers to the movement between different levels of the social hierarchy. Faist (2013) adds that social mobility is one of the main measures of a society's modernity and evolution.

## 2.3 *Deauthorization of Leadership*

Leadership is a key determinant of success, be it within organizations, companies, communities, or

nations. According to Seftyono et al. (2018), leadership is often equated with authority, and leaders tend to rely on their social capital to improve institutional relations and to facilitate the practice of power. Leaders' authority is dynamic, and where leaders are deauthorized their decisions are not obeyed or recognized (Koschmann et al., 2017). Deauthorization refers to the discursive practice in which the mechanisms used by traditional authorities to control their populations are undermined. As in developmentalist discourses, wherein customary peoples were branded primitive, local communities are systematically deprived of their rights (Wallerstein & Duran, 2017). Deauthorization results in the degradation of leadership, as its traditional mechanisms (legitimacy, charisma, and trust) are replaced by rationalistic national ones. Even when leaders continue to receive noble titles and public support, their decisions lack binding power; they require both authority and legitimacy to maintain their customary role in local society and to uphold traditional beliefs (Mansur, Sofianto, & Mahzuni, 2013).

According to Seftyono et al. (2018), local leadership requires several elements: 1) natural character; 2) group; (3) situation; (4) goals, and (5) interactions. At the same time, leadership cannot be achieved without authority and social support, both of which necessitate honesty, capability, and trust. Leaders cannot stand on their own, but require the authority derived from public support; alone, they lack resources, institutional access, and managerial capacity (Ellison & Newmark, 2010). Even when local leaders do not present themselves as members of the dominant class, they nonetheless function to maintain and perpetuate their interests (Evans & Sinclair, 2016). Nonetheless, Wallace & Tomlinson (2010) write that local leaders have an important role in supporting local government, as they mediate communication between the populace and the highest echelons of society. Such leadership practices can experience significant changes. According to Lucky Zamzami (2013), using a case study of the Mentawai people, as the quality of life, education, and healthcare increases, and as consumption patterns and lifestyles transform, traditional barter systems and authorities are eroded.

#### 2.4 Compliance with Law

The concept of compliance inexorably involves matters of conformity and adaptation (Thomann, 2015). It may be defined as the degree to which society obeys all applicable law, and thus as an indicator of the extent to which a law functions (Sari, Thalib, & Junaidi, 2016). Compliance is often contrasted with noncompliance, which fails to consider that different individuals may have different interpretations of law (Bondarouk & Liefkerink, 2017) and that these differences may influence how laws are implemented. Compliance with the law must be distinguished from mere awareness; in compliance, the law is obeyed for fear of potential sanctions (Rosana, 2014). The literature shows that society's perceptions of law enforcement are strongly correlated with compliance; for instance, Nagin & Telep (2017) have shown that society's perceptions of the police influence the extent to which its members comply with the law. They thus recommend a procedural justice scheme, one in which dignity, belief, neutrality, and voice are built upon the foundation of fair treatment by impartial law enforcement. Such a scheme would create a perception of legitimacy, thereby promoting compliance.

The reverse is also true; compliance can increase perceived legitimacy.

However, Liao (2019) shows that compliance and legitimacy are conditioned by the cultural and social context in which the law is implemented. A study in China found that compliance has been supported by a cultural recognition of law and its values, rather than by mere matters of enforcement. According to Liao (2019), most studies of compliance have been conducted by psychologists in developed industrial nations. In recent years, there has been increased interest in the influence of technology on compliance (Barboza et al., 2014). There has also been the investigation of compliance within economic contexts, with a particular focus on corporations and their violations of applicable law (Nietsch, 2018; Salguero-Caparrós, Pardo-Ferreira, Martínez-Rojas, & Rubio-Romero, 2020; Zinner, 2014); it has been argued that companies tend to have difficulty avoiding non-compliance and violation as legal obligations are deemed detrimental to companies' survivability

(Salguero-Caparrós et al., 2020). In Indonesia, studies of compliance have often dealt with traffic, as well as the widespread violation of traffic laws (Agus, et al., 2016; Safitri & Rahman, 2013).

### 3. Method

This article examines the tradition of *nyubuk*, as practiced amongst the customary peoples of Lampung Pepadun; this group, one of the two sub-ethnic groups of the Lampung people, has sought to maintain its traditions. Specific focus has been given to the Anak Tuha clan, who are distributed amongst eleven villages, or *negara*: Haji Pemanggilan, Bumi Libo, Bumi Aji, Aji Tuha, Bumi Udik, Aji Baru, Gunung Agung, Tanjung Harapan, Kuripan, Haduyang Ratu, and Padang Ratu. This clan was selected owing to its fervent dedication to maintaining tradition. Nonetheless, even amongst them, the practice of *nyubuk* is dying.

This article applies a qualitative descriptive approach to analyze primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with members of the Adat Tuha clan, who were selected through purposive sampling, with the main criteria being the ability to shed light on the practice and its status within the customary community. Informants were as follows:

1. Semoga Jaya, a customary leader who has long been involved in traditional activities.
2. Komarul Zaman, a social and religious leader who married after practicing the *nyubuk* tradition
3. Dona Ismara, Tuwah Karya, Syukri, Zakaria, and Wijaya Putra, youths who married after practicing the *nyubuk* tradition

Data were collected through in-depth interviews with the above-mentioned informants. Interviews were used to collect data regarding the normative and practical elements of *nyubuk*, its waning, and the lack of effort to maintain it. Secondary data were collected through a review of the literature. Analysis was conducted through interpretation, concerning existing arguments, primary data, and expert opinion.

### 4. Results

#### 4.1 The *Nyubuk* Tradition: Normative and Ideal Conceptualization

Traditionally, the practice of *nyubuk* among the Anak Tuha clan has resembled the practice among Lampung's other indigenous populations. Reflecting its etymology—the term *nyubuk* means 'to peek'—it is practiced furtively (Dona Ismara, February 1, 2020). This section will describe three aspects of *nyubuk*, as it has traditionally been conceptualized: the practice and time of *nyubuk*; the ethics and norms of *nyubuk*; and the further advancement of the relationship.

*First, the practice and time of nyubuk.* During the *nyubuk* tradition, a young man travels to the rear of a young woman's house. He may not take a direct path; instead, he must take an indirect route, potentially using alleys or neighbors' yards (interview with Syukri, Zakaria, Dona Ismara, February 1, 2020). This roundabout approach is intended to show the young man's respect for the young woman's father and brothers, as coming across them would be inappropriate or even unethical (Dona Ismara, February 1, 2020). Furthermore, during *nyubuk*, neither party may speak or laugh loudly. *Nyubuk* may only be conducted between 7:00 and 11:00 p.m.; any later, and the woman's mother or grandmother will give them a stern warning (Zakaria, February 1, 2020; Tuah, February 2, 2020).

*Second, the ethics and norms for nyubuk.* When a young man arrives at a young woman's house for *nyubuk*, he will give her a signal, either through *ngetik* (making a sound by tapping his thumb and middle finger together), lighting a match, or throwing a pebble. Upon receiving this signal, the young woman will enter the rear of the house and find a hole, through which she and her visitor can communicate (interview, Dona Ismara, Syukri, February 1, 2020). If they have never met, they will take turns showing each other their faces (Wijaya Putra, February 2, 2020). Throughout

their discussion, the young man and woman will answer questions and learn more about others. One woman can draw the interest of multiple men; in such a situation, the men would take turns doing *nyubuk*, either in the order they arrived or based on previous agreement (Syukri, February 1, 2020, Wijaya Putra, Komarul Zaman, February 2, 2020).

**Third, the further advancement of the relationship after *nyubuk*.** *Nyubuk* is intended as a means for men and women to get to know each other; it is not binding or a formal relationship. Even when a young woman has entered a relationship, she is expected to provide other men with the opportunity for *nyubuk* (Syukri, February 1, 2020, Wijaya Putra, February 2, 2020). However, when she conveys that she has entered a serious relationship, her visitors will discontinue their *nyubuk* and their intentions. When a young man proposes marriage, and a young woman agrees, they will determine an appropriate time for *larian*/leaving for marriage (*bebai*). Where a young man is interested in a young woman who is already betrothed to someone else, he may 'kidnap' her through a practice known as *nunggang* (Komarul Zaman, February 2, 2020). Subsequently, discussions are held using traditional mechanisms, and the guilty party is expected to pay a customary fine.

As discussed above, the practice of *nyubuk* is a means through which young men and women can meet and interact. In this, it resembles the Islamic practice of *taaruf*. However, it is practiced following local socio-cultural practices and norms.

#### 4.2 Meeting Others through Social Media

Although *nyubuk* has been practiced for generations, significant changes in society have resulted in it entering the threshold of extinction. Data show that the practice is waning amongst the people of Lampung. Three aspects of this will be discussed below: the loss of the *nyubuk* practice; the factors that threaten *nyubuk* with extinction, and the use of *ngapel* as a replacement.

**First, the loss of the *nyubuk* practice.** Today, the *nyubuk* tradition is no longer practiced by the young men and women of the Anak Tuha clan, having been pushed aside by technological advancements and developments. Putra explained that the practice had begun to disappear c. 2005 or 2006, as cellular phones and similar technologies became common (Wijaya Putra, February 2, 2020). According to Tuah, meanwhile, the practice had completely disappeared by 2003; he explained that, by the early 2000s, the practice had already waned, being practiced by only 15% of village youths (Tuah, February 2, 2020).

**Second, the factors threatening *nyubuk* with extinction.** All informants stated that the practice of *nyubuk* began to fade after the introduction of cellular phones, as this technology facilitated both voice and short message service communication between young men and women (Semoga Jaya, Dona Ismara, Syukri, Zakaria, February 1, 2020; Wijaya Putra, Komarul Zaman, Tuah, February 2, 2020). At the same time, the *nyubuk* tradition was detrimentally affected by the mushrooming of transportation technologies (Tuah, February 2, 2020). Over time, *nyubuk* was replaced by short messages, telephone calls, and ready access to direct interactions in public spaces. Today, young men and women often meet in restaurants, shopping centers, cinemas, and other recreational spaces (Semoga Jaya, February 1, 2020; Wijaya Putra, Tuah, February 2, 2020). Social media platforms such as Facebook have penetrated rural areas in Lampung, including those occupied by the Anak Tuha clan, since 2010; before the advent of smartphones, these platforms were accessed through laptops and BlackBerry tablets.

Further accelerating the decline of *nyubuk* has been the increased prevalence of education. It is increasingly common for young men and women to live outside their hometowns, to study in the provincial capital of Bandar Lampung, or even in Java. Their interactions are mediated by Facebook and similar platforms, all of which include profiles that may be readily accessed. The use of WhatsApp has similarly transformed male-female interactions, as it has provided a medium through which young men and women can exchange photographs and videos, or even communicate directly through voice and video calls. Such interactions can easily be concealed from their parents (Tuah, February 2, 2020).

Third, ***ngapel* as a replacement for *nyubuk***. Owing to the above factors, the *nyubuk* tradition has given way to a practice known as *ngapel*, wherein young men visit young women at their homes (Semoga Jaya, February 1, 2020; Wijaya Putra, Tuah, February 2, 2020). According to Tuah, the practice of *ngapel* was introduced by Lampung's sizable Javanese migrant community; the practice is not indigenous to Lampung (Tuah, February 2, 2020). Similarly, Wijaya Putra explained that the people of Lampung had not traditionally accepted guests at nighttime; 'open' visits were only conducted during daylight hours, while *nyubuk* was done furtively (Wijaya Putra, February 2, 2020). Tuwah distinguished between *nyubuk* and *nemui*, identifying the former as enabling young men and women to get to know each other, and the latter as occurring only once a relationship has been taken to a more serious level (Tuwah, February 2, 2020).

#### 4.3 *Shifting Traditions and Violations of Customary Laws*

The erosion of the *nyubuk* tradition has had significant consequences for the people of Lampung. The following section will discuss three elements: the loss of *nyubuk*, the violation of the customary laws governing male-female interactions, and the negative social consequences of these phenomena.

**First, the loss of the *nyubuk* tradition.** This tradition contains within it many elements, including such values as discreteness (being conducted at the rear of the house, indirectly), mutual respect, soft-spokenness, and politeness as well as clear schedules and processes. These elements are recognized by young men and women, and all applicable guidelines are met with compliance (Dona Ismara, Syukri, Zakaria, February 1, 2020; Wijaya Putra, Tuwah, Komarul Zaman, February 2, 2020). These elements confirm with Islamic teachings; young men and women are prohibited from interacting directly, let alone touching each other, as they are separated by walls and other barriers (Zakaria, February 1, 2020; Komarul Zaman, February 2, 2020). As the *nyubuk* tradition has faded, having been replaced by communication technologies such as cellular phones and social media as well as direct interactions, so have its values (Syukri, Zakaria, February 1, 2020).

**Second, the violation of the customary laws governing male-female interactions.** As the *nyubuk* tradition has been replaced by cellular phones, social media, direct interactions, and *ngapel*, cultural values as shame, charity, and respect have been eroded; at the same time, vice, immorality, and other improprieties have become rampant. Unlike *nyubuk*, these new forms of male-female interactions are no longer monitored by parents (Tuwah, February 2, 2020). Young men and women communicate through cellular phones and social media, or meet outside the house, and thus have more opportunities to behave in ways that violate religious and cultural norms. As a result, premarital pregnancy rates have increased significantly (Syukri, Zakaria, February 1, 2020; Komarul Zaman, Tuwah, February 2, 2020).

**Third, the negative social consequences of the loss of *nyubuk*.** The erosion of the *nyubuk* tradition, as part of the general erosion of Lampung's customs and traditions, has also affected parents, traditional leaders. Although some social leaders have forbidden the practice of *ngapel*, deeming it as going against traditional values, their views have been ignored; rather, permissiveness has dominated. While serving as a youth leader, Wijaya sought to maintain the *nyubuk* tradition but was unsuccessful (Wijaya Putra, February 2, 2020). Tuwah stated that traditional leaders have made no serious efforts to uphold this tradition (Tuwah, February 2, 2020), and other informants agreed that traditional leaders have been unable to stem the flow of outside influences (Dona, Syukri, Zakaria, February 1, 2020). Consequently, immorality and impropriety have tainted male-female interactions.

## 5. Discussion

This study has shown that, over time, the *nyubuk* tradition has become threatened with extinction. This situation can be attributed to three major factors: increased differentiation within society; increased mobility without significant efforts to maintain tradition; and the weakening of local

leaders.

First, **increased differentiation within Lampung society.** Over time, the Anak Tuha clan has begun abandoning its traditions and its customary values. Etiquette, politeness, ethical interactions, and compliance with applicable customary and religious laws are increasingly ignored. The loss of the *nyubuk* tradition the values it embodies, which have been swept away by advances in communication and transportation technology, has deleteriously affected how young men and women interact. There exists increased differentiation within customary society, with members of the Anak Tuha clan being increasingly set apart by their disparate educations and their economic and social statuses.

As stated by Behhoste and Monin (2013), such differentiation creates differences in individuals' attitudes and behaviors. Members of the society are understood as having a distinct social status, which implies different social functions and activities (Rehbein, 2011). According to Parsons (in Wortmann, 2012), social differentiation is one example of social evolution, one that is strongly influenced by functional considerations. These "spaces of distinction" create mutual dependence and hierarchies within diverse elements of society (Valle & Godoy, 2019). This ultimately creates "complex hierarchal spaces" (Bourdieu, 1993). This holds amongst the members of the Anak Tuha clan as well; the new social hierarchy has resulted in individuals having different attitudes and interests, and this has hindered (potential) efforts to maintain traditions that are rooted in a spirit of communalism and shared interests. This can, as noted by le Grand (2019), provide fertile ground for conflict if left unchecked (le Grand, 2019).

**Second, increased mobility without significant efforts to maintain tradition.** All informants indicated that the *nyubuk* tradition waned as communication technology developed. These technologies enabled the young men and women of the Anak Tuha clan to communicate easily amongst them, as well as to arrange meetings elsewhere. As such, it cannot be denied that the decline of *nyubuk* was also precipitated by increased mobility. In other words, the *nyubuk* tradition has been eroded on two fronts: developments in communication technology, which facilitates direct communication between young men and women, and advances in transportation technology and infrastructure, which eases their efforts to meet outside the home. Such fronts might refer to the so-called "phenomenon of encounter with the other" (Cami, 2013). Informants indicated that, because such direct meetings are significantly more enticing, it is not surprising that the *nyubuk* tradition is being abandoned.

Owing to increased ease of access to communication and information technology, as well as public transportation, the young men and women of the Anak Tuha clan have become more mobile. No longer are they limited to their villages; indeed, members of the Anak Tuha clan—particularly the youths—have become highly mobile. Many of them, after graduating from senior high school, travel elsewhere in search of employment or higher education; there are no universities or similar institutions in their customary territory. Such tendencies are widely reported in the literature (Yaish & Andersen, 2012; Clark, Cummins, Hao, & Vidal, 2015).

**Third, the weakening of local/customary/cultural leaders.** The *nyubuk* tradition is no longer prevalent amongst the members of the Anak Tuha clan, even though it conveys significant positive values; indeed, several informants stated explicitly that the tradition follows Islamic guidelines for interpersonal behavior; young men and women are prohibited from interacting directly or touching each other. Older members of the clan have expressed the desire for *nyubuk* to be maintained. However, these desires have directly conflicted with those of the younger generation. A small minority of parents has prohibited the practice of *ngapel*, instead insisting that their children only practice *nyubuk*; however, such prohibitions are not observed. Most informants stated that there have been no serious or concerted efforts to maintain the *nyubuk* tradition, and as a result, it has waned to the point that some youths are entirely ignorant of this tradition. Suhairi (2021) maintains that the traditional elders, Islamic religious leaders, and local government should play role in preserving Lampung tradition.

Customary leaders' inability to maintain such traditional practices as *nyubuk* indicates their lack of power within their communities. These leaders have experienced de-authorization as their

communities have become more dynamic and differentiated. This supports previous findings, which have linked the de-authorization of traditional leaders with dynamicity (Koschmann et al., 2017), development (Wallerstein & Duran, 2017), nationalist rationality (Mansur et al., 2013), and dependency (Ellison & Newmark, 2010). Ultimately, as a result of this de-authorization, leaders have been unable to maintain their traditions. This is particularly tangible amongst the customary peoples of Lampung Pepadun, who are not united under the leadership of a single individual. In such a case, the local community should be the main stakeholder in maintaining cultural heritage (Saltman & Abuamoud, 2020).

The *nyubuk* tradition, which is perceived as reflecting the values and laws of Islam, has been replaced by information and communication technology, wherein young men and women interact directly and thus have the opportunity to violate Islamic and cultural laws and doctrines. Islamic laws have been designed to ensure piety and advance the interests of the public; indeed, as *nyubuk* tradition (and, by implication, the Islamic teachings it represents) has been eroded, cases of immorality, rape, and premarital pregnancy have increased. Reflecting the arguments of Liao (2019), compliance with Islamic law has been conditioned by local society and culture; where these are undermined, rather than reaffirmed by strong leadership, the laws they have shaped are also threatened. It is worth noting that the sustainable implementation of Islamic values should be effective when it involves individual and collective efforts (Tahir, Rafiq, Yousufi, & Sheikh, 2021).

## 6. Conclusion

Shifts in the *nyubuk* tradition, through which male-female relations have traditionally been regulated, have been precipitated in part by the expansion of information technology and social media. These changes, in turn, have significantly transformed cultural practices and facilitated the violation of Islamic and cultural laws that shape them. Male-female interactions are regulated through Islamic principles and norms, which are frequently violated when these interactions occur through communication media and technology. This has been a detrimental effect of the decline of the *nyubuk* tradition.

Through its use of theoretical concepts, this paper has applied a new and different perspective for understanding cultural transformations. The theoretical concepts used in this paper have facilitated its exploration of the *nyubuk* tradition and its implications for local culture and leadership. At the same time, these concepts have eased this study's exploration of the negative effects of cultural transformation: immorality, promiscuity, and extramarital pregnancy, all of which are firmly prohibited by Islam.

However, this study does have limitations. It has focused its discussion on the *nyubuk* tradition of Lampung's Anak Tuha clan. Numerous phenomena remain ripe for exploration, including the de-authorization of traditional leaders in Lampung and the assimilation of religious and cultural values within the province. Traditional leadership, which is legitimized by religious and cultural values, is a particularly interesting subject in the current social media era, on the one hand, as indicated in this paper, it has been deauthorized, while on the other hand, it has found new authority in its use of social media and other technologies to accumulate symbolic capital. This point, we argue, could be fruitfully explored in future studies.

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## **Dysfunction of Muslim's Public Resource: A Study of Waqf Land Disorganization in Indonesia**

**Sudirman**

UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang, Indonesia  
[sudirman@syariah.uin-malang.ac.id](mailto:sudirman@syariah.uin-malang.ac.id)

**Irwan Abdullah**

Universitas Gajahmada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

**Saifuddin Zuhri Oudsy**

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

**Fakhruddin**

UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang, Indonesia

**Syabbul Bachri**

UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang, Indonesia

### **Abstract:**

Waqf land (donated land) is a property for people's welfare that has not been remarkably managed in Indonesia. Poor administration and regulation of the waqf system cause dysfunction of this Muslim's most extensive resource. The waqf studies usually focus on issues around the misuse of waqf land, the swapping of waqf land, or the strategy for managing productive waqf land. Research on the disorganization of the waqf land remains unnoticed by researchers. This study complements previous writings' shortcomings by examining the patterns of waqf land disorganization and its consequences for the Muslims, including the waqf's low productivity, the waqf land position as a disputed source, and the waqf land as a lost-risk Muslim property. This study is empirical waqf research with interviews as the primary data and documents from online news website sources as the secondary data. This study indicates that the disorganization of waqf land is not only due to the absence of an administrative system and a lack of institutional commitment to waqf management. It is also rooted in Muslims' cosmological structure, who believe that waqf is the doer's afterlife savings. This belief resulted in the neglect of the waqf administration process, which led to the dysfunction of the community's resources. This study suggests further research on the contemporary waqf with its variants and waqf's practice from the doers' and the managers' perspective to more comprehensively portray the problem of waqf land disorganization.

**Keywords:** resource dysfunction; disorganization; waqf land; *nazhir*.

**Abstrak:**

Wakaf merupakan properti sumber kesejahteraan umat yang belum dikelola secara serius. Sistem administrasi dan regulasi wakaf yang buruk menyebabkan disfungsi sumber daya terbesar umat. Sejauh ini kajian wakaf terfokus pada isu sekitar penyalahgunaan tanah wakaf, tukar-guling tanah wakaf, atau strategi pengelolaan tanah wakaf produktif. Kajian seputar disorganisasi tanah wakaf masih luput dari perhatian para peneliti. Studi ini melengkapi kekurangan pelbagai tulisan terdahulu dengan mengkaji secara rinci pola disorganisasi tanah wakaf dan akibatnya bagi umat meliputi produktifitas wakaf yang masih dinilai rendah, posisi tanah wakaf sebagai sumber sengketa, dan tanah wakaf sebagai muslim property yang berisiko hilang. Kajian ini termasuk studi wakaf empiris dengan data primer dalam bentuk wawancara dan data sekunder yang diperoleh melalui dokumen dari sumber website berita online. Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa disorganisasi tanah wakaf bukan hanya tidak tersedianya sistem administrasi dan rendahnya komitmen kelembagaan dalam pengelolaan wakaf, namun ternyata mengakar dalam sistem kosmologi kaum muslim yang meyakini wakaf sebagai tabungan akherat bagi wakif. Hal ini mengakibatkan pengabaian proses administrasi wakaf yang pada akhirnya menyebabkan disfungsi sumberdaya umat. Studi ini menyarankan penelitian lanjutan tentang wakaf kontemporer dengan berbagai variannya dan praktik wakaf perspektif wakif-nazhir untuk memotret problem disorganisasi tanah wakaf secara lebih komprehensif.

**Kata Kunci:** Disfungsi sumber daya; disorganisasi; wakaf tanah; *nazhir*.

**Introduction**

Waqf land is a Muslim's productive resource that has not been seriously taken even though it has enormous potential as a welfare source. Waqf data collected by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs in 2017 showed that waqf land reached 4,359 km<sup>2</sup>, spreading across 435,768 locations, which was equivalent to six times the size of Singapore. Poor handling of waqf triggered various problems related to waqf, which often lead to court lawsuits. Endowment litigation cases in the Religious Courts up to September 2020 reached 17,257 points, some of which even went to the cassation level. The disorganization of the waqf land resulted in the waqf benefits loss. According to Kahf,<sup>1</sup> waqf can only be maintained as people's eternal prosperity source if managed professionally. This idea is in line with Sarker,<sup>2</sup> which states that waqf has excellent potential to increase people's socio-economic level. The

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<sup>1</sup> Monzer Kahf, "Waqf and Its Socio-Political Aspects – Islamic Economics & Finance Pedia," accessed May 31, 2022, <http://www.iefpedia.com/english/?p=3963>.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Awwal Sarker, "Role of Cash Waqf Deposit (CWD) as an Instrument for Socio-Economic Development: Bangladesh Perspective," in *Revitalization of Waqf for Socio-Economic Development, Volume I*, ed. Khalifa Mohamed Ali, M. Kabir Hassan, and Abd elrahman Elzahi Saaid Ali (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 15–30, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18445-2\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18445-2_2).

inadequate administration and the waqf system regulation have caused the dysfunction of the economic resources.

Furthermore, the waqf studies can be classified into three main issues. The first issue is the misuse of waqf land in various places.<sup>3</sup> These studies focused more on reporting cases related to land, usually triggered by waqf land treatment as an inherited object or illegal administrative processes. The second topic is the study on waqf land changed for various reasons, such as being crossed by toll road projects or natural disasters.<sup>4</sup> The third focus is the studies on the waqf land management strategy that provided economic value.<sup>5</sup> However, research on the disorganization of the waqf land remains unnoticed by researchers. The disorganization has led to a general wealth dysfunction for well-being development. This research aims to complement the shortcomings of previous writings by examining the patterns of waqf land disorganization and its consequences on the people's development. This paper shows that the dysfunction of Muslim resources is due to the disorganization of the waqf land. The waqf land's dysfunctions include the waqf's low productivity, the position of donated land as a source of dispute, and the risk of losing Muslim Property. Three consequences of the waqf land's disorganization are clearly described in this paper's findings section.

This paper argues that waqf land's disorganization occurs because of an inadequate level of people's understanding of waqf law and administration. Waqf land has not been seen as a resource for transforming people's lives but as part of a religious spirituality related to values in the doomsday. Many people still view the waqf land as hereafter savings that have no matter for social and economic benefits.

<sup>3</sup> Rendy Marsetya Maulana, "Tanggung Gugat Penjualan Tanah Wakaf Ditinjau Dari Undang-Undang Nomor 41 Tahun 2004 Tentang Wakaf," *CALYPTRA* 4, no. 2 (2016): 1–14; Fisca Ariyanti, "Penerapan Asas Pertanggungjawaban Wakaf Terhadap Tindakan Nadzir Dalam Menentukan Lembaga Pengelola Wakaf Yang Tidak Sesuai Dengan Keinginan Wakif (Studi Kasus Sengketa Tanah Wakaf Di Nitikan, Umbulharjo, Yogyakarta)," October 16, 2018, <https://dspace.uui.ac.id/handle/123456789/11864>; Arif Munawar, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Tanah Wakaf Melalui Lembaga Adat (Studi di Kecamatan Johan Pahlawan Kota Meulaboh)," 2017, <https://repository.usu.ac.id/handle/123456789/17396>.

<sup>4</sup> Mumtaz Chairunissa Iris Putranti, "Analisis ruilslag tanah wakaf menurut peraturan perundang-undangan studi pada: Perumahan Kota Kembang (Grand Depok City)," August 10, 2018, <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/44053>; Ibnu Rahmat, *Analisis Penggunaan Dana Hasil Penjualan Tanah Wakaf Masjid Jami' Lueng Bata Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam* (Prodi Hukum Ekonomi Syariah Fakultas Syariah dan Hukum UIN Ar-Raniry, 2017), <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/293463572.pdf>; Izzati Rizqi Annisa, "Efektivitas Mediasi Dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Wakaf (Studi Kasus Tanah Wakaf Masjid Baitul Qudus Di Jalan Gebanganom Kelurahan Genuk Sari Kecamatan Genuk ) SKRIPSI," 2018, 103.

<sup>5</sup> Miftahul Huda, Lia Noviana, and Lukman Santoso, "Pengembangan Tata Kelola Wakaf Berbasis Korporasi Di Asia Tenggara/Development The Governance of Corporate-Based Waqf In South East Asia," *Journal de Jure* 12, no. 2 (December 31, 2020): 120–39, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v12i2.3908>; Abdurrahman Kasdi, "Model Pemberdayaan Wakaf Produktif Di Indonesia," *ZISWAF: JURNAL ZAKAT DAN WAKAF* 1, no. 1 (August 19, 2016): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.21043/ziswaf.v1i1.1528>; Ahmad Furqon, "Pengelolaan Wakaf Tanah Produktif: Studi Kasus Nazhir Badan Kesejahteraan Masjid (BKM) Kota Semarang dan Yayasan Muslimin Kota Pekalongan," *Al-Ahkam* 26, no. 1 (April 14, 2016): 93–116, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2016.26.1.495>; Akhmad Sirojudin Munir, "Optimalisasi Pemberdayaan Wakaf Secara Produktif," *Ummul Qura* 6, no. 2 (September 1, 2015): 94–109; Siswanto, "Exploring the Motivation for Pesantren-Based Microfinance Institution Development: Schutz's Phenomenological Approach," *Journal of Southwest Jiaotong University* 55, no. 5 (2020), <http://www.jsju.org/index.php/journal/article/view/739>.

In other words, waqf land has not been seen as public goods requiring government policy as part of the general welfare commitment. This trend becomes the basis why the waqf land has not provided maximum benefits for social prosperity.

Waqf research is generally divided into normative and empirical research.<sup>6</sup> Waqf normative research focuses on history, literature, or written legal rules. On the other hand, waqf empirical research focuses on the study of waqf, which is carried out in real life of the community. This research is an empirical study of waqf because it examines the phenomenon of land waqf management disorganization, which is the main problem of resource dysfunction in Muslims. This research identifies three essential consequences of waqf management's disorganization, which then offers several practical solutions. The waqf issue becomes a strategic issue in religious studies. The types of data used in assessing the disorganization of the waqf land are primary and secondary data. Primary data in the form of interviews were obtained from some key informants to provide information on waqf practices in the community. They were from the Indonesian Waqf Board, socio-religious organizations, and government agencies. Secondary data were collected through document media from trusted sources on the websites of state institutions, waqf institutions, and online news portals.

This research relies on the use of documents and interviews. There are two types of documents used: news documents and statistical documents. News documents were obtained from online newspaper portals, such as Kompas, Republika, and Tribunnews, which provided accurate information about waqf development. The statistical records were taken from the trusted information center from waqf institutions, particularly the Portal of the Supreme Court and the Ministry of Religion. Interviews were conducted using prepared questions to obtain data on the disorganization of waqf land. The collected data were analyzed descriptively and critically. The descriptive analysis began with a statement on the data, followed by a description and interpretation. Both document and interview data were selected thematically during the process of interpreting the data. Descriptive analysis was used to provide detailed information on waqf disorganization with the support of statistical data. The critical analysis evaluated the data in depth by grouping the data into several factor clusters. Besides, the critical analysis examined the consequences of long-term disorganization. The critical analysis was a way out for solving the problem of waqf disorganization to overcome the dysfunction of Muslim resources.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Waqf in Islam**

The term "waqf" is taken from the Arabic "waqafa," which means "to hold" or "to stay in a place".<sup>7</sup> In Abu Hanifah's school of thought, waqf is defined as holding an object for goodness, which means that waqf aims to change its status as property and turn the item into current and future social policies. In Maliki's school, waqf is intended to release ownership of an object by giving the thing to a waqf recipient. In

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<sup>6</sup> Faisar Ananda Arfa and Watni Marpaung, *Metodologi Penelitian Hukum Islam* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Grup, 2018).

<sup>7</sup> Adelia Desrin Nasution and Fahmi Medias, "Waqf Financing Model Through Crowdfunding Platform: An Indonesian Perspective" (1st Borobudur International Symposium on Humanities, Economics and Social Sciences (BIS-HESS 2019), Atlantis Press, 2020), 661–65, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200529.138>.

line with Maliki's school definition, waqf in the Syafi'i's school view means a form of releasing or distributing assets using donation procedures.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, a waqf is a form of material worship with high values.<sup>9</sup> Waqf is a form of continuous donation which humans will take benefit after they die. According to Nasution and Medias<sup>10</sup> and Solihah et al.<sup>11</sup>, waqf can be seen as a philanthropic form. Philanthropy becomes a vital essence in understanding religious teaching. According to Suryani and Isra,<sup>12</sup> the generosity embodied by waqf has been institutionalized and structured into Muslims' historical experience. It is related to three actions: the tendency to emphasize and appreciate the individual towards God, prophetic-ideological typology with an understanding of the socio-religious mission, and humanist-functional typology through the appreciation of the humanity values.

In terms of waqf types, Usman<sup>13</sup> divides waqf through its development: productive waqf and consumptive waqf. Usman emphasizes that the two types of waqf are forms of social institutions that have influenced Muslims' historical development. It covers spiritual-religious aspects and other points, such as the economy, politics, education, and society.<sup>14</sup> Then, waqf becomes the main tool that places Islam to higher self-respect, dignity, and supremacy. The waqf discussion is further explained in Islamic economics, which sees waqf as an activity that aims to build people's welfare.<sup>15</sup> Waqf has had many impacts, both socially and economically, especially for the poor. In Indonesia, waqf has developed. According to Ardi et al., Muslim scholars who came to preach across the archipelago in the past taught waqf. One form of waqf that existed at that time was a mosque. The community had a very high need to build places of worship such as mosques. Therefore, people gave their land as a form of waqf to construct mosques. Through this context, the waqf assets in Indonesia are mostly in the form of traditional land.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Hamli Syaifullah Syaifullah and Ali Idrus, "Manajemen Pengembangan Wakaf Produktif Era Digital Di Lembaga Wakaf Bani Umar," *Al-Khidmat* 2, no. 2 (September 30, 2019): 5–14, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jak.v2i2.5838>; Nasution and Medias, "Waqf Financing Model Through Crowdfunding Platform."

<sup>9</sup> Hardianti Yusuf, "Management and Utilization of Productive Waqf in Empowering Community's Economy," *Al-Bayyinah* 4, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 36–51, <https://doi.org/10.35673/al-bayyinah.v4i1.646>.

<sup>10</sup> Nasution and Medias, "Waqf Financing Model Through Crowdfunding Platform."

<sup>11</sup> Cucu Solihah, Hilman Nur, and Dedi Mulyadi, "Three Power Pillars Synergy In Waqaf Empowerment" (International Conference on Ethics in Governance (ICONEG 2016), Atlantis Press, 2016), 200–201, <https://doi.org/10.2991/iconeg-16.2017.46>.

<sup>12</sup> Suryani Suryani and Yunal Isra, "Wakaf Produktif (Cash Waqf) Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam Dan Maqāṣid Al-Sharī'Ah," *Walisono: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 24, no. 1 (June 15, 2016): 17–36, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.24.1.680>.

<sup>13</sup> Nurodin Usman, "Implementasi prinsip akuntabilitas dalam manajemen wakaf produktif: studi kasus rumah sakit Islam kota Magelang," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan* 16, no. 2 (December 1, 2016): 179–96, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v16i2.179-196>.

<sup>14</sup> Mohammad Noviani Ardi, Dina Yustisi Yurista, and Suci Ramadhan, "Waqf Fundraising Strategy for Islamic Boarding's Independence," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 20, no. 1 (June 10, 2020): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v20i1.1-22>.

<sup>15</sup> Ardi, Yurista, and Ramadhan; Usman, "Implementasi prinsip akuntabilitas dalam manajemen wakaf produktif."

<sup>16</sup> Ardi, Yurista, and Ramadhan, "Waqf Fundraising Strategy for Islamic Boarding's Independence."

## Waqf and Prosperity

Prosperity is defined by Erizal<sup>17</sup> as security and safety of life. The definition of this term also includes welfare, which means a concept that shows the condition of a community or individual who can quickly fulfill their daily needs. In the view of economists, scarcity is the cause of economic imbalance. Islamic economics has attempted to provide solutions by relying on the principles of oneness of God (tawhid), brotherhood, and equitable distribution. In line with this, Syaifullah and Idrus<sup>18</sup> said that Islam had become a guideline covering all aspects of human life, including public welfare in the form of waqf. Solihah and Mulyadi<sup>19</sup> said that in Islamic economics, one of the crucial points is the nation's awareness, market, and society to achieve sustainable prosperity. The synergy between the three may affect the empowerment of waqf. The three roles may form a triangle of waqf. The first role is the state, which seeks to provide direction for the welfare of society. The next function is the market, which is the paradigm for cultural tools in waqf. The last one is a society that tries to realize the existence of waqf.

The waqf basis in the Qur'an and hadith is summarized in an Indonesian regulation, Act Number 41 of 2004 on Waqf. The potential economic benefits of waqf property are aimed at advancing public welfare. The waqf has four functions. The first is economic function as a wealth transfer system. The second is a social function that makes it easier for humans to solve shortcomings and problems. The third is the function of worship, which becomes a form of individual worship towards the Almighty God. Finally, the last is a moral function that encourages humans to have good morality.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, some scholars have different point of views towards waqf functions. Erizal<sup>21</sup> describes that waqf is used as a means of worship, education and health facilities, assistance to the poor, neglected children, orphans and scholarships and the economic progress of the people as well as general welfare. According to Sulistiani et al.,<sup>22</sup> a waqf is a form of goodness in Islam. Waqf has a central role in economic and social development.<sup>23</sup> In Islam's history, waqf has encouraged to build mosques, schools, hospitals, and social services.<sup>24</sup> The study of

<sup>17</sup> Erizal Erizal, "Wakaf: Perannya Dalam Peningkatan Ekonomi Umat," *TERAJU: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 2, no. 02 (September 24, 2020): 99–115, <https://doi.org/10.35961/teraju.v2i02.95>.

<sup>18</sup> Syaifullah and Idrus, "Manajemen Pengembangan Wakaf Produktif Era Digital Di Lembaga Wakaf Bani Umar."

<sup>19</sup> Solihah, Nur, and Mulyadi, "Three Power Pillars Synergy In Waqf Empowerment."

<sup>20</sup> Septi Purwaningsih and Dewi Susilowati, "Peran Wakaf Dalam Meningkatkan Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat," *Jurnal Ekonomi, Bisnis, Dan Akuntansi* 22, no. 2 (June 30, 2020): 191–203, <https://doi.org/10.32424/jeba.v22i2.1595>; Asri Asri, Khaerul Aqbar, and Azwar Iskandar, "Hukum Dan Urgensi Wakaf Tunai Dalam Tinjauan Fikih," *BUSTANUL FUQAH: Jurnal Bidang Hukum Islam* 1, no. 1 (April 24, 2020): 79–92, <https://doi.org/10.36701/bustanul.v1i1.132>.

<sup>21</sup> Erizal, "Wakaf."

<sup>22</sup> Siska Lis Sulistiani, "Analisis Hukum Islam Terhadap Pengembangan Wakaf Berbasis Sukuk Untuk Pemberdayaan Tanah Yang Tidak Produktif Di Indonesia," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 18, no. 2 (December 1, 2018): 175–92, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v18i2.175-192>.

<sup>23</sup> Nasrul Fahmi Zaki Fuadi, "Wakaf sebagai Instrumen Ekonomi Pembangunan Islam," *Economica: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam* 9, no. 1 (July 31, 2018): 151–77, <https://doi.org/10.21580/economica.2018.9.1.2711>; Ana Indah Lestari, "Revitalisasi Wakaf Untuk Kemaslahatan Umat," *ZISWAF: JURNAL ZAKAT DAN WAKAF* 4, no. 1 (February 15, 2018): 55–72, <https://doi.org/10.21043/ziswaf.v4i1.3031>; Kartiko Adi Wibowo, "Waqf for Empowerment, Management Model of Social Waqf and Productive Waqf in Indonesia," 2015.

<sup>24</sup> Nasution and Medias, "Waqf Financing Model Through Crowdfunding Platform."

waqf has been carried out by scientists with a focus on three points. The first is a study of the misuse of waqf land in various places.<sup>25</sup> The second is a study of waqf land exchanged for multiple reasons.<sup>26</sup> Finally, the third is a focused study on waqf land management strategy that provides economic value.<sup>27</sup>

### Waqf Management

Management is taken from the word "manage," which means planning, organizing, and controlling.<sup>28</sup> Actions taken in management using various methods aim to achieve the organization's vision or mission efficiently and effectively.<sup>29</sup> According to Huda and Fauzi,<sup>30</sup> management in economics and Islam's view is not much different. Management in Islam is seen as the knowledge that is collected and accepted through universal truth based on the Qur'an and Hadith. It includes morality, such as how individuals act and behave. Waqf management involves a process of planning, organizing, and monitoring. According to Fauzi and Huda,<sup>31</sup> the principles in waqf management must channel the benefits. One way to make waqf more productive is by growing the assets and values. This idea is in line with Sulistiani et al..<sup>32</sup> Waqf management must empower people's economic assets by managing them productively, opening new jobs, public services, and providing facilities to develop small and medium-sized financial businesses. Sulistiani et al.,<sup>33</sup> then, added waqf management forms, one of which is land that focuses on financing as an important factor in empowering waqf land. Another type of waqf is a movable

<sup>25</sup> Maulana, "Tanggung Gugat Penjualan Tanah Wakaf Ditinjau Dari Undang-Undang Nomor 41 Tahun 2004 Tentang Wakaf"; Fisca Ariyanti, "Penerapan Asas Pertanggungjawaban Wakaf Terhadap Tindakan Nadzir Dalam Menentukan Lembaga Pengelola Wakaf Yang Tidak Sesuai Dengan Keinginan Wakif (Studi Kasus Sengketa Tanah Wakaf Di Nitikan, Umbulharjo, Yogyakarta)"; Munawar, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Tanah Wakaf Melalui Lembaga Adat (Studi di Kecamatan Johan Pahlawan Kota Meulaboh)"; Sudirman Sudirman and Ramadhita Ramadhita, "Kesadaran Hukum Masyarakat dalam Akselerasi Sertifikasi Tanah Wakaf di Kota Malang," *Journal de Jure* 12, no. 1 (June 15, 2020): 35–50, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v12i1.9087>.

<sup>26</sup> Mumtaz Chairunissa Iris Putranti, "Analisis ruilslag tanah wakaf menurut peraturan perundang - undangan studi pada"; Ibnu Rahmat, *Analisis Penggunaan Dana Hasil Penjualan Tanah Wakaf Masjid Jami' Lueng Bata Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam*; Izzati Rizqi Annisa, "Efektivitas Mediasi Dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Wakaf (Studi Kasus Tanah Wakaf Masjid Baitul Qudus Di Jalan Gebanganom Kelurahan Genuk Sari Kecamatan Genuk ) SKRIPSI."

<sup>27</sup> Kasdi, "Model Pemberdayaan Wakaf Produktif Di Indonesia"; Furqon, "PENGLOLAAN WAKAF TANAH PRODUKTIF"; Munir, "Optimalisasi Pemberdayaan Wakaf Secara Produktif."

<sup>28</sup> Siti Nur Azizah, "Manajemen Wakaf Produktif (Studi Kasus Di BMT Masjid Wakaf AL-Istiqomah Kauman Lama Kelurahan Purwokerto Lor Kabupaten Banyumas)" (skripsi, IAIN Purwokerto, 2019), <http://repository.iainpurwokerto.ac.id>; Miftahul Huda and Ahmad Fauzi, "Sistem Pengelolaan Wakaf Masjid Produktif Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Masjid Ismailiyyah Nalumsari Jepara)," *Jurnal At-Tamwil: Kajian Ekonomi Syariah* 1, no. 2 (September 21, 2019): 27–46, <https://doi.org/10.33367/at.v1i2.1058>.

<sup>29</sup> Nur Azizah, "Manajemen Wakaf Produktif (Studi Kasus Di BMT Masjid Wakaf AL-Istiqomah Kauman Lama Kelurahan Purwokerto Lor Kabupaten Banyumas)."

<sup>30</sup> Huda and Fauzi, "Sistem Pengelolaan Wakaf Masjid Produktif Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Masjid Ismailiyyah Nalumsari Jepara)."

<sup>31</sup> Huda and Fauzi.

<sup>32</sup> Sulistiani, "Analisis Hukum Islam Terhadap Pengembangan Wakaf Berbasis Sukuk Untuk Pemberdayaan Tanah Yang Tidak Produktif Di Indonesia."

<sup>33</sup> Sulistiani.



object like money.<sup>34</sup> Subhan<sup>35</sup> assessed that money could be an easy tool to use and encourage optimal business development.

Waqf managements are classified into two types: semi-professional and professional managements.<sup>36</sup> In semi-professional management, waqf is managed productively but not maximally. Lands are not dynamically empowered. Meanwhile, in professional management, waqf has been handled more dynamically. This professionalism includes managerial, human resources, business partnership patterns, and various waqf forms such as stocks and other notes. Syarifuddin<sup>37</sup> indicated this pattern was inspired by the socialization of economic figures from Bangladesh who developed cash waqf. This inspiration began to bring about various investments and management of waqf professionally, such as investment waqf. However, not all waqf can be adequately managed. Waqf must be controlled by managers who can organize waqf optimally. With good management, waqf will finance itself.<sup>38</sup> This idea is in line with Sulistiani et al.,<sup>39</sup> who saw that the right managers should focus on waqf management.

Waqf institutions are less profit-oriented, which results in the institution's tendency to focus only on the issue of worship, which is a precondition for the inadequate re-actualization of waqf. One of these managers is individual and institutional nazhir.<sup>40</sup> The manager (nazhir) is in charge of directing organizational resources, raising funds, distributing waqf, and establishing good relationships between managers, doers (waqif), and the community.<sup>41</sup> Managers, both individuals and institutions, must understand the law of waqf, have honesty and a sense of fairness, are sincere at work, and are emotionally and spiritually intelligent.<sup>42</sup> The waqf management disorganization has resulted in a dysfunction of Muslim resources. Waqf land, which is potential to provide welfare through professional asset management, in fact burdens the community. This situation results in several points:

<sup>34</sup> Sudirman Sudirman and Nanda Lailatul Arofah, "Manajemen Wakaf Uang di Masjid at-Taqwa Kota Batu dan Masjid Sabilillah Kota Malang dalam Perspektif Undang-Undang Nomor 41 Tahun 2004 tentang Wakaf," *Journal de Jure* 8, no. 1 (June 25, 2016): 24–37, <https://doi.org/10.18860/j-fsh.v8i1.3727>.

<sup>35</sup> Moh Ah Subhan Za, "Pemberdayaan Wakaf Uang Sebagai Upaya Peningkatan Kesejahteraan Masyarakat," *JES (Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah)* 2, no. 2 (September 1, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.30736/jesa.v2i2.25>.

<sup>36</sup> Syarifuddin Syarifuddin, "Reaktualisasi Peran Wakaf Dalam Membangkitkan Ekonomi Rakyat," *Jurnal Ilmiah Al-Syir'ah* 6, no. 1 (September 6, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.30984/as.v6i1.245>.

<sup>37</sup> Syarifuddin.

<sup>38</sup> Yusuf, "Management and Utilization of Productive Waqf in Empowering Community's Economy"; A. Zamakhsyari Baharuddin and Rifqi Qowiyul Iman, "Nazir Wakaf Profesional, Standarisasi dan Problematikanya," *Li Falah: Jurnal Studi Ekonomi dan Bisnis Islam* 3, no. 2 (December 31, 2018): 62–74, <https://doi.org/10.31332/lifalah.v3i2.1197>; Syarifuddin, "Reaktualisasi Peran Wakaf Dalam Membangkitkan Ekonomi Rakyat."

<sup>39</sup> Sulistiani, "Analisis Hukum Islam Terhadap Pengembangan Wakaf Berbasis Sukuk Untuk Pemberdayaan Tanah Yang Tidak Produktif Di Indonesia."

<sup>40</sup> Khalifah Muhamad Ali(1) et al., "Aspek-Aspek Prioritas Manajemen Wakaf Di Indonesia | Ali | AL-FALAH: Journal of Islamic Economics," July 17, 2018, <http://journal.iaincurup.ac.id/index.php/alfalah/article/view/345>.

<sup>41</sup> Huda and Fauzi, "Sistem Pengelolaan Wakaf Masjid Produktif Perspektif Hukum Islam (Studi Kasus Di Masjid Ismailiyah Nalumsari Jepara)"; Nur Azizah, "Manajemen Wakaf Produktif (Studi Kasus Di BMT Masjid Wakaf AL-Istiqomah Kauman Lama Kelurahan Purwokerto Lor Kabupaten Banyumas)."

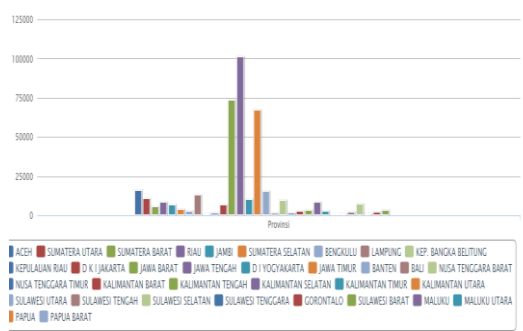
<sup>42</sup> Baharuddin and Iman, "Nazir Wakaf Profesional, Standarisasi dan Problematikanya."

unproductive waqf land, waqf land as a source of dispute, and waqf land lost as Muslim property.

### Unproductive waqf land

Until 2021, the waqf productivity is still questionable. Waqf has not become a source of strength for Muslims. Several essential arguments that support this statement are the waqf existence and its distribution in Indonesia, the utility of waqf land, and the misuse of waqf land. First, Indonesia has an extensive area of waqf land spreading throughout the nation. According to the manual waqf data collected by the Ministry of Religion in 2017, the waqf land stretching from Sabang to Merauke reached 4,359,443,170 m<sup>2</sup> (4,359 km<sup>2</sup>) located in 435,768 places.<sup>43</sup> This number was six times the size of Singapore, which covered only 722.5 km<sup>2</sup>. Unfortunately, this figure was far different from the online waqf data collected via the Waqf Information System portal, which provided another number: 51,974.18 ha or only 519.74 km<sup>2</sup> in 388,197 locations.<sup>44</sup>

Graph 1  
Waqf land in Indonesia



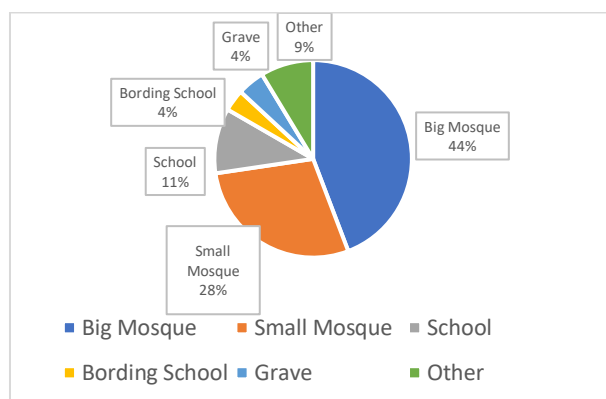
Source: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2022

Graph 1 showed that the province with the largest number of waqf land is Aceh Province, followed by North Sumatra. The regions with the smallest number of waqf land were West Papua and Papua. In terms of the waqf location, the provinces of Central Java and West Java occupied the highest number of waqf areas. In contrast, the regions with the lowest number of locations were Papua and West Papua. Thus, the Indonesian waqf land is very broad and has excellent potential to be developed more productively for the people's welfare. Second, the pattern of waqf land utility tends to be consumptive trend. Waqf land is rarely managed for business. Data in the Ministry of Religion's (Siwak) Waqf Information System shows that the distribution of the waqf land utility is as follows.

<sup>43</sup> Tribunnews, "Jumlah Tanah Wakaf di Indonesia Mencapai 4.359.443.170 Meter Persegi," Wartakotalive.com, accessed May 31, 2022, <https://wartakota.tribunnews.com/2018/11/01/jumlah-tanah-wakaf-di-indonesia-mencapai-4359443170-meter-persegi>.

<sup>44</sup> KEMENAG, ".: ".: Sistem Informasi Wakaf:.", accessed December 1, 2020, <http://siwak.kemenag.go.id/>.

Graph 2  
The utility of Waqf Land



Source: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2022

Graph 2 illustrated the use of waqf land with a composition of 44.21% for prominent mosques, 28.45% for small mosques, 10.68% for schools, 4.44% for graves, 3.56% for Islamic boarding schools, and the remaining 8.67% for other social facilities. This data shows that places of worship occupy the majority position, 72.66% (almost  $\frac{3}{4}$  waqf), followed by education areas, 14.24%. This data is in line with the Malang City Waqf Board management's statement that the community is more proud to hand over land for worship facilities because it is considered to have greater rewards than waqf for the public interest (R1). Thus, waqf, which is used for productive purposes, has not yet become society's choice.

Third, the extent of waqf land in Indonesia is in line with the complexity of the problems it raises. Many unproductive waqf lands and a weak managerial system have resulted in waqf land becoming land for abuse of authority and abuse of rights over the land. For instance, waqf land becomes a debt collateral, controlled by third parties, and even traded item. Waqf land as collateral for the debt has occurred in Klaten, Yogyakarta, in 2014. Waqf land in the name of members of the Indonesian Hajj Brotherhood Association (IPHI) planned for the hospital has been pledged as collateral for a bank loan of Rp. 5 billion. Next, a case of waqf land controlled by a third party occurred in Tebing Tinggi, North Sumatra. The wakif's heirs filed a lawsuit with the Religious Court and asked that land over six thousand square meters were designated as land for family members' graves. The Religious Court granted the wakif heirs' lawsuit. However, in decision No. 337K / AG / 2019, the cassation judges' panel rejected the plaintiff's appeal.<sup>45</sup>

The sale and purchase of waqf land took place in Pakis Subdistrict, Malang Regency in 2020. The former village secretary has sold the Sunan Kalijaga mosque land in Pakisjajar village, East Java, for 1 billion. According to the Sunan Kalijaga Mosque Management (R2), the village secretary deceived the developer as the land

<sup>45</sup> Putusan MAHKAMAH AGUNG Nomor 337 K/Ag/2019, "Direktori Putusan," accessed June 2, 2022, <https://putusan3.mahkamahagung.go.id/direktori/putusan/ee0a4c5d43edc8e4d6b137e3f5ba2541.html>.

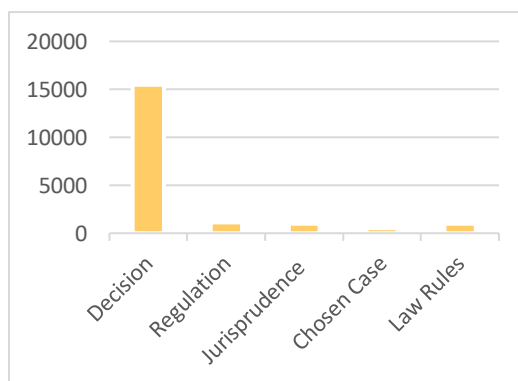
buyer. After all, the land belonged to him with a fake certificate. From the description of the misuse of the waqf land above, the waqf land needs to get strong legal protection to avoid misuse by irresponsible parties. From the above description, it is clear that the waqf system's irregularity results in the low utilization of waqf assets. Waqf land, which is very large and less productive, often causes the problem of waqf misuse. This situation, of course, raises concerns that require a crucial solution by involving various related parties.

### Waqf Land Becoming a Source of Dispute

Waqf disputes can be resolved by litigation and non-litigation. Litigation settlement requires people to deal with the court, while non-litigation resolution gives a person the freedom to solve their case outside the court, such as mediation and arbitration. Waqf litigation cases submitted to the Religious Courts recorded in the Supreme Court's directory reached 15,477 cases, as shown in the following graph 3.

Graph 3

Waqf Case in Religious Court



Source: Data from the Supreme Court, 2022

In the Supreme Court website's data, there are 15 cases of waqf disputes. The conflict source is the nazhir's professionalism weakness, the waqf conflict as a legacy, and waqf use changes.

First, nazhir (waqf manager) has a central position in the waqf management. As the owner of assets before being donated, wakif has no more rights in managing the waqf land after implementing the waqf pledge. Unfortunately, nazhir is often unable to carry out his duties due to a weak understanding of waqf and low proficiency in waqf management. Not to mention, many of the waqf nazhirs are individual, died, or are already old. This situation has led to the neglect of the waqf land that should have been productive. An interesting case example is the Supreme Court decision no. 460K / AG / 2019. In this decision, the judge decided to replace Nazhir, who could not manage the waqf land he had controlled for 28 years. Nazhir is considered incompetent in managing waqf assets.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Putusan MAHKAMAH AGUNG Nomor 460 K/Ag/2019, "Direktori Putusan," accessed June 2, 2022, <https://putusan3.mahkamahagung.go.id/direktori/putusan/dca5e9bec4b6c59596d4a1a90e6c8a29.html>.

Second, waqf disputes due to an inheritance distribution. Waqf land has the potential to become an advantageous inheritance object. When the status of the waqf land is unclear, the land is often contested as an inheritance. Although historical witnesses can still be traced, the waqf land can be turned into a property distributed to the heirs because there is no authentic evidence of the waqf pledge document. Case in No. 174K / AG / 2017 showed that the heir and wakif have seven children from the first wife and seven children from the second wife. The heir's descendants disputed over an area of 2000 square meters donated to the Islamic Education Foundation. The disputed land in the name of the first child from the first wife. The plaintiffs asked for the cancellation of the waqf pledge deed and the appointment of Nazhir because the land ownership status was unclear. The plaintiff stated that waqf assets could only be waqf if they are legally owned and controlled by wakif.<sup>47</sup> If the waqf pledge is canceled, the land returns to become an inheritance.

Third, waqf disputes often arise because waqf land has changed its function. For example, the waqf land, which was initially pledged for a mosque, later became a school. Likewise, the land that should be used for the pesantren becomes business land. This situation is certainly not in line with the waqf principle that the waqf allocation must follow the waqf's intention. One example of this case occurred in Simpang Tiga Subdistrict, Pidie District, Aceh, concerning the change in the mosque land's designation to Iboah Islamic School, which was then processed into a state school in 2015.<sup>48</sup> Another interesting case is when the donated land is affected by a toll road construction project such as a toll road project in Semarang Regency. The Semarang-Solo toll road project crossing the Baitur Rokhim Mosque, which covers 160 m<sup>2</sup>, has not been realized by PT Trans Martha Jateng<sup>49</sup>. From the description above, it can be concluded that many waqf disputes are pursued through litigation. If waqf management is carried out professionally by Nazir, waqf problems such as waqf disputes can be avoided.

### **Waqf Land Lost as Muslim Property**

The waqf assets sustainability is often not maintained. Many people still consider that waqf is a human affair with their God. Therefore, waqf is often neglected and even lost its trace. The loss of waqf is usually related to three reasons: the absence of a certificate, the loss of the waqf heirs, and natural disasters. First, the certificate is an authentic proof of waqf. If the waqf certificate does not exist, the waqf land still has the status of owned land. In Indonesia, according to Siwak Data, only 61% of the certified land is donated. That means the other 39% are not certified.

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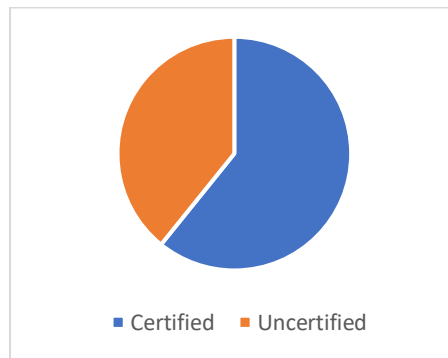
<sup>47</sup> Putusan MAHKAMAH AGUNG Nomor 174 K/Ag/2017, "Direktori Putusan," accessed June 2, 2022, <https://putusan3.mahkamahagung.go.id/direktori/putusan/0cdb0841d4cbd92a3eb1304500655a17.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Muhammad Arifin and Abdurrahman Abdurrahman, "Perubahan Peruntukan Tanah Wakaf di Luar Yang Diikrarkan," *Jurnal Ilmiah Mahasiswa Bidang Hukum Keperdataan* 2, no. 2 (May 10, 2018): 308–19.

<sup>49</sup> Bowo PRIBADI, "Warga desak percepatan relokasi masjid terkena proyek tol," *Republika Online*, October 19, 2017, <https://republika.co.id/share/oy21r8291>.

Graph 4

## Certification of Waqf Land



Source: Ministry of Religious Affairs, 2022

The graph shows that Central java became the province with the highest waqf land certification level, composing 75.36%. Meanwhile, the area with the least waqf land certification level was the Riau Archipelago, comprising 32.08%. Therefore, waqf assets need to be protected with a waqf certificate immediately after the waqf pledge.

Second, many waqf lands were pledged several years or even decades ago. However, the land has not received legal standing because it is still uncertified. When it was going to be taken care of, it turned out that the heir of the Wakif was not there or had died. According to Kompas data in 2015, more than 8,000 waqf land parcels in East Java have not been certified due to the loss of their heirs. Part of the land is still land used as a worship place. Thousands of waqf land plots are currently being processed, but most of them were not certified due to the lack of administration supporting data. Third, natural disasters can cause the waqf's location to be lost. The certificates were carried away by the disaster such as Lapindo case in Sidoarjo, East Java. From the Lapindo mud disaster, 39 public facilities of worship places in the three districts were affected: Porong District, Jabon District, and Tanggulangin District. The compensation for the waqf land is handled by the Lapindo Mud Control Center in Surabaya<sup>50</sup>. This center has not finished providing compensation for the waqf land. According to the Sidoarjo Regency Indonesian Waqf Board (R3), this swap was complicated because supporting documents such as land certificates did not exist. If this waqf land is also not replaced, the waqf land will be lost forever.

From the above description, it can be summarized that waqf management's weakness lies in waqf's disorganization, which triggers various problems. The problem of low productivity of waqf land, waqf conflicts, and the disappearance of waqf land must be a crucial part of which solutions must be found to provide the greatest possible prosperity for the people. This research shows that waqf land cannot provide maximum benefits due to the waqf system disorganization. Waqf land is still viewed as an insignificant resource by many parties resulting in the low waqf productivity such as for worship and schools. This situation is exacerbated by the emergence of misuse of waqf for personal gain. Another consequence is the number

<sup>50</sup> AGTVNEWS, "Pengganti tanah wakaf korban lumpur lapindo belum terealisasi," *AGTVnews.com* (blog), April 6, 2018, <https://agtvnews.com/2018/04/pengganti-tanah-wakaf-korban-lumpur-lapindo-belum-teralisasi.html>.

of cases of waqf disputes that have made waqf more useless. Nazhir's inadequate professionalism, feuds of wakif heirs who want to get an inheritance, and interest conflicts of waqf utility make waqf become a hostility object. If the land waqf is not appropriately managed, the assets will be lost.

This study indicates that there are still many land waqf problems faced by Indonesian people. The potential for waqf from a broad perspective is very high. The main problem with this problem is the disorganization of waqf management due to the low literacy level of waqf, nazhir, and society. Wakif, nadhir, and the community should get substantial information about waqf, such as waqf training and courses conducted by religious and government institutions. Wakif should care about the status of the land to be handed over. Likewise, Nazir should maintain the waqf mandate by confirming the status of waqf with proof of a certificate of waqf land. Besides, Nazhir must be able to use waqf assets productively to prosper the community. Finally, as the ruler, the government should make it easier to process the waqf land certification by shortening the procedure, waiving the certification fee, and replacing the waqf land that is affected by natural disasters.

This research confirms that the fundamental thing that triggers waqf's problem in Indonesia is waqf management's disorganization. Some of the factors that trigger the disorganization of land waqf in Indonesia are low waqf literacy, complicated procedures, and the high cost of land waqf certification. Inadequate understanding of waqf often makes someone underestimate the administration of waqf. Waqf is considered pure worship, which is only related between wakif and the almighty God as part of religious spirituality. Waqf land is believed to be afterlife savings that can send rewards even though wakif has died. If a person wants waqf, he can make a pledge of waqf in front of a religious leader without registering it at the religious affairs office. Next, the waqf certification process is quite complicated, especially if the waqf land rights are not clear, such as there is no certificate or certificate. Next is the high cost of waqf certification. The cost of obtaining waqf certification is not much different from managing land certification in general. The process of buying and selling or inheriting requires a transfer of property rights, which depends on the area of land and the tax object's sale value.

This study has a different perspective compared to previous studies. This research makes a unique contribution that focuses on the disorganization of waqf land as the main problem of waqf management weakness in Indonesia. So far, the researchers' attention is still divided into several focuses. The first is the studies on waqf land misuse in various places.<sup>51</sup> The next focus is the studies on waqf land, which overthrows various reasons.<sup>52</sup> The last priority is the studies on waqf land

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<sup>51</sup> Maulana, "Tanggung Gugat Penjualan Tanah Wakaf Ditinjau Dari Undang-Undang Nomor 41 Tahun 2004 Tentang Wakaf"; Fisca Ariyanti, "Penerapan Asas Pertanggungjawaban Wakaf Terhadap Tindakan Nadzir Dalam Menentukan Lembaga Pengelola Wakaf Yang Tidak Sesuai Dengan Keinginan Wakif (Studi Kasus Sengketa Tanah Wakaf Di Nitikan, Umbulharjo, Yogyakarta)"; Munawar, "Penyelesaian Sengketa Tanah Wakaf Melalui Lembaga Adat (Studi di Kecamatan Johan Pahlawan Kota Meulaboh)."

<sup>52</sup> Mumtaz Chairunissa Iris Putranti, "Analisis ruilslag tanah wakaf menurut peraturan perundang - undangan studi pada"; Ibnu Rahmat, *Analisis Penggunaan Dana Hasil Penjualan Tanah Wakaf Masjid Jami' Lueng Bata Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam*; Izzati Rizqi Annisa, "Efektivitas Mediasi Dalam Penyelesaian Sengketa Wakaf (Studi Kasus Tanah Wakaf Masjid Baitul Qudus Di Jalan Gebanganom Kelurahan Genuk Sari Kecamatan Genuk ) SKRIPSI."

management strategy that provides economic value.<sup>53</sup> Unlike previous studies, this study focuses on the disorganization of land waqf management, which includes low literacy, complicated procedures, and the tendency to resolve waqf cases through litigation.

From the results of this study, corrective actions can be taken, such as disseminating the law and administration of waqf land, incentives for government bureaucracy, and activation of non-litigation resolution of waqf problems. Dissemination of law and waqf land administration needs to be encouraged to increase waqf literacy in the community, especially wakif and nazhir. Inadequate understanding triggers the increasingly complex waqf problem, such as the abuse of authority that has often occurred so far. Also, government bureaucratic incentives in simplifying waqf procedures and eliminating fees can be done by prioritizing waqf land in the Complete Systematic Land Registration program that is being promoted by President Jokowi since 2018. Waqf land should be given a maximum quota because this involves the assets of the people. So far, the government is still half-hearted in accelerating the certification of waqf land. The government's hope to certify all donated land will not be maximized if community understanding is still inadequate and procedures are complicated. Finally, the waqf problems that often arise in society need to be resolved using a non-litigation model by prioritizing mediation or arbitration. Non-litigation solutions have advantages in terms of time and costs in addition to the solutions offered by prioritizing win-win solutions. Thus, the waqf land will be safe from abuse and become a potential resource for people's advancement.

## Conclusion

As shown in this paper, the disorganization of the waqf land is not just because of an administrative system's unavailability and a lack of institutional commitment in managing waqf. Still, it is rooted in the Muslim cosmological system. Waqf land has been conceptualized as an afterlife saving that can provide passive religious income. This belief can result in neglect of the waqf administration process, which in turn causes dysfunction of the community's resources. This study's administrative approach has made it possible to read the phenomenon of waqf from a socio-religious and legal point of view at the same time. The waqf approach has tended to partially use management and sharia perspectives, relying less on the empirical dynamics of waqf, which can lead to conflicts in various forms. The disorganization of waqf contains the notion of irregularity in the management of land waqf, which is a precondition for the dysfunction of the waqf land in general. This study is limited to the analysis of waqf with specific land objects. This study has not touched on contemporary waqf, which has many variants and grows dynamically, such as endowments for shares and endowments for intellectual property rights. This study also does not examine aspects of waqf practice from wakif and nazhir as active actors. For this reason, this study suggests further research on contemporary waqf and the waqf implementation from wakif-nazhir perspectives. In turn, the problem of waqf land disorganization can be more comprehensively resolved.

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<sup>53</sup> Kasdi, "Model Pemberdayaan Wakaf Produktif Di Indonesia"; Furqon, "PENGELOLAAN WAKAF TANAH PRODUKTIF"; Munir, "Optimalisasi Pemberdayaan Wakaf Secara Produktif."



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**Best Practices for Identifying Hoaxes:  
An Analysis of the Methodology of Hadith Transmission**

**Uswatun Hasanah**  
**Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah Palembang**  
[uswatunhasanah1903@gmail.com](mailto:uswatunhasanah1903@gmail.com)

**Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy**  
**Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta**  
[saifuddinzuhri@gmail.com](mailto:saifuddinzuhri@gmail.com)

**Irwan Abdullah**  
**Department of Anthropology Universitas Gadjah Mada**  
[Irwan.fib@ugm.ac.id](mailto:Irwan.fib@ugm.ac.id)

**Abstract**

The *Sahabah* or Companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) were known as one of the most truthful generations in conveying and receiving information. Their expertise in maintaining the originality and authenticity of the hadith content allows Muslims all over the world to gain an accurate insight about Islam. Hence, it is pivotal to review the method of conveying information of the *Sahabah* to help us identify between real facts and hoaxes. This paper aims to explain the practice of disseminating information among the *Sahabah* using three methods: confirmation, comparison, and coherence. Various narrations of hadith were analyzed to comprehend this method, including the hadith related to history of Anas bin Malik, Abu Bakr al-shiddiq, Ali bin Abi Talib and Aisyah Umm al-Mukminun. Apart from the undoubted credibility of the narrator's personality, the content of these hadith contains an explanation of the methods used by the *Sahabah* in an effort to prove the originality of the information. This paper rests on the argument that information is a major factor in communication process. The application of confirmation, comparison coherence methods in information dissemination is a noteworthy finding.

**Keywords: Best Practices, Early Generation, Confirmation, Comparison, Coherence**

## **1. Introduction**

In the last ten years, there has been a startling fact about the rampant production of hoaxes in Indonesia at an alarming rate that even may shatter the whole order of life. Fake news or false information are known to trigger various conflicts or even induce tension between communities. Conflicts resulted from fake news have been commonplace amidst the realm of political contestation and the pervasive social relations (Firmansyah et al., 2018; Haryono, 2019; Hutasoit, 2018; Kusno, 2019; Mulyadi, 2014; Nuraki Aziz, 2018; Susilowati, 2019 ; Syarifudin, 2019; Wakid & Sugandi, 2019; Wibowo, 2019). The recent instance on this issue was the fake news surrounding the drafting of Omnibus Law or the *Sapu Jagat* (One-Size-Fits-All) Bill which was passed into law on Monday, 5 October 2020. Since the drafting process, the Omnibus Law on Job Creation (OLCK) has induced a fiercely debated polemic, especially among workers. The polemic was even exacerbated by the innumerable hoaxes circulating on this affair. As a result, a mass

protesters went on strike to go against the passing of this new law, and fueled some riots in various cities (Republika, 5/10/20). Historical records of the 2014 to 2019 Presidential Election revealed that hoaxes have become a powerful political force in shaping the personal image of a prospective political leader. In this line, Kusno (2019) conveyed the notion that hoaxes were used as a strategy to win a candidate pair. Hoaxes have significantly curbed and reduced the electability of one of the candidate pairs and have created fiercer political contestation between the two candidate pairs. Such political tension not only prevails at the political sphere, but also extends to the social sphere that involves individual relations with the public. In early November, for example, the Greater Jakarta area was shocked by the spreading information about 43 crocodiles that had escaped from captivity to the Cisadane River. Muhammad Rizky Pratama was the person who was held accountable to post this fake information on November 3, 2020 on his social media account. The alarming news certainly provoked anxiety and panic among surrounding residents of the Greater Jakarta area (Tribunnews, 7/11/20).

Thus far, the discourse on hoaxes only focuses on the theoretical and conceptual aspect of dissemination of information (Afroz et al., 2012; Aldwairi & Alwahedi, 2018; Dewey, 2016; Finneman & Thomas, 2018; Kumar et al., 2016; Park & Rim, 2019; Prasetijo et al., 2017; Rashkin et al., 2017; Ravitch, 2014; Salam, 2018; Tambuscio et al., 2015b, 2015a; Utami, 2019a, 2019b; Volkova et al., 2017). There were only few studies to discuss the relationship between hoaxes and Islam as found in a limited number of literatures, such as those of Afandi (2018), Al-Ayyubi (2019), Alisyahbana (2019) and Mujib (2018). Overall, communication studies on hoaxes only concern with the way to transfer, exchange, interact with ideas and information through verbal and non-verbal communication practices. Communication science emphasizes the role of the media in the communication process both theoretically and practically. The most heavily studied topic in communication studies is the primary role of the media in the dimensions of micro communication, such as personal rhetoric and facial expression, but there has been a few attempt to take notice of the moral dimension in the communication process.

Departing from the existing literature gap, this paper aims to propose a complementary perspective on the research gap by carefully analyzing how the practices of information dissemination were carried out by the early generations of Muslims known as the Prophet's companions or *Sahabah*. The information dissemination method used by the *Sahabah* was studied in depth to emphasize the moral foundations of communication to ensure not only the delivery of the message but also the validity of the message. This paper highlighted the following three points: first, how the confirmation method can be an alternative strategy in fighting hoaxes; second, how the comparison method can be applied to detect hoaxes. The comparison method is an essential method because it aims to test the validity of the hadith information by presenting witnesses. A *sahabah* can act as a witness for another *sahabah*, or a *sahabah* can be a witness for himself by means of an oath; and third, how the coherence method can reduce the spread of hoax news. This method is applied by testing the correctness of information by comparing between hadiths and verses of the Quran or hadiths with known truths. This paper also focused on the description of the information dissemination practices and the analysis of the implications of their use.

The validity of information is a major factor in the communication process which not only guarantees the delivery of messages but also ensures the benefit of information. Public acceptance of information is normally determined, on the one hand, by the trustworthiness of the informant and, on the other hand, is determined by the high quality of the information conveyed. To achieve a level of validity and quality of information, a process of receiving and evaluating the accuracy

of information is required. Thus, being careful in receiving and conveying information is an absolute necessity, since the wrong transmission of information will lead to detrimental effects to many parties. The impact is not only experienced by those who receive the information, but also felt by the informants and all those who shared in believing the news.

## **2. Literature Review**

### **2.1 Hoax**

From historical records, Juditha (2018) concluded that the term hoax has been around for hundreds of years. This term was coined in 1709 through the creation of fake almanac or fake calendar to cover the death of the astrologer John Partridge. In the early 1800s of the Industrial Revolution in England, hoaxes reappeared as summarized in *The Scientific Media Hoaxes of Poe, Twain, and Others*. This term was also discussed in a book entitled *Hoaxes* written by MacDougall in 1958 as a reflection of a case study that occurred in the United States of the 20th century (Utami, 2019). According to MacDougall, hoaxes are not a new practice born in the digital age. Hoax has existed since the days of Ancient Greece, which was marked by the use of fake news by Octavian in his political battle with Marc Antony to fight Julius Caesar (Utami, 2019). In its essence, Hoax is a form of fraudulent information that aims to create chaos in society (Juditha, 2018). This term is defined as fake news, defamation, and false news (Adhiarso et al., 2017; Ahyad, 2017; Juditha, 2018; Kumar et al., 2016; Pakpahan, 2017; Pratiwi et al., 2018; Rahayu & Sensusiyati, 2020; Septanto, 2018; Situngkir, 2012; Tacchini et al., 2017; Veil et al., 2012), which is intended as a joke and the formation of public opinion (Juditha, 2018).

Utami (2018) in this case, presented her analysis on one form of hoax known as ‘memes’ that are widely circulating at a global level. In her definition, memes are ideas, symbols and practices that have existed for a long time prior to the boom of digital era. However, the presence of Internet features further strengthens the existence of memes and indefinitely spreads its use. According to Santoso et al (2020), the occurrence of hoaxes is not only marked by memes, but also by the circulating threats and fraud on websites and social media. Hoaxes can also be hidden in puns, such as through the use of euphemisms. Iswara et al (2020), defined euphemism as a statement that is manipulative and persuasive, which contains denotative and connotative meanings. The expressive, provocative, and persuasive nature of hoaxes encourages readers to accept its narratives. In addition to memes and language markers that are closely related to hoaxes, Afandi (2018) described several types of hoaxes that are widely circulating in society, namely: fake news, clickbait, confirmation bias, misinformation, satire, post-truth, and propaganda. The form of hoaxes, such as fake news, is classified through the substance of the news. Fake news usually provides fictional (not factual) information and the opposite information. Another form of hoaxes, clickbait, is disseminated through a sensationalized headline that traps users to click a link to a content. The confirmation bias, according to Afandi (2018), is the type of hoaxes that falsify the timing of a particular event. Such occurrence prevails since most people mark a newly released incident as the current event, even though the incident might happen a long time ago. Furthermore, hoaxes are also disseminated through misinformation and satire. Misinformation is defined as the inaccuracy of information, while, satire is understood as a type of writing that uses irony to exaggerate a certain event. The last type of hoaxes, according to Afandi (2018), is post-truth and propaganda. Post-truth is described as a form of excessive dissemination of emotional content to shape public opinion, while propaganda is understood as an activity to widely spread gossip and untruth in large to shape public opinion.

## 2.2 Information Distribution

The spread of hoaxes in the digital era is reinforced by the role of the media (Maulana, 2017). In line with this, Salam (2018) through his study stated that the presence of media leads to the increasingly massive fake information in the post-truth era. Likewise, Zhang also articulated that the recently circulating news in the media mostly contains dubious information about several events, which created confusion in the community (Zhang & Ghorbani, 2020). Durodolu & Ibenne (2020) also said that many people fell victim for hoaxes because of their ignorance and low literacy proficiency. Hoaxes mainly include the seemingly accurate, important, and up to date information about an event (Tafriet et al., 2019). Paisana's study also mentioned that individuals with high levels of literacy tend to believe the news derived from the media, but do not necessarily accept the content derived from social media as something true (Paisana et al., 2020). In a similar vein, Syam's study even highlighted that students with low levels of information literacy may find it difficult to distinguish between fake news and facts (Syam & Nurrahmi, 2020).

The main characteristics of New media reinforced by the speed of the Internet and the dissemination of information make it easy for the uncontrolled spread of hoaxes. This dissemination of information is not only related to information manipulation, but also fabricated information and unverified satire (Rubin et al., 2015). The disseminated hoaxes is also enhanced by bots or what is commonly known as malicious internet users, which has also affected the massive spread of hoaxes on social media (Ruan et al., 2020). Correspondingly, malicious nodes that are commonplace on the internet will increase the dissemination of fake news on the internet (Ruan et al., 2020). Boyle also said that hoaxes are generally sourced from two aspects: the first is journalists or media institutions, and the second is the sources used by journalists (Nurlatifah, 2019). Wadle (2017) divided the characteristics of misinformation into six types. First, the image captions that do not support the presented content; second, the fake content; third, the manipulated content; fourth, the parody aimed at deceiving the public; fifth, the confusing information, sixth, the designated fraud that aims to endanger others (Wadle, 2017). From these characteristics, it is apparent that the news distributed to the public cannot be separated from media bias, which is mainly influenced by two aspects: media framing and media objectivity (Nurlatifah, 2019).

## 2.2 Islamic Views of Hoaxes

Islam has long recognized hoaxes in the historical record of its civilization. According to Alisyahbana (2019), the traces of hoaxes in Islam are found in many stories of *Israilliyat*, books of interpretation, the hadith interpretation, to books of Fiqh and Aqedah-Tasawuf. One of the most heavily debated hoaxes in Islam is the *hadithul ifki*. Afandi (2018) described the *hadithul ifki* as the false accusation against the Prophet's wife, Aishah, and Shafwan Ibn Muaththal as Sulamy. This false news was concocted by Abdullah Ibn Ubay, who was known as a hypocrite for not believing in God in his last days. He was also a figure known for inciting the 300 Uhud warriors in Medina to withdraw from the battlefield. Through one of the existing stories, Islam highlights the fact that hoaxes are unjustified. Islam highly against inveterate liars, such as Abdullah Ibn Ubay, because they are capable of harming and injuring others. This notion is well-reflected in the verses of the Quran and hadith. Hoax or fake news is something immoral and sinful. Whoever does it, will be punished and tortured very painfully (Ahmad and Hotimah, 2018). In Islam, the high circulation of hoaxes reflects human habit in telling lies. This condition contradicts the teachings of Islam written in the Quran and the hadith, requiring humans to always maintain honesty.



Humans are obliged to constantly practice honesty in all aspects of life, including their words and the way to convey information (Al-Ayyubi, 2019).

In the midst of this situation, the teachings of Islamic are urgently needed as a guideline in alleviating the rampant spread of hoaxes in society (Afandi, 2018; Ahmad & Hotimah, 2019; Al-Ayyubi, 2019; Aliasan, 2017; Alisyahbana, 2019; Choiroh, 2018; Wifeyani & Widiana, 2016; Khoironi, 2017; Mujib, 2018; Nasution, 2017; Sabiruddin, 2019; Saputra, 2020; Suud, 2017; Suud & Subandi, 2017; Wulandari, 2017). Ahmad and Hotimah (2019) highlighted the urge to accommodate the ethical content curation through the practice of *tabayyun* by each individual. *Tabayyun* is the practice of internalizing values in Islamic education. During the internalization process, Khoironi (2017) considered the importance of the following two stages. The first stage is the transformation of values obtained from both formal and non-formal institutions. This transformation is then applied in the second stage, namely the orientation of improving attitudes and mental health in everyday life. These two stages are well reflected in the 9 Islamic principles of fighting hoaxes as conveyed by Harjani Haefni: sincerity, reward and sin, honesty, positive speech, the principle of two ears and one mouth, supervision, selectivity and validity, balance and justice (Alisyahbana, 2019). This principle must also be based on the normative power that oversees it, namely through the enforcement of Islamic law. Choiroh (2018) believed that Islamic law can protect five necessities (*mashlahah dharuriyah*), namely *deen* or preservation of religion, *nafs* or life, *nasb* or lineage, *aql* or intellect and *mal* or wealth.

### 3. Research Methods

This topic was selected given the fact that there were only few studies to consider Islam as a frame in dealing with hoax issues. In fact, Islam has provided its guidelines through the experiences of the Prophet's companions when fighting the spread of hoaxes in their time. This paper is based on a qualitative research conducted by compiling basic assumptions and analyzing qualitative data on the research topic. It is written based on constructivism of the social experience of the companions in receiving and retelling the traditions of the Prophet. As primary data, four narrations from four companions were selected and the transmission of hadith methodology was explained. A set of hadith literatures were used as the secondary data, both those related to the Science of Hadith and the interpretation of hadith or hadith books in particular. Secondary data were also obtained from information from various sources related to the subject under study.

The followings are the selected four hadith as the research focus:

1. Anas bin Malik, who tried to confirm the news he heard about the appointment of the Prophet as the The Apostle with a prophetic treatise. (Muslim: 3).
2. Abu Bakr al-Siddiq in his method of comparison of the distribution of inheritance for a grandmother (Abu Dawud: 2507).
3. Ali bin Abi Talib who asked friends to take an oath when narrating hadith (al-Tirmidhi, 371)
4. Aishah Ummul Mu'minin denied the *hadith* of invalidating prayers due to donkey and dogs that crossed our path (al-Bukhariy: 773).

The four narrations were selected on the grounds of the undoubted personality traits of the narrators and the content of the hadith that explains the methods used by the *sahabah* to re-check the validity of information using a wide array of methods for such essential information as hadith. The research process began by tracking the narrators of hadith who belong to the Prophet's

companions, totaling around one hundred and fourteen thousand (114,000) people. The data were then restricted by only selecting the *sahabah* who narrated the hadith in the famous hadith books that meet the standard validity, namely the *sahabah* narrator quoted by the six hadith books (kutub al sittah). These *sahabah* numbered eight thousand forty-five (8,045) people. Given this very large number, making it harder to examine each *sahabah* one by one, the inclusion criteria were restricted to the *sahabah* narrator who were widely quoted by *Muhaddithin* when explaining the codification and transmission of hadith in the early first century of Islami year. Among the many mentioned narrators, four *sahabah* were chosen based on the four abovementioned hadith narrations.

This study used content analysis method by closely examining the four narrations of the four *sahabah* (symbol coding). It started with the tracing of the hadith content and the source book of hadith. If the hadith's *sanad* (the chain of continuous narrators) and *matan* (the content of the hadith containing the words of the Prophet saw) were known, a general assessment was made of the quality of the narrators and the hadith *matan*. The assessment rested on the well-known opinions of critics of hadith about the integrity and intellectuality of all the narrators in *sanad*. After formulating a conclusion about the quality of the hadith, the interpretation was carried out through textual and contextual aspects by examining the *asbab al-wurud* (the causes of the emergence of an hadith and the condition around it) and linguistic aspects. The *Asbab al-wurud* was determined based on the general conditions behind the narration of the hadith, both those depicted in the hadith *sanad* and *matan* or those explained by other narrations. The next process was analyzing the hadith in terms of the linguistic aspect and the opinions of the scholars and related it to various contemporary cases relevant with the research topic, namely the best practice of testing the validity of a particular news as a way to prevent the spread of hoaxes.

#### **4. Results**

The currently circulating information is laden with untruth content or hate speech which greatly affects public knowledge. During the time of the Prophet, the companions always tried to guarantee the truth of the information they obtained, especially before disseminating the information. The companions of the Prophet are known to apply three methods in examining the truth of information through an in depth study by way of confirmation, comparison, and coherence. The details of these three methods are discussed in the following sections:

##### **4.1. Confirmation Methods Applied by the Companions**

The The Apostle never limited his association with his companions, even though not all of the companions were able to be with the Prophet at all times. This fact is given to the fact that the companions also have their daily activities as most humans in the fulfilment of their personal needs and desires. It was once revealed that Umar bin Khatab and his neighbors as the head of household of the wife and children had to work as traders to meet the needs of their families. Despite running their training business, the two companions always strived to attend the Prophet's assembly. Therefore, *'Umar bin Khattab shared his business duties with his neighbors to seek for the latest updates related to the Prophet. 'Umar said, if his neighbor meets the Prophet today, his turn will be the next day. Whoever is on duty and receives the news relating to the Prophet, he immediately delivers the updates to those who are not on duty (al-Bukhariy, 28).*

The *sahabah* were known to apply various methods of checking the validity of information, one of which was through the confirmation method, a method that confirms the validity of information by directly checking information from the main source because the validity of hadith can only be confirmed by the main source of information, namely the Prophet. As the only source of hadith, the confirmation method can only be applied during the life of the Prophet. The confirmation method was used by Anas bin Malik when he heard the news that Muhammad had been appointed as the The Apostle. To start his story in confirming the news he heard, Anas bin Malik said that previously he did not have the opportunity to meet the Prophet even though he had heard the news about the appointment of the Prophet for a long time. Upon meeting the Prophet, Anas bin Malik said:

*'O Muhammad, your messenger came to us and claimed that you were claiming that Allah sent you.'* The Apostle replied: 'Right'. He asked, 'Who created the heavens?' The Apostle replied: 'Allah.' He asked, 'Who created the earth?' The Apostle replied: 'Allah.' He asked, 'Who has planted the mountains and made everything in them?' He replied: 'Allah.' He asked, 'then for the sake of the One who created the heavens, the earth, and planted the mountains, did Allah send you?' He replied: 'Yes.' He asked, 'Your envoy claims that we are obliged to pray five times a day and night, (is this true)?' He answered: 'Yes'. He asked, 'By the One who sent you, did Allah tell you to do this?' He replied: 'Yes'. He asked, 'Your envoy claims that we are obliged to perform Ramadan fast every year, (is this true)?' He replied: 'Yes'. He asked, 'By the One who sent you, did Allah tell you to do this?' He replied: 'Yes'. He asked, 'By the One who sent you, did Allah tell you to do this?' He replied: 'Yes'. He asked, 'Your envoy claims that we are obliged to perform Hajj for which of us is able to walk His way, (is this true)?' He said, 'Yes, really'. Then he turned and said, 'By the One who sent you with the truth, I will not add to this obligation and will not reduce from it'. So the Prophet said: "If it is true (what he said), surely he will go to heaven'." (Muslim, 13)

The aforementioned story highlights the strategy of the *sahabah* to test the validity of the hadith. This method was applied when they received information about the appointment of the Prophet as the Apostle having a prophetic treatise, and thus they intended to test and confirm the validity of the information by way of making direct confirmation to the primary source of the information. The direct confirmation method was made possible since the Apostle constantly disseminated the teachings and practice of the two main sources of Islamic Law to his companions as the first group to learn about Islam through a direct contact. Some innumerable lessons delivered by the Apostle were considered as new knowledge that was contrary to the applicable custom of the *sahabah* at that time. Therefore, to gain an insight about the lesson and put the teachings into practice, it is not uncommon that the *sahabah* tested the validity of the news by directly confirming with the Prophet. This method is similar to what was done by Prophet Ibrahim (Surah 2: 260). The explanation of the Quranic verses pinpointed how the Prophet Ibrahim questioned about the way of Allah gives life to those who have died. This question arose out of doubt about the greatness of Allah, because it is impossible for a prophet to doubt the power of Allah. Likewise, the confirmation method as applied by Anas bin Malik and other companions of the Prophet' lesson also arose out of doubt of the Prophet's honesty. In fact, the Prophet was widely known for his honesty that the people gave him the title *al-amin* (a trustworthy person). The confirmation method was applied by the *sahabah* to maintain the principle of prudence and thoroughness in receiving

information. The confirmation makes the *sahabah* more confident in accepting and implementing Islamic sharia.

#### **4.2. Comparison: Presenting Other *Sahabah* as Witnesses**

The demise of the Prophet made the confirmation method no longer be possible. To test the validity of the hadith information, the *sahabah* then used the comparative method by way of presenting witnesses, or the companions of the Prophet who witnessed firsthand how the Prophet delivered his message. It was possible to present one or two companions as witnesses. A companion could be a witness to another companion who had also received the same information. Abu Bakr al-Siddiq was known to use the comparative method by presenting witnesses for once. As the ruling caliph, Abu Bakr could have answered a question from an old women only based on his own decision. However, what Abu Bakr had done as a form of precise caution because he was a caliph who became a role model for the entire ummah was noteworthy. The hadith narrated the following story:

*Qabishah bin Dzuaib once said; There came an old woman to Abu Bakr al-Siddiq who asked him about inheritance. Then he said; you find nothing in the Book of Allah, and I know nothing for you in the sunnah of the Prophet. Come back till I ask people. Then Abu Bakr asked the people, then (al-Mughirah bin Syu'bah) said; I saw that the Messenger of Allah had given him one sixth. Then Abu Bakr said; is there anyone (who witnessed) besides you? Then (Muhammad bin Maslamah) stood up and said like what al-Mughirah bin Syu'bah said. Then Abu Bakr applied it and said; you do not find anything in the Book of Allah, and the decision that has been decided is for other than you, and I will not add in the case of faraidl, but it is one-sixth ... (Abu Dawud: 2507).*

Likewise, the oath that a *sahabah* must take when becoming the only witness is part of the hadith comparison method.

*Asma` bin al-Hakam al-Fazari once said; "I heard Ali said, "Verily I am a man who if I hear the hadith from the Messenger of Allah, Allah will benefit me. And if any of the companions of the Messenger of Allah tell me a hadith, I ask him to take an oath. If he has taken an oath I will believe him ... (al-Tirmidhi, 371).*

This narration reported that Ali bin Abi Talib, as one of the best friends of the Prophet, accustomed himself to hearing the oath of someone who wanted to convey the hadith. The essence of an oath is more valuable than testimony. Someone who takes an oath has presented Allah as the witness. It is only permissible for a Muslim to take an oath by saying the name of Allah alone, not other than Him. A Muslim is not encouraged to take an oath a lot even in a state of urgency. From this explanation, it is clear that the comparative method by presenting witnesses or taking an oath can be one way to combat hoaxes. The comparative method during the time of the Prophet's companions was applicable through the presence of witnesses from the *sahabah* circle who witnessed an event or a *sahabah* who took an oath by presenting Allah as a witness.

#### **4.3. Coherence between of *Sahih* (Authentic) Verses and Hadith**

In addition to the comparative method, the validity of the hadith information during the time of the Prophet's companions was also tested by the coherence method. Similar to comparative

method, the coherence method was also applied by way of comparing. However, it was not performed by presenting the *sahabah* as witnesses or taking oaths, but by comparing between the hadiths and the verses of the Quran or the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad that have been verified within the same scope of the theme. The conformity of information between the hadiths or verses of the Quran becomes the basis for determining the validity of information. Coherence concerns with the attempt to ensure the logic of a particular information as seen from the main reference, the Quran and hadith as the legal basis for Muslims.

This method of coherence was once used by Aisha *Umm al-Mukminin* when she came to Abu Hurairah with a hadith. She was once told that the Apostle had said:

*... Someone's prayer can be invalidated by the absence of a barrier in front of him, so that women, donkey and dogs pass by (al-Bukhariy, 469).*

Aisha criticized the hadith and explained the followings:

*She had seen the Apostle praying, while she was lying on her back on a mat not far from the Prophet. Then, Aisha stretched out her legs before the Apostle. At that time, the Prophet continued his prayer until he finished it (al-Bukhariy, 773).*

According to Aisyah, if she relies on the hadith she narrated, the narrative reported by Abu Hurairah will be rejected in terms of meaning. If someone is praying, and in front of him is a person who falls asleep, his prayer will not be invalidated, especially if the other person is just passing through.

One of the reasons for implementing the coherence method is the inability to implement the comparison method. This condition was because none of the *sahabah* could be presented as witnesses, either because no *sahabah* were present when the problem was raised or because the *sahabah* had become old and died. The basis for implementing the coherence method for validating hadith is by comparing the meaning of the two main argumentative tools. There is no one who is able to deny the truth of the Quran as the *qath'i* (definite legal rule) as well as the traditions of the Prophet, which were widely known for its authenticity. Thus, there had been an increasing use of coherence method, especially when there were no more companions who could be witnesses. The coherence method had also been used widely during the *tabi'in*, *Tābi' al-Tāb'in* era, the later generations, and even during the time of Islamic scholars and the current Muslims to test the validity of hadith in fighting against hoaxes.

## **5. Discussion**

This research demonstrated the best practices of the Prophet's companions in preventing untrue or misleading information in the dissemination of information during their time. The best practices of information dissemination as applied by the *sahabah* can be an alternative solution to stop the currently extensive spread of hate speech as commonplace today. Even after the demise of the Prophet, the *sahabah* were known to constantly apply these best practices in information dissemination. Three methods were continuously applied to ensure the validity of information before it is received or disseminated: confirmation, comparison, and coherence. These three methods may serve as the basis for examining the validity of information so as to avert from the public anxiety and conflicts resulted from misleading information. These methods provide us with

alternative solutions to the uncontrolled problem of hate speech that has been continuously produced and disseminated in the last six years.

The findings in this paper reflect the importance of *tabayyun* or the search for information sources as a mechanism to counter hoaxes. The principle of *tabayyun* is still being held to this day. Given what Maulana (2017) said, the spread of hoaxes in the digital era is strengthened by the role of the media, making it more difficult for Muslims to ward off fake news. In the digital era, hoaxes are created with make-believe contents on the grounds of logical arguments, leading us to believe the validity and error-free nature of the content.

The turn to digital age has made it even harder for us to manually trace the validity of information as was done by the *sahabah* in the early days of Islam. The technological advancement has also allowed massive distribution of misleading and emotionally touching information to trigger the readers. The only way to confirm its validity is by way of sophisticated technological application. In line with this, Paisana et al (2020) asserted the importance of information literacy knowledge as a way to prevent someone from the trap of hoaxes, especially from the hoaxes circulating on social media as the focal point of its spread.

The application of confirmation, comparison, and coherence between the Quranic verses and hadiths to ensure the validity of information at the time of the Prophet and his companions indicates that there will be serious problems if the information is not properly filtered. Their method of filtering information was considered as the most advanced method in its day that involved various layers of confirmation process for any information received. This article revealed that the prudent attitude exercised by the *sahabah* shows that information may lead to danger if it is taken for granted. The principles of best practices in filtering information is a form of literacy mechanism that can be performed today. This fact highlight the need to learn from the way the *sahabah* prevented hoaxes.

Previous studies were inclined to present a partial study of hoaxes in Islam (Jati Wahyuni, 2019; Afandi, 2018; Walidah, 2018; Alisyahbana, 2019), or thematic studies regarding the study of the Quran on hoaxes (Jati Wahyuni, 2019; Roijah, 2020; Sa'diyah, 2019). For instance, Alisyahbana (2019) only analyzed the values of Islamic principles to combat hoaxes through 9 principles, namely sincerity, reward and sin, honesty, positive speech, the principle of two ears and one mouth, supervision, selectivity and validity, balance and justice. In line with Alisyahbana (2019), Khoironi (2017) only explored hoaxes through conceptual methods by way of the process of internalization obtained informally, formally, or institutionally and through the practice of the values and attitudes of everyday life. The novelty of this research, as compared to the existing research, is the emphasis on the best practices in the early days of Islam in warding off hoaxes by way of confirmation, comparison, and coherence of valid verses and hadiths. It is essential to put these methods into practice by applying multiple filter on information that has the potential to contain hoaxes.

The researches on the dangers of hoaxes emphasizes the need for a more concrete and current systematic mechanism to ward off the dangers of hoaxes in the future. By referring to the experience of the Prophet's companions in handling this matter, we need to create a system that can overcome the dangers of disinformation in society, especially among Muslims. Religious institutions, such as the Indonesian Ulema Council and religious organizations in Indonesia, need to determine the current ways to counteract the hoaxes that are increasingly commonplace on social

media. An application software needs to be made, because the current hoax data is no longer in the form of direct statements, but in the form of digital information and digital religious content of proselytizing (*da'wah*). Such content, to some extent, may contain a particular dimension of truth and be based on logical coherence, that can convincingly lead us to believe that it is valid, instead of hoaxes.

## 6. Conclusion

The key finding of this study is that there has been an applicable method to eradicate hoax since prophetic times. This method is apparent in the best practices applied by the *sahabah* to crosscheck the authenticity of the hadith information using three methods. The first is the confirmation method, by ensuring the accuracy of the information through the main source of the information. The second method is a comparison, by presenting witnesses and taking an oath to strengthen the validity of information. The third method is coherence by comparing between authentic verses of the Quran and the hadith. The coherence method is interpreted as a comparative analytical method that can be applied by everyone with a comparative tool having argumentative power, or it can also be done by the expert as was done by Abu Huairah. If criticism has to be made, either on the meaning or the credibility of the narrator, the submission is only to assess the possibility of defects in the narrative. It does not affect social relations, let alone intends to expose the narrator's disgrace. The *sahabah* applied the consolidation process for all hadith, even for hadith known for its authenticity. An assessment of the integrity of the personality and intellectual capacity of the narrator is needed because the object of a hadith discussion does not refer to one particular law, but may serve as a comparison (*qarinah*) to be used as evidence and legal explanation. Therefore, the three methods to learn from the experiences of the prophet and his companions shall be considered as the best practices in combating the current spread of hoaxes.

This paper contributes to the framing of Islam in fighting hoaxes. Through the constructivism method, the experiences of the prophet and his companions can serve as a guide and lesson learned to fight against hoaxes. The four hadith used also provide insight into the existing experiences. The history of Anas bin Malik tells us the story of the Prophet's companions who used the confirmation method in denying any news. The narrative of the hadith of Abu Bakr al-Siddiq can help us ward off hoaxes through the comparative method in the form of witnesses. Ali Bin Abi Talib's hadith history recounts a history of a friend who took an oath to legitimize the truth of information. Likewise, the narrative of the hadith of Aishah Ummul Mu'minin illustrates the importance of the coherence method to understand the main source of the hadith for any information and news. The four hadith are declared valid because they are not only based on the personality traits of the narrator, but also based on the content that describes the methods of fighting hoaxes at that time. The concepts used in the form of defining hoaxes, distribution of information, and Islamic views on hoaxes also provide essential support for this paper, such as the important meaning of *tabayyun* in fighting hoaxes.

Despite its contribution in explaining hoaxes in Islamic context, this paper still has limitations because it only describes a historical aspect of the experiences of the Prophet's companions in fighting hoaxes. Some of the existing methods, such as comparison, are not applicable today because hoaxes are not only rampant in the community but also highly circulating in social media, and so is the data source. There are other hadith narrations that explain about methods of fighting hoaxes in Islam, which are out of the scope of this research due to the research limitations in obtaining data sources. For this reason, a more comprehensive study is needed to see

how Islam is able to defend against hoaxes with the narration of hadiths and in ways that are relevant to the current conditions.

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## The Rejection of Women Imams in Indonesia: Between Religious and Socio-Cultural Texts

Nurun Najwah

Irwan Abdullah

Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy

Ahmad Baidowi

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## The Rejection of Women Imams in Indonesia: Between Religious and Socio-Cultural Texts

By Nurun Najwah<sup>1</sup>, Irwan Abdullah<sup>2</sup>, Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy<sup>3</sup>, Ahmad Baidowi<sup>4</sup>

### Abstract

Discourses regarding women as imams became widespread after Amina Wadud led communal Friday prayers in 2005. Academics have predominantly responded by analyzing religious doctrine and its exegesis, ignoring the fact that women's ability to lead worship is strongly influenced by their specific socio-cultural contexts and dynamics. This article will investigate how religious texts structure and are structured by the socio-cultural context of Indonesia. In this study, data were collected by identifying hadiths of leadership, then analyzing them using content analysis. It was found that religious doctrines tend to emphasize the primacy of men (as leaders) while underscoring the (physical, intellectual, and spiritual) shortcomings of women. Such religious dogmas receive symbolic legitimacy from the patriarchal culture of society. The dominance of men in mosques, as well as the prohibition against women serving as imams, have been institutionalized by Indonesia's four largest Islamic institutions (MUI, DMI, NU, and Muhammadiyah) and reproduced through their fatwas as well as the sermons of popular preachers.

*Keywords:* Gender differences, Gender in Islam, Women leadership, Gender habitus, Religious text, Indonesia, Hadiths of leadership

### Introduction

Ever since Amina Wadud<sup>5</sup> acted as imam and preacher during a congregational Friday prayer in The Cathedral Church of Saint John, Manhattan, New York the United States in 2005, the question of whether women could lead mixed-gender congregations, has been widely discussed in academia. This discourse has revolved not only around the matter of women's prayer leadership, but also the broader positioning of women in Islam, one of the most crucial debates of modern times (Hafid, 2014). In one CNN story, for example, it has been reported that an Indian Muslim woman named Jamida Beevi received death threats after leading a mixed-gender prayer, and that she had been branded a radical by several Muslim

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<sup>1</sup> Nurun Najwah is a Doctor of Hadith and senior lecturer of Hadith Studies at UIN Sunan Kalijaga. As a Gender Studies enthusiast, one of her recent publications is the article "Gender Analysis on the Misogynist Hadiths in Al-Kutub Al-Tis'ah". Email: [nurun.najwah@uin-suka.ac.id](mailto:nurun.najwah@uin-suka.ac.id).

<sup>2</sup> Irwan Abdullah, Professor of Anthropology, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada

<sup>3</sup> Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, lecturer of Hadith Studies at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmad Baidowi, lecturer of Qur'anic Studies at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

<sup>5</sup> Amina Wadud born September 25, 1952, is a Professor Emeritus of Islamic Studies at Virginia Commonwealth University. As an American Muslim philosopher with a progressive interpretation of The Holy Quran, her written works i.e Qur'an and Woman: Rereading Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective (1999) and Inside the Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam (2006). She studied at the University of Pennsylvania; Master of Arts Education in Near Eastern Studies; Ph.D. in Arabic and Islamic studies at The University of Michigan (1988).

organizations as she had deviated from standard Islamic teachings (Suastha, 2018). A report by UN Women (2020) indicates that Indonesian women as a leader was 6.6% in 1985; men, thus, are dominant as leaders, with opportunities for women significantly limited (Bierema, 2016). This finding is supported by Pastner and Mernissi (1978), who argue that such positioning is simultaneously driven by scripture and by specific socio-cultural contexts.

To date, most of the literature addressing the controversy over women's leadership has referred to religious texts to determine whether women are permitted, by Islamic doctrine, to lead congregational worship (Calderini, 2011; Akhmetova, 2015; Edwin, 2013; Hammer, 2010; White, 2010). Calderini (2011), for instance, writes that women's leadership has been extensively discussed among *ulama* (scholars of Islam), both classical and modern. *Ulama* following classical Muslim doctrine have, citing religious texts and their positioning of women, rejected women's leadership of mixed-gender communal worship (Wadud, 1999; Damanhuri, 2018; Midden & Ponzanesi, 2013; Schade, 2018). For example, Wadud (1999) writes that women are positioned as the second-created person in the Qur'an and the hadiths (the collected writings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad), being weakened by the patriarchal structure of Islamic jurisprudence. Few studies have analyzed how the socio-cultural factors that shape religious texts and their interpretation have been used to justify the positioning of women. According to Anwar (2019), opposition to women's leadership cannot be attributed solely to theological considerations; sociological aspects are also influential. In other words, the text must be seen within the context of the specific structural and cultural dynamics of the society interpreting it.

Recognizing that the literature tends to explain the rejection of women imams through reference to religious texts, this article seeks to fill gaps in the extant body of literature by considering the context in which these texts are read and given significance. Religious texts receive symbolic legitimacy from the cultures that interpret them, and this may provide a basis for discriminating against women. The rejection of women's leadership cannot be seen as merely a religious fact; it must also be recognized as a socio-cultural fact. This article highlights how women are structured as the "second sex" in three realms: within the textual realm, wherein the textual concepts are structured socially; the cultural realm, wherein the patriarchy and its dominance is legitimized by the text; and the discursive realm, wherein religious leaders act as agents and maintain gender inequality. These three realms will be explored using the question of women acting as imams.

Discrimination against women is not merely constructed by religious texts, but also directly correlated with cultural responses to said texts. Although the Quran and the hadiths have significantly shaped the cosmology of Muslim societies, the content of these texts could not structure reality without cultural legitimacy. The link between text and context is inseparable, as context is a space that is structured by religious texts while simultaneously structuring the exegesis of the text. In the positioning of women, the authority of the text necessarily intersects with the dynamics of society. Women are segregated along gender lines, and—as a result—women are subordinated by patriarchal structures that are legitimized by religious texts and social structures; as a consequence, the leadership of women is problematized.

## Literature Review

Debate regarding women's leadership, as framed by textual realities and by social realities, has given rise to many questions regarding gender and gender differences. Similarly, gender differences are seen within the context of religion and the shaping of their habits.

### *Gender Differences*

Historically, societies have tended to construct individuals in a manner that recognizes two genders: male and female (Hyde, 2014). From childhood, men and women are introduced to the different roles and behaviors that are deemed appropriate for their gender (Conry-Murray et al., 2020). As a result, gender and gender constructs influence mindsets, behaviors, appearances, and even the division of labor and responsibility (Boe, 2015; Oláh, Kotowska, & Richter, 2018). In society, these gender differences result in men and women being divided by society, religion, and culture, with men being identified with the power and authority to lead, and women being expected to follow the guidance of men (Puspitawati, 2012). As such, according to Borg (2019), gender differences serve as labels that are attached to individuals and that influence their behavior through their specific social constructs. Through this labeling, women are assigned a specific class and status in accordance with their gender (Thelwall et al., 2019).

Gender differences produce significant disparities in how individuals exercise their rights, access, control, and movement (Branisa et al., 2013). Women are subordinated, marginalized, and even discriminated against because of the patriarchal understandings that underpin all elements of social life. Chang, Yip, & Chen (2019) write that the inequalities experienced by women leave them vulnerable to discrimination, violence, poverty, and even death, and as a result they have fewer opportunities to access necessary health and education services. Women are limited by society in behavior and attitude (Scarborough & Risman, 2018); as argued by Madsen (2019), society creates particular stereotypes that leave women vulnerable to psychological and emotional harm, as well as violence and abuse. Such gender differences tend to benefit men, and indeed they dominate the religious and economic sectors (Boe, 2015). Women are not positioned as equals, and this inequality continues to be legitimized by male-centric cultures, religious texts, and policies (Shastri, 2014).

### *Gender and Islam*

Gender in Islam has been understood through an exploration of the positioning of men and women. From a traditional/classical perspective, Islam is seen as identifying men as the leaders of women (Turner, 2018). Women are narrated as having limited roles, with their rights and obligations being oriented primarily towards domestic activities such as serving their husbands and raising their children. In such a context, women are marginalized by dominant discourses and constructed to obey the teachings of (predominantly male) scholars (Hafid, 2014). In such a perspective, women experience significant biases. Meanwhile, according to Brenner (2011), modern Islamic perspectives have offered new understandings of gender. Texts and their regulation of women have been deconstructed by philosophers such as Amina Wadud the woman who acted as Imam in 2005 (Irsyadunnas, 2015). She argues that there is no truly objective exegesis of the Quran and thus the existing scholarship must be reinterpreted to achieve an understanding suited to modern times (Wadud, 2006). Her assessment challenged existing views of gender and Islam, emphasizing



the justice and equality aspects of the Quran (Wadud, 2014). Similarly, Abdullah, Ali, & Hamid (2015) write that Islam does not distinguish between women's and men's religious rights and obligations; individual Muslims are only distinguished by their faith and their piety.

The practical application of Islamic perspectives of gender, however, is limited by individual interpretations (Husaini & Husni, 2015). This is supported by Wadud (1999), who writes that the positioning of women as the second sex is not a religious matter, but rather one of the interpretation and implementation of the Qur'an within a patriarchal structure. Patriarchal interpretations and exegeses result in women being subordinated, as evidenced in the interpretation of al-Nisa` (the fourth chapter of Quran) to limit women's independence, including their mobility, employment, and education. Gender inequality has been identified by many as a problem of misinterpreting the religious rights and obligations of women, especially in Islamic countries (al-Mannai, 2010). al-Mannai (2010) shows that religious, social, and cultural factors all drive women to obey men and to follow specific interpretations of religious texts. Similarly, these factors limit women's ability to act without the involvement of male decision-makers (Aluko, 2015).

### *Gender Habitus*

In discussing the matters of construction and inequality, it is important to recognize how women are structured within specific fields (i.e., economics, politics, education, religion, and literature), and how this structuring is socially reproduced. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction suggests individuals' experiences with, and interpretations of their interactions lead them to internalize the particular structure of their society (Bourdieu, 2013). These internalized schemes produce a habitus or personal background which in turn produces particular practices, perceptions, and evaluations (Miller, 2016). It is through their habitus, that individual sense, recognize, understand, and evaluate their social reality. As explained by Adib (2012), in the end the relations between actors and structures are dialectic, with each influencing and mediating the other, and inexorably linked within a network of social practices, lifestyles, and values, all of which are associated with specific social groups. This dialectic produces 'structuring structures' and 'structured structures', both of which influence individuals' relations within specific fields and highlight the power relations within said fields (Bourdieu, 2013). Miller (2016) notes that all fields have dominant actors who assert their dominance through symbolic violence.

In the Bourdieusian understanding of social reproduction, the social reality of gender is oriented towards recognizing symbolic violence, the imperceptible and invisible violence. In this context, women are marginalized by cultural and religious structures (including written texts and oral traditions), and over time this marginalization is internalized (Syed, 2010). In practice, this social reproduction results in women being limited to domestic roles and being controlled by men (Wacquant, 2013). This understanding is reinforced by Musarrofa (2019), who notes that women are taught to bow their heads and to honor men; as such, morality is determined by their respect for masculinity. Such structures distinguish between men, with their masculine habitus, and women, with their feminine habitus (Musarrofa, 2019). Women are thus expected to obey the commands of men, who are positioned as their superiors, and to internalize this habitus to such an extent that cultural and religious constructs are reinforced. Examining the case of Indonesia, Sudarso, Keban, &

Mas'udah (2019) find that the internalization of patriarchal culture is buttressed by religious dogmas, and that young women (especially from poor families) are structurally pressured to marry early and to quit school. Studies such as these underscore the influence of a gendered habitus.

### *Women's Leadership*

Leaders are actors capable of influencing the social construction processes. Leaders are perceived as playing important roles in determining the extent of social norms and influence the available means for achieving desired goals (Zaccaro, 2014). Yulianti, Putra, & Takanjanji (2018) identify two leadership styles: transformational (The Female leaders who can be motivation and inspiration their subordinates to achieve the same goals) and feminist (The Female leaders who lead with their experiences influenced by culture and social order as women in society). Although explanatory in theory, in practice, women's involvement in institutional leadership faces significant hurdles that complicate that transformational and feminist approach. According to Smith (2013), women are not adequately in leadership positions represented, and their power remains limited by gender. A survey of women leadership in Indonesian institutions, finds that, although 75% of workers are women, only 20% of leaders are women. Several factors limit women's opportunities to become leaders, including inadequate access, gender bias, patriarchal structures, and societal expectations of male leadership (Azmi et al., 2012). Paustian-Underdahl, Walker, & Woehr (2014) similarly note that women are perceived as ineffective leaders and viewed as lacking the capacity to mobilize their subordinates; as such, women are rarely entrusted with leadership roles.

Women's leadership is particularly limited in areas where religious beliefs are strong. Using Ghana as a case study, Ammah (2013) showed that religious views of women, particularly those that frame women as lacking leadership skills, commonly result in them being prohibited from leading religious activities or state institutions. Supplementing this study, Agesna (2018) notes that women's leadership of worship has often been problematic for Muslims. It is often feared that, when women lead congregational prayers, the prayers of male worshippers will be rendered invalid, as women are seen as not meeting the normative criteria for leadership—which is historically established as a rational, well-read, devout, and pious post-pubescent Muslim male (Fatimah, 2015).

### **Method**

This study investigates women's leadership, both as a religious fact and as a socio-cultural fact. It investigates the research object within three fields: the textual field, wherein particular texts structure the social order; the cultural field, wherein the patriarchy legitimizes texts; and the discursive field, wherein religious leaders discursively promote gender inequality.

Data in this study were gathered primarily from the Hadiths (the second source of Islamic teaching based of the Prophet Muhammad) narrated by *Shahih al-Bukhari*, *Shahih Muslim*, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, *Sunan al-Turmudzi*, *Sunan al-Nasa'I*, *Sunan Ibn Majah*, *Sunan al-Darimi*, *Musnad Ahmad bin Hanbal*, and *al-Muwaththa` Imam Malik* (as recorded in the Nine Primary Book of Hadith) were all consulted. The hadiths used to justify discriminative practices were classified based on their content. Three categories were identified: hadiths

dealing with leadership, hadiths that positioned women as inferior to men, and hadiths that label women negatively.

Data were also collected regarding the leadership of four Islamic institutions in Indonesia: *Majelis Ulama Indonesia* (MUI), the *Ulama* Council of Indonesia is national organization consisting of Islamic scholars, governments, and scientists in Indonesia established in July 26, 1975; *Dewan Masjid Indonesia* (DMI), the Council of Indonesian Mosques is the national organization to realize the function of the mosque as a center of worship, community development and unity of the moslem people in Indonesia, was founded on June 22, 1972; *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) is an Islamic traditionalist Sunni organization which is following the Shafi'I school of jurisprudence, was established on January 31, 1926; and *Muhammadiyah* is a large Islamic organizations in Indonesia to restore all deviations in Islamic teachings by building social and educational systems in the community, established on November 18, 1912. The collected data, which covered the two most recent leadership periods (2010-2015 and 2015-2020), was used to ascertain the extent of women's involvement in these institutions as well as the percentage of women leaders. Also consulted were the sermons of three popular *da'I* (religious preacher): Abdul Somad, Khaled Basalamah, and Adi Hidayat .

All collected data were identified as mutually influential, and subsequently examined and analyzed using a gender habitus perspective. This perspective not only enabled the researchers to understand how the prohibition of women's leadership has been legitimized by the hadiths, but also to understand how this legitimacy has been reinforced by specific socio-cultural contexts.

## Results

### *Gender Discrimination in the Qur'an and the Hadiths*

Literal and historical understandings of religious doctrine provide the foundation for justifying discrimination against women in theological spaces. Theological doctrines prohibit women from acting as the imams of mixed-gender congregations. These texts fall into three broad thematic categories: texts dealing with leadership, texts dealing with the subordination of women, and texts that negatively stereotype women.

Historically, scholars of Islam have associated the concept of leadership with men; women, conversely, are not perceived as leaders. Quran al-Nisa (4):34 and al-Baqarah (2):228 both emphasize male leadership over women. Verse 34 of Quran al-Nisa, for example, explicitly states that "Men are protectors of women, because Allah has preferred some of them above others, and because they have provided out of their wealth...." Such concepts are supported by several hadiths that emphasize men's dominance in their relationships with women. One hadith, narrated by al-Bukhari, states specifically that "the man is the leader of his household, and his leadership must not be questioned" (al-Bukhari no. 2,232). Other hadiths describe women as illegitimate leaders (al-Bukhari, no. 4,073), and prohibit them from serving as imams in mixed-gender congregations (Ibn Majah, no. 1,071). Pursuant to these texts, men are positioned as leaders—from the micro to the macro—while women are provided no spaces for leadership. Indeed, one hadith reads that "no people will find fortune after surrendering leadership to women" (al-Bukhari no. 6,570). Leadership, whether over family, more broadly in society or in worship, as reinforced by hadith, is male. This holds true for worship as well (Table 1).

**Table 1. Text of Hadiths Requiring Male Leadership**

No.	Material	Men	Women	Basis of Argument
1.	Family leadership	Leads	led	al-Bukhari no. 2,232
2.	Leadership	Permitted	Not permitted	al-Bukhari no. 4,073 and no. 6,570.
3.	Imam during worship	May lead men or women in worship	May not lead men in worship	Ibn Majah no 1,071.

These texts also subordinate women, positioning them as lower than men. Several hadiths are used to legitimize such positioning, including: (1) woman was created from the rib bone of man (al-Bukhari 4,787); (2) by their very nature, women lack religious piety and intellectual capacity (al-Bukhari, no. 293); (3) women are bound to others in their worship, require companions (non-marriageable kin) (al-Bukhari 1,729); (4) They must receive their husbands' permission before conducting supererogatory almsgiving (al-Bukhari 1,924); (5) women have limited space for worship, and their worship is best realized in the back row (Muslim, no. 664); (6) women worship is better at home (Abu Dawud, no. 480); (7) Women in domestic sphere and restricted in public area (Muslim, no. 2,390)(Table 2).

**Table 2: Subordination of Women in the Hadiths**

No.	Material	Men	Women	Basis of Argument
1.	Origin of humanity	Main creation	Derivative creation (created from a man's rib)	al-Bukhari no. 4,787
2.	Illogical and irreligious	Not characteristic	Viewed as natural order	al-Bukhari no. 293
3.	Hajj	May be conducted alone	May not be conducted alone; must be accompanied by <i>mahram</i> (a close family as her bodyguard)	al-Bukhari no. 1,729
4.	<i>Infdaq</i> (charitable disbursements)	Permission of wife not required	Permission of husband required	al-Bukhari no. 1,924
5.	Location during worship	Front <i>shaf</i> (row) is the best	Back <i>shaf</i> is the best	Muslim no. 664
6.	Worship at home	<i>Mubah</i> (permitted, neutral)	Preferred	Abu Dawud no. 480

7.	Division of roles	Public sphere	Domestic sphere: ability to leave home restricted	Muslim no. 2,390
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As the table 2 shows, women are positioned as second-class citizens; they are seen as inherently inferior to men. In one hadith, dialogue between a woman and the Prophet is underscoring this subordination. A woman asks: ‘... o Prophet, what do our minds and faiths lack? Is not a woman's testimony half that of a man's?’, When the woman asked, the prophet replies, 'It is true. That is a shortcoming of women's minds.’ He further pointed out that in times of menses, are fasting and prayer not permitted for you? When the woman agreed that they are expensed from fasting and prayer doing these times, the prophet said, 'That is a shortcoming of women's faiths' (al-Bukhari, no. 293). This dialog reinforced the justification for women's subordination.

Hadiths also provide a basis for negative stereotypes and labels regarding women, including (1) women as temptresses, as Eve's temptations of Adam resulted in their banishment from heaven (al-Bukhari no. 3,083); (2) women are the majority of the denizens of Hell (al-Bukhari, no. 293); (3) women bear the burdens of others' sins (Abu Dawud, no 4,094); (4) women are sources of disaster (al-Bukhari, no. 4,703); (5) Women are demons (Abu Dawud 1,839); (6) women may annul/negate the worship of others (al-Nasa'i, no. 742) The hadith about women as demons emphasized a problem in women's physical forms that are detrimental: "Truly, a woman, when coming, takes a demon's form..." (Abu Dawud, no. 1.839) (Table 3).

**Table 3. Stereotypes regarding Women in the Hadiths**

No.	Material	Men	Women	Basis of Argument
1.	Eve; wife the cause of husband's sins	Not characteristic	Characterized as problematic	al-Bukhari no. 3,083
2.	Most denizens of Hell	Not characteristic	Characteristic	al-Bukhari no. 293
3.	Bearer of others' sins	Not characteristic	A slain infant girl will carry the sins of her killer	Abu Dawud no. 4,094
4.	Source of disaster	Not characteristic	Characteristic	al-Bukhari no. 4,703
5.	As demons	Not characteristic	Characteristic	Abu Dawud no. 1,839
6.	Annulling the worship of others	Impossible	Possible, when passing in front of a worshipping man	al-Nasai no. 742.

### **The Patriarchal Systems of Islamic Institutions**

The patriarchal systems of Islamic institutions, as well as said institutions' discrimination against women, is clearly evident in the management of mosques. Etymologically, the word *mosque* refers to the place of prostration; in the original Arabic

(*masjid*), it is a masculine noun (al-Munawwir, 2012). This etymology has shaped how mosques are understood in society, as well as the cultural belief that mosques are gathering places for men rather than women. A patriarchal structure is evident in the management of these mosques, where men dominate theological discourses and select the *ta'mir* (caretaker) and the imam. Religious leaders and institutions have consistently socialized a male-oriented perspective and used this perspective to control sacred spaces such as mosques. In Indonesia, where there are almost 800,000 mosques and prayer rooms, almost all *ta'mir* are men. These *ta'mir* are generally respected members of the local community, or individuals who have become prominent owing to their completion of the hajj pilgrimage. Even where women serve as *ta'mir*, they tend to be limited to domestic tasks (Nurjamilah, 2017).

The involvement of women in Islamic institutions has occurred slowly, as may be seen by four cases: the *Ulama* Council of Indonesia (MUI), the Council of Indonesian Mosques (DMI), the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and Muhammadiyah. In these institutions, few women are identified as having occupied leadership roles in 2010-2020; where women occupy such roles, their duties are primarily limited to domestic ones. The Department of Women and Child Development at DMI, for instance, has been led by a woman, as has the Department of Women Empowerment and Child Protection at MUI. No woman has ever had to justify occupying a top leadership position in other major institutions such as the Ministry of Religion, their leadership, limited to domestic departments (Table 4).

**Table 4. Women's Level of Involvement in Islamic Institutions**

Institution	Period	Men (%)	Women (%)
MUI	2010–2015	82.06	17.94
MUI	2015–2020	89.19	10.81
DMI	2012–2017	90.00	10.00
DMI	2017–2022	94.74	5.26
PBNU	2010–2015	100	-
PBNU	2015–2020	94.73	5.27
Muhammadiyah	2010–2015	94.12	5.88
Muhammadiyah	2015–2020	94.12	5.88

### Discursive Processes that Reject Women's Leadership

Public discourses have rejected women's leadership, especially in worship. Such discourses are found in three realms.

First, in the administrative realm, regulations require the imams of mosques to be men. At the mosques administered by Indonesia's provincial and municipal governments, imams are selected in accordance with specific government regulations—which were drafted primarily by men. A similar phenomenon is found in community-run mosques and prayer rooms throughout Indonesia, where imams are selected based on their reputations within the community. The selection process is male-biased, as the selectors and selected are all men. Women may only serve as imam and *khatib* (preacher) for congregations that consist only of women and prepubescent children; for instance, Siti Rohmah served as imam during Eid prayers in Bojongkulur, Bogor (Ramadhan, 2019).

Second, in its institutional vision and mission, MUI formally rejects the leadership of women. MUI Fatwa No. 9 / MUNAS VII/13/2005, dated July 28, 2005, states that 'it is *haram* (forbidden) for women to serve as imams for congregations that include men, and any such prayer is invalid; where the congregation consists solely of women, it is *mubah* (permitted) for women to act as imams.' This fatwa was issued in response to the previously mentioned leadership of Amina Wadud in the United States (MUI, 2005). As reported by one online news portal, *Republika.id* (2011), statements prohibiting the leadership of women have also been made by popular *da'i* such as Abdul Somad, Khaled Basalamah, and Adi Hidayat. In one sermon posted to his YouTube channel (My Dakwah Tube), Abdul Somad underscored that women could not lead mixed-gender congregations. "If a woman is learning to lead prayers, may she say her compulsory prayers loudly? So long as there are no men, so long as there are only women—mothers, daughters, sisters, nieces—then her leadership is fine. But if there are men? No. If there is one man, take him as the imam."

Similarly, on the YouTube channel *Kebumen Mengaji* ('Kebumen Worships') Khaled Basalama in his rejection of women's leadership stated: 'In order to be an imam, one must be a just and knowledgeable man. In this case, just does not simply mean honest, but also understanding of the hadiths. To be just, one must have sufficient knowledge to act justly and always advocate for truth. As such, should a man's worship be led by a woman, it would be invalid. Meanwhile, Adi Hidayat allowed women to go to the mosque, stating: 'A woman's worship in the most private places is just as blessed as a man's worship in the mosque. For women, if they meet three criteria, they may go to the mosque. These three criteria are, first, they are not mingling with men—or, rather, having their own place in the mosque. Second, being safe from temptation on the streets, and third, all of their more important obligations—nurturing and nursing children—are completed.' Nevertheless, on his YouTube channel Audio Dakwah, Adi Hidayat also emphasized that women's worship is best conducted at home, as it brings them the same blessings as mosque worship. Like the other popular *da'i*, he emphasized a gender segregation in worship that prohibited women as imams.

The third realm that objected to women's leadership has come from women themselves. Although the Indonesian Islamic feminists agree against the injustices of women, they have different opinions in leader prayer (Peter, 2013). In Etin articles, one of traditional feminist, Yoyoh Yusroh ( a member of the Indonesian Justice Party and Parliament) disagrees with a Imam woman in a mixing prayer, an equality does not mean everything could be equal; Amani Lubis (a female lecturer and an expert of Arabic literature) argues, women`s Imam in Indonesia only in emergency situations; moderate feminist, Musdah Mulia (an Indonesian`s Islamic scholar) has a view neither in Quran and Hadith is mentioned about sex as criteria to be a leader in prayer. She accepts the equality of men and women for leading prayer, but Muslim society disagree this equality concept in *ibadah* (ritual religious) (Lang, 2013). Many women have difficulty positioning themselves as agents of change, even in the most limited contexts (Anwar, 2019). For example, Husein Muhammad (a gender activist and a leader of an Islamic boarding school in Cirebon Indonesia) argues that it is permissible for a woman to become an imam. He himself has encouraged his wife to become a prayer leader for him and his family, but she refused to do it (Anwar, 2019).

Public discourses in this male-dominated socio-cultural context have reproduced the construct that women cannot be imams in worship. This discourse has been legitimized by religious texts, which clearly conceptualizes men as leaders and women as their subordinates,

and by patriarchal social practices (in the administration of mosques and religious institutions, in the selection of imams, and in sermons), and by women themselves.

## Discussion

Opposition to women's Indonesian's leadership in mixed-gender settings has been driven primarily by a literal understanding of religious texts, especially hadiths that identify leadership as solely within the purview of men (Turner, 2018). Opposition has also stemmed from the portrayal of women in religious texts, including the depiction of Eve as having been created from Adam's rib bone, the description of women as religiously and intellectually lacking, the requirement for women to receive their husbands' permission to conduct supererogatory worship and almsgiving, and the labeling of women as the cause of humanity's banishment from heaven, as negating worship, as causing misfortune, and as denizens of Hell. Such gender differences have become understood as part of a non-negotiable and a contextual order (Hafid, 2014), and have been legitimized by sacred texts. Discrimination against women is not only accepted but reinforced by the dominant structure (al-Mannai, 2010). All four of Indonesia's largest Islamic institutions—MUI, DMI, NU, and Muhammadiyah—are dominated by men (Shastri, 2014). Discrimination along gender lines is also justified culturally through MUI Fatwa No. 9 of 2005 as well as the sermons of popular preachers such as Abdul Somad, Khaled Basalamah, and Adi Hidayat.

Opposition to women imams must be understood within the cultural context of pre-Islamic Arabia. The text of the Quran was revealed in a patriarchal society, wherein men were responsible for all public matters (including supporting their families) and women were responsible for domestic duties (including household chores). At the time, they were viewed as unimportant, as little more than objects; indeed, many pre-Islamic Arabs were driven by economic, social, and political factors to bury their infant daughters alive. In domestic spaces, they were often exploited and subject to inhumane treatment. Forced marriage, spousal abuse, and unjustified polygamy were common; slave women could be forcibly impregnated, with their children sold, or passed from generation to generation. This reality resulted in women becoming dehumanized, being viewed as created by men for men, and thus as lacking the ability to determine their own fates.

This historical context shaped Islam's religious texts, and thus influenced Islam's structure as an organized religion. Failure to consider this context when reading religious texts has contributed significantly to the discrimination against women in religious worship/rituals and in other public spaces.

The belief that imams must be men has been maintained for centuries throughout the Muslim world, including in Indonesia. Ongoing opposition to women leadership in mixed-gender congregations has been intended in part to respond to views that have challenged the dominant religious paradigms regarding worship. Where worship practices have deviated from commonly accepted standards, anarchy and unrest has occurred. Take, for example, the cases of Yusman Roy and Suratman who challenged the Arabic language tradition. In the first case, Mochammad Yusman Roy was forced to comply with Decision of the Regent of Malang no.10/783/Kep/421.012/2005 (dated May 6, 2005) prohibiting bilingual worship, required to cease all religious activities (Tempo.co, 2005), and sentenced to two years imprisonment guilty of blasphemy, pursuant to Article 156a of the Indonesian Criminal Code (NU Online, 2005). In the second case, Suratman and eighteen other members of a religious



sect in Sumberkere Village, Wonomerto District, Probolinggo Regency, East Java, were branded deviant by MUI's Probolinggo branch after conducting worship in Javanese; members of the sect were subsequently forced to end all religious activities (Waspada.co.id, 2016).

This study differs from previous studies of women's leadership, which have tended to emphasize textual understandings and analyses (using the Quran, the Hadiths, and supplementary texts) in their exploration of the rejection of women imams. This article, in contrast, recognizes the social and cultural 'context', acknowledging not only how these texts influence the socio-cultural practices that reinforce the belief that imams must be men and promote discrimination against women, but also how exegesis is influenced by the interpreters' society and culture. Women are not positioned as the second sex owing to religious doctrine, but because the text of the Quran is interpreted and implemented within a patriarchal culture (Wadud, 1999). This social and cultural context denies women their rights.

This study has offered a way of restoring women to their rightful position in Islam. Women, as human beings, must be humanized in all things—including in their worship, as well as in the public and private spaces. The texts commonly used to legitimize the discrimination against women must be re-examined, and the socio-cultural frameworks that enable such discrimination must be challenged. In considering the religious positioning of women, it is necessary to recognize the patriarchal structures that result in women facing injustice, subordination, marginalization (including impoverishment), stereotyping, violence, sexual exploitation, and labor exploitation—as well as the tendency for women to not recognize their dehumanization (Fakih, 2003).

## **Conclusion**

The belief of imams must be men in Indonesia is not only based on the religious texts (including the hadiths) that influence the socio-cultural practices that reinforce discrimination against women, but also the exegesis is influenced by their interpreter's society and culture. The research has shown that the male-dominated socio-cultural contexts in which religious activities are conducted have structured and significantly influenced the matters of leadership, mosque management, and organizational administration. These contexts have been reinforced by particular policies and sermons that identify Islam as rejecting women's imams.

This article exposes the need to provide women with the necessary wider space to become involved in the management of mosques and religious institutions. At the same time, the need to encourage men as agents of change in a patriarchal culture that discriminates against women, in their attitudes and beliefs. Religious studies using a range of perspectives are necessary to achieve a greater social understanding of diversity and religiosity. Only then can texts that humanize women and recognize their human dignity be realized.

Future studies of the hadiths used to justify discrimination against women must achieve a deeper understanding of their social and cultural contexts. It is also necessary to conduct a detailed investigation of the religious and social spaces in which women are accepted as imams, as well as to ascertain the quality of their leadership in worship and the space for women imams should be available in Indonesia's more than 800,000 mosques.

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## **Penafsiran QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 Perspektif *Ma'nā-Cum-Maghzā***

**Muhafizah dan Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy**

UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

*muhafizahvije@gmail.com; saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id*

### **Pendahuluan**

Kehadiran media sosial di samping mendukung manusia untuk berkomunikasi tanpa tatap muka langsung, juga memungkinkan mereka untuk menebar ujaran kebencian, saling mengejek, membuli, dan menghina satu sama lain. Data-data Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informasi (KOMINFO)<sup>1</sup> menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 800 ribu situs ujaran kebencian yang beredar di internet dan media sosial. Facebook menunjukkan pada 2020, setidaknya 9,6 juta ujaran kebencian di-*delete* oleh Facebook.<sup>2</sup> Ujaran kebencian ini banyak yang mengandung unsur agama, baik di ujaran kebencian dalam umat beragama sendiri maupun antar umat beragama. Besarnya angka ujaran kebencian tersebut menunjukkan bahwa media sosial penuh dengan konten-konten tersebut dan belum dapat dibendung dengan baik meskipun undang-undang mengenai Informasi dan Transaksi

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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/12008/ada-800000-situs-penyebar-hoax-di-indonesia/0/sorotan\\_media](https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/12008/ada-800000-situs-penyebar-hoax-di-indonesia/0/sorotan_media)

<sup>2</sup> Erwin Mulyadi and Henni Gusfa, "The Regulation (ITE Law) Socialization and Implementation Model by Kominfo to Mitigate Negative Content on Social Media," 2019.

Elektronik (ITE) telah diberlakukan. Benar yang ditunjukkan Antonio Guterres bahwa media sosial menyediakan megafon global untuk menyiarkan kebencian, yang menurutnya menjadi tsunami yang urgen untuk direspons.<sup>3</sup>

Setidaknya terdapat tiga tren unsur ujaran kebencian di media sosial, yakni suku, tingkah laku dan bentuk fisik seseorang.<sup>4</sup> Penemuan tersebut senada dengan salah satu pengertian *hate speech* yang mengatakan bahwa perilaku tersebut dilakukan oleh individu atau kelompok dalam bentuk provokasi, hasutan, atau pun hinaan kepada individu atau kelompok yang lain dalam berbagai aspek seperti ras, warna kulit, etnis, gender, cacat, orientasi seksual, kewarganegaraan, agama, dan lain-lain.<sup>5</sup> Dengan kata lain, fenomena ujaran kebencian membawa unsur identitas yang melekat baik pada pelaku maupun objek ujaran.

Persoalan di atas juga ditopang oleh pandangan umum bahwa media sosial merupakan saluran yang menawarkan kebebasan berekspresi. Individu memiliki kebebasan tak terbatas untuk melacak informasi dan berkorespondensi dengan ribuan individu lain hingga membentuk komunitas virtual yang tidak mungkin dibentuk oleh jalan tradisional.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Larry Poe, "Cybercrime in the Age of Digital Transformation, Rising Nationalism and the Demise of Global Governance," in *Modern Police Leadership*, 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad Aulia Ash-Shidiq and Ahmad R. Pratama, "Ujaran Kebencian Di Kalangan Pengguna Media Sosial Di Indonesia: Agama Dan Pandangan Politik," *Automata* 2, no. 1 (January 17, 2021): 337, accessed August 23, 2022, <https://journal.uui.ac.id/AUTOMATA/article/view/17286>.

<sup>5</sup> Janner Simarmata et al., *Hoaks dan Media Sosial: Saring Sebelum Sharing* (Yayasan Kita Menulis, 2019), 6.

<sup>6</sup> Herawati, Dewi Maria, "Penyebaran Hoax Dan Hate Speech Sebagai Representasi Kebebasan Berpendapat," *Promedia* 2, no. 2 (2016): 147.

Konsep ini terlihat dengan disediakannya kolom komentar di media sosial yang kerap menjadi tempat pengguna internet mengungkapkan pendapatnya atas suatu konten yang ada. Sayangnya, ujaran tersebut acapkali tidak membangun dan bahkan menjelek-jelekkan pembuat konten dengan perkataan yang tidak senonoh jika tidak sesuai dengan keinginan mereka.<sup>7</sup> Dalam konteks inilah, media sosial mengonstruksi identitas penggunanya ketika mereka bertemu dengan individu lain yang memiliki banyak kesamaan di dunia virtual. Al-Qur'an menyinggung perilaku ujaran kebencian tersebut di dalam surat al-Ḥujurāt [49]: 11 dengan berbagai term, seperti *yaskhar*, *talmizū* dan *tanābazū*.

Dalam banyak kajian, penelitian terhadap QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 telah ditelaah dengan berbagai sudut pandang yang beragam. Di antaranya pernah dilakukan Syaifur Rahman, yang meneliti QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 62 dan al-Ḥujurāt [49]:10-13 sebagai basis pendidikan multikulturalisme.<sup>8</sup> Selain itu, Ni'matul Arofah juga mengkaji QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11-13 serta QS. al-Mā'idah [5]: 2, dengan menggunakan metode tematik untuk menarik nilai-nilai multikultural di dalamnya.<sup>9</sup> Penelitian M. Thoyyib menganalisis nilai-nilai pendidikan akhlak dalam QS. al-

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<sup>7</sup> Anissa Rahmadhany, Anggi Aldila Safitri, and Irwansyah Irwansyah, "Fenomena Penyebaran Hoax dan Hate Speech pada Media Sosial," *Jurnal Teknologi Dan Sistem Informasi Bisnis* 3, no. 1 (January 31, 2021): 40.

<sup>8</sup> Syaifur Rahman, "Pendidikan Multikulturalisme Analisis Terhadap Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Q.S. Al-Baqarah Ayat 62 Dan Al-Hujurat Ayat 10,11,12 Dan 13," *At-Ta'lim: Jurnal Pendidikan* 4, no. 1 (January 15, 2018): 85.

<sup>9</sup> Ni'matul Arofah, "Nilai-nilai pendidikan multikultural dalam Al-Qur'an: Analisis Surat Al-Hujurat ayat 11-13 dan Al-Maidah ayat 2" (undergraduate, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2017), 35, accessed August 23, 2022, <http://etheses.uin-malang.ac.id/10665/>.



Ḥujurāt [49]:11-13, dengan menggunakan metode tahlili.<sup>10</sup> Serupa dengan M. Thoyyib, Nur Kamin juga menguraikan nilai-nilai pendidikan akhlak di QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11-12, dengan menggunakan metode *tahlilī* serta pendekatan psikologis dan fenomenologis.<sup>11</sup> Iffah Elvina juga mengkaji QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]: 11-13, dengan berfokus pada nilai-nilai akhlak sosial menggunakan metode *tahlilī*.<sup>12</sup> Berbeda dengan kebanyakan kajian, Doli Witro meneliti QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]: 11 sebagai dasar kampanye perdamaian dalam menghadapi pemilihan umum di negara demokrasi.<sup>13</sup>

Dari berbagai tulisan di atas, penulis mendapati bahwa penelitian-penelitian tersebut berfokus pada dua tema yang saling berkaitan satu sama lain, yakni pendidikan karakter dan pendidikan multikultural. Kasus-kasus yang secara spesifik bisa diangkat dari ayat tersebut seperti *bullying* dan *hate speech* belum banyak dieksplor oleh peneliti-peneliti sebelumnya. Isu-isu tersebut hanya dimasukkan begitu saja ke dalam konsep akhlak secara umum, tanpa diturunkan dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 itu sendiri. Sistematika tersebut

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<sup>10</sup> Thoyyib, M, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Akhlak dalam Al-Qur'an (Telaah Surat al-Hujurāt Ayat 11-13)," *Al Hikmah* 2, no. 2 (2012): 199.

<sup>11</sup> Kamin, Nur, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Akhlak Dalam Al-Qur'an (Kajian Tafsir Tahlili Surat al-Hujurāt Ayat 11 Dan 12) - Walisongo Repository" (IAIN Walisongo, 2011), 13, accessed August 23, 2022, <http://eprints.walisongo.ac.id/id/eprint/2523/>.

<sup>12</sup> Elvina, Iffah, "Nilai-Nilai Akhlak Sosial Dalam Al-Qur'an: Sebuah Kajian Tafsir Tahlili Pada QS.al-Hujurāt Ayat 11-13 - Walisongo Repository" (UIN Walisongo, 2017), 16, accessed August 23, 2022, <http://eprints.walisongo.ac.id/id/eprint/7604/>.

<sup>13</sup> Witro, Doli, "Peaceful Campaign in Election Al-Hujurāt Verse 11 Perspective | Witro | Alfuad: Jurnal Sosial Keagamaan," *Alfuad* 3, no. 2 (2019): 15, accessed August 23, 2022, <https://ojs.iainbatuangsangkar.ac.id/ojs/index.php/alfuad/article/view/1796/1395>.

menjadi wajar, sebab pendekatan yang digunakan hanya terpaku pada model penafsiran *taḥlīlī*, tematik, serta psikologis. Sehingga, penafsiran atas QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 tersebut belum menyentuh konteks kekinian yang memiliki isu lebih spesifik. Penggunaan sudut pandang *ma'nā-cum-maghzā* dalam memahami *hate speech* melalui QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 merupakan satu hal yang belum mendapat perhatian. *ma'nā-cum-maghzā* sebagai satu sudut pandang dalam menafsirkan Al-Qur'an menjadi satu sudut pandang yang menarik yang dapat menghasilkan satu bentuk penafsiran tertentu atas suatu ayat Al-Qur'an, suatu pendekatan di mana seseorang menggali atau merekonstruksi makna dan informasi sejarah primer (pesan utama), yaitu makna (*ma'nā*) dan signifikansi (*maghzā*) dari penulis teks atau kemungkinan maksudnya dipahami oleh pembaca historis dan kemudian mengembangkan makna teks untuk diterapkan pada konteks sekarang.<sup>14</sup>

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk melengkapi kekurangan kajian tersebut dengan berfokus pada penafsiran QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 menggunakan metode *ma'nā-cum-maghzā*. Terdapat tiga pertanyaan yang akan dijawab dalam penelitian ini, yaitu: (1) bagaimana *al-ma'nā at-tārīkhī* dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11?; (2) bagaimana *al-maghzā at-tārīkhī* dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11?; serta (3) bagaimana *al-maghzā al-mutaḥarrīk al-mu'āṣir* dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11? Ketiga pertanyaan ini penting untuk memperlihatkan bagaimana perubahan serta kontekstualisasi makna suatu ayat dapat

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<sup>14</sup> Sahiron Syamsuddin et al., "1 Sahiron-Metode Penafsiran dengan Pendekatan Mana-Cum-Maghza," 2020, 7.

dilihat dari ruang sosial mikro makro, makna *linguistic* pada kamus klasik, serta pesan utama dari suatu teks ayat Al-Qur'an itu sendiri tanpa melibatkan tafsiran-tafsiran yang telah ada mengenai QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11.

*Ma'nā-cum-maghzā* menjadi satu pilihan sudut pandang teoritis dalam membaca QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 ini. Penerapannya dianggap komprehensif karena ia tidak hanya mempertimbangkan horizon teks, namun juga horizon penafsir. Sehingga ia mendialogkan keadaan terkini yang dihadapi oleh penafsir. Ia mengasumsikan adanya bentuk yang seimbang antara dunia teks dan dunia penafsir (*equal hermeneutics*). Dalam pengaplikasiannya di artikel ini, penulis menyisir QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]: 11 mulai dari menelusuri *al-ma'nā at-tārikhī*, *al-maghzā at-tārikhī*, serta *al-maghzā al-mutaḥarrik al-mu'āṣir* untuk menjelajahi kedalaman makna ayat tersebut.

## Penafsiran terhadap QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]: 11 Menggunakan *Ma'nā-cum-Maghzā*

Tabel 1: QS. Al-Hujurat [49]: 11

Ayat	Kata Kunci
<p>يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا يَسْخَرُ قَوْمٌ مِنْ قَوْمٍ عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَكُونُوا خَيْرًا مِنْهُمْ وَلَا نِسَاءٌ مِنْ نِسَاءٍ عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَكُنَّ خَيْرًا مِنْهُنَّ وَلَا تَلْمِزُوا أَنفُسَكُمْ وَلَا تَنَابَزُوا بِاللُّغَابِ بِئْسَ الْأَسْمُ الْفُسُوقُ بَعْدَ الْإِيمَانِ وَمَنْ لَمْ يَتُبْ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ</p> <p><i>“Hai orang-orang yang beriman, janganlah sekumpulan orang laki-laki merendahkan kumpulan yang lain, boleh jadi yang ditertawakan itu lebih baik dari mereka. Dan jangan pula sekumpulan perempuan merendahkan</i></p>	<p><i>Yaskhar; talmizū; dan tanābazū</i></p>

<p><i>kumpulan lainnya, boleh jadi yang direndahkan itu lebih baik. Dan janganlah suka mencela dirimu sendiri dan jangan memanggil dengan gelaran yang mengandung ejekan. Seburuk-buruk panggilan adalah (panggilan) yang buruk sesudah iman dan barangsiapa yang tidak bertaubat, maka mereka itulah orang-orang yang zalim.”</i></p>	
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Pendekatan *ma'nā-cum-maghzā* mempertimbangkan dari sisi aspek linguistik dari ayat suci Al-Qur'an yang dibahas dan konteks sosial (socio-historis) untuk memahami (1) bagaimana makna sejarah (*al-ma'nā at-tārīkhī*) atau makna aslinya (*al-ma'nā al-aṣlī*), (2) apa makna/informasi pesan-pesan utama historis (*al-maghzā at-tārīkhī*), dan (3) apa saja pesan-pesan utama kontemporer (*al-maghzā al-mu'ṣirah*) selama reinterpretasi.<sup>15</sup> Untuk memahami tiga bentuk di atas, maka artikel ini memuat penjelasan QS. Al-Ḥujurāt ayat 11 menggunakan langkah-langkah metode *ma'nā cum maghzā* sebagai berikut .

## 1. Makna Historis (*al-Ma'nā at-Tārīkhī*) QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11

### a. Analisis Linguistik, Intratekstual, dan Intertekstual

QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 terdiri dari beberapa kata dan idiom yang secara jelas menunjukkan sebuah situasi tertentu yang menyebabkan larangan mengujar kebencian muncul. Kata pertama yang akan dianalisis ialah *yaskhar*, yang berasal dari kata *sakhira-yaskharu*. Di dalam *Lisān al-'Arab* kata

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<sup>15</sup> Sahiron Syamsuddin, "Klaim Kebenaran Agama-Sahiron," 2020, 21.

*yaskhar* bermakna mengolok-olok dan mengejek.<sup>16</sup> Olokan dan ejekan tersebut bisa berupa perkataan ataupun perbuatan.<sup>17</sup> Dalam kebiasaannya, orang yang mengejek itu dibarengi dengan tertawa.<sup>18</sup> Pendapat ini selaras dengan penjelasan al-Aṣfihānī di dalam kitabnya, bahwa kata tersebut memiliki dua makna yang dijelaskan di ayat lain. *Pertama*, sebagai ejekan, sebagaimana tertulis dalam QS. Ṣad [38]:62-63<sup>19</sup> yang menggunakan kata *sikhriyyan*. *Kedua*, bisa juga bermakna tertawaan, seperti dalam QS. al-Mu'minūn [23]:110 yang menggunakan kata *taḍḥakūn*.<sup>20</sup> Imam Nawawi di dalam tafsirnya menjelaskan setelah menyampaikan *asbāb al-nuzūl* ayat tersebut bahwa makna dari kata *yaskhar* ialah meremehkan dan merendahkan.<sup>21</sup> Kata *yaskhar* yang bermakna meremehkan juga terdapat di surat lain, seperti dalam QS. al-Baqarah [2]:212,<sup>22</sup> QS. at-taubah [9]:79,<sup>23</sup> dan QS. al-Ṣāffāt [37]:12<sup>24</sup> dengan berbagai derivasinya.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-'Arab*, Juz 7. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2009), 407.

<sup>17</sup> Abū Zakariā Muhy al-Dīn Yaḥya ibn Syaraf al-Nawawū, *Al-Manḥāj Syarḥ Muslim Ibn al-Hajjāj*, Juz 8. (Beirut: Dar Ihya' at-turas al-'Arabi, 1392), 31.

<sup>18</sup> Abū Zakariā Muhy al-Dīn Yaḥya ibn Syaraf al-Nawawū, *Al-Manḥāj Syarḥ Muslim Ibn al-Hajjāj*, 40.

<sup>19</sup> وَقَالُوا مَا لَنَا لَا نَرَى رِجَالًا كُنَّا نَعُدُّهُمْ مِنَ الْأَشْرَارِ ﴿٦٢﴾ أَتَّخَذْنَا لَهُمْ سِغْرًا أَمْ زَاغَتْ عَنْهُمْ الْبَصَارُ ﴿٦٣﴾

<sup>20</sup> Ar-Rāgib al-Aṣfihānī, *Mufradāt Li Alfāz Al-Qur'ān* (Dimasyq: Dār al-Qalam, 2009), 402.

<sup>21</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Umar Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Bantānī, *Marāh Labīd Li Kasyf Al-Ma'nā al-Qur'ān al-Majīd*, Juz 2. (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1417), 438.

<sup>22</sup> رُبَّنَّ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا الْخَيْبَةُ الَّذِينَ لَا يَسْخَرُونَ مِنَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا فَوْقَهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ وَاللَّهُ يَرْزُقُ مَن يَشَاءُ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ

<sup>23</sup> الَّذِينَ يَلْمِزُونَ الْمُطَّوِّعِينَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ إِلَّا جُهْدَهُمْ فَيَسْخَرُونَ مِنْهُمْ سَخِرَ اللَّهُ مِنْهُمْ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

<sup>24</sup> بَلْ عَجِبْتَ وَيَسْخَرُونَ

<sup>25</sup> al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd, *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras Li Alfāz al-Qur'ān al-Karīm* (Kairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, n.d.), 347.

Aṭ-Ṭabari menjelaskan bahwa ulama berbeda pendapat tentang apa yang dilarang dari perilaku tersebut. Sebagian berpendapat bahwa yang dilarang adalah mengolok-olok kemiskinan seorang fakir. Sedang sebagian yang lain berpendapat bahwa yang dimaksud adalah larangan merendahkan kesalahan yang pernah diperbuat seseorang semasa hidupnya di dunia. Aṭ-Ṭabari sendiri berpendapat bahwa yang dilarang dari term tersebut adalah segala bentuk olok-an yang bisa merendahkan individu lain, baik kemiskinan, kesalahan di masa lalu dan lainnya.<sup>26</sup> Penjelasan aṭ-Ṭabari tersebut menunjukkan bahwa makna dari kata *yaskhar* ialah segala bentuk ujaran tidak etis yang berpotensi menyinggung individu lain. Pendapat ini sejalan dengan penafsiran ar-Razi di dalam kitabnya yang menyebut bahwa kata ini melarang untuk merendahkan serta mengucilkan sesama manusia.<sup>27</sup>

Setelah larangan mengolok-olok tersebut, ayat ini melanjutkan larangannya dengan term *al-lamz*. Ibn Manẓūr menjelaskan bahwa *lamz* adalah isyarat di wajah, baik dengan menggerakkan mata, kepala atau mulut disertai dengan ucapan yang samar.<sup>28</sup> al-Aṣfihānī menyebut bahwa *lamz* adalah menyakiti seseorang dengan celaan.<sup>29</sup> Aṭ-Ṭabari menafsirkan kata *lamz* dengan umpatan dan celaan. Ayat tersebut menjelaskan bahwa pencela orang lain artinya

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<sup>26</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān Fi Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, Juz 22. (Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Risalah, 2000), 297.

<sup>27</sup> Fakhr ad-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ Al-Gaib*, Juz 28. (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' at-Turās al-'Arabi, 1420), 108.

<sup>28</sup> Jamāl ad-Dīn Abī al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-'Arab*, 472.

<sup>29</sup> Ar-Rāgib al-Aṣfihānī, *Mufradāt Li Alfāẓ Al-Qur'ān*, 747.

adalah pencela dirinya sendiri.<sup>30</sup> Az-Zamakhsharī menafsirkan kata *al-lamz* dengan *al-ṭa'nu* dan *al-ḍarbu bi al-lisān*. Ayat ini melarang seseorang untuk melihat aib orang lain dan menjelek-jelekannya. Ayat tersebut mengandung makna persaudaraan yang kuat, sebab menggunakan redaksi *anfusakum* yang merujuk pada si pembicara, bukan objek perkataan. Al-Zamakhsharī menukil hadis Nabi yang melarang seorang muslim untuk menggunjing sesamanya sebab pada dasarnya mereka sama. Hadis tersebut juga berlaku pada ayat ini. Artinya, seseorang yang mencela aib orang lain, sejatinya sedang mencela diri mereka sendiri.<sup>31</sup> Dari segi intratekstual, kata *lamz* juga terdapat di ayat lain, yakni dalam QS. at-Taubah [9]:58<sup>32</sup> dan 79.<sup>33</sup> Selain itu, Al-Qur'an menyebut orang yang sering mencela (*kaṣīr al-lamz*) dengan kata *lumazah* seperti dalam QS. al-Humazah [104]:1.<sup>34</sup> Dari segi intertekstual, kata *lamz* ditemukan dalam salah satu hadis yang berbunyi *لعوذ بك من همز الشيطان ولنه*.<sup>35</sup>

Selain dua term di atas, terdapat pula istilah *tanābazū bi al-alqāb*. Al-Aṣfihānī memaknai kata *nabaza* sebagai pemberian julukan terhadap seseorang.<sup>36</sup> Ibnu Manẓur menyebutkan bahwa julukan yang dimaksud dari kata ini sering dijumpai dalam hal-hal yang bernada celaan, bukan sebutan

<sup>30</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr at-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān Fi Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, 298.

<sup>31</sup> al-Zamakhsharī, Abu al-Qāsim Maḥmūd, *Al-Kasysyāf 'an Haqā'iq Gawāmiḍ at-tanzīl*, Juz 4. (Beirut: Dar al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1407), 369.

<sup>32</sup> وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَلْمِزُكَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ فَإِنْ أُعْطُوا مِنْهَا رَضُوا وَإِنْ لَمْ يُعْطُوا مِنْهَا إِذَا هُمْ يَسْخَطُونَ

<sup>33</sup> الَّذِينَ يَلْمِزُونَ الْمُطَّوِّعِينَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ إِلَّا جُهْدَهُمْ فَيَسْخَرُونَ مِنْهُمْ سَخِرَ اللَّهُ مِنْهُمْ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ

أَلِيمٌ

<sup>34</sup> وَإِنَّ لِكُلِّ هُمَزَةٍ لُزْمَةٌ

<sup>35</sup> Jamāl ad-Dīn Abī al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-'Arab*, 472.

<sup>36</sup> Ar-Rāgib al-Aṣfihānī, *Mufradāt Li Alfāz Al-Qur'ān*, 788.

umum. Sehingga menurutnya, kata ini memiliki makna yang sama dengan *al-lamz* yang disebut sebelumnya dalam QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]: 11. Ibnu Manẓūr memberi contoh bahwa seorang Muslim dilarang menyebut kaum Yahudi dan Nasrani yang berpindah ke agama Islam dengan panggilan *yā Yahūdī* dan *yā Naṣrānī*.<sup>37</sup> Sementara itu, aṭ-Ṭabarī menunjukkan pendapat yang lebih luas dari kalangan ulama. Pelarangan tersebut juga berlaku bagi seorang muslim yang memanggil sesamanya dengan *yā fāsiq*, *yā munāfiq* atau *yā kāfir*. Dalam konteks yang lebih luas, aṭ-Ṭabarī sendiri berpendapat bahwa kalimat tersebut melarang individu memanggil orang lain dengan sebutan yang dibenci oleh yang dipanggil, baik berupa nama tertentu atau sifat buruknya.<sup>38</sup> Dari segi intertekstual, terdapat hadis yang menyebutkan bahwa pada masa Nabi ada seseorang yang dipanggil dengan *qurqūr* (perahu yang kecil).<sup>39</sup>

Secara umum, term-term tersebut diawali dengan huruf *lā* (ل) *nahi* yang bermakna larangan. Kalimat yang digunakan dalam ayat ini pun berbeda narasinya dengan ayat kedua belas. Ar-Rāzī menjelaskan bahwa QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 ini merupakan penjelasan yang berbeda dengan ayat-ayat sebelumnya. Ayat ini didahului dengan ayat yang menjadi petunjuk tentang apa yang harus dilakukan oleh seorang mukmin kepada Allah, Nabi Muhammad, orang-orang yang berselisih dengannya serta yang memusuhinya. Pada ayat ini, penjelasannya diarahkan tentang apa yang

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<sup>37</sup> Jamāl ad-Dīn Abī al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-'Arab*, 479–480.

<sup>38</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān Fi Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, 302.

<sup>39</sup> Jamāl ad-Dīn Abī al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-'Arab*, 479.



seharusnya dilakukan seorang mukmin kepada sesama mukmin. Petunjuk yang diberikan terbagi menjadu tiga tingkatan, yakni: *sukhriyyah*, *al-lamz*, dan *al-nabz* seperti yang disebutkan di atas.<sup>40</sup> Dari analisis linguistik di atas, dapat dipahami bahwa larangan-larangan dari ayat ini spesifik pada hal-hal yang bisa merendahkan manusia lain, baik yang seagama maupun tidak. Larangan-larangan yang disebutkan dalam ayat ini sangat erat kaitannya dengan lisan. Selain itu, ayat ini pun berbeda dengan ayat-ayat yang ada sebelum dan sesudahnya. Ayat ini mengajarkan tata cara berhubungan dengan manusia lain, khususnya yang dilakukan di hadapan individu lain secara langsung, bukan yang dilakukan secara sembunyi-sembunyi.

Tabel 2. Makna Historis (Linguistik dan Intratekstual)

No.	Linguistik	Intratekstual
1.	<b><i>Yaskhar</i></b> : <i>sakhira-yaskharu</i> : Mengolok-ngolok dan mengejek	QS. Ṣād [38]:62-63 <sup>41</sup> QS. Al-Mu'minūn [23]:110 <sup>42</sup> QS. Al-Baqarah [2]:212 <sup>43</sup> QS. At-taubah [9]:79 <sup>44</sup> QS. Al-Ṣaffāt [37]:12 <sup>45</sup>
2.	<b><i>Talmizū</i></b> ; <i>al-lamz</i> : Mengejek dengan	QS. At-taubah [9]:58 dan 79 <sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafāṭīḥ Al-Gaib*, 107.

<sup>41</sup> وَقَالُوا مَا لَنَا لَا نَرَى رَجَالًا كُنَّا نَعُدُّهُمْ مِنَ الْأَشْرَارِ أَتَّخَذْتُمْ مِنْهُمْ سِغْرًا أَمْ زَاغَتْ عَنْهُمْ الْأَبْصَارُ

<sup>42</sup> فَأَتَّخَذْتُمُوهُمْ سِغْرًا حَتَّىٰ أَنْسَوَكُم ذِكْرِي وَكُنْتُمْ مِنْهُمْ تَضْحَكُونَ

<sup>43</sup> زَيْنَ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا الْعَيْبَةَ الدُّنْيَا وَيَسْخَرُونَ مِنَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا. وَالَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا فَوْقَهُمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَرُّزُقٌ مِنْ يُشَاءُ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ

<sup>44</sup> الَّذِينَ يَلْمِزُونَ الْمُطَّوِّعِينَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ إِلَّا جُهْدَهُمْ فَيَسْخَرُونَ مِنْهُمْ يَسْحَارًا اللَّهُ مِنْهُمْ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

الِيمٌ

<sup>45</sup> بَلْ عَجِبْتَ وَيَسْخَرُونَ.

<sup>46</sup> وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَلْمِزُكَ فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ هَٰؤُلَاءِ أَعْمَلُوا مِنْهَا رِضْوَانًا وَإِنْ لَمْ يُعْطُوا مِنْهَا إِذَا هُمْ يَسْخَرُونَ الَّذِينَ يَلْمِزُونَ الْمُطَّوِّعِينَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

فِي الصَّدَقَاتِ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ إِلَّا جُهْدَهُمْ فَيَسْخَرُونَ مِنْهُمْ يَسْحَارًا اللَّهُ مِنْهُمْ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

	isyarat gerakan alat indra	QS. Al-Humazah [104]:1 <sup>47</sup>
3.	<i>Tanābazū; nabaza:</i> Memberikan julukan (bermakna celaan)	QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 <sup>48</sup>

### b. Analisis Konteks Historis QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11

QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49] merupakan surah *Madaniyah* yang terdiri dari 18 ayat, dan merupakan surah yang memiliki keagungan dan kebesaran. Di dalamnya, mengandung akidah dan syariah yang penting, serta mengandung hakikat wujud dan kemanusiaan. Yang dimaksud hakikat di sini adalah jangkauan lebih luas dan lebih jauh bagi logika dan *qalb*.<sup>49</sup> Jika dilihat dari segi urutan turunnya, maka QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49] merupakan surah yang ke-108.<sup>50</sup> Secara umum, QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49] ini menjelaskan tentang akhlak dan adab. Sedangkan bentuk kata *hujurāt* sendiri merupakan bentuk jamak dari kata *hujrah* yang memiliki arti kamar. Kata *hujrah* adalah penggambaran dari kesederhanaan kamar Rasulullah., yang terbuat dari bahan-bahan yang sangat sederhana, seperti tanah liat, kayu dan pelepah kurma sebagai atap. Selain itu, di awal surah ini dibuka dengan kalimat, “Wahai orang-orang yang beriman.” Hal ini bertujuan untuk menunjukkan

47 وَيَلِكْ لِكُلِّ هَمَزَةٍ لِكْرَمَةٍ

48 يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا يَسْخَرْ قَوْمٌ مِّنْ قَوْمٍ عَسَىٰ أَن يَكُونُوا خَيْرًا مِّنْهُمْ وَلَا نِسَاءٌ مِّنْ نِّسَاءٍ عَسَىٰ أَن يَكُنَّ خَيْرًا مِّنْهُنَّ وَلَا تَلْمِزُوا أَنفُسَكُمْ وَلَا تَنَابَرُوا بِاللِّغَابِ بِسْمِ الْإِسْمِ الْفُسُوقِ بَعْدَ الْإِيمَانِ وَمَن لَّمْ يَتُبْ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ

<sup>49</sup> Quthb, Sayyid, *Tafsir Fi Zhilal Al-Qur'an, Terj. Asias Yasin*, cet. 1., vol. Jilid X (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2004), 407.

<sup>50</sup> Aṣ-Ṣabūni, Ali, *Ṣafwaṭ At-Tafāsir*, Juz 3., n.d., 213.

bagaimana karakteristik orang-orang yang beriman.<sup>51</sup> Di dalamnya juga memberikan arahan kepada manusia kepada perilaku-perilaku yang baik dalam berhubungan sosial antar sesama.

Pada ayat ke-13 dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49] dengan awalan *yā ayyuha an-nās* dikatakan bahwa ia turun sebelum Rasulullah hijrah. Ayat yang berawalan dengan kalimat tersebut biasanya dikatakan sebagai ciri bahwa surah tersebut turun sebelum hijrahnya Rasulullah. Tetapi, ayat ini juga disepakati turun pada periode madinah (yaitu turun ketika setelah Rasulullah Hijrah). Meskipun demikian, ada riwayat yang masih diperselisihkan keshahihannya terkait turunnya ayat ini di Makkah pada haji wada' Rasulullah. Namun, sekalipun riwayat ini sah, tidak akan menjadikan ayat ke-13 dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49] tergolong Makkiyah, kecuali bagi mereka yang memahami bahwa golongan surah Makkiyah selalu merupakan surah-surah yang diturunkan di Makkah. Ayat yang diturunkan sebelum hijrah, adalah Makkiyah menurut mayoritas ulama, meskipun turunnya bukan di Makkah. Begitupun sebaliknya, surah tersebut dinamakan Madaniyah meskipun ia turun di Makkah, jika turunnya sesudah Rasulullah hijrah.<sup>52</sup> Pembahasan dari tema artikel ini terfokus kepada ayat ke-11 dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]. Secara tema besar, ayat ini berkaitan dengan ayat 12 dan 13, sebab, pada dasarnya berbicara tentang pentingnya karakter

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<sup>51</sup> Fahimah, Siti, "Etika Komunikasi Dalam Al-Qur'an: Studi Tafsir Surat Al-Hujurat 1-8. Madinah," *Jurnal Studi Islam* 1, no. 2 (2014): 96.

<sup>52</sup> Aṣ-Ṣabūni, Ali, *Ṣafwat At-Tafāsīr*, 213.

yang baik. Hanya saja, konteks khusus dari ketiga ayat tersebut saling berbeda.

Ayat 11 dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49], jika ditelusuri, terdapat beberapa riwayat yang menjelaskan konteks historisnya. *Pertama*, ini berkaitan dengan kisah Tsabit ibn Qais yang merupakan salah seorang dari sahabat Rasulullah., yang kurang bisa mendengar. Ia melontarkan sebuah ejekan kepada seseorang di saat Rasulullah memberikan wejangan. Pada saat itu, demi untuk bisa duduk di dekat Rasulullah dan tentunya untuk mendengar lebih jelas wejangan Rasulullah, ia melangkahi sekian orang. Lalu, salah satu orang mene-gurnya atas tindakan yang dilakukannya tersebut. Tetapi, Tsabit malah menjadi marah sambil melontarkan kalimat makian yang mengejek. Tsabit mengatakan bahwa si penegur tadi adalah anak si Fulanah (seorang wanita yang pada masa jahiliyah dikenal dengan aib). Dan si penegur ini pun merasa dipermalukan oleh Tsabit. Inilah yang melatarbelakangi turunnya QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11.<sup>53</sup>

*Kedua*, dikatakan bahwa dahulu, Rasulullah pernah memanggil seseorang dengan panggilan yang tidak disukai orang tersebut. Hanya saja, pada saat itu Rasulullah tidak mengetahui bahwa laki-laki tersebut tidak menyukai panggilan yang diucapkan Rasulullah kepadanya. Kemudian, salah seorang sahabat memberitahukan perihal tersebut kepada Rasulullah, agar segera Rasulullah mengetahui bahwa laki-laki yang dipanggilnya tidak menyukai panggilan (nama

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<sup>53</sup> Shihab, M. Quraish, *Tafsir Al-Misbah*, vol. 12 (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2012), 253.

gelar) yang ditujukan Rasulullah untuknya.<sup>54</sup> Jadi... *wa lā tanābazū bil alqāb ...* (dan janganlah kamu panggil memanggil dengan gelar-gelar yang buruk...) merupakan ayat yang diturunkan sebagai larangan memanggil orang dengan sebutan yang tidak disenanginya. Riwayat ini diriwayatkan oleh Ahmad yang bersumber dari Abu Jubair bin al-Ḍahhak.<sup>55</sup>

*Ketiga*, juga dikatakan bahwa ayat ini turun terkait dengan kasus utusan kabilah Tamim yang menghina para sahabat Rasulullah yang fakir miskin seperti Ammār, Khubaib, Ibnu Fuhairah, Bilāl, Suhail, Salmān dan Sālim hamba sahaya dari Ibnu Huzaifah. Kemudian, dari Anas juga diriwayatkan bahwa ayat ini turun berkaitan dengan Ummi Salāmah yang merupakan istri Rasulullah yang dipanggil 'pendek'. Ikrimah juga meriwayatkan bahwa Shofiyah binti Huyaiy bin Akhthab istri Rasulullah memanggilnya dengan sebutan Yahudiyah binti Yahudi.<sup>56</sup> Meskipun riwayat-riwayat di atas berbeda dalam menceritakan konteks historis turunnya ayat ini, namun pada intinya, keduanya sama-sama menjelaskan bahwa ayat ini diturunkan sebagai sebuah peringatan agar tidak memaki, mengolok atau mengejek, dan memanggil dengan panggilan yang tidak disenangi oleh orang yang dipanggil atau digelari.

Adapun dari konteks historis makro, ayat ini diturunkan pada tatanan masyarakat di zaman itu yang

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<sup>54</sup> Saiful Lutfi, "Materi Pendidikan Akhlak menurut Al-Qur'an: Analisis Surah Al-Hujurat Ayat 11-12," *Al-Mudarris (Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Islam)* 3, no. 2 (November 1, 2020): 162.

<sup>55</sup> K.H.Q Shaleh dan H.A.A. Dahlan, *Asbabun Nuzul*, 2nd ed. (Bandung: CV Penerbit Diponegoro, 2011), 517.

<sup>56</sup> Biharina, Akfina, "Kajian Tafsir Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Akhlak Dalam Al-Qur'an Surah Al-Hujurat Ayat 11-13," *El-Santry* 1, no. 2 (2020): 67.

mempunyai sebuah kebiasaan memanggil atau memberi gelar kepada seseorang dengan gelar yang tidak baik. Hal ini sama halnya berkata kepada sesama muslim, “Hai orang fasik! Hai orang munafik!” Atau jika bertemu dengan orang non muslim, dikatakan, “Hai, orang Yahudi! Nasrani!” Oleh karena itu, Qatādah dan Ikrimah dari Abu Jubairah bin Dlahhak meriwayatkan bahwa ayat ini berkaitan dengan kondisi zaman itu yang di dalamnya terdapat orang-orang yang suka memberikan gelar atau nama panggilan yang tidak baik terhadap orang lain. Lain halnya jika nama panggilan itu dalam bentuk pujian atau gelar penghormatam. Seperti sahabat Nabi, Abu Bakar yang digelari Ash-Shiddiq, Umar dengan gelar Al-Faruq, Usman bin ‘Affan yang digelari Dzunnurain, dan Ali dengan Abu Thurab dengan gelar Saifullah.<sup>57</sup>

Selain itu, Imam Al-Hakim dan lainnya juga meriwayatkan dari Abu Jabirah yang berkata, “Pada zaman jahiliyah dahulu, orang-orang sering diberi gelar dengan nama-nama tertentu. Pada suatu ketika, Rasulullah pun memanggil seorang laki-laki itu dengan gelar yang dimilikinya. Kemudian, seseorang berkata kepada Rasulullah, ‘Wahai Rasulullah, sesungguhnya gelar yang engkau sebut untuknya adalah gelar yang tidak disukainya.’ Setelah

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<sup>57</sup> Al-Zuhaili, Wahbah, *Tafsīr Al-Munīr Fī al-Aqīdah Wa Asy-Syarī'ah Wa Al-Manhaj*, jilid XIII. (Beirut: Dār el-Fikr, 1991), 578–583. Lihat juga di Muna, Muhammad Khusnul, M. Yusuf Agung Subekti, “Tujuan Pendidikan Islam Dalam Al Qur’an [Kajian Surah Al-Hujurat Ayat 11-13 Tafsir Al- Munir Karya Wahbah Al-Zuhaili],” *Jurnal Piwulang* 2, no. 2 (2020): 175.

kejadian itu, maka turunlah ayat, “... dan janganlah saling memanggil dengan gelar yang buruk.”<sup>58</sup>

## 2. Analisis Signifikansi Historis (*al-Maghzā at-Tārīkhī*)

Berdasarkan analisis bahasa dan konteks yang telah dilakukan, maka tahap selanjutnya adalah dengan menelusuri *al-ma'na at-tārīkhī* dengan cara memaparkan *al-maghzā* atau pesan utama dari Q.S. Hujurat [49]:11. Jika diamati lebih lanjut, jauh sebelum adanya problem yang sering disebut dengan *hate speech* di masa kini, Allah telah menerangkan di dalam firmanNya Q.S. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 yang diturunkan dengan sebab tatanan masyarakat pada waktu itu cenderung melampaui batas dalam hal kehidupan sosial, yakni merendahkan dan memberikan gelar yang buruk kepada orang lain. Ayat ini menekankan bahwa Allah melarang untuk merendahkan orang lain, membuka aib, dan memanggil dengan panggilan yang buruk, serta mengandung ejekan.

Adapun *al-Maghzā* (pesan utama) dari ayat ini adalah janganlah berperilaku merendahkan orang lain, mengejek, mengolok, membuka aib orang lain, menggunjing,<sup>59</sup> serta memanggil orang lain dengan panggilan yang buruk dan panggilan yang tidak disukainya dengan niat mengejek. Al-Maraghi menjelaskan pesan utama yang terkandung di dalam QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49] ayat 11, bahwa janganlah sekumpulan orang merendahkan sekumpulan yang lainnya. Hal ini

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<sup>58</sup> As-Suyuthi, Jalaluddin, *Asbabun Nuzul (Sebab Turunnya Ayat Al-Qur'an)*, terj. Tim Abdul Hayyie cet.1. (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2008), 528.

<sup>59</sup> Sebagaimana kata *yashkar* yang ditafsirkan oleh Al-Maraghi, bermakna sebuah perilaku untuk menertawakan, mengejek, dan membongkar aib orang lain. Lihat, A. M. Al-Maraghi, *Tafsir Al-Maraghi*, Terj. Anshori Umar Sitanggal. (Karya Toha Putra, 1993).

disebabkan, boleh jadi orang yang direndahkan tersebut lebih baik di sisi Allah dari pada yang merendahkan, sebagaimana termaktub di dalam sebuah asar, bisa jadi seseorang yang memiliki rambut yang kusut, berdebu, tidak memiliki apa-apa sebagai harta, dan tidak dihiraukan oleh orang lain, tetapi ketika ia bersumpah dengan menyebut nama *Rabb*-nya, lalu Allah mengabulkannya.<sup>60</sup> Ini dimaksudkan bahwa bisa saja orang yang direndahkan, dihinakan, dan diejek tersebut, entah itu dari sisi kondisi finansialnya, perilakunya, atau bahkan cacat di fisiknya itu hatinya lebih bersih, tulus, dan ikhlas. Dan orang yang memiliki hati yang bersih dan ikhlas tentu sangat disenangi di sisi Allah dibandingkan orang yang menganggap dirinya lebih baik dengan cara merendahkan orang lain.

Kemudian, Imam Jalālain di dalam tafsirnya juga menjelaskan pesan utama dari ayat ini, bahwa janganlah kalian saling memanggil dengan panggilan-panggilan yang buruk, yaitu jangan memanggil dengan gelar-gelar yang tidak disukai oleh orang yang digelari, sebagai contoh, “Wahai orang yang fasik,” atau “Wahai orang yang kafir”.<sup>61</sup> Hal ini di karenakan, kita yang memanggil orang lain dengan sebutan fasik, bisa saja, secara tidak langsung kitalah yang sebenarnya fasik. Begitupun dengan panggilan kafir, bisa saja kitalah yang sebenarnya tanpa disadari telah menjadi kafir. Betapa buruknya seseorang yang memanggil orang lain dengan gelar

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<sup>60</sup> Al-Maraghi, Ahmad Mustafā, *Tafsir Al-Marāgī* (Lebanon: Dar Al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, 2006), 247.

<sup>61</sup> Jalalain, Imam, *Tafsir Al-Jalalain* (Indonesia: Tafsir al-Jalalain, 2007), 186.



yang buruk, lalu kemudian ternyata ia jauh lebih baik dibandingkan kita.

Jika dikategorisasikan, QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 ini, tergolong ke dalam ayat-ayat yang berkaitan dengan muamalah. Ayat ini mengandung adanya nilai kemanusiaan. Sebagaimana firman-Nya,<sup>62</sup> larangan untuk tidak saling mengolok atau mengejek merupakan suatu makna yang terdengar halus. Karena, secara tidak langsung, sebenarnya ayat ini adalah sebagai pengingat untuk mengintrospeksi diri. Ketika terlalu sibuk mengolok-olok, mengejek, merendahkan orang lain, sampai lupa bahwa diri sendiri telah bersikap sombong. Padahal, orang yang menjadi objek sasaran ejekan tentu lebih baik dan lebih mulia dibandingkan yang mengejek. Sebagaimana konteks historis di zaman itu, Šabit bin Qais yang marah sambil melontarkan kalimat makian yang mengejek. Šabit mengatakan bahwa si penegur tadi adalah anak si Fulanah (seorang wanita yang pada masa jahiliyah dikenal dengan aib). Kemudian di dalam riwayat lainnya, Rasulullah memanggil seorang laki-laki dengan nama panggilan yang tidak disenangi laki-laki tersebut, hingga sahabat memberitahu kepada Rasulullah. Lalu, ada juga riwayat lain, bahwa ayat ini mengenai kasus utusan kabilah Tamim yang menghina para sahabat Rasulullah. Terakhir, berkaitan dengan Ummi Salāmah yang merupakan istri Rasulullah yang dipanggil 'pendek'. 'Ikrimah juga meriwayatkan bahwa Shofiyah binti Huyaiy bin Akhthab istri Rasulullah memanggilnya dengan sebutan Yahudiyah binti Yahudi.

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<sup>62</sup> Lihat, Q.S. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11.

Dikisahkan juga dahulu, Rasulullah, memberikan suatu keteladanan di dalam sebuah hadis tentang pengemis tua dan buta dari bangsa Yahudi yang selalu mengejek Rasulullah, menjelek-jelekkan Rasulullah, merendahkan dan menghina Rasulullah. Tetapi, apa yang dilakukan Rasulullah? Yang dilakukan Rasulullah malah sebaliknya. Rasulullah semakin berbuat baik kepada pengemis itu. Beliau selalu mengantarkan makanan dan langsung menyuapi orang tua buta itu dengan tangannya sendiri tanpa pengemis itu tahu bahwa yang menyuapinya adalah Rasulullah sendiri. Hingga suatu ketika, Rasulullah wafat, Abu Bakar-lah yang menggantikannya untuk mengantar makanan kepada pengemis tua buta itu sebagaimana yang diceritakan oleh Aisyah.<sup>63</sup> Kisah ini menjelaskan bahwa betapa pentingnya akhlak yang baik terhadap siapapun tanpa pandang bulu dan begitu mulia dan indah ketika seseorang memiliki perilaku yang baik. Oleh karena itu, QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 bukan hanya sebagai larangan untuk merendahkan, mengejek, membeberkan aib orang lain, tetapi juga mengingatkan bahwa orang yang diejek bahkan lebih baik dari pada yang menyombongkan diri dengan memandang rendah orang lain.

### **Signifikansi Dinamis Kontemporer QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11**

Tahapan selanjutnya dalam analisis QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 ini adalah analisis penggalian makna signifikansi dinamis. Sebagaimana disebutkan sebelumnya, konteks historis dari ayat ini terletak pada kebiasaan orang-orang

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<sup>63</sup> Muna, Muhammad Khusnul, M. Yusuf Agung Subekti, "Tujuan Pendidikan Islam Dalam Al Qur'an [Kajian Surah Al-Hujurat Ayat 11-13 Tafsir Al- Munir Karya Wahbah Al-Zuhaili]," 178.

Arab pada masa itu yang suka memberikan sebutan kepada orang lain. Sehingga, secara spesifik, ayat ini memiliki pesan yang berbeda dengan ayat sebelum maupun sesudahnya. Larangan dari ayat ini sangat erat kaitannya dengan lisan seseorang. Jika dilihat secara lebih luas, ayat ini mengajarkan nilai-nilai kemanusiaan, yang bisa ditarik ke dalam konteks apapun. Selain itu, jika dilihat secara lebih mendalam, *maqṣad* dari ayat ini adalah bahwa larangan tersebut bisa berpotensi merendahkan martabat dan kebebasan berekspresi manusia lain. Yang dimaksud dengan merendahkan martabat orang lain, sebagaimana dijelaskan oleh al-Ṭabarī, bahwa yang dilarang dari kata *lā yaskhar* adalah mengolok-olok kemiskinan seorang fakir.<sup>64</sup> Merusak kebebasan berekspresi orang lain, sebab dahulu, orang-orang Yahudi dan Nasrani yang telah berpindah ke agama Islam, para sahabat masih memanggilnya dengan sebutan “*Yā Yahūdī*” atau “*Yā Naṣrānī*”, yang tidak disenangi oleh mereka.<sup>65</sup>

Pesan utama yang diberikan oleh ayat ini dapat ditarik ke konteks sekarang yang memiliki ruang sosial yang lebih luas. Kasus-kasus yang mengitari ayat ini, baik dari segi analisis ayat maupun konteks historis mikro dan makronya, sangat berkaitan dengan konteks Arab pada masa itu. Namun, pesan yang disampaikan sangat luas, yakni larangan untuk merendahkan manusia lain, apapun latar belakangnya, yang bisa merendahkan martabat maupun membatasi kebebasan berekspresinya. Dengan kata lain, ayat ini juga mengandung makna bahwa setiap individu membawa serta identitas

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<sup>64</sup> Muḥammad ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān Fī Ta'wīl al-Qur'ān*, 297.

<sup>65</sup> Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Faḍl ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān Al-'Arab*, 479–480.

mereka dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Antara satu identitas dengan identitas lain tidak diperkenankan untuk saling merendahkan. Dalam konteks sekarang, terdapat banyak ragam identitas yang bisa melekat pada individu. Pada tahap selanjutnya, identitas diri tersebut membentuk kelas-kelas sosial, yang berisi individu-individu yang memiliki kesamaan identitas. Contohnya ialah dalam bentuk kelompok-kelompok terbangun atas dasar kebangsaan (Indonesia-Malaysia), ras (Arab-Yahudi), kelas (pekerja-kapitalis), pekerjaan (dokter-tukang), jenis kelamin (pria-wanita-waria), agama (Muslim-Hindu),<sup>66</sup> orientasi seksual, warna kulit, hingga kaya atau miskin.

Dalam kehidupan di konteks sekarang yang jauh memiliki identitas sosial yang lebih besar, implementasi dari ayat ini sangat diperlukan. Terlebih lagi, penyebaran identitas sosial tersebut semakin luas dengan adanya media sosial. Penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Nuriyatul Lailiyah menunjukkan bahwa media sosial berfungsi sebagai sarana penggunaannya untuk menempatkan diri dalam kerangka yang mereka inginkan. Pengguna memiliki kuasa untuk mengidentifikasi karakter diri yang ingin mereka bangun. Beberapa di antara mereka memiliki tujuan awal dalam bermedia sosial untuk berhubungan dengan kerabat dan keluarga serta sebagai sarana aktualisasi diri. Dalam aktualisasi diri, para pengguna menetapkan citra tertentu yang ingin mereka perlihatkan dalam akun media sosial milik mereka. Citra dan

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<sup>66</sup> Absari, Anandita, "Identitas Sosial Penggemar K-Pop (Perbandingan Antara Penggemar K-Pop Yang Tergabung Dalam Komunitas KFM Dan Penggemar K-Pop Yang Tidak Tergabung Dalam Komunitas KFM)" (UIN Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2013), 15.

karakter tersebut kemudian melekat menjadi identitas pemilik akun.<sup>67</sup> Fenomena yang terjadi tersebut bisa menimbulkan kerenggangan sosial di antara manusia. Terlebih lagi, dengan adanya media sosial, satu individu bisa dengan mudah merendahkan martabat manusia lain.

Meski demikian, dalam konteks media sosial, individu tidak lagi menggunakan lisan dalam mengomentari identitas manusia lain. Media sosial menyediakan kolom komentar yang mengandalkan jari jemari penggunaannya. Namun, banyak permasalahan yang muncul di media sosial akibat adanya gesekan antar pengguna. Fenomena tersebut dikenal dengan istilah *hate speech*.<sup>68</sup> Jika fenomena tersebut dilihat secara literal menggunakan QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11, maka permasalahan tersebut tidak dapat diatasi. Ayat ini hanya menyinggung penggunaan lisan, sebab di masa itu belum ada teknologi media sosial.

Sehingga, dalam melihat fenomena *hate speech* di masa kini, ayat tersebut perlu diambil pesan utamanya (*maqṣad*). QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 dapat menjadi landasan etis untuk mencegah terjadinya fenomena *hate speech* di media sosial. Meskipun ayat ini berbicara tentang perbuatan masyarakat Arab di masa Nabi yang sering mengolok-olok serta memberikan gelar terhadap individu lain, tetapi pesan utamanya

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<sup>67</sup> Nuriyatul Lailiyah, "Presentasi Diri Netizen dalam Konstruksi Identitas di Media Sosial dan Kehidupan Nyata," *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial* 15, no. 2 (November 2, 2016): 105.

<sup>68</sup> Ucapan kebencian atau ujaran kebencian (Inggris: *hate speech*) adalah tindakan komunikasi yang dilakukan oleh suatu individu atau kelompok dalam bentuk provokasi, hasutan, ataupun hinaan kepada individu atau kelompok yang lain dalam hal berbagai aspek seperti ras, warna kulit, etnis, gender, cacat, orientasi seksual, kewarganegaraan, agama, dan lain-lain. Lihat Simarmata et al., *Hoaks dan Media Sosial*, 6.

(signifikansi; *maghzā*) adalah bahwa setiap manusia harus menghargai individu lain yang berbeda identitas. Signifikansi lain dari ayat ini ialah larangan untuk merendahkan martabat manusia lain dan membatasi kebebasan berekspresinya. Pesan utama dari QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 ini bisa dijadikan landasan etis dalam bermedia sosial. Sebab, di era internet sekarang, sebagaimana didefinisikan oleh Marshall McLuhan, setiap orang di dunia ini saling terhubung secara elektronik dan bersifat kompleks.<sup>69</sup> Maka, makna signifikansi berupa nilai kemanusiaan yang terkandung dalam QS. al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 bisa menjadi landasan etis bagi kehidupan manusia di masa sekarang.

Diskusi penafsiran QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 telah banyak dilakukan dalam sejarah panjang dunia tafsir. Penafsiran al-Ḥujurāt [49] seringkali dibenturkan atau didekati dengan berbagai perspektif. Untuk menopang dan menghasilkan signifikansi dinamis (*al-maghzā al-mutaharrik al-mu'āṣir*) yang kontekstualis, penulis menemukan bahwa terdapat relevansinya dengan *maqashid syari'ah* yang dielaborasi ke dalam tujuh bentuk, di antaranya; menjaga agama (*ḥifẓ ad-dīn*), menjaga jiwa (*ḥifẓ al-nafs*), menjaga akal (*ḥifẓ al-'aql*), menjaga keturunan (*ḥifẓ al-nasl*), menjaga harta (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), menjaga lingkungan (*ḥifẓ al-bī'ah*), menjaga harga diri (*ḥifẓ al-'ird*).<sup>70</sup> Ketujuh *uṣūl* ini dapat digunakan sebagai etika yang harus dipertimbangkan ketika hendak melakukan aktivitas

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<sup>69</sup> Pamungkas, Cahyo, "Global Village Dan Globalisasi Dalam Konteks Ke-Indonesiaan" (n.d.): 253.

<sup>70</sup> Lihat Iffatin Nur and Muhammad Ngizzul Muttaqin, "Bermedia Sosial dalam Perspektif Maqashid Syari'ah (Membangun Komunikasi di Media Sosial Berdasarkan Etika)," *Palita: Journal of Social Religion Research* 5, no. 1 (April 8, 2020): 11–12.

bermedia sosial, sebab menjadi jalan terhindarnya kepada penyimpangan dan kejahatan-kejahatan dalam media sosial.

*Pertama*, disebut *ḥifẓ ad-dīn* karena agama merupakan rambu-rambu ketika hendak menuliskan komentar atau konten yang tidak baik bisa mengundang problem antar pemeluk agama. Jika tidak mampu menjaga agama, maka hakikat agama yang seharusnya mengusung nilai kedamaian menjadi tidak terbentuk. *Kedua*, *ḥifẓ al-nafs*, yakni menjaga jiwa (baca: nyawa) dari pertikaian yang akan terjadi jika saling menghujat dalam aktivitas bermedia sosial. *Ketiga*, *ḥifẓ al-'aql*, menjaga akal agar tetap positif dengan meningkatkan pengetahuan, sehingga komunikasi yang terjadi dalam media sosial pun menjadi lebih baik dan beretika. *Keempat*, *ḥifẓ al-nasl*, secara tidak langsung komunikasi yang tidak beretika dapat mencederai kehormatan serta mewariskan hal negatif pada keturunan yang merupakan generasi penerus. *Kelima*, *ḥifẓ al-māl*, akibat komunikasi yang menyimpang juga mampu membuat harta benda terancam, sebagaimana nyawa dan kedamaian hidup. *Keenam*, *ḥifẓ al-bī'ah*, akibat dari ujaran kebencian atau pertikaian terjadi di media sosial juga dapat menjadikan lingkungan terancam. *Ketujuh*, *ḥifẓ al-'ird*, menjaga harga diri adalah bentuk dari etika yang baik dalam bermedia sosial. Sebab komunikasi dalam dunia media sosial merupakan konsumsi publik, jika komentar yang dituliskan tidak baik, maka sama dengan menghancurkan harga diri sendiri.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Nur and Muttaqin, "Bermedia Sosial dalam Perspektif Maqashid Syari'ah (Membangun Komunikasi di Media Sosial Berdasarkan Etika)," 12.

Berdasarkan penjelasan di atas, maka *al-maghzā al-mutaḥarrrik al-mu'āṣir* dari QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 ini memberikan simpulan yang jelas dan kontekstualis dalam penerapannya, sehingga landasan etis dalam bermedia sosial yang terkandung di dalam QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49] ayat 11 menjadi relevan untuk diaplikasikan ke dalam kehidupan sehari-hari khususnya dalam bermedia sosial. Hal ini dilakukan sebagai upaya untuk terciptanya kegiatan bermedia sosial yang positif dan saling menjunjung kedamaian antar sesama.

### **Refleksi atas Hasil Pendekatan *Ma'nā-cum-Maghzā* terhadap Landasan Etis dalam Bermedia Sosial QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11**

Saat ini, media sosial telah menjadi gaya hidup. Setiap orang, tanpa memandang usia, menggunakan media sosial (medsos) di berbagai *platform* untuk terhubung dan berkomunikasi. Pengguna dapat dengan bebas mengakses dan berbagi informasi di seluruh dunia dalam waktu yang sangat singkat. Sayangnya, penyalahgunaan media sosial atau pengguna media sosial yang tidak mengindahkan aturan etika atau sopan santun jarang terjadi. Oleh karena itu menjadi penting untuk memberikan penafsiran yang kontekstual terhadap ayat Al-Qur'an yang sesuai dengan tema ini dengan pendekatan *ma'nā-cum-maghzā*, sehingga makna ayat tidak hanya terpaku kepada makna literal saja tetapi juga bisa menyentuh konteks kekinian, khususnya di era media sosial yang telah menjadi candu bagi setiap orang, ditambah konten-konten dalam media sosial yang beragam dan bebas, membuat fenomena seperti *hate speech* sangat mungkin terjadi dan bahkan telah terjadi, salah satunya berwujud



sebagai budaya dalam realitas sosial.<sup>72</sup> Jika dahulu manusia mengekspresikan bentuk ketidaksukaan, ejekan, atau memanggil orang lain dengan gelar yang mengejek secara langsung di hadapan orang yang bersangkutan atau paling tidak menggunjing di belakang kini telah bergeser karena kecanggihan teknologi yang telah menghadirkan media sosial sebagai wadah yang seolah-olah mempersilahkan orang berekspresi.

Dahulu QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 dipahami sebagai bentuk larangan berperilaku yang menyimpang seperti merendahkan orang lain, mengejek, mengolok, membuka aib orang lain, menggunjing, serta memanggil orang lain dengan panggilan yang buruk dan panggilan yang tidak disukainya dengan niat mengejek sebagaimana kesenangan masyarakat Arab zaman dahulu. Umumnya, ayat ini memang mengarah kepada perbuatan merendahkan atau mengejek secara lisan dan langsung. Namun, di era sekarang bentuk-bentuk kejahatan seperti di atas tidak lagi hanya sebatas perbuatan dalam interaksi tatap muka, tetapi bahkan terlihat lebih ganas disampaikan dalam ruang media sosial, ditambah setiap orang bisa membuat akun palsu atau anonim yang nantinya dapat dihapus atau ditinggalkan ketika tidak lagi digunakan. Orang yang hendak melakukan kejahatan melalui media sosial dengan cara menghina, mencemarkan nama baik, melecehkan atau bahkan menipu akan dengan mudah melakukan tindakannya tanpa menghadapi sanksi sosial di dunia nyata. Menurut hemat penulis, ayat ini memiliki

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<sup>72</sup> Muhammad Arif Hidayatullah Bina, "Fenomena Hate Speech Di Media Sosial Dan Konstruksi Sosial Masyarakat," *Jurnal Peurawi: Media Kajian Komunikasi Islam* 4, no. 1 (April 26, 2021): 97.

relevansi yang pesannya tidak lekang oleh zaman, hanya saja landasan etis dalam bermedia sosial perlu diperhatikan dan diresonansikan, sebab kejahatan-kejahatan di media sosial bisa menjadi suatu konstruk sosial baru dalam masyarakat. Hal ini sejalan dengan penjelasan Najahan Musyafak dan A. Hasan Asy'ari Ulama'i bahwa ujaran kebencian adalah suatu tindakan kejahatan agama.<sup>73</sup> Kebebasan bermedsos yang disalahgunakan, bebas mengungkapkan pendapat, kebencian bahkan ancaman dan lain sebagainya juga bisa menjadi masalah bagi diri sendiri sebab terjebak kepada pelanggaran hukum.<sup>74</sup>

Hasil kajian artikel ini berbeda dengan penelitian yang lain. Ada beberapa penelitian-penelitian yang telah mengkaji QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49] ayat 11 sebagaimana yang dibahas oleh penulis. Namun, di dalam kajiannya lebih fokus kepada bagaimana pendidikan karakter dan pendidikan multi-kultural yang berdasar kepada bentuk penafsiran yang tahlili, tematik, dan psikologis, sehingga kasus-kasus yang sering terjadi di media sosial seperti *bullying* dan *hate speech*, atau kasus kejahatan media sosial lainnya belum tereksplor lebih dalam. Kajian dalam artikel ini memperlihatkan bahwa landasan etis dalam bermedia sosial yang dilahirkan dari QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11 menjadi sangat penting untuk digaungkan

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<sup>73</sup> Lihat Musyafak, Najahan dan A. Hasan Asy'ari Ulama'i, *Agama Dan Ujaran Kebencian : Kritik Muatan Hate Speech Dalam Media Online*, n.d., 47, accessed August 24, 2022, [https://books.google.com/books/about/Agama\\_dan\\_ujaran\\_kebencian\\_kritik\\_muatan.html?hl=id&id=\\_soHEAAAQBAJ](https://books.google.com/books/about/Agama_dan_ujaran_kebencian_kritik_muatan.html?hl=id&id=_soHEAAAQBAJ).

<sup>74</sup> Lihat Sasongko Sasongko et al., "Ujaran Kebencian di Media Sosial dalam Perspektif Cyberlaw di Indonesia," *Proceeding of Conference on Law and Social Studies*, no. 0 (August 9, 2021), accessed August 24, 2022, <http://prosiding.unipma.ac.id/index.php/COLaS/article/view/1872>.

dengan model penafsiran yang lebih kontekstual sehingga penulis menggunakan pendekatan *Ma'nā Cum Maghzā* untuk menjawab problem akademik dari penelitian ini.

Sebagaimana yang telah dipaparkan di atas, keberadaan editor dalam setiap konten yang disajikan dirasa menjadi sangat penting, sebab salah satu alasan maraknya konten sensitif di media sosial itu disebabkan tidak adanya filter dari pemegang otoritas. Di media sosial, siapa pun dapat menjadi editornya sendiri dan langsung memberikan konten pribadi kepada siapa pun. Sangat kontras dengan platform tradisional seperti surat kabar, radio dan televisi. Sebesar bagaimana pun media sosial dalam memberikan perangkat informasi dan dialog komunikasi, setidaknya para pengguna media sosial memahami bagaimana etika dalam bergaul dalam masyarakat sosial yang kemudian juga diterapkan dalam bermedia sosial, misalnya menggunakan bahasa yang baik, tidak mengumbar informasi yang bersifat pribadi, meneliti lebih lanjut kebenaran berita yang diterima, saling menghargai, dan sangat penting untuk menghindarkan diri dalam menyebarkan berita sara, aksi kekerasan, dan pornografi yang sekiranya tidak layak untuk menjadi konsumsi publik. Namun, tidak bisa dipungkiri terjadinya *hate speech* atau kejahatan medsos lainnya juga disebabkan minimnya budaya literasi dan kecerdasan emosional pemilik akun.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Bina, "Fenomena Hate Speech Di Media Sosial Dan Konstruksi Sosial Masyarakat," 98.

## Kesimpulan

Berdasarkan pemaparan di atas, maka dapat disimpulkan bahwa, di dalam analisis linguistik QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]:11, terdapat beberapa kata yang menunjukkan sebuah situasi tertentu yang menyebabkan larangan mengujar kebencian muncul, di antaranya; *yaskhar*, *al-lamz*, dan, *tanābazū bi al-alqāb*. Larangan-larangan dari kata dan idiom dari ayat ini lebih spesifik mengarah kepada hal-hal yang bisa merendahkan manusia lainnya dan dilakukan secara lisan, baik yang seagama maupun tidak. Ayat ini memiliki inti bagaimana akhlak berhubungan dengan manusia lain secara langsung dan terang-terangan, bukan di belakangnya (gibah). *Al-maghzā at-tārikhī* ayat ini, yaitu janganlah berperilaku merendahkan orang lain, mengejek, mengolok, membuka aib orang lain, menggunjing, serta memanggil orang lain dengan panggilan yang buruk dan panggilan yang tidak disukainya dengan niat mengejek sebagaimana tatanan masyarakat Arab di zaman dahulu yang mempunyai sebuah kebiasaan mengejek, mengolok, dan memanggil atau memberi gelar kepada seseorang dengan gelar yang tidak baik, atau dengan istilah lain dikenal dengan sebutan ujaran kebencian (*hate speech*).

Sedangkan makna signifikansi fenomenal dinamis (*al-maghzā al-mutaḥarrrik al-mu'āṣir*), ayat ini berkaitan dengan fenomena *hate speech* di media sosial. Meskipun dalam konteks makro dan mikro mengarah kepada perbuatan merendahkan atau mengejek secara lisan dan langsung, namun di era modern seperti sekarang ini, ujaran kebencian sudah tidak lagi menggunakan lisan, melainkan melalui media sosial, baik itu berupa postingan kata-kata, atau kolom

komentar yang berisi berbagai kalimat yang merendahkan, dan lain sebagainya yang sering disebut dengan istilah *hate speech*. Adapun pesan utama ayat ini dalam konteks sekarang adalah; setiap manusia harus saling menghargai, baik itu sesama identitas maupun berbeda identitas. Signifikansi lainnya, ayat ini adalah bentuk larangan untuk merendahkan manusia lainnya dan cenderung membatasi kebebasan berekspresi yang menjadi objek sasaran, sehingga nilai kemanusiaan di dalam ayat ini masuk ke dalam kategori landasan etis dalam bermedia sosial. Ayat ini memiliki relevansi yang pesannya tidak lekang oleh zaman, hanya saja landasan etis dalam bermedia sosial perlu diperhatikan dan diresonansikan, sebab kejahatan-kejahatan di media sosial bisa menjadi suatu konstruk sosial baru dalam masyarakat.

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# The Successful of Student Well-Being Development Through Child-Friendly School Programs

Retno Mangestuti<sup>1\*</sup>, Mulyadi<sup>2</sup>, Esa Nur Wahyuni<sup>3</sup>, Rahmat Aziz<sup>4</sup>, Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy<sup>5</sup> 

<sup>1,2,3,4</sup> Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, Malang, Indonesia

<sup>5</sup> Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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## ABSTRAK

Pergeseran paradigma dalam dunia pendidikan telah merangsang munculnya isu-isu baru tentang fokus pendidikan, termasuk tentang kesejahteraan siswa. Kesejahteraan siswa di sekolah akan berdampak besar bagi kesuksesan mereka secara akademik, sosial-emosional maupun perkembangan kesehatan mereka. Salah satu upaya meningkatkan kesejahteraan siswa di sekolah adalah program sekolah ramah anak. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis keberhasilan sekolah ramah anak dalam mengembangkan kesejahteraan siswa. Dengan menggunakan metode observasi dan wawancara pada kepala sekolah, wakil kepala sekolah, guru dan staf akademik di salah satu sekolah dasar. Data di analisis dengan menggunakan teknik analisis tema. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa model sekolah yang mampu mengembangkan kesejahteraan siswa adalah sekolah yang dalam proses penyelenggaraannya terdapat pola pembelajaran yang berpihak pada siswa, pola relasi sosial yang humanis diantara warga sekolah, serta dukungan lingkungan dan infrastruktur yang ramah terhadap siswa. Hasil penelitian ini berimplikasi bahwa kebijakan dalam praktik pendidikan harus mampu mendukung pada penyelenggaraan sekolah ramah anak yang ternyata dapat menjadi solusi dalam mengembangkan kesejahteraan siswa.

## ABSTRACT

The paradigm shift in education has stimulated the emergence of new issues regarding the focus of education, including student wellbeing. The well-being of students at school will have a significant impact on their academic success and socio-emotional and health development. One of the efforts to improve student welfare is the child-friendly school program. This study aims to analyze the success of child-friendly schools in developing student welfare by using the method of observation and interviews with principals, vice-principals, teachers, and academic staff in one of the elementary schools. The data were analyzed using theme analysis techniques. The results of this study indicate that a school model that can develop student welfare is a school that, in the process of its implementation, there is a learning pattern that favors students, a pattern of humanistic social relations among school residents, as well as environmental support and infrastructure that is friendly to students. This study implies that policies in educational practice must be able to cloud the implementation of child-friendly schools, which can be a solution to developing student wellbeing.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Education, which has only paid attention to the cognitive and intellectual dimensions, has changed. Other dimensions such as psychological well-being are now an essential part of the attention for the success of education. Education as a means to develop interests and talents following students' potential is not always a fun learning space because it also creates psychological pressure and burden (Kalkan & Dağlı, 2021; Muchsini & Siswandari, 2020). The Indonesian Child Protection Commission reported as many as 1,463 children being expelled as victims of school policies. The data shows that schools have not been friendly to children. Students will learn comfortably and safely in a child-friendly school (Aziz et al., 2020; Thomas, 2018). There are three trends in studies on the development of student welfare, whether conducted in child-friendly schools or regular schools. First, a study that focuses on the development of student welfare is carried out by teachers in classroom learning practices (Äärelä et al., 2018; Virtanen, 2019). The second is a study on the development of student welfare through the creation of a conducive school climate (Hughes, 2019; Yang, 2018). Third, a study that focuses on the cooperation of schools and parents in educational practice (Bang, 2018; Lozančić et al., 2019) This article explains the three studies to develop student welfare in child-friendly schools.

\*Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: [mangestuti@uin-malang.ac.id](mailto:mangestuti@uin-malang.ac.id) (Retno Mangestuti)

Recently, the World Health Organization (WHO) has promoted mental health, sometimes called well-being, as an integral part of educational processes because it is believed there is no successful education without well-being. At the international level, awareness of health or well-being promotion in schools has become a significant World Health Organization (WHO) program. According to this organization, the definition of health is healthy physically, mentally, socially, and emotionally, not just avoiding someone from the disease (Coll-Seck, 2019; Oladapo, 2018). There are three reasons why students' well-being becomes a vital education agenda in school in the education context. First, there are many social and emotional problems related to the student's social and emotional difficulties (Park, 2020; Salle, 2018). Second, the teacher has an essential role in making students socially and emotionally prosperous in school (Aziz et al., 2021; Mairitsch, 2021). Third, Academic achievement can be increased if the school can improve the student's social and emotional well-being in school (Poots, 2020; Rodríguez, 2020). These three reasons show how important the development of student welfare is in the practice of education in schools.

In policy and academic literature, mental well-being is often used interchangeably with positive mental health. Historically the understanding of what constitutes well-being has been a very long and lively debate, primarily focusing on two views: hedonic and eudemonic. Hedonic well-being is concerned mainly with the following states of pleasure and happiness and eudemonic with the actualization of human potential. The hedonic tradition embodies human concerns with maximizing the amount or duration of positive or pleasant feelings while minimizing the amount of time of harmful or unpleasant feelings. The eudemonic is the tradition of eudemonia that animates human concerns with developing nascent abilities and capacities toward becoming a more fully functioning person and citizen (Pulimeno, 2020; Strelhow et al., 2020). So far, research on student well-being in Indonesia has been mainly studied by applying the concept of child-friendly schools. Research examining child-friendly schools for elementary school students found that activities are implemented humanely. All students are treated without discrimination, involved teachers actively and innovatively, created a safe and comfortable learning environment, and included students actively and creatively in the learning process (Akmaliyah, 2021; Hajaroh, 2020). Some of the results of these studies indicate that child-friendly schools are a solution in efforts to develop student welfare in schools.

However, the research found that child-friendly schools in pilot schools were not appropriately implemented because they faced many obstacles such as physical violence perpetrated by teachers and students, lack of control from parents, a less conducive environment, which caused children to face legal problems (Fitriani, 2021; Syafrudie, 2021). Similar research found that the supporting factors for implementing child-friendly schools were the support from various parties and the school's commitment to implementing the program. In contrast, the inhibiting factor was limited financial resources to meet children's needs adequately, facilities, and infrastructure. Infrastructure that is not friendly to children with special needs and an unhealthy school environment endangers children's health (Schwab, 2020; Vinuela-Navarro, 2019). From some of the findings above, studies on student well-being with the application of the concept of child-friendly schools in Indonesia are inconsistent because they do not have a solid conceptual footing. School well-being conceptualizes as a four-dimensional phenomenon, namely school conditions (having), social relations (loving), self-fulfillment (being), and health status. School conditions (having) include the physical environment, the environment around the school, and the environment within the school. The working environment is safe, comfortable, ventilation and temperature. Social relations (loving) refer to the social learning environment, student-teacher relations, relations with schoolmates, group dynamics, bullying, cooperation between school and home, decision making in schools, and the atmosphere of the whole school organization. The means of self-fulfillment include each student's possibility to learn according to his resources and abilities. Every aspect of well-being contains several aspects of student life at school. Health means a student's physical health condition (Hou, 2021; Konu & Rimpella, 2002).

School climate and learning climate affect the well-being of students' presence and satisfaction in school. Relationships and atmosphere promote one's resources in society and increase school achievement (Doll, 2021; Flores-Verduzco, 2020). In the school well-being model, the relationship between school and home is social relations. Furthermore, the school's relationship with the Institute and the surrounding community is meaningful (relations with social affairs and the health care system). Student-teacher relationships have an important role in well-being in schools. Teacher affiliation is part of the school climate. It means teachers feel comfortable with each other, their work, and their students and are committed to students' well-being (Miller, 2019; Turner & Teilkling, 2019).

This study aims to reveal the success of child-friendly schools in ensuring the well-being of students. In line with these objectives, three questions were formulated: What is the learning program in child-friendly schools; How is the design of social relationships built between school members; how are the environment and school facilities supporting the development of student well-being. The answers to these questions may serve as the basis for determining various policies to foster and build student well-being at

the basic education level through child-friendly schools. This study argues that schools that prioritize student welfare in Indonesia are identical to child-friendly schools. Three characteristics that characterize child-friendly schools are: First, schools whose learning patterns pay attention to the needs of students. Second is the pattern of humanist social relations among school members. Third, support for a child-friendly environment or infrastructure. These three arguments form the basis for writing articles on the development of student welfare through child-friendly school programs at the basic education level.

## 2. METHOD

Following the research objectives, the approach used in this research is qualitative research, a case study type. The qualitative type was chosen because the researcher aims to describe the process of child-friendly education in developing student well-being in schools. The research location is the elementary school in East Java, Indonesia. The educational process in these schools is by optimally developing all the potential intelligence of students. There are three kinds of data explored in this study: First, data on learning programs that favor students, using data on the implementation of having aspects in schools. Second, the design of humane social relations among school members, using data about the performance of the loving element in schools. Third, support a social environment and infrastructure, using data on implementing aspects of being in schools. The research was carried out in conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic so that researchers carried out the process of fulfilling the health protocol.

This study used five persons as informants: the principal, vice-principal, two teachers, and academic staff. Data related to school policies were obtained from the principal, while data related to the learning process in the classroom and outside the school was obtained from the vice-principal, teachers, and academic staff. The selection of the five informants was based on the assumption that they were the people who knew best about the process of child-friendly school education. Research data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation. Observations were made to observe the condition of the physical environment and the availability of facilities and infrastructure owned by the school. Interviews were conducted with research informants to complete and confirm the data obtained when conducting observations. Documentation is carried out to obtain supporting data for research. The three types of data collection techniques focus on getting data on learning patterns in schools, communication patterns between school members, and support for infrastructure owned by schools in developing student well-being. The data collection process uses triangulation techniques on data sources, data collection methods, and the theory used.

Data analysis was carried out using techniques developed in qualitative research. The analysis process is followed by data reduction, presentation, and verification. In data reduction activities, there are several steps, namely summarizing all data, coding the data, classifying data, making reflective notes, making marginal notes by providing substantial comments, storing data, and theorizing data by developing researchers' opinions. At the data presentation stage, the data from the previous reduction is presented in an organized manner, arranged in a specific relationship pattern. The authors draw conclusions based on the data obtained at the data verification stage. Some stages of each step may be flexibly and even simultaneously done to reflect the case study.

## 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Result

This section describes three essential findings related to the success of child-friendly schools in developing student well-being. The three findings are learning patterns that favor students, humanistic social relations between parties, and support for a social environment/infrastructure. Discussion of the results is carried out after presenting each research finding.

### Student-friendly learning program

This section discusses two crucial findings related to learning programs in child-friendly schools. The first finding examines the instructional learning process carried out in the classroom. The second finding differs extracurricular activities carried out outside of learning. The two results are shown in [Table 1](#) and [Table 2](#).

**Table 1. Instructional Based Learning Activities**

No	Statement	Coding
1	This school is a child-friendly school. Therefore, the learning pattern used in this school is learning-oriented to the needs of children so that children feel	Child-friendly orientations

No	Statement	Coding
	comfortable studying at school. Learning aims to develop students' cognitive, affective, and psychomotor abilities. The learning process tries to make students comfortable, enthusiastic, and involved so that the learning material can be understood satisfactorily in school (Subject 1, principal).	
2	The learning materials delivered are generally taught materials such as mathematics, English, and Indonesian. In addition, we also teach religious material. The subject matter also pays attention to students with special needs (Subject 2, vice-principal).	Attention for a student with special need
3	The method used is a learning method oriented to student intelligence by the theory of multiple intelligences. We believe that every student is intelligent in a specific field. Therefore, several lessons are given in groups. Each group is adjusted to the type of student intelligence. (Subject 3, teacher).	Attention to student's multiple intelligences
4	The learning assessment method follows the usual model implemented in various schools. However, this school evaluation also uses an authentic evaluation model. In addition, this school does not group students based on ability (Subject 3, teacher).	Using the authentic evaluations

Table 1 explains that there are four characteristics of a child-friendly school, namely 1) the learning process is carried out to develop cognitive, affective, and psychomotor abilities, which are marked by the achievement of learning mastery standards, high levels of student enthusiasm for learning, and the formation of skills as the result of learning. 2) learning materials are adapted to the needs and abilities of students, which are characterized by attention to students with special needs. 3). Learning uses a method based on student characteristics characterized by multiple intelligences approaches and contextual teaching and learning strategies. And 4) evaluations based on student needs characterized by authentic assessments.

**Table 2. Extracurricular Based Learning Activities**

No	Statement	Coding
1	Many extracurricular activities are carried out, all of which are oriented towards strengthening school literacy programs and following child-friendly school guidelines (Subject 1, principal).	Literacy program
2	The extracurricular programs are school health efforts and activities to love food, vegetables, and fish. This activity aims to make students physically fit (Subject 2, vice-principal).	Physical health
3	Extracurricular activities that aim to develop a sense of nationalism include scouts, school police, love of the earth, and the Adiwiyata program (Subject 4, teacher).	Nationalism
4	Extracurricular activities to develop students' potential in the arts include drum band activities, dance, and painting. (Subject 4, teacher).	Art
5	Activities to develop students' spiritual potential include reading the Koran program, celebrating religious holidays, praying together, and praying Duha in the congregation (Subject 4, teacher).	Spirituality

Table 2 shows the five findings related to extracurricular activities with student well-being development. The five findings are aspects of academics, physical health, arts and culture, nationalism, and spirituality. Extracurricular activities aim to develop student potential, including development in academic aspects, artistic and cultural potential, development of nationalism and love of nature, spiritual growth, designing physical health, and various sports activities for students. This extracurricular-based learning activity includes multiple programs.

### **The humanist pattern of social relationships among school members**

This section discusses significant findings related to the practice of social relations built-in child-friendly schools. The social relationship in question is between school members such as leaders, teachers, academic staff, students, and parents. The findings are shown in Table 3.

**Table 3.** The Social Relation Among School Members

No	Statement	Coding
1	The social relationship developed between various schools and students is a relationship of mutual respect and love. The activities carried out were greeting when meeting, shaking hands between students, being polite in behavior, smiling when passing by, and trying to help if someone needed it. (Subject 2, vice-principal)	Respect and love
2	The social relationships among students are relationships built based on mutual respect, love for each other, helping each other, and respect for each other. The activities to develop the above objectives are group study, play, and study tour (Subject 4, teacher).	Respect and love
3	The social relationship built between the school and the parents is a relationship that needs each other and helps each other. Home visits and parenting days are among the school activities to build these relationships (Subject 4, teacher).	Home visit and parenting days program

Table 3 explains that the success of schools in the well-being of students is supported by a pattern of humanistic social relations between parties, which is indicated by the existence of good relationships between teachers and students, staff and students, students and students, and teachers and parents. A good relationship between teachers and students includes concern for the needs of students, as evidenced by the teacher's attention in the form of home visits outside school time. Some forms of relationship patterns between school members can be seen in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

**Figure 1.** Greeting student to teacher**Figure 2.** Relations among students in school

Figure 1 shows that teachers and academic staff welcome and greet students in front of the school. Activities like this are routinely carried out every day before the learning process. Figure 2 shows that students help each other in doing assignments. They respect and appreciate each other so that there are no cases of bullying at the school.

### Supporting for environment and facilities

This section discusses the third finding supporting the physical environment and infrastructure in developing student welfare in schools. The results are shown in Table 4.

**Table 4.** School Environmental Support

No	Statement	Coding
1	Classrooms that are owned follow the needs of students. Each room has had learning equipment such as chairs, tables, blackboards, cabinets, and computers. The number of students in one room is only 20 people, so it is ideal for the learning process (Subject 3, teacher).	Ideal classroom
2	Other school equipment to support the modern learning process includes internet facilities for all school members. Especially for students, their use is under teacher monitoring (Subject 5, academic staff).	Internet facilities

No	Statement	Coding
3	The physical environment is complete, starting from a large and beautiful garden, swimming pool, sports field, mosque, toilet, canteen, library, and a full laboratory (Subject 5, academic staff).	Physical environment

Table 4 explains that supporting a social environment and infrastructure is indicated by adequate classrooms, information technology equipment, open spaces, canteens, toilets, prayer rooms, and libraries. A good classroom is characterized by fulfilling safe and comfortable standards for students and supporting effective interactions between teacher-students. Likewise, adequate information technology equipment is characterized by information technology-based learning media following the curriculum, providing learning opportunities, and access to information online.



Figure 3. The classroom



Figure 4. Park and swimming pool

Figure 3 shows the classroom atmosphere owned by the school, while Figure 4 shows the swimming pool and garden facilities owned by the school. Meanwhile, open space is characterized by a garden and playroom that is safe and comfortable for children. In addition, the canteen is characterized by the presence of a clean place and healthy food that meets nutritional standards and adequate toilets characterized by the availability of clean, sufficient, and odorless water. Another no less important room is the prayer room, characterized by a clean and comfortable prayer room. Finally, an adequate library space supports academic activities described by a good collection of books. Table 4 clarifies the findings from interviews with the teacher and academic staff.

## Discussion

The findings show that schools apply a pattern of humanistic relationships between schools and various parties, including parents. These results align with several studies that show that student welfare in schools must involve humanistic practices of social relations. The relationship of affection and mutual respect between teachers and students is carried out with kinship, relationships between fellow students who are close and who love each other. In addition, the relationship between teachers and parents is carried out in a familial and mutually supportive manner (Aouad & Bento, 2020; Halladay, 2020). The results of this study are in line with research that found that social support is a child's need. Children need support such as approval, self-esteem, and help from people who have meaning for themselves (Poots, 2020; Ulmanen, 2022). Students who are physically and mentally prosperous will have exemplary achievements and be able to adapt and make social adjustments in their environment well.

The data shows that the school has implemented a student-friendly learning pattern by adopting student-centered learning. Student-centered learning is active, independent learning, and ultimately students are responsible for their education. In principle, student-centered learning has related ideas, namely: (a) knowledge is built by students through active involvement in the learning process; (b) building a knowledge system that is instrumental for the development of knowledge and skills through the transfer of knowledge between students and teachers; (c) the knowledge that is built is more accessible (Adiningrum, 2021; Asimakopoulos, 2021). Thus, it can be further explained that student-centered learning is a learning approach in which students generate learning opportunities and reconstruct knowledge dynamically in an open learning environment. However, schools still provide complete control over this learning pattern. The primary purpose of learning is to explore and increase students' potential, not to equip them with curricula and rules that hinder the development of student potential. Student welfare will be achieved by implementing learning that favors meeting student needs and developing their potential. The application of familiar learning patterns has caused students not to be burdened and not pressured by the



learning process at school and has even increased students' enthusiasm to excel academically and non-academically (Pada, 2021; Syafrudie, 2021). Student academic success will help students improve feelings of happiness and self-esteem

Student welfare will be fulfilled if school welfare is created. School welfare is a psychological climate in schools that provides school members a sense of comfort and happiness, especially students. Students feel prosperous, happy, and enthusiastic about participating in the learning process and feel at home and comfortable participating in teaching and learning activities organized by the school (Anderson, 2022; Dyg, 2018). Thus, school welfare will be able to make children involved in school educational activities and will be an essential factor for students' academic success (McCree, 2018; Rodríguez, 2020). In the context of the development of welfare in schools, school welfare can be created when there is harmony between the school atmosphere, school social relations, personal fulfillment and the presence of physical health. Based on the findings, environmentally friendly support includes adequate classrooms, equipment, information technology, open spaces, canteens, toilets, prayer rooms, and libraries. It is in line with the statement that student welfare and infrastructure support are needed, including environmental management, space for educators and students, length and playgrounds, and even adequate health rooms (Cobanoglu et al., 2018; Virtanen, 2019). The condition of the school (having) includes the physical environment, the environment around the school, and the environment within the school related to the welfare of students in learning activities.

Research related to the role of the school environment on educational outcomes and student development was carried out and found that there was a role for school welfare in academic involvement but not academic achievement. The research found that self-esteem and school welfare play a role in student resilience. It means that in building strength, the part of self-esteem and school welfare is needed simultaneously (Hansen, 2018; Venkatramanan & Shah, 2019). Based on the results of the literature review presented, it can be explained that research on child-friendly school models has differences in terms of research objectives and research methods from previous studies. The research found a relation between the function of educational facilities and infrastructure in supporting the learning process and academic outcome. It is necessary to improve their utilization and management to achieve the expected goals effectively. Several studies have shown that facilities and infrastructure positively affect academic success and well-being (Aldridge, 2018; Tiplady, 2021). These findings necessitate that the fulfillment of facilities and infrastructure is essential to meet the needs of students as subjects as well as objects in education. There are two limitations contained in this study. First, the focus of this research study is limited to the success stories of schools in implementing child-friendly learning processes. Another study that has not been studied in depth is the study of various challenges of becoming a quality school. In addition, efforts to reform and improve the school curriculum in responding to the demands and needs of children are crucial to be studied more deeply. Second, this research process was carried out during the COVID-19 pandemic, which requires discipline in carrying out health procedures. This condition resulted in some difficulties in obtaining data directly. These two limitations are essential aspects to be refined in further research.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The success of child-friendly schools in developing student welfare is not only due to the completeness of the facilities owned by the school, and the sophisticated curriculum used in learning, but more to the commitment of all school members to be involved in the success of the program. Problems that arise are handled jointly by the school, parents, and the community to develop student welfare. Thus, cooperation between various parties in the implementation of learning in child-friendly schools is the key to educational success. The study's findings necessitate developing child-friendly school education programs in schools as an alternative to developing children's welfare in schools. The child-friendly school model is an educational program that prioritizes a student-centered learning process, respectful and supportive social interactions, and adequate infrastructure support. Policyholders and education implementers should pay attention to these aspects in every child-friendly education program. This study has three significant findings which should be considered in any child-friendly school program.

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# The Contestation of Islamic and Nationalists Parties in 2019 Election

Hasse Jubba,<sup>1</sup> Zuly Qodir,<sup>2</sup> Irwan Abdullah,<sup>3</sup> Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy,<sup>4</sup> Mega Hidayati,<sup>5</sup> Mustaqim Pabbajah,<sup>6</sup> Rabiatal Adawiah,<sup>7</sup> Suparto Iribaram,<sup>8</sup> Misran<sup>9</sup>  
{hasse@umy.ac.id<sup>1</sup>, zuly\_qodir@yahoo.com<sup>2</sup>, irwanabdullah9@gmail.com<sup>3</sup>, saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id<sup>4</sup>, mega.hidayati@umy.ac.id<sup>5</sup>, mustaqim\_pabbajah@uty.ac.id<sup>6</sup>, rabiatal.a@mail.ugm.ac.id<sup>7</sup>, damiribar@yahoo.co.id<sup>8</sup>, misran@umy.ac.id<sup>9</sup>}

Islamic Politics, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta<sup>1</sup>, Islamic Politics, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta<sup>2</sup>, Universitas Gadjah Mada & IA Scholar Foundation<sup>3</sup>, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta & IA Scholar Foundation<sup>4</sup>, Islamic Politics, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta<sup>5</sup>, Universitas Teknologi Yogyakarta & IA Scholar Foundation<sup>6</sup>, Universitas Gadjah Mada & IA Scholar Foundation<sup>7</sup>, IAIN Fattahul Muluk Jayapura<sup>8</sup>, Islamic Politics, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta<sup>9</sup>

**Abstract.** The 2019 elections continue the contestation between Islamic political and nationalist parties in Indonesia. The contestation of these two-party groups had occurred since 1955 when the first general election was held. This article discusses the forms of contestation between the two political parties groups in the 2019 election. The literature obtained from a comprehensive search of articles and books faces competition between the two political groups. This article found that the two-party groups tried to reach the public by conducting out various political activities such as recruitment of religious leaders, empowerment of religious institutions, and the establishment of political wing organizations. This article states that the political activities attached the contestation of the two parties by involving "religion" are the strategy of majority election, in this case, Muslims.

**Keywords:** Contestation; Islamic Political Party; Nationalist Political Party; Majority Voter; Election

## 1 Introduction

The 2019 general election is an event to show the continued defeat of Islamic political parties in Indonesia. The first defeat of Islamic political parties occurred in the 1955. Up to 2019, election in Indonesia have been held 11 times, it means that many Islamic political parties have experienced defeats, and were quite good only in the first general election, 1955. Of the contestant parties, the top five were occupied by the Indonesian National Party/PNI (22.32% of the vote or 57 seats), Masyumi (20.92 % of the vote or 57 seats), Nahdlatul Ulama/NU (18.41 % of the vote or 45 seats), the Indonesian Communist Party/PKI (16.36 % of the vote or 39 seats), and the Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party (2.89 % of the vote or eight seats) of the total votes of 37,785,299 or 257 parliamentary seats at that time. Looking at the

votes obtained by Islamic political parties (Masyumi, NU, and PSII), it was quite significant, namely 42.22% of the vote with 110 seats, while the combined nationalist parties won 46.80% of the vote.

In the 1971 election during the New Order era, ten contestants participated, and only eight political parties won seats in parliament. The Nahdlatul Ulama Party won 27.12% of the vote (58 seats), the Indonesian Muslim Party won 5.36% of the vote (24 seats), the Indonesian Islamic Syarikat Party won 2.39% of the vote (10 seats). The Islamic Education Movement won 0, 69% of the vote (2 seats). These four Islamic political parties only won 27.12% of the vote or 94 seats from the accumulated votes. Meanwhile, the nationalist parties won 72.88% of the vote or 226 seats. The Golkar Party won the majority vote with 62.8% (236 seats), followed by the Indonesian National Party, which won 6.93% of the vote or 20 seats in parliament. In the 1997 election or the last election of the New Order, only three political parties participated (the United Development Party/PPP, Golkar Party, and the Indonesian Democratic Party/PDI). In the election, Golkar won a majority again (74.51%) of votes, followed by PPP (22.43%) and PDI (3.06%) votes.

In the 1999 election, which 48 contestants attended, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) became the political party that won the most votes (33.74%), followed by the Golkar Party (22.44%), the National Awakening Party/PKB won 12.61 % voice. The PPP won 10.71% of the vote, and the National Mandate Party (PAN) won 7.12%. It appears that the nationalist parties (PDI-P and Golkar) gained 56.18% of the vote, while the Islamic political parties (PKB, PPP, and PAN) received 29.44% of the vote. In the 2019 election, the combined Islamic parties PKS, PKB, PAN, PPP, and PBB only received a slight increase in votes with an increase of 30.05% or 171 seats, while the nationalist parties PDIP, Gerindra, Golkar, Nasdem, and Democrats won 61 0.03% of the vote or 404 seats. The PBB cannot meet the 4% threshold or the parliamentary threshold of valid votes so it does not get a seat in parliament.

Many experts have done research on the condition of Islamic parties in Indonesia. At least, there are three trends regarding the Islamic party condition. *First*, the internal conflicts of Islamic political parties, such as a study conducted by (Nurdin et al., 2019), saw the internal conflicts of Islamic parties, especially PKS and PPP. Likewise, Sumarno (2015) saw how NU got out of Masyumi, which had a relationship between 1945-1960. Then, this condition has been laid a new Islamic party that received broad support from social and youth organizations, even retired military/police officers. *Second*, the change in the orientation of the Islamic party (Herdiansah, 2017) saw that the Islamic party had shifted to a more pragmatic direction and abandoned its ideology, hence the Islamic based was increasingly blurred. Thus, the orientation of Islamic parties is more towards power than the struggle to meet the aspirations of Muslim voters (Kadir, 2014). *Third*, studies that look at the involvement of religious leaders in political parties aim that there is a "moral" touch in politics (Royyani & Takayasa, 2020).

Political parties among experts are organized groups whose members have the same orientation, values, and ideals to achieve power. Meanwhile, the Islamic political parties becomes the core of this article that make Islam not only the basis of the party but also as the basis of the struggle. In this case, the standard of Islamic politics is in the essence and principles, not in the political system and form.

Islamic parties are parties that use Islam as an ideology or party organization principle which is expressly stated in the party's Articles of Association and Bylaws (AD/ART). Meanwhile, Islamic political parties are parties that use Islamic symbols as their "political identity". However, it is not explicitly stated in the AD/ART, but these parties from the

history of establishment and political practice cannot be separated from Islam. As political identities and symbols (Nurhasim, 2016).

Some of the parties included in the first group are the United Development Party (PPP) and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), while the second group is PKB and PAN. Chapter II Article 1 mentions that "PPP is based on Islam, characterized by Ahlul-sunnah Wal Jama'ah." Meanwhile, in the AD/ART PKS Chapter, I Article 2, "Parties based on Islam." As for PKB since its birth, it cannot be separated from Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), as well as PAN, which has always been identified with Muhammadiyah because these two parties have a relatively strong relationship with these Islamic organizations (Nashir et al., 2019; Qodir et al., 2021). These two parties did not explicitly mention Islam as their ideology, but the development of both cannot be separated from Islamic symbols. Bezhan (2017) mentions that the purpose of forming an Islamic political party is to spread their ideas and compete with nationalist democratic political parties.

Apart from Islamic political parties contestant, there are also non-religious political parties, which are called nationalist political parties. This term is only to facilitate the definition and provide "opponents" of the political parties with an Islamic pattern. Nationalist political parties can be said that do not make religion as the principle of their party. This can be seen in the AD/ART. In AD/ART Chapter II Article 1 of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), for example, it is stated that "The party is based on Pancasila as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia with the soul and spirit of its birth on June 1, 1945". Likewise, for the Golkar Party (Golkar), in Chapter III Article 5, it is stated that "the GOLKAR Party is based on Pancasila." These two parties used Pancasila as the party principle so that both parties were placed as a nationalist style, such as the Gerindra, Nasdem, and Democrat parties. This article is based on the assumption that the defeat of Islamic political parties was caused by uniform political activities carried out by political parties contesting the election to win the sympathy of the majority voters, namely Muslims. The involvement of religious figures who have a clear mass base with high support militancy divides voters.

## **2 Result and Discussion**

There are two forms of competition between Islamic political parties and nationalist political parties until the 2019 elections. These forms indicate a condition in which all parties do the same thing and fight for the sympathy of the same voters in an open and increasingly competitive manner. In principle, what the political parties done, both based on Islam and Pancasila (Gerinda; Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution), is a political medium to win the sympathy of voters, even though it leaves many problems among voters.

### **2.1 Religious elite recruitment**

Apart from important figure among the people, elite or religious figures are also a reference in religious affairs. In this article, it does not list the elite or religious figures recruited into Islamic political parties because these parties already have strong roots in Islam. In the following, Table 1 (see. Appendix) shows the involvement of elites or religious leaders in nationalist political parties. Table 1 shows that in the nationalist parties, several Islamic figures are involved and have a reasonably good mass base. For instance, Gus Nabil studied at the Lirboyo, a famous Islamic Boarding School in East Java. At Lirboyo, he developed his

career as a writer and a manager, and even an administrator of the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School to become one of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board. Meanwhile, Zainul Madji or Tuan Guru Bajang is an important figure in Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) which grew up in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). He is a scholar who has broad insight and support in NTB. Likewise, KH Muhammad Ayyub Saifurrijal, Caretaker of As Siddiqi Islamic Boarding School Putri Jember, is a figure who is part of the Nasdem Party. He has a certain mass base because he is the caretaker of one of the Islamic boarding schools in this area. Like Masykur Ali and Gus Irfan, they have a robust cultural base in the pesantren.

The involvement of ulama in politics has a function other than influencing Muslim voters because of their capacity as Islamic figures and can minimize internal conflicts within political parties (Muazaroh & Subaidi, 2019). This cannot be separated from the figures who have been the preference of Muslims, such as KH Maimoen Zubair at PPP. Ulama also has a solid mass base that makes easier mobilizing, including the ownership of Islamic boarding schools, which can be used as a basis for socializing the party's vision and being a basis for collecting votes (Sari, 2020). This condition encourages party elites to involve ulama in their party. In various conditions, it is not easy to assess the political behaviour of the people in Indonesia. This is because practices do not show the determination of choice in the vision or program of the political party he chooses, but rather on who is in the party.

## **2.2 Establishment of political party religious institutions**

The establishment of party institutions carried Islam as an arena for contesting the votes. Islamic political parties culturally already have a base of Islamic voters. Meanwhile, nationalist political parties use these religious institutions to show that these parties are not anti-Islamic, thus, the majority of Muslim voters have "theological" reasons for choosing them. For example, there is Baitul Muslim Indonesia in PDI-P; Islamic Da'wah Council (MDI) and Al-Hidayah Study in Golkar; Greater Indonesia Muslim Movement in Gerindra; and SBY Nurussalam Dhikr Council in Demokrat.

One of the goals of the organization is to serve as a medium for the propagation of Islam. During the celebration of Islamic holidays, this organization becomes the "representative" of political parties in contact with the community, especially Muslims. Likewise, in Ramadan, organizations such as Bamusi perform tarawih tours to various mosques. There is also training for young preachers who will be deployed to the community as Islamic da'wah carriers.

"Bamusi's establishment is a form of Islamic symbols. Within PDIP itself, both central and regional administrators are predominantly Muslim, while the rest are from various religions. Some PDPs identify with negative things to Bamusi becomes a means of reducing it all" (Interview, August 2021).

The role of religious party institution is to become a connecting between voters and the party (Freedman, 2020). In addition, the religious institutions of political parties are also a tool to approach them. Baitul Muslimin (BAMUSI), for example, is a PDI-P religious institution mandated to link parties with the community (Sutarto et al., 2019). Likewise, the SBY Darussalam Dhikr Council has become a propaganda medium for the Democratic Party. Its activities have been able to carry out da'wah's political function as part of the interest-group system.

The formation of wing organizations of political parties and the two things above have the same goal, namely trying to win the sympathy of voters. Apart from being an extension of political parties, wing organizations are also a medium for non-structural parties to participate in political parties, in this case, as a cadre of future party successors. This wing organization



can be a direct link between political parties and voters' interests (Saifulloh, 2020). For instance, Gerindra shows that the wing organizations have good effectiveness in producing party successors (Furqan & Hasan, 2019). One of the board members of the Gerindra wing, the Greater Indonesia Volunteer Unit (Satria), stated that:

"With the existence of wing organizations, although there are overlapping positions in the party, the change in recruitment policy was originally based on cadres to become an open party, especially in the recruitment of candidates, the role of the party wing is greatly reduced. But this happened in the nationalist party" (Interview, SQ, July 2021).

The role of the wing organization is not politically active. It is simply an extension of the party. For example, suppose there is a natural disaster. Various wing organization activities remain under the banner of the parent political party because these organizations are easy to get support, including funding (Bill, 2020).

The failures experienced by Islamic political parties in the 2019 elections varied. This failure can be seen, for example, related to the pragmatism of the party so that it is difficult to be consistent, the failure of regeneration, however, it only relies on specific figures at every era, even the absence of respected cultural figures/leaders, and the dualism of party management (Khasanah & Hamzani, 2019). What happened to PKS, PPP, and PBB is a portrait of the complexity of the problems faced by Islamic political parties in Indonesia. The complexity of the problem can be seen when the internal conflict resolution mechanism fails at almost the same time as the failure of a "counterpart" party is established.

### **3 Conclusion**

This article emphasizes that the contestation of Islamic and nationalist political parties continues in various aspects. The three forms of activity above are not only indicative of the strenuous efforts made by each political party to form a solid network to various sectors and levels but also an indicator of the activeness of all parties in establishing themselves as open and accommodating to Islam. Although there are labels as "religious" and "non-religious" parties, the label is not straightforward considered the distribution of religious elites, especially Islam (read: figures/ulama) in every political party. Moreover, it can be seen that all parties show a very accommodative attitude towards various social groups, especially religion. Meanwhile, there is also a blurring of non-linear political attitudes among voters who no longer vote based on party preferences but prefer figures.

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## Appendix

**Table 1.** Religious Elite in Nationalist Political Party

Political Party	Name	Position
PDI-P	Gus Nabil Haroen	Member of the Indonesian House of Representatives from the PDI-P; Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School alumni/managers
GOLKAR	TGB Zainul Majdi	Chairman of PB Nahdlatu Al-Wathan in 1999; Chairman of the Coordinator of the Community Affairs of Golkar (Central Board)
NASDEM	KH Muhammad Ayyub Saifurrijal	Founder of the community organization NasDem; Caretaker of As Siddiqi Islamic Boarding School Putri Jember
DEMOKRAT	Masykur Ali	Democratic Cadre; The caretaker of the Ibn Sina Islamic Boarding School, Tile, Banyuwangi
GERINDRA	M Irfan Yusuf Hasyim (Gus Irfan)	Vice-chairman of Lembaga Ekonomi NU

Source: Processed from various documents



# Qur'anic Interpretation of Ashura Day Celebrations in Mappasagena Culture of Buginese Community of South Sulawesi - Indonesia

Andi Miswar, Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, Irwan Abdullah, Halimah Basri & Hamka Hasan

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\*Corresponding author: Andi Miswar, Ushuluddin, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia  
E-mail: [andi.miswar@uin-alauddin.ac.id](mailto:andi.miswar@uin-alauddin.ac.id)

Reviewing editor:  
Andrea Staiti, University of Parma:  
Universita Degli Studi Di Parma, Italy

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## PHILOSOPHY & RELIGION | RESEARCH ARTICLE

# Qur'anic Interpretation of Ashura Day Celebrations in Mappasagena Culture of Buginese Community of South Sulawesi - Indonesia

Andi Miswar<sup>1\*</sup>, Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy<sup>2</sup>, Irwan Abdullah<sup>3</sup>, Halimah Basri<sup>4</sup> and Hamka Hasan<sup>5</sup>

**Abstract:** Many Muslims continue to believe that Ashura is a custom and ceremony that is associated with expressing worry about the Karbala event, however in the Buginese community of South Sulawesi, this tradition is entwined with community culture, transforming it into a Buginese-specific tradition. The purpose of this study is to address the following three issues: (a) How is the community's understanding of the Mappasagena Culture practiced in the Ashura day celebration for the Buginese community of south Sulawesi, Indonesia? (b) What factors contribute to the Buginese community's belief in the rewards associated with mappasagena ritual compliance? (c) How the Buginese community in South Sulawesi preserved the Mappasagena culture based on the Qur'an? This article concludes the Mappasagena ritual is a regional custom preserved by the Buginese community of South Sulawesi. The tradition survives in the modern era influenced by the beliefs and the expectation of a prosperous and spacious life until new year. They also experience the influence directly or indirectly when they join in Mappasagena celebrations.

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Andi Miswar is a lecturer at the Faculty of Adab and Humanities, Alauddin State Islamic University, Makassar- Indonesia. He obtained a Doctorate degree in the Field of Islamic studies, Concentration of Qur'anic exegesis. His research interests are in the Religious issues, al-Qur'an and culture, al-Qur'an and science, and Qur'anic exegesis. She has authored books and articles in journals.

Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy is a lecturer at Faculty of Theology, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta. His research interests are in The Living Qur'an and Hadith; and issues on religion and cross cultural studies.

Irwan Abdullah is Professor of Antropologi, Faculty of Humanities, Gadjah Mada University Yogyakarta.

Halimah is a lecture at the Departement of Islamic Constitutional Law at Alauddin state Islamic University, Makassar.

Hamka Hasan is a lecturer at the Faculty of Islamic Religion, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta. His research interests are in The Quranic Exegesis, Gender Studies in Islam, Radicalism-Terrorism in Islam.

### PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

This study shows that Mappasagena culture of the Buginese community is a blend of religion and culture. The practice of mappasagena is consistent with the Qur'an. It teaches to serve fellow human beings without regard for distinction. It is also consistent with indigenous culture, which is thought to bring goodness into their life and evidence of the blessings it. As a result, Buginese community are hesitant to disregard this tradition, which is fueled by sincerity and a desire to serve others, as well as the optimism that they will have a prosperous life. This cultural practice benefits all segments of society by strengthening their work ethic and care for others, particularly the economically disadvantaged, and by developing a sense of brotherhood throughout the community. This practice also serves as a role model for the broader community, demonstrating solidarity with everyone regardless of ethnicity, race, religion and nation.

Meanwhile, participation of actors such as religious leaders, traditional leaders, and traders helps maintain the mappasagena tradition among the Buginese community of South Sulawesi.

**Subjects:** Theory & Religion; Religion; Religion & Anthropology

**Keywords:** Ashura; Mappasagena; Buginese community; local tradition; al-Qur'an; Religious system

## 1. Introduction

Ashura is a global expression of mourning over Husein bin Ali's death in the Karbala tragedy, which took place in Iraq. In the Buginese community, it has grown into a capitalistic purchasing activity as well as a charity giving tradition through the years. Despite the fact that the Buginese culture is fundamentally a mercantile one, it appears to be associated with a religious customary ritual. It has been demonstrated by Mattulada (2014), for example, that the religious expression of the Sulawesi people is heavily influenced by the nuances of marriage between religious traditions and indigenous culture, and that religious practices in the Buginese community are frequently a form of marriage between ancestral and religious traditions. The term "global element" in religion is taken from Bowen's term for "big traditions." Bowen (1993) argues that big traditions that interact with characteristics of regional traditions/local culture are not mutually incompatible, but rather complement one another in their diversity.

Historically, studies of tradition have tended to examine it from the tradition's perspective, which focuses on two things: first, why the tradition survives and continues to exist today (Ali, 2011; Jacob, 1989; Pelras, 1985); and second, how the tradition works within a particular community context (Damsar and Indrayani, 2018; Yuliana et al., 2017). According to this tendency, researchers are debating less about how the community understands and believes in tradition in order to be effective and powerful in society.

This study tries to address the aforementioned lack of literature studies. In line with that, three questions can be formulated, such as (a) How Mappasagena Culture is practiced in South Sulawesi during the Buginese Community Ashura Day Celebration, (b) What factors contribute to the Buginese community's belief in the rewards associated with ritual compliance, (c) How the Buginese in South Sulawesi preserve the Mappasagena culture based on al-Qur'an. The three questions outlined above will be the primary focus of this paper's discussion.

To begin, this article claims that the Mappasagena custom is a product of local wisdom that bridges culture and religion and is observed on Ashura Day. This ritual originated among the Buginese community of South Sulawesi and was later infused with religious principles originating from the Qur'an and hadith. Second, the Mappasagena culture continues to be trusted as a result of social practices and the prospect of a better future, at least in the coming year. Thirdly, Islam, being a religion extensively accepted by the Buginese community, ensures the survival of this tradition by incorporating several Islamic values within Mappasagena custom activities.

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1. Local wisdom

Maria (2018) describes local wisdom as the cultural knowledge that some communities hold, which includes a variety of cultural knowledge related to sustainable capital use and natural resource management. Local knowledge, on the other hand, is defined by Lisdiyono (2017) as a type of environmental wisdom that occurs in the social life of a location or area. Local wisdom is an appreciation for the community's understanding that is utilized as a guide in daily living (Kurniawati W et al., 2019). Local wisdom takes the shape of knowledge, belief, comprehension or

**Table 1. The Mappasagena Tradition as Perceived by the Community**

NO	THE MAPPASAGENA TRADITION AS PERCEIVED BY THE COMMUNITY	CODING
1	Ashura Day is mappasagena day for us, the Buginese community, <i>jadi nigi-nigi pasagenai balanca lise bolana riesso sura, ripasagenattoi atuo-tuongenna sitaung mengoloe</i> (Muhammad Aminuddin, Imam of the mosque, an interview on 15 January 2019)	There will be sustenance for a year
2	<i>Ashura Day is the day we have been anticipating since a few months ago, when we delayed purchasing essentials in anticipation of the Day of Ashura, which was filled with mercy and blessings.</i> (An interview with Andini, a homemaker, on 24 December 2019)	Postponing shopping for the sake of waiting for Ashura
3	<i>Our ancestors warned us not to spend Ashura without doing the mappasagena practice/ritual, as that day is favorable for good fortune. We believe on the Qur'an</i> (An interview with Mrs Mariana on 27 December 2019)	Mappasagena is for good fortune
4	<i>I'm not sure why we perform these things on Ashura day; it's something our parents have advised for a long time, and it's become a tradition.</i> (An interview with Wello on 23 January 2019)	Advised by parents

**Table 2. Activities on the Day of Ashura**

NO	ACTIVITIES ON THE DAY OF ASHURA	CODING
1	<i>For decades, on Ashura Day, I have made seven varieties of porridge and then taken it to the mosque to be consumed to break the fast with the people in the mosque, with the understanding that seven varieties of ingredients or seven varieties of colors derived from these materials will bring abundance and various kinds of fortune.</i> (An interview with Rosdiana, teacher, on 23 January 2019)	Making seven kinds of porridge
2	<i>Passing Ashura without charity is a loss for us, because the ustadz (a teacher of Islamic education) also stated that giving alms on non-Ashura days doubles the fortune. To that end, we use the Day of Ashura to encourage charitable giving, as it is a holy month and day.</i> (An interview with Badawi on 15 January 2019)	Increase alms on the Day of Ashura
3	<i>"Pray to Me, and I will answer you," Allah declares. On the Day of Ashura, I read a particular prayer, as well as other prayers, such as the end of the year prayer. Therefore, let us take advantage of this masagenae day to pray to Allah for whatever we need.</i> (An interview with Ardi, a mosque caretaker, on 27 December 2019)	Pray on the Day of Ashura

insight, conventions, and ethics (Hilman et al., 2019). The application of local wisdom values is an alternative to cultivating educated humans and establishing standards for behavior in order to foster knowledge and noble character (Uge et al., 2019). Meanwhile, according to Ali and Candrasari (2019), conserving the tradition of indigenous knowledge is one of the measures done to ensure the community's survival in the face of globalisation and modernity.

Local knowledge has been incorporated into business operations throughout Indonesia, in addition to the use of contemporary marketing theory by marketers seeking to enhance market share and profitability (Mochammad J, 2018). Tri Hita Karana is a term used in Bali to refer to a type of local wisdom that underpins the application of traditional agriculture—including when farmers would accept agricultural advances (Suasih et al., 2018). In Central Sulawesi, the Ngata Toro local community manages forests by dividing them into several zones, including *arewana ngkiki, wana, pangale, pahwa pongko, oma, and balingkea*, and enforcing rules for yield-based forest conservation management and sustainable use, while emphasizing the importance of balance and cooperation. reciprocal nature of its application (Yuliana et al., 2017). Meanwhile, if a disaster occurs in Padang, local wisdom is applied to home construction through the tradition of mutual collaboration, which is bolstered in rural areas by fundraising by the Minang community overseas based on villages, tribes, and regions (Damsar & Indrayani, 2018).

**Table 3. Actors and Participant involved**

NO	ACTORS AND PARTICIPANT INVOLVED	CODING
1.	I purchased a sarong on Ashura as a type of mappasagena. (An interview with Abdullah, religious leader, on 23 January 2019)	Religious leader buy clothes to donate
2.	Ashura Day is a lucky day for me since it is a day when my sales turnover is fairly high, but this does not imply that I only make profit, but I certainly also donate to charity. (An interview, a trader, on 27 December 2019)	Traders make a sale and giving alms

**Table 4. Mappasagena Becomes a Social Practice**

NO	SOCIAL PRACTICE FACTOR	CODING
1	<i>We continue the custom since it is practiced by a large number of my neighbors. This demonstrates that a large number of individuals support the action.</i> (An interview with Aliah on 21 December 2019)	Following what the neighbors are doing.
2	<i>My relatives and I, even though we reside in different locations, continue to follow this practice since our predecessors set an example, and we feel something is missing when we disregard it.</i> (An interview with Mrs Wellang on 27 December 2019)	When mappasagena is disregarded, there is a sense that something is missing.
3	<i>When I brought seven varieties of porridge to the mosque to be eaten together while breaking the fast (iftar), alhamdulillah, a large number of people attended, indicating that they approve of the activity.</i> (An interview with Mrs Rosdianah on 23 January 2019)	On the Day of Ashura, a communal iftar is held at the mosque.

## 2.2. Religious ritual—Tradition

Tradition is critical in the identity process through which history is used to validate the past (Zamora & Romero, 2019). Kryvoruchko (2019) asserts that tradition takes the form of ceremonies, epics, and pictures. This attitude is defined by anything other than rationality, while also exerting a significant effect through syncretism and synergism, which are frequently suggestive in their ability to exert a great influence on the human mind and imagination. The religious tradition is founded on the ideas of revelation and faith (Kryvoruchko, 2019). Essentially, religious rituals result in a more comprehensive growth than superstition, and this holistic development is evaluated via four lenses: 1) physiology; 2) emotions; 3) intelligence; and 4) spirituality (Maranise, 2013). There are two distinct religious traditions in this case: Sufi (mystical tradition) and sharia-centric tradition (Salim, 2013). Within the context of oneness, efforts to approach specific religious traditions do not take into account a person’s level of faith (Watts, 2011).

According to Marx R. Woodward, Islam in Java is best understood as a religion with two distinct kinds of religiosity, namely normative piety and Sufi tradition (Salim, 2013). The Javanese combine the two modes in a variety of ways to create four distinct types of traditional practices. The first category consists of reformist *santri* (students studying Islamic religious education at a boarding school) who comprehend piety solely. Meanwhile, the second is another group of *santri* who combine normative piety and mysticism. The third is a group of aristocrats who adopt radical Sufi mystical concepts—concepts that are antithetical to conventional piety. Additionally, the last group consists of non-*santri* peasants who embrace the religion associated with noble families. In Japan, human rights discourses found in traditions such as the Jōdo Shinshū, Jōdoshū, and



Table 5. Psychological Factor		
NO	PSIKOLOGICAL FACTOR	CODING
1	<i>Every year on Ashura Day, I make seven kinds of porridge and distribute it to my neighbors. My intention is sincerely to share with others, so I feel calm and do not feel that I am experiencing extreme economic difficulties because I believe that alms are multiplied by Allah ta'ala. (An interview with Mrs Isa on 16 January 2019)</i>	Feeling calm and spacious
2	<i>I'm not sure whether the generosity of grace and peace of mind I experience are a result of the traditions I follow on a regular basis, but it's clear that I believe in them. (An interview with Isnaini on 11 January 2019)</i>	The belief that the generosity of sustenance is the result of the regular custom.

Table 6. Spiritual Factor		
NO	SPIRITUAL FACTOR	CODING
1	<i>On the day Ashura 10th of Muharram, after I finished eating at a stall, I paid my meal and I also paid for the food of someone I didn't know, and I'm sure he didn't know me either. My aim is genuine, and I am not anticipating any rewards from that person. I ate at a different booth a few days later and was astonished when the cashier informed me that the bill had been paid by someone seated in the corner. I was taken aback and then realized what I'd done in Ashura day. I believe that what happened to me a recompense from Allah for the previous sincere acts. (An interview with Andi on 2 February 2019)</i>	Blessings that come from Allah ta'ala from unexpected directions
2	<i>I've never encountered anything that I believe is connected to the customs that I frequently engage in. However, I noticed my neighbour, who prays and invites meals on Ashura day on a regular basis. My neighbour's children could all graduated from college and got jobs. Is this a result of mappasagena? Wallahu a'lam. (An interview with Imanda on 15 January 2019)</i>	Blessing of mappasagena practice
3	<i>I have never spent Ashura without engaging in activities associated with the traditions that I think bring good fortune, but I am unable to specify which conveniences in my life are the results of all of this. What is certain is that genuine intentions always result in goodness. (An interview with Yusnia, on 16 January 2019)</i>	Avoid missing Ashura, as the custom is considered to provide sustenance

Sōtōshū demonstrate how Western ideals are reconciled with Buddhist religious conceptions, allowing for the re-establishment of local religious identities (Dessi, 2012). Religious rituals are woven into the overall pattern of market routines in Colombo's Pettah, Sri Lanka, with a variety of other customs—both personal and social symbols—that influence sales methods, with the borders between sacred and secular continually blurring (McKinley, 2016).

### 2.3. Believe system—Religious believe

Because devotees of major faiths think their religion is unique and true, they believe that public entities affirming the universal truth of all religions in the name of “neutrality” or secular principles will be incorrect (Arthur, 2011). Meanwhile, Sosis (2019) argues that a religious system lacking organization (authority) will fail to impart meaning (significance), abandon ceremonial activities (rituals), impose no restrictions on activities (taboo), be incapable of sanctifying anything (sacred), offer beings capable of transcending the natural world (supernatural agents), and fail to establish social commitment (moral obligations), or provides a narrative that can link all of these elements together into an explanatory framework (myth). The philosophical religious system in this situation is split into three levels: doctrinal, psychotechnical, and logical-discursive (Lenkov, 2019).

**Table 7. Belief about The Abundance of Sustenance based on the Qur'an**

NO	BELIEF ABOUT THE ABUNDANCE OF SUSTENANCE BASED ON THE QUR'AN	CODING
1	<i>I am not religious, but there is one notion that I strongly believe, namely, Allah says that as long as we ask for Allah's sustenance, He will fulfil our needs. (QS. Al-Mu'min/40:60) (An interview with Sirajuddin on 2 February 2019)</i>	Al-Qur'an: "Ask Me and I will grant (accept)"
2	<i>Every time I engage in an activity, whether linked to the mappasagena tradition or not, if accompanied by a strong belief, about 80% of the effort is effective; yet, when I question my efforts, the outcomes are likewise unsatisfactory. (An interview with Islamiyah on 18 February 2019)</i>	Stop being doubtful. Be firm and be sure.

**Table 8. Functional Aspect**

NO	FUNCTIONAL ASPECT	CODING
1	<i>I participated in the traditional mappasagena activities without feeling obligated, and afterwards, I felt at ease since I had participated in mappasagena activities. (An interview with Aso on 2 February 2019)</i>	Feeling the serenity during mappasagena
2	<i>I always follow Mappasagena activities with a happy and hopeful heart and I believe that tomorrow will be better than today (An interview with Indo Tang on 2 February 2019)</i>	A hope for a better future
3	<i>Muharram is a month that I always look forward to because I feel pleased and joyful when I participate in the mappasagena activity, which is followed by the optimism that life will improve in the future. (An interview on 29 January 2019)</i>	A hope for a better future

In terms of health, those who have a strong spiritual/religious believe in Allah have a favorable health state (Waheed et al., 2011). In this situation, those who are more religious and engage in religious activities on a regular basis will have better health and social circles. In Sub-Saharan Africa's Sahel region, the religious system was formed on the basis of social and religious institutions that supplanted the previous monarchical system. This region has a religious system that is profane, extremely political, and administrative in nature (Oros, 2017). Buryats in Siberia have developed into a culturally varied people split along main lines, which presents complications when the religious system is used for modern nation-building goals (Nowicka & Połec, 2019). While some Buryats advocate universal Buddhist adoption, others adhere to shamanic traditions. The conflict stems from the notion that shamanism is widespread across the Buryat-occupied nation, but Buddhism is only territorially confined.

### 3. Methods

The Municipality of Parepare, Pinrang Regency, and Wajo Regency in South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia, were chosen as research locations. The Mappasagena tradition was observed by researchers at five commemorations of this ritual. This study gathered data from primary and secondary sources. The major sources are Ashura-related information found in Islamic literature, particularly historical literature. We were unable to locate written materials on Mappasagena, therefore we turned to Ashura literature. Meanwhile, secondary sources include books, journals, and other relevant resources.

This is a qualitative study. Religious leaders and members of the general public were questioned as informants. We extracted the necessary data from the informants using an unstructured interview approach. Religious leaders were chosen as informants because they are the key to explaining this practice from a religious standpoint. We interviewed at least three religious leaders. Meanwhile, we interviewed twenty people from a variety of backgrounds, including farmers, public

Table 9. Social Reproduction Aspect		
NO	SOCIAL REPRODUCTION ASPECT	CODING
1	<i>I am overjoyed on Ashura days since I make more profit than on other days. (An interview with Isnaini, a glassware seller, on 3 February 2019)</i>	Increasing turnover
2	<i>For me and other youngsters, Ashura Day is the porridge day (laughing), since there are always people bringing porridge to the mosque, and we eat along with people who live around the neighborhood and the regular mosque attendees. (An interview with Budi and friends, on 2 February 2019)</i>	Communal feast

servants, and others. After data collection, interpretative approaches are used to attempt to translate the data by evaluating it in relation to concepts of indigenous knowledge, religious tradition, and belief systems. These three principles are critical in understanding how the Buginese community of South Sulawesi perform the Mappasagena tradition.

**4. Results**

**4.1. The understanding of Mappasagena culture in the Buginese community's practiced in the Ashura Day celebrations**

The practice of mappasagena culture during the celebration of Ashura Day in the Buginese Society of South Sulawesi has evolved into an annual custom that is now consistently carried out by the community. At the very least, the following three parts provide an overview of this culture: The understanding of mappasagena in the community; events in Ashura; and the players and individuals involved are all discussed.

According to Muhammad Amin (interview with Muhammad Amin, 2019), the mappasagena custom was established in the 1950s with the goal of obtaining an abundance of good fortune. Initially, this custom was performed by religious leaders in parts of South Sulawesi, but it has now spread throughout the country. Tradition is viewed as a means of finding ease and sufficiency in one's life in the upcoming year by most people. Peace is brought about by the Buginese community's knowledge of this heritage, because of their faith toward Al-Qur'an which started that, and nothing do ye spend in the least (in his cause) but He replaces it: for He is the best of those who grant sustenance. (QS. Saba/34: 39). A social ritual that is carried out on Ashura Day, on the 10th of Muharram, is known as Mappasagena (mostly) among the Buginese community. It is based on the belief that the month of Muharram is a month of grace and favors. Their belief is that whoever spends time supplying (i.e., purchasing needs and charity) on that particular day would likewise benefit from their efforts in the next year. Every year, during the month of Muharram, which coincides with the tenth Day of Ashura, a ceremony of this nature is performed and has become a hereditary custom in the community. However, there are others who perform it the day before or after, specifically on the 11th or 13th of Muharram, depending on the circumstances of their situation.

**Table 1.** The Mappasagena Tradition as Perceived by The Community

According to the four sources, Ashura's day is a significant day in essence. Numerous types of buying are put off till that day arrives, in the idea that if shopping on that day is inexpensive, the fortune of a year will arrive, since that day is an efficient day for widening fortune. On the other side, other informants said that they were simply carrying on their ancestors' traditions.

Second is on Ashura-related activities. The community's ingrained belief in a day filled with blessings motivates them to fill the day with activities such as shopping for good fortune and preparing seven varieties of porridge. They engage in activities/rituals or practices such as purchasing everyday needs

like as clothing, but the most significant item is cooking equipment associated with fortune-making, such as dippers, buckets, *tampi* (kitchen tools for cleaning rice, paddy, soybeans, and so on), and baskets. (An interview conducted with Mrs Aliah on 21 December 2019). As mentioned by the following informant, this consuming habit is also practiced by those with a lower economic status

*We are an economically disadvantaged group that, unlike the rest of the population, cannot afford to purchase various types of equipment. Our parents used to purchase only salt that we could consume for an extended period of time.* (An interview with Mrs Ji'ranah on 27 December 2019)

Attempting to purchase such tools is referred to as mappasagena. In Buginese culture, the word refers to self-sufficiency in order to purchase household items. Along with consuming habits, the community offers donations on Ashura, as seen in the following interview:

#### Table 2. Activities on the Day of Ashura

According to interview quotes from these informants, Ashura Day activities include purchasing or shopping for items in order to receive blessings in the form of ease in life in the following year. Making porridge in a variety of colors to ensure that the fortunes gained vary from year to year. The porridge is handed to neighbours, delivered to the mosque, and occasionally used to purchase clothing for the less fortunate. This porridge is typically cooked using white sticky rice, black sticky rice, red sticky rice, green beans, white beans, sesame, bananas, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, and corn as ingredients.

Thirdly is regarding the actors and participants (including members of communities): family-based practice. According to the results of interviews, it appears that the Buginese community typically do the mappasagena rituals/activities in every family working as market vendors, homemakers, local leaders, employees, and farmers, and some even from the families of religious leaders. Except for those who do not believe it or have little time for it, as demonstrated in the following interview:

The Mappasagena tradition is practiced by several groups of the Buginese community. This practice involves market vendors, homemakers, religious leaders, local leaders, employees, and farmers.

#### Table 3. Actors and Participant Involved

This shows that even the families of religious leaders also participate in shopping so that they will also be given blessings in the next year, as well as traders who are basically centres of consumption of goods and also give alms so that they will be given many conveniences in life in the next year.

#### **4.2. Factors People's Belief Toward Al-Qur'an that The Mappasagena tradition is rewarded speciousness of sustenance and blessing of life**

The Buginese community's belief in the Mappasagena tradition, which gives them prosperity, is hereditary and extensively practiced at all levels of social status. The people think that by following this custom, their lives would be blessed with wealth, sufficiency, and ease in daily life. The belief in the blessings obtained through the Mapasagena tradition is based on three factors: *first*, the Mapasagena tradition has become a socially legitimized social practice; *second*, both traditional practices are believed to have psychological consequences for the devotees; and *third*, both traditional practices are believed to have spiritual consequences, specifically the belief in the adequacy and ease with which they can accomplish their goals. Society believe and faith of Allah's words (QS. Al-Thalaq/65: 3) that Allah will provide sustenance from any direction he did not expect and Allah will suffice his needs.

To begin, the Mappasagena practice is transformed into a social practice with social validity, one that is carried out as part of a daily social routine. Several informants stated that they carry out the custom in response to the community's environment:

**Table 4.** Mappasagena Become a Social Practice

According to the informants, the social mood has become the driving factor behind Buginese community's continued tradition. Because it has developed into a communal attitude, it appears as though all Buginese people take out this ritual joyfully. This behavior, which has been passed down from generation to generation, develops a tradition that is continually carried out by the community, to the point that people feel something is missing when they attempt to disregard it. They are concerned that their optimistic expectations would be shattered in the following year.

Second, practicing this custom has psychological consequences for the actors in the form of inner serenity and satisfaction, as shown by the informants in the following table:

**Table 5.** Psychological Factor

According to the informants, the inner state tends to be peaceful and tranquil as a result of the mappasagena tradition, which they practice by sharing with others with pure and sincere intentions and the conviction that every act of devotion performed by a servant would be doubled by Allah ta'ala. Giving alms—whether on Ashura or any other day—is one of the Prophet's instructions, and Allah ta'ala doubles the benefit for those who offer charity. This is why the Buginese community contributes on Ashura day.

Thirdly, the practice of these traditions has spiritual implications, such as the conviction in their own sufficiency and comfort. Based on Al-Qur'an statement that who will loan to Allah a beautiful loan which Allah will double unto his credit and multiply many times. It is Allah giveth (you) want or plenty (QS.Al-Baqarah/2: 245). This corresponds to the statements made by the informants in the following table:

**Table 6.** Spiritual Factor

According to the informants' statements, the mappasagena activities that they engaged in sincerely got unexpected rewards. According to the data above, their trust in what they did on Mappasagena day had a significant positive impact and resulted in abundant rewards. This demonstrates that Allah doubled the reward for these people's actions.

#### **4.3. Aspects contributing to the continuation of the Mappasagena tradition**

Due to a variety of causes, this custom has persisted in the Buginese community since their ancestors. The first aspect is their belief, based on the Qur'an and hadith, that they would get bountiful prosperity. The second is the functional aspect (serenity and peacefulness). Thirdly, there is a social reproduction aspect, which means that there are parties that benefit from the tradition.

To begin, the belief in bountiful fortune is founded on the Qur'an and hadith. For instance, there is a hadith that says religious charities refuse calamity. Additionally, a Qur'anic order states, "Ask Me and I will grant (accept)" (QS. Al-Mu'min [40]: 60). They receive the wealth they anticipate as a result of their determination and a strong belief that provides good energy for achieving their objectives. This is evident from the informants' comments.

**Table 7.** Belief about The Abundance of Sustenance based on the Qur'an

According to the following informants, any activity or good behavior, whether linked to the Mappasagena tradition or not, would be accomplished if accompanied by a strong belief. These findings show that a strong belief has a significant role in assisting individuals in achieving their goals.

Second, as indicated by the following informants, the functional aspect, which refers to serenity, is one of the factors that also influences the routine of activity:

#### Table 8. Functional Aspect

According to the interviews results presented above, Ashura is the day that the Buginese community has been waiting for, and they celebrate it by participating in Mappasagena festivities. They wish for a beautiful and prosperous future.

Third, the social reproduction aspect is one of the factors that contribute to the continuation of a tradition, namely the parties that benefit from the tradition.

#### Table 9. Social Reproduction Aspect

The interview data above is based on the perspectives of traders and people with other professions. They expressed their pleasure with Mappasagena. After all, that was the day on which individuals got unexpected blessings as a result of their willingness to donate (an interview, Indra, 29 January 2019). According to the interview data, the mappasagena activities on Ashura day also contributed to the formation of friendships and the assistance and care of others. The Buginese culture is welcoming and sociable, which is a feature of rural communities that contributes to the preservation of a particular custom or rite in society.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1. Mappasagena: Religious belief and local wisdom

Mappasagena is a long-running tradition that is eagerly expected by the Buginese community of South Sulawesi. Mappasagena is a day of grace and blessings for them, and as such, they practice buying tradition and giving charity as ways of developing a strong belief and hope for a better year ahead. The momentum of Ashura wrapped in Mappasagena in the Buginese culture is a long-standing kind of local wisdom. The community works to interpret and modernise the Ashura festival in a way that is compatible with the social environment in which the Buginese community lives. Buying goods indicates a way of life for the Buginese community, who are predominantly traders. This is their attempt to control and care for the behaviors that have developed around them.

The Ashura expression embodied in Mappasagena is a type of discourse that demonstrates how big traditions (read: Asyura) and small traditions (read: the Buginese community's way of celebrating Ashura) create a channeling practice. In this situation, big and small traditions should complement one another (channeling) rather than compete, and small traditions' narratives should be abandoned. Giving charity is a behavior that Islam encourages, particularly on the Day of Ashura. However, buying (purchasing) is a local practice of the Buginese community which later becomes one in the expression of Mappasagena. Pabbajah (2018) demonstrates that the religious tradition that emerged in Buginese is founded on two principles: *first*, ancient beliefs derived from ancestral traditions, and *second*, Islamic ideas. These two elements were subsequently combined in Buginese Land's rites and religious celebrations.

Asyura day tradition of Muharram is practised in various ethnic groups in Indonesia as expression of understanding toward Al-Qur'an that provide ample sustenance for those who spend their wealth, as stated in (QS.Al-Thalaaq/65: 7). In Bengkulu, the tradition is practiced in the form of Tabut ceremony, held with a banquet and a procession; in Aceh, it is called month of Asan Usin; in

West Sumatra, it is known as Tabuik; and it is referred as Kirab in Yogyakarta. This tradition is also held by Banjar tribe in Kalimantan by making porridge out of rice and a mixture of 41 kinds of ingredients derived from vegetables, tubers and beans, then served as an iftar dish on Ashura day.

### **5.2. Mappasagena culture has survived to the present day due to religious tradition factors**

The community's practice of the Mappasagena custom, along with a firm belief in good rewards, is a significant reason for their eagerness to accept this tradition. At this stage, the religious tradition lends credibility to the Mappasagena tradition, convincing people to continue practicing it and ensuring that those who do so will have a better life. This idea is seen in the practice of charitable giving on the day of Mappasagena, which is the embodiment of the Ashura practice, which is based on the Prophet's understanding that completing good actions during Muharram and the other three holy months will result in a twofold reward. Additionally, on the Day of Ashura, it is advised to provide charity and assist orphans (because the Day of Ashura is also called the feast of orphans). This religious tradition (Ashura) ensures that the Mappasagena tradition remains relevant and is carried out by the Buginese community.

The tables in Section 4.2. demonstrates that this tradition has psychological and functional consequences that are perceived immediately by those who practice it. Mappasagena, as a religious tradition, at the very least contributes to the strengthening of people's emotions and spirituality. First, the emotion and spirituality emerged in the spirit of achieving something greater the next year. Secondly, individuals experience peace of mind as a result of their participation in this tradition. The last one is a sense of the emergence of ease in daily life. These psychological effects reinforce the case for practicing this Mappasagena custom.

On the day of Ashura, some countries also perform rituals such as ta'ziyah in Iran, namely the drama of Husain's martyrdom. Artistic interpretation of the giant Husain Mausoleum in India and Pakistan. Hosay in the Caribbean, as well as nakhli and raudhah khvani in southern Iraq. In Arab countries, Yazidi groups celebrate the holiday as a joyous occasion. All of the rituals are influenced by Shia tradition and the rituals are performed to demonstrate a willingness to sacrifice one's soul, property, and family. It is also as a symbol and a memorial to Husain's martyrdom in Karbala. The understanding of the Qur'an (QS. Al-Taubah/ 9:111) become the trigger of the existence of Ashura Day celebration on a global scale, which emphasizes that Allah will reward the spacious of sustenance in the world and heaven in the hereafter for those who are willing to sacrifice in the way of Allah with their wealth and even their souls.

### **5.3. Belief system: Islamic values practiced in the Mappasagena tradition**

Mappasagena continues to exist socially in Buginese community as a result of the social mood that underpins their devotion to this custom. Nonetheless, the continuation of a traditional practice cannot be disentangled from the involvement of agents and actors endowed with fundamental strength, be it structural and cultural. Indeed, if these two foundations of a custom are upheld, the tradition is likely to endure for an extended period of time, ensuring that the social mood necessary to carry out the practice is maintained. These two fundamental strengths appear to be possessed by the players associated with the Mappasagena tradition. These performers then perpetually replicate and transmit the significance of this custom for the future of the entire community, since this tradition, for example, instills a sense of hope in the Buginese people for the coming year.

The availability of religious actors or agents who function as cultural brokers and can explain how religious traditions may coexist with indigenous traditions is a significant factor for the survival of this tradition today. As has been seen, the Buginese community is impacted significantly by ancestral beliefs and religious teachings. As a result, it appears that the syncretic manner of thinking in the Buginese community's religious thinking structure is rather impressive. However, in the instance of Mappasagena, the religious authority, in this case Islam, wields considerable influence over modifying and developing the Buginese community's traditional phenomenon.

Understanding of the Qur'an verses concerning islamic values contained in it have been practiced, namely giving alms that will bring generosity of sustenance and the most perfect reward (QS. Al-Najm/ 53: 39–41)

## 6. Conclusion

The Mappasagena custom is an Ashura tradition among the Buginese community of South Sulawesi, as demonstrated in this paper. This tradition attempts to reconcile Ashura rites with Buginese traditional customs. Consumption or purchase of products on Mappasagena day is a Buginese trading tradition. Meanwhile, activities such as sharing porridge with people at the mosque and having a feast at the mosque are Ashura-recommended customs. The survival of this custom is inextricably linked to the influence or factors perceived immediately by the community, as well as the anticipation for a more prosperous year ahead. Through the engagement of religious leaders and traders who invigorate this tradition, it has developed into a practice that is still practiced and trusted by the community today.

The use of these three concepts in this paper demonstrates the importance of belief systems and local wisdom in examining how the relationship between religion and local wisdom is manifested in this mappasagena tradition, such that the relationship between religion and local culture becomes complementary. According to Lenkov's (2019) classification, the community's belief system regarding the Buginese version of Ashura Day is logical-discursive, implying that a religious practice exists in society as a form of discursive dialogue between Islamic tradition (Ashura) and trading habits, such as buying and selling, and ancestral traditions such as making porridge. This paper demonstrates that the Buginese community of South Sulawesi believe, practice, and perpetuate the Mappasagena tradition through diverse interpretations of religious scriptures and local wisdom. This paper serves as a gateway to the Mappasagena tradition, which has received no scholarly attention. Of course, as an introductory study, the scope of this research is still very limited, indicating that additional research on this tradition is required and is still very much open to being conducted, such as a historical study of Mappasagena, which is distinct from Ashura expressions in other locations that are influenced by Shia traditions.

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## Author details

Andi Miswar<sup>1</sup>

E-mail: [andi.miswar@uin-alauddin.ac.id](mailto:andi.miswar@uin-alauddin.ac.id)

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-9777-9115>

Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy<sup>2</sup>

E-mail: [Saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id](mailto:Saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id)

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6920-9740>

Irwan Abdullah<sup>3</sup>

E-mail: [Irwanabdullah6@gmail.com](mailto:Irwanabdullah6@gmail.com)

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0715-7057>

Halimah Basri<sup>4</sup>

E-mail: [Halimah.basri@uin-alauddin.ac.id](mailto:Halimah.basri@uin-alauddin.ac.id)

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-5850-4039>

Hamka Hasan<sup>5</sup>

E-mail: [hamkahasan@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:hamkahasan@uinjkt.ac.id)

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3000-3777>

<sup>1</sup> Faculty of Adab and Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia.

<sup>2</sup> Faculty of Theology, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta.

<sup>3</sup> Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Gajah Mada Yogyakarta.

<sup>4</sup> Departement of Islamic Constitutional Law, Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar.

<sup>5</sup> Faculty of Islamic Religion, Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

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## Gender Equity in Inheritance System: The Collaboration of Islamic and Bugis Luwu Customary Law

**Andi Sukmawati Assaad**

*Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palopo, Indonesia*  
email: [hj.a.sukma@iainpalopo.ac.id](mailto:hj.a.sukma@iainpalopo.ac.id)

**Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy**

*Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia*  
email: [saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id](mailto:saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id)

**Baso Hasyim**

*Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palopo, Indonesia*  
email: [basohasyim@iainpalopo.ac.id](mailto:basohasyim@iainpalopo.ac.id)

**Muhammad Taufan Badollahi**

*Universitas Islam Negeri Datokarama Palu, Indonesia*  
email: [mtaufan@uindatokarama.ac.id](mailto:mtaufan@uindatokarama.ac.id)

**Abdul Wahid Haddade**

*Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, Indonesia*  
email: [wahid.haddade@uin-alauddin.ac.id](mailto:wahid.haddade@uin-alauddin.ac.id)

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### Abstract:

This article is the result of research on the cultural heritage of the Bugis people of Luwu, South Sulawesi. The research questions that were raised were: how is inheritance practiced among the indigenous people of Bugis Luo, what is the meeting point of inheritance between Islamic law and customary law, and how do Islamic law and customary law combine to create gender. Primary data was collected through in-depth and structured interviews, as well as on-site observation. The analysis was performed using interpretive methods. The study was conducted by analyzing the

Author correspondence email: [hj.a.sukma@iainpalopo.ac.id](mailto:hj.a.sukma@iainpalopo.ac.id)

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regulations related to the legal issues discussed by analyzing the laws and comparing the decisions of the Luwu and Bugis courts with the perspective of customary law and Islamic law. The analysis used in this study resulted in women and men being equal. Bugis Luwu Sulawesi has a pluralistic hereditary system with both Islamic and traditional elements. Equal rights and rules are general ideas. This research is based on the proposed mixed inheritance model: *masssideppungeng* that links the heirs to family, government, and religious customary authorities, the distribution of assets to field conditions, and proportionally identifies the needs, wants, and goals of the inheritors.

**Keywords:**

Gender equity, Legal Collaboration, Inheritance Systems, Customary Communities (Bugis)

**Abstrak:**

Artikel ini merupakan hasil penelitian tentang budaya warisan masyarakat Bugis di Luwu, Sulawesi Selatan. Pertanyaan penelitian yang diangkat adalah: bagaimana pewarisan dipraktikkan di antara masyarakat adat Bugis Luwu, apa titik temu warisan antara hukum Islam dan hukum adat serta bagaimana hukum Islam dan hukum adat saling berpadu untuk menciptakan kesetaraan gender. Data primer dikumpulkan melalui wawancara mendalam dan terstruktur, serta observasi di tempat. Analisis dilakukan dengan menggunakan metode interpretatif. Kajian dilakukan dengan menganalisis peraturan-peraturan yang terkait dengan masalah hukum yang dibahas dengan analisis undang-undang dan membandingkan putusan pengadilan Luwu dan Bugis dengan perspektif hukum adat dan hukum Islam. Analisis yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini mengarah pada temuan bahwa perempuan dan laki-laki mewarisi secara tidak setara. Bugis Luwu Sulawesi memiliki sistem pewarisan pluralistik dengan unsur Islam dan tradisional. Persamaan hak dan peraturan terikat adalah ide umum. Penelitian ini mengusulkan model warisan blended: *masssideppungeng* yang menghubungkan ahli waris, keluarga, pemerintah, dan otoritas adat agama, pembagian harta berdasarkan kondisi lapangan, dan proporsional mendefinisikan kebutuhan, keinginan, dan tujuan

ahli waris.

**Kata Kunci:**

Kesetaraan Gender; Kolaborasi Hukum; Pembagian Waris;  
Masyarakat Adat; Bugis Luwu

**Introduction**

Inheritance law regulation is one of the arrangements that are quite complex and frequently causes us problems in daily life. Inequitable inheritance distribution frequently results in disagreements between relatives and families, which are subsequently litigated in court.<sup>1</sup> One of the causes of this unfairness is that many indigenous communities in Indonesia continue to practice their traditional inheritance system while being Muslim such Buginese Communities in Luwu,<sup>2</sup> South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Traditional preservation is vitally important for indigenous peoples, but religion must take precedence. Therefore, it is necessary to unite customary with Islamic law, including in the area of inheritance. Studies of inheritance law and religion have been common. Numerous researchers, for example, have investigated the link between local customs and Islam (Febriawanti & Mansur;<sup>3</sup> Fikri & Wahidin;<sup>4</sup> Pongoliu;<sup>5</sup> Siska, Firman, & Rusdinal;<sup>6</sup> Haniru.<sup>7</sup> Others have

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<sup>1</sup> Jasni Sulong, "Kedudukan Mazhab Syafi'i Dalam Amalan Pembahagian Pusaka Dan Wasiat Islam Di Malaysia," *Jurnal Syariah* 16, no. 1 (2008): 163-83.

<sup>2</sup> Asbudi Dwi Saputra, "Pembagian Harta Waris Menurut Sistem Kewarisan Hukum Adat Rongkong Studi Masyarakat Adat Desa Marampa Kecamatan Rongkong Kabupaten Luwu Utara," *Journal I La Galigo : Public Administration Journal* 3, no. 1 (July 7, 2020): 24-31, <https://doi.org/10.35914/ILAGALIGO.394>.

<sup>3</sup> Dinta Febriawanti and Intan Apriyanti Mansur, "Dinamika Hukum Waris Adat Di Masyarakat Bali Pada Masa Sekarang," *Media Iuris* 3, no. 2 (July 2020): 119, <https://doi.org/10.20473/mi.v3i2.18754>.

<sup>4</sup> Fikri, "(Peer Review) Konsepsi Hukum Waris Islam dan Hukum Waris Adat: Analisis Kontekstualisasi dalam Masyarakat Bugis."

<sup>5</sup> Usman Jafar, Mawardi Djalaluddin, Nur Taufiq Sanusi, "Eksistensi Hukum Waris Adat dalam Masyarakat Muslim di Kota Gorontalo dalam Perspektif Sejarah," *Jurnal Diskursus Islam* 6, no. 2 (August 24, 2018): 361-401, <https://doi.org/10.24252/jdi.v6i2.6866>.

<sup>6</sup> Eti Siska, Firman Firman, Rusdinal Rusdinal, "Pergeseran Hukum Waris Adat di Minangkabau (Studi Kasus: Hukum Warisan Tanah Ulayat di Nagari Ladang

investigated the intersection between inheritance law and gender; Haque;<sup>8</sup> Ahmad, Batool, & Dziegielewski;<sup>9</sup> Gultom;<sup>10</sup> Ezeilo;<sup>11</sup> Doss;<sup>12</sup> Mostofa<sup>13</sup>). Although some attempts have been made to address this issue, it is still a lack of how customary and Islamic law combines to reach gender equity.

The concept of gender equity refers to the situation wherein men and women are treated as equals. This concept is usually informed by the concept of justice, particularly in the division of rights and responsibilities between the sexes.<sup>14</sup> As argued by

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Panjang Kecamatan Tigo Nagari, Kabupaten Pasaman, Sumatera Barat),” *Culture & Society: Journal of Anthropological Research* 1, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 157–63, <https://doi.org/10.24036/csjar.v1i2.26>.

<sup>7</sup> Rahmat Haniru, “Hukum Waris di Indonesia Perspektif Hukum Islam dan Hukum Adat,” *Al-Hukama’: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law* 4, no. 2 (2014): 456–74.

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Faizul Haque et al., “Women Rights to Inheritance in Muslim Family Law: An Analytical Study,” *International Journal of Islamic Business & Management* 4, no. 1 (April 2020): 15–26, <https://doi.org/10.46281/ijibm.v4i1.543>.

<sup>9</sup> Mahtab Ahmad, Moazma Batool, and Sophia F Dziegielewski, “State of Inheritance Rights: Women in a Rural District in Pakistan,” *Journal of Social Service Research* 42, No. 5 (October 19, 2016): 622–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2016.1177633>.

<sup>10</sup> Elfrida R Gultom, “Development of Women Position in the Patrilineal Inheritance of Indonesian Society,” *Jurnal Dinamika Hukum* 17, no. 2 (May 31, 2017): 194, <https://doi.org/10.20884/1.jdh.2017.17.2.886>.

<sup>11</sup> Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, “Rethinking Women and Customary Inheritance in Nigeria,” *Commonwealth Law Bulletin* 47, no. 4 (October 2021): 706–18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050718.2020.1818596>.

<sup>12</sup> Cheryl Doss et al., “Women, Marriage and Asset Inheritance in Uganda,” *Development Policy Review* 30, no. 5 (September 2012): 597–616, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7679.2012.00590.x>.

<sup>13</sup> Md Mostofa, “Rules and Practices of Women’s Inheritance Rights in Islam: Bangladesh Perspective,” *International Journal of Islamic Business & Management* 3, no. 1 (April 2019): 14–20, <https://doi.org/10.46281/ijibm.v3i1.245>.

<sup>14</sup> Shannon M Ruzycki et al., “Association of Physician Characteristics With Perceptions and Experiences of Gender Equity in an Academic Internal Medicine Department,” *JAMA Network Open* 2, no. 11 (November 2019): e1915165, <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2019.15165>. See also Maimun, Ainul Haq Nawawi, Abdul Haq Syawqi “The Development of Fiqh Munākahah (Marriage Jurisprudence) Material Course in Madurese Islamic Universities and Its Relation with Gender Equality and Divorce Prevention,” *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 15, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/al->

Sharma and Sharma, gender equity means that men and women have equal access to opportunities, without any biases against them.<sup>15</sup> Carter writes that gender justice means that men and women must not be subjected to fixed roles, subordination, marginalization, or violence.<sup>16</sup> As such, Sharma and Sharma identify four indicators of gender equity: (1) access; (2) participation; (3) control; and (4) fair and equitable benefits.<sup>17</sup> In this context, awareness of the need for gender equity is influenced by social and cultural constructions that distinguish between the sexes and their specific roles and responsibilities.<sup>18</sup> As written by Bericat, gender equity is necessary to address the gendered structural inequalities that exist within society.<sup>19</sup>

Inheritance systems are part of the traditional customs that remain practiced around the world. Referring to Febriawanti and Mansur, inheritance systems are those systems that ascertain the legitimacy of heirs and manage the division of assets (wealth, property, and knowledge) amongst them.<sup>20</sup> Cooper writes that

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Ihkam.v15i2.2734. Murjani Lilik Andar Yuni, "Gender Sensitivity at Judge's Verdicts in Samarinda and Magelang Religious Courts; The Implementation of PERMA Number 03 of 2017," *Al Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 15, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.19105/al-ihkam.v15i2.2714>.

<sup>15</sup> Radha R Sharma and Neha P Sharma, "Opening the Gender Diversity Black Box: Causality of Perceived Gender Equity and Locus of Control and Mediation of Work Engagement in Employee Well-Being," *Frontiers in Psychology* 6 (2015): 1371.

<sup>16</sup> Michael Carter, "Gender Socialization and Identity Theory," *Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (May 2014): 242-63, <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci3020242>.

<sup>17</sup> Sharma and Sharma, "Opening the Gender Diversity Black Box: Causality of Perceived Gender Equity and Locus of Control and Mediation of Work Engagement in Employee Well-Being."

<sup>18</sup> Sue Jackson, "Young Feminists, Feminism and Digital Media," *Feminism & Psychology* 28, no. 1 (February 2018): 32-49, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0959353517716952>. dalam Muhammad Fahmi *et al.*, "Media Representations Of Gender: The Marginalization Of Female Muslim Scholars In Indonesia," *Journal of Critical Reviews* 7, no. 05 (March 1, 2020), <https://doi.org/10.31838/jcr.07.05.44>. M S Manisha and Sunita Mangla, "Social Construction of Gender through Mediated Communication in India," *Journal of Content. Community & Communication Amity School of Communication* 9, no. 5 (2009): 64-67

<sup>19</sup> Eduardo Bericat, "The European Gender Equality Index: Conceptual and Analytical Issues," *Social Indicators Research* 108, no. 1 (2012): 1-28.

<sup>20</sup> Febriawanti, Mansur, "Dinamika Hukum Waris Adat Di Masyarakat Bali Pada Masa Sekarang."

inheritance systems may be divided into bilineal (along both maternal and paternal lines) and unilineal ones (solely along paternal [patrilineal] or maternal [matrilineal] lines).<sup>21</sup> Today, many inheritance systems are pluralistic, being a blend of formal, Islamic, and customary law.<sup>22</sup> It is also affected by factors such as (1) kinship bonds; (2) life events such as marriage, birth, and death; and (3) retirement.<sup>23</sup> This reflects the argument that inheritance law is strongly influenced by kinship systems, as a result of which each society has its means of dividing inherited assets.<sup>24</sup>

As a concept, customary society has been broadly explored in the literature.<sup>25</sup> As written by Nurhayanto and Wildan, customary societies are those that live their own lives and utilize their own worldviews.<sup>26</sup> Davidson writes that customary societies are those peoples who have existed within an area for generations and developed their own values, ideologies, politics, cultures, and territories.<sup>27</sup> In this context, customary societies have particular rights and responsibilities, which they transmit orally and performatively through their stories, expressions, and family

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<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Cooper, "Inheritance and the Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policy Considerations," *Chronic Poverty Research Centre Working Paper*, no. 159 (2010).

<sup>22</sup> Deo Andika Putra Sihombing, "Pembagian Waris Adat Masyarakat Suku Bugis di Kecamatan Enok, Kabupaten Indragiri Hilir, Provinsi Riau," *Premise Law Jurnal* 1 (2017).

<sup>23</sup> Nora Ellen Groce, Jillian London, and Michael Ashley Stein, "Inheritance, Poverty, and Disability," *Disability & Society* 29, no. 10 (2014): 1554-68; see also Khoiruddin Nasution, "PERAN KURSUS NIKAH MEMBANGUN KELUARGA SEJAHTERA," *AHKAM:Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 15, no. 2 (March 2016), <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v15i2.2862>.

<sup>24</sup> Sihombing, "Pembagian Waris Adat Masyarakat Suku Bugis di Kecamatan Enok, Kabupaten Indragiri Hilir, Provinsi Riau."

<sup>25</sup> Turnomo Rahardjo, Hapsari D Sulistyani, and Taufik Suprihatini, "Digital Media Literacy in Samin Indigeneous People," ed. Hadiyanto, Maryono, and Budi Warsito, *E3S Web of Conferences* 73 (December 2018): 14018, <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/20187314018>.

<sup>26</sup> Puji Nurhayanto and Dadan Wildan, "Transformasi Nilai-Nilai Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Adat Cireundeu," *Sosietas* 6, no. 1 (2016).

<sup>27</sup> Mohammad Mulyadi, "Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Adat dalam Pembangunan Kehutanan," *Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Dan Ekonomi Kehutanan* 10, no. 4 (2013): 224-34.



activities.<sup>28</sup> Customary societies have the freedom to establish their own rules through which they assert control of their land, territory, and resources, thereby maintaining their institutions, cultures, and traditions.<sup>29</sup>

This work is intended to address a gap left unfilled by prior research. At the macro level, this article aims to contribute to the sizable literature on customary inheritance laws and Islamic inheritance laws, as well as the processes and dynamics through which these laws have been implemented. At the micro-level, meanwhile, this study seeks to fill the gap in the literature regarding how was an inheritance practiced amongst the Bugis Luwu customary society, what the inheritance meeting points between Islamic and customary laws, and how Islamic and customary laws blended each other to create gender equity

This article argues that Indonesian inheritance law, which has been dominated by customary systems, is continuously adapting. Collaborative negotiations between Islamic law and customary systems are necessary to create gender equity. This shows that religious spaces are negotiable, adapting to various times and contexts.

## Method

This study explores the inheritance systems used by the Bugis Luwu of South Sulawesi. Various inheritance systems are recognized by the Bugis Luwu, with some being equitable and others not. Primary data were collected through an in-depth and structured interviews, as well as on-site observations at the research location. Data were collected in consideration of availability and efficiency, with the researchers living in the community, observing informants, and listening to their statements regarding their practice of inheritance. Secondary data were collected through an exploration of the literature on Islamic inheritance law,

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<sup>28</sup> Nicholas James Reo and Kyle Powys Whyte, "Hunting and Morality as Elements of Traditional Ecological Knowledge," *Human Ecology* 40, no. 1 (2012): 15-27.

<sup>29</sup> Kyle Whyte, "What Do Indigenous Knowledges Do for Indigenous Peoples?," in *Traditional Ecological Knowledge* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 57-82, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108552998.005>.

customary inheritance law, gender equity, social anthropology, and associated formal law (*Compilation of Islamic Laws, Indonesian Legal Code – Civil, etc.*). Before the research was conducted, the researchers visited the site to collect data from informants—religious leaders, customary leaders, etc.—regarding disputes. Analysis was conducted using the interpretative method.

In-depth interview was chosen to obtain detailed data and meaningful information. More importantly, it was carried out because the decisions were verbally decided and rarely written down, including in the cases discussed here. In the next stage, this study employed two methods of analysis, namely statutory and comparative analysis. The former analyzes the regulations related to the discussed legal issues. Whereas, the later step is comparing those decisions by the Luwu-Buginese practice in the perspectives of customary and Islamic law.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Gender Inequity in the Luwu Buginese Inheritance System**

The Buginese have diverse views of inheritance and kinship. Differences take place in one place and others. There are equal inheritance rights for men and women. Meanwhile, in some cases, people believe that division of the inheritance must provide sons more shares than daughters. In another case, the division of daughters is greater than sons. Meanwhile, some believe that the eldest son gets a larger share of the inheritance than his siblings. Meanwhile, another part says that the youngest child is the one who gets a larger share of the inheritance than his siblings. Furthermore, other people say that children who are most meritorious to their parents will be given a larger share of the inheritance than other siblings. Especially in Luwu, there are six types of inheritance. This system was reached from the interview and then classified into several parts as shown in table 1 below.

**Table 1. Detail Aspect of Inheritance System**

<b>Source</b>	<b>Statement</b>	<b>Inheritance systems</b>
Ikram (BP's eldest son) and Asiah, BP'S wife (wife of deceased)	BP passed in 2006, leaving a wife, 3 sons, and 3 daughters as well as a land area of 10,000 m <sup>2</sup> , 3 shop houses, and 2 houses. The land was divided evenly amongst the six children. The other assets were divided as follows; one shophouse is rented and the result is shared among the children. Meanwhile, 2 other houses, 1 house in Palopo, was given to the youngest son, and the house in Makassar was given to the third child (daughter).	Equitable rights
IS's wife (Wife of deceased)	IS left behind a wife, 4 sons, and 1 daughter. 1 house is used by the wife while the land, 850 m <sup>2</sup> , was divided for his lineage using the ratio 2:2:2:2:1 (2 for son and 1 for daughter).	Sons received a greater share than daughters
Ishak, ST's husband (Husband of deceased)	ST left behind a husband, 2 sons, and 2 daughters. The 1 shophouse, 1 house, and 500 m <sup>2</sup> land were inherited. The shophouse was given to the 2nd (son) and 3rd daughter. The house and land were divided between the other son and daughter. All the asset has not been divided yet because the	Daughters received a greater share than sons

<p>Umi, KM's daughter (Daughte r of deceased)</p>	<p>husband is still alive therefore it is owned by the husband. However, it has been announced already that in the future the asset will be divided as mentioned above KM left behind a wife, 3 sons, and 1 daughter. Assets consisted of 1 house, 380 m<sup>2</sup> of land, and 700 m<sup>2</sup> of the garden. All the assets have not been divided yet because the wife still alive. However, in the future, the land and garden will be divided with the eldest child received a larger share than the others.</p>	<p>The eldest child received the greatest share</p>
<p>Waru, HS's wife (wife of deceased)</p>	<p>HS left behind a wife, 3 sons, and 4 daughters. Assets consisted of two houses and one car. A car was given to the youngest daughter. The first house was occupied by the wife, and the second was sold and the result was divided among the seven children.</p>	<p>The youngest child received the greatest share</p>
<p>Fara, HM's daughter (the second child of the deceased)</p>	<p>HM left behind a son and two daughters. Assets consisted of one house which was given to the second child, a daughter because she is the most faithful daughter.</p>	<p>The most faithful child received the greatest share</p>

Table 1 shows that six inheritance systems are used by the Bugis, especially in Luwu community. In the first case, the wife of the

departed divided assets equitably between her sons and daughters.<sup>30</sup> According to the wife of the deceased, they did not distinguish between their sons and daughters. In the second system, sons receive a larger share of assets than daughters.<sup>31</sup> In the third system, daughters receive a larger share of assets than sons,<sup>32</sup> as they were the ones who dedicate themselves to serving their parents. In the fourth system, the eldest children receive the greatest share of assets,<sup>33</sup> as they are the ones who take on the duties of the departed. In the fifth system, the youngest children receive the largest share<sup>34</sup> because the older children have often achieved economic stability or traveled abroad. In the sixth system, it is the child who has the most dedicated him/herself to the parents who receive the largest share.<sup>35</sup>

Because of the way in which inheritance is handled in Buginese society in Luwu, it is clear that the ties of family and other relationships between the departed and their heirs are given a great deal of importance. The Islamic system appears to be followed only by the second system. When compared to the importance of links to one's family, the religious component does not rank as highly.

Most of the Bugis Luwu society is Muslim; however, they have continued to adhere to customary values and traditions such as maccera Tasi (gratitude for seafood obtained by fishing communities), mappalesso samaja (letting go of vows) followed by the manre sappera' (eating together), rambu tuka (joyful feast), toke' Sampa (raising or hanging heirloom cloths) as an illustration of the implementation of the party which is still considered sacred. When asked what inheritance system they practiced, most informants simply stated "Islamic". In practice, however, the division of assets follows customary laws that are not found in Islamic teachings (*fiqhi al-mawaris*), and this is deemed just by informants.

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<sup>30</sup> Ikram, eldest child of the deceased, *interview*, September 2021.

<sup>31</sup> Haniah, wife of the deceased, *interview*, August 2021.

<sup>32</sup> Ishak, husband of the deceased *interview*, August 2021.

<sup>33</sup> Umi, daughter of the deceased, *interview*, June 2021.

<sup>34</sup> Waru, wife of the deceased, *interview*, July 2021.

<sup>35</sup> Fara, the second child of the deceased, *interview*, June 2021.

The six inheritance systems used by the Bugis Luwu are varied, and injustice may occur when the deceased and/or their spouse desire to divide assets a certain way. This is influenced by the kinship system, wherein discussions often occur within the family without providing heirs an opportunity to express their views. Many would feel ashamed if disputes were brought to court, for example, if the children or heirs disputed their share.

From the perspective of Islamic law, the six inheritance systems applied in Luwu are categorized as injustice. The principle of justice in Islamic inheritance law entails that there must be a balance between the rights acquired in the inheritance and the obligations or burdens of life that must be borne/fulfilled among the heirs; consequently, the meaning of justice in Islamic inheritance law is not measured by the similarity of levels between experts, but by the size of the burden or responsibility assigned to them, in terms of the general condition of society.

If it relates to Amir Syarifuddin's definition of justice as "a balance between rights and obligations and a balance between what is obtained and needs and uses," or a balance between the burdens and responsibilities of equal heirs, then justice will be reflected in the implementation of the distribution of inheritance according to Islam. The ratio of 2:1 applies not only between boys and girls, but also between husband and wife, between fathers and mothers, and between brothers and sisters, all of which, when studied and analyzed in depth, reveal profound insight.<sup>36</sup>

Men, as opposed to women, are accountable for the maintenance of their families in Muslim society. If the woman is still a girl and unmarried, she becomes the responsibility of her parents, guardian, or brother. In contrast, once a woman is married, her relocation falls under her husband's obligation (male). Islamic Shari'ah does not require women to spend their fortune on themselves or their children, even if it is deemed capable/rich. If they are married, providing a living (a place to live, food, and clothing) for the family is

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<sup>36</sup> Amir Syarifuddin, "Hukum Kewarisan Islam," Kencana, 2011, [https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=5-UuEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA168&dq=amir+syarifuddin+keadilan+warisan&ots=yytVKJ3zkD&sig=KivzVL-\\_GF-PYsm4fmsirRSQrEc&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q=amir\\_syarifuddin\\_keadilan\\_warisan&f=false](https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=5-UuEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA168&dq=amir+syarifuddin+keadilan+warisan&ots=yytVKJ3zkD&sig=KivzVL-_GF-PYsm4fmsirRSQrEc&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=amir_syarifuddin_keadilan_warisan&f=false).

a *syara'* requirement put on the husband (a man after he marries).<sup>37</sup>

### The Meeting Point of Religious and Customary Law in Inheritance Systems

Diverse inheritance laws are practiced by the Bugis Luwu. The six inheritance systems applied two systems: Islamic and customary. Both are inexorably intertwined with Indonesian history, including its Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms, the rise of Islam, and the colonial era—all of which have influenced the everyday lives of society. According to the cases above, it can be categorised as six combinations as well as can be seen in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Inheritance Systems Used

Case	Inheritance System
Equitable Division	Customary
Greater share for sons	- Islamic
Greater share for daughters	Customary -
Greater share for the eldest child	Customary
Greater share for the youngest child	Customary
Greater share for most dedicated child	Customary

Data compiled from research

The data in Table 2 reveals that the Bugis Luwu group employs six distinct inheritance systems in their inheritance practices; five cases

<sup>37</sup> Fatima Mernissi, "Beyond the Veil, Revised Edition: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society," Saqi Books, 2011, <https://books.google.co.id/books?hl=id&lr=&id=4F-xf-R9vNEC&oi=fnd&pg=PR7&dq=Men,+as+opposed+to+women,+are+accountable+for+the+maintenance+of+their+families+in+Muslim+society.+If+the+woman+is+still+a+girl+and+unmarried,+she+becomes+the+responsibility+of+he.>

of inheritance distribution are carried out utilizing either the customary inheritance system or family discussions. While one case was conducted using a religious system, the ratio of boys to girls was 2:1, indicating that the proportion of boys was twice that of girls. In general, the Bugis Luwu community implements either a customary system or family discussions because they divide inheritance prior to the death of the heir on the grounds that it is safer and distributes it directly to their children, whereas in Islamic inheritance and State Law (Compilation of Islamic Law, civil law) assets are only divided after the death of the heir.<sup>38</sup> Islamic inheritance law has been practiced amongst the Bugis since the first king converted to Islam. Over time, customary and Islamic laws blended to create new traditions, such as those found in table 2. Today, members of the public have difficulty distinguishing between Islamic inheritance law and customary inheritance law.<sup>39</sup>

The Buginese recognize a customary adage (proverb), "*ade' sanrei kisara'e atau sara' sanrei kiade'e*"—custom rests upon Islam, and Islam rests upon custom. As such, Islam and Buginese society are inexorably intertwined and cannot easily be distinguished. This is evident, for example, in the public's general response to the question of what inheritance law is being used; as noted by Zainuddin, "[they say] Islamic law but in reality, they practice customary law".<sup>40</sup> There appears to be an intersection and interaction dimension at the point where customary inheritance law and Islam meet. The family of BP and the wife of AI both stated "*de'ku passilengeng wija-wijakku pada manenguwarengngi warang parang*", i.e., they did not differentiate between their children when dividing their assets. Their three sons and three daughters received land, shops, and houses. All land was divided evenly between the children; the three shops were divided amongst pairs (one shop for every two children); the home in Palopo was given to the youngest son; while the home in Makassar was given to the third

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<sup>38</sup> Azimar Rusydi, religious judge and former chief justice of the Palopo Religious Court, *interview*, September 2021.

<sup>39</sup> Rusydi, religious leader, *interview*, September 2021).

<sup>40</sup> Zainuddin, customary and religious leader, *interview*, July 2021)



child a daughter.<sup>41</sup> The pluralistic inheritance system practiced by the Bugis Luwu reflects incorporating elements of both the Islamic and customary systems that could occur in the methods outlined as follow:

First, similarity in conceptualizing women as inheritors. There are terminological similarities between customary inheritance law and Islamic inheritance law, as it is stated in the Bugis language: "*mallempai uranewe ma'jujungi makkuraiwe*" which indicates that men carry two items while women carry one. This is as highlighted in Surah al-Nisa verse 11 of the Quran, "Allah has commanded that the portion of a son is equivalent to the share of two girls in terms of your children's inheritance."<sup>42</sup>

Second, Equality in rights is the foundation for considering the rights of men and women. Men's rights and women's rights are both entitled to receive inheritance, even though women in the *jahiliyah* period did not receive the inheritance and were instead used as the inheritance that could be inherited by each of their other heirs. However, after Islam came, women were appointed and given the right to receive the inheritance as in surah al-Nisa verse 7, "For men, there is a right to share from the inheritance of both parents and their relatives and for women, there is a right to sever from the inheritance of both. Said<sup>43</sup> emphasized that the relationship between adat and Islam in Sulawesi has existed for a long time and this has then created an acculturation process so that the influence of adat is slowly influenced by Islam. The link between customary and Islamic law in Sulawesi is a long-standing one that is entrenched in acculturation, through which indigenous customs have been influenced by Islam. It is therefore not surprising that Islam and custom are mutually influential.

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<sup>41</sup> Asiah, wife of the deceased, *interview*, August 2021.

<sup>42</sup> Mu'ammarr Zayn Qadafi. "The Contemporary Discussion on Women's Inheritance (A Study on Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd's Interpretation and Its Implication)". *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 12 (2), (2011). Yogyakarta, pp:289-308. <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v12i2.714>.

<sup>43</sup>Muhazzab Said, a Study on the Acculturation of Islam and Local Culture Bungamale as a Local Culture of South Sulawesi, *JICSA: Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia* 4, (2), 2015.

Third, similarities in the sanctions and regulations binding members. The *Compilation of Islamic Laws*<sup>44</sup> provides formal guidelines for resolving disputes in matters of inheritance. According to several scholars, the *Compilation of Islamic Laws* is an Indonesian form of *fiqh*.<sup>45</sup> In the second book of this compilation, both women—be they grandmothers, mothers, wives, daughters, granddaughters, sisters, or aunts—and men—be they grandfathers, fathers, husbands, sons, grandsons, brothers, or uncles—are identified as having the right to inherit assets. Jurisprudence also provides guidance for resolving disputes in inheritance matters.

### **Blended Model of Islamic and Customary law to Create Gender Equity**

Amongst the Bugis Luwu, diverse mechanisms are used to divide assets between heirs. This often results in inequity, in part because of diverse understandings of inheritance law and in part because families tend to divide their assets as they please. Many heirs consequently feel as if the assets have not been distributed fairly. Therefore, the author initiated to develop a new model that blends Islamic and customary understandings of inheritance. Table 3 explains the blended models of inheritance used by the Bugis Luwu. It is divided into three models.

Table 3: Blended Models

<b>Member of Society</b>	<b>Model</b>	<b>Description</b>
Religious and	<i>Massideppun</i>	Bringing

<sup>44</sup>The Indonesian compilation of Islamic law (*Kompilasi Hukum Islam*) is a *fiqh* codification document based on the collective *ijtihad* taking into account the various customs and traditions across Indonesia and *mashlahat* (exigency). This Compilation of Islamic Law was formally issued under the Indonesian Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 1991 as a guideline of material law for the Religious Courts, containing three books: the Book of Marriage; the Book of Inheritance, Wills, and Gifts; and the Book of Waqf. Habiburrahman, *Rekonstruksi of Islamic Inheritance Law in Indonesia*, (Jakarta; Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2011). 53. See Also Amin Husein Nasution, *Inheritance Law an analysis of Mujtahid Thought and Compilation of Islamic Law*, (Jakarta; Rajagrafindo Persada, 2012). 12

<sup>45</sup>Syarifuddin Daud, Religious Leader, Ex MUI Leader. Interview July 2021

customary leader	<i>geng</i>	together the main family member and government, religious and customary leaders to discuss the portion.
Government leader, customary leader, and religious leader	Conditional	Assets are divided conditionally based on facts in the field
Religious and customary leader	Proportional	Assets are divided between heirs justly to achieve a specific goal.

Source: *Primary data, collated by researchers*

Model One is *Massideppungeng*. It refers to a process in which the heirs, family, government, and religious customary leaders are assembled. This is intended to provide a further legal foundation for the heirs and distribution of assets, ensuring that items are distributed proportionally and fairly as agreed by all involved. As stated by one informant, in the distribution of assets, it is important to involve the authorities (for example, religious leaders and elders) as they best understand the distribution of assets.<sup>46</sup>

Model two is the conditional distribution of assets in accordance with the facts in the field. The conditional distribution could be formed in several steps. First, all expenses incurred by the death of the departed are subtracted—hospital fees, funeral preparations, outstanding debts, and charity. Second, other debts are settled. Third, the current assets of the heirs are identified. Fourth, the main heir is identified.<sup>47</sup>

Model Three is proportional, in which the heirs and their specific needs, desires, and goals are identified. Heirs are not equal. Some may be economically established, while others may not be. Some have used much of their parents' money for school, marriage, etc.,

<sup>46</sup> Syarifuddin Daud, Religious Leader, *interview*, August 2021.

<sup>47</sup> Rusydi, *interview*, July 2021.

while others have not yet. As stated by one informant, the particular situation of heirs must be considered; for instance, if Son A has had his education funded through his undergraduate degree, and his parents sold land to pay for his marriage while Daughter B lived at home and helped her family while receiving only a high school degree, it would not be just to give the son the larger share. Such factors are considered carefully when dividing assets.<sup>48</sup>

Studies of gender equity have developed models that make it possible to investigate the inheritance issues amongst the Buginese of Sulawesi. The collaborative model used by the authors, which referred to customary and Islamic inheritance law, has enabled them to explore the development of gender equity in Buginese society.

### Conclusion

This article has revealed that the Buginese in Luwu employed various beliefs of inheritance and kinship. There are unequal inheritance rights for males and women. Some people believe the division of the inheritance must grant sons larger shares than daughters. The Bugis Luwu people of Sulawesi have a pluralistic inheritance system including components of both Islamic and customary systems. The shared elements are the notions, equality in rights, and bound regulation. This research proposed blended inheritance methods employed by the Bugis Luwu. Model One is *Massideppungeng*, a procedure through which the heirs, family, government, and religious customary authorities are linked. Model Two is the conditional distribution of assets, in accordance with the facts in the field. Model Three is proportionate, where the heirs and their individual requirements, aspirations, and ambitions are defined. This article thus recommends the creation of a new model, one that integrates religious, customary, and social perspectives to provide an approach to the inheritance that is contextual, adaptive, and gender-equitable. Having only taken the Bugis Luwu as its sample, many findings can still be made. Further research could explore, for example, the dialog between religion and custom that exists amongst

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<sup>48</sup>Azimar Rusydi, religious judge and former chief justice of the Palopo Religious Court, *interview*, July 2021.

the Bugis Luwu of Sulawesi or, more broadly, amongst Indonesia's diverse Muslim-majority population.

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**Muslims Resistance to Health Protocols in COVID-19 Funeral:  
A Study of Islamic Law**

Zainuddin

UIN Mahmud Yunus Batusangkar

Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy

UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Novita Cahyani

Universitas Gadjah Mada

Zulkifli

UIN Mahmud Yunus Batusangkar

Arifki Budia Warman

UIN Mahmud Yunus Batusangkar

Email: zainuddin@iainbatusangkar.ac.id

**Abstract:** Some Muslims have stood up against health protocols for burying COVID-19 corpses. This research aimed to investigate the initial occurrence of this resistance in society, the contributing factors to the resistance, and the implications of the resistance. To date, most studies on resistance focused on social perspectives, but this research probed into the discourse of resistance during COVID-19 from the perspective of legal transformation, especially in Islamic law or *fiqh*. This study employed a qualitative approach supported by data obtained from printed and electronic media, and informants. The analysis revealed that public resistance to the burial which complied to health protocols was not only embodied in rhetorics or values but made apparent in their attitude. This study concludes that public resistance successfully reformed the law by bringing about the new *fiqh* regarding the burial practice. Since the community might not readily understand and accept this new *fiqh*, we advised the government and related institutions to take intensive approaches to introduce this transformation to public.

**Keywords:** Resistance of muslims, funeral, COVID-19, Islamic law

**Abstrak:** *Telah terjadi penolakan masyarakat muslim atas penyelenggaraan jenazah COVID-19 menurut protokol kesehatan. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menemukan jawaban bagaimana wujud penolakan dalam masyarakat, faktor-faktor dan implikasi resistensi masyarakat. Sejauh ini studi resistensi lebih banyak dikaji dalam perspektif sosial, namun penelitian ini mencoba melihat diskursus resistensi dalam peta perubahan hukum, khususnya hukum Islam atau fikih dalam masa COVID-19. Penelitian ini dikaji dengan pendekatan kualitatif menggunakan data yang bersumber dari media cetak, elektronik dan informan. Dari data yang diolah dan disajikan penelitian ini menemukan bahwa penolakan masyarakat terhadap penyelenggaraan jenazah COVID-19 nampak dalam wujud perilaku, tidak hanya dalam wujud retorika dan tata nilai. Pada akhirnya penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa resistensi masyarakat telah melahirkan perubahan hukum dengan lahirnya fikih baru tentang penyelenggaraan jenazah. Sebagai sebuah perubahan fikih baru ini belum langsung diterima oleh masyarakat. Oleh karena itu penulis menyarankan agar pemerintah dan institusi terkait melakukan pendekatan yang intens untuk mensosialisasikan perubahan ini pada masyarakat.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Penolakan umat Islam, penyelenggaraan jenazah, COVID-19, hukum Islam*

## Introduction

The burial method of COVID-19 corpses raised concerns and resistance in society all over Indonesia, which sparked different sorts of public protests. In Raden Sudarsono Hospital, Pasuruan, East Java, a family forcibly took the body of their family member who died of COVID-19 because they refused the burial's health protocols implemented at the hospital.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, in Traktakan village, Wonosari District, Bondowoso, East Java, hundreds of people sans proper personal protective equipment (PPE) stopped an ambulance carrying a COVID-19 body, took it out of the casket, and decided to bury it without practicing the recommended health guidelines.<sup>2</sup> This resisting attitude in handling bodies infected with COVID-19 exposes them to high risk of contracting the virus.<sup>3</sup>

Until recently, studies on public resistance to government policies often focused on the contributing factors instead of the implications of public

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<sup>1</sup>Kompas TV, "Warga Mengambil Paksa Jenazah COVID-19. (Locals seized a COVID-19 Body.)"

<sup>2</sup>MetroTV, "Lagi, Jenazah COVID-19 Dijemput Paksa (Again, COVID-19 body was forcibly taken)."

<sup>3</sup>Malizgani Mhango et al., "COVID-19 Risk Factors Among Health Workers: A Rapid Review," *Safety and Health at Work*, (2020), p. 262-265.

resistance. It has been reported that the first factor is policy imbalance,<sup>4</sup> followed by inconsistent policies,<sup>5</sup> and deviation and faith in religions.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, studies on health impacts<sup>7</sup> imply that people should bury the COVID-19 bodies in a specific health guidelines without any physical contact to the bodies<sup>8</sup>. This set of health guidelines, which is perceived to have failed to meet the Sharia standards, has raised debates among Muslims. Those against health protocols for burial refuse to comply with it. The implications of this resistance are intriguing for further research, especially when compared to the concept of reform in Islamic law/*fiqh*.

This study aims to contribute added values to previous studies on the implications of public resistance by reflecting people's refusing to bury the COVID-19 bodies according to the health guidelines. This study would probe into three problems: (1) how resistance to the burial of COVID-19 bodies is embodied; (2) what factors causing this resistance; and (3) how public resistance affects *fiqh* authority in the life of the people.

The resistance of the Muslim people to the burial of the COVID-19 bodies according to health guidelines is actualized in different ways due to several factors, but all equally affect the life of others. This resistance may include taking over the handling of COVID-19 corpses, stopping by force or carjacking an ambulance to snatch the COVID-19 body it carried, and unearthing the graveyard of COVID-19 bodies and re-bury them in compliance with religious laws. This attitude is the result of deep-rooted religious values in society, lack of proper dissemination of related and contextual information, and provocation. In particular, provocation has brought implications in social unity and triggered distrust and wider extension of *fiqh* (Islamic law) to hospitals, legal institutions, and many more. In other words, public resistance has triggered the demand among Muslims for reforming the law.

Muslims' resistance to process of burying the COVID-19 corpses is an important issue since it has a bearing on sharia or *fiqh* principles in Islamic teaching. The *fiqh* provisions concerning burial determine whether a burial

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<sup>4</sup>Mufida, "Polemik Pemberian Hukuman Mati Pelaku Korupsi Di Tengah Pandemi COVID-19 (Polemik against Capital Punishment for Corruptors amidst COVID-19)."

<sup>5</sup>Nasruddin and Haq, "Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar (PSBB) Dan Masyarakat Berpenghasilan Rendah (Lockdown and Low Income Society)."

<sup>6</sup>Wildah Fajriah, "Cegah Wabah Corona, Ini Deretan Negara Yang Menutup Masjid," *Muslim.Okezone.Com*, 2020.

<sup>7</sup>Yoav S. Bergman et al., "COVID-19 Health Worries and Anxiety Symptoms among Older Adults: The Moderating Role of Ageism," *International Psychogeriatrics*, (2020), p. 1371-1375.

<sup>8</sup>Wicaksono, "Aktivitas Fisik Yang Aman Pada Masa Pandemi COVID-19 (Safe Physical Activities during the Pandemic of COVID-19)."

process is acceptable, and therefore, perceived as the core ground of the resistance to the burial process of the COVID-19 according to the health guidelines.

This study employed qualitative data obtained from primary sources that comprised of news texts on online media, narrative news on electronic media, and interview transcript.

The research data were obtained from online media, printed media, and informants. There were 11 sources of online news media, namely *kompas.com*, *tribunnews.com*, *konfrontasi.com*, *medcom.id*, *antaranews.com*, *suara.com*, *kumparan.com*, *beritasatu.com*, *tribunkaltim.co*, *liputan6.com*, and *tribunjabar.id*. The electronic media were KompasTV, TribunnewsTV, TVone, CNN, Metrotv, and YouTube. The informants from whom we gathered information at more personal level were family members of the person died of COVID-19 in Padang and Bukittinggi cities. From all these sources, the data were selected and narrowed down to issues regarding forcible discharge of COVID-19 corpses from hospitals, unearthed tomb of COVID-19 corpses, carjacking of ambulance carrying dead bodies confirmed with COVID-19. Other resistance factors in society and the implications of the resistance were included.

Data were collected by reading, listening to, and selecting news from the Internet browsed from Google using a laptop as the hardware device to facilitate the search. Data from informants was gathered through interviews recorded on a mobile device and transcribed.

Upon collection, data were subject to classification into different stages according to Huberman, namely data reduction, data presentation, and data verification according to the types, themes, and contents.<sup>9</sup> The classified data were further analyzed according to the interpretation method in three steps: restatement, description, and interpretation.

### **Resistance to COVID-19 Protocols for Funeral**

The resistance to burying COVID-19 bodies in proper health guidelines can be classified into three forms of coercive actions: forcibly discharging the bodies off a hospital; forcibly seizing a cadaver from an ambulance, and unearthing the burial ground and casket.

Forcibly discharging COVID-19 dead bodies from hospitals occurs in several regions. In Bukittinggi of West Sumatera, the family of a dead patient due to COVID-19 forced the health workers in Ahmad Muchtar Local Hospital to discharge the body and send it to the house of the bereaved family without abiding to the COVID-19 protocols. In this situation, the family believed that

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<sup>9</sup>A.Huberman and Matthew Miles, *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion, The Qualitative Researcher's Companion*, 2012.

the dead was not infected with the virus. Conflict arose when the hospital staff forbade them to bring home the dead unless it was bathed in the hospital. At home, the body was uncovered, laid down on a bier, brought to a nearby mosque for funeral prayers, then carried to the family burial ground.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, a family forcibly discharged a cadaver infected with the COVID-19 from Raden Sudarsono Hospital Pasuruan, East Java.<sup>11</sup>

Another form of resisting the COVID-19 funeral process was forcibly carjacking an ambulance. Hundreds of people in Traktakan village, Wonosari District, Bondowoso, East Java took a casket containing a COVID-19 corpse by force out of an ambulance, and removed the body from the casket so that they could bury the dead in a regular way without wearing any PPE nor adhering to health protocols. The bereaved family disagreed to bury the dead body in a casket because Muslim law does not recommend burying the dead inside a casket, but rather wrapping it in white cloth, setting it inside of the burial ground, then covering the body with a wooden plank.<sup>12</sup> In Ambon, a group of people stopped an ambulance carrying an infected body when it passed Sudirman Street, Ambon. Dozens of people, including the relatives of the dead took the casket with the body inside with force and brought it home on their own. The authorities warned and persuaded the relatives to let them carry on with health protocols, but to no avail.<sup>13</sup>

The last form of resistance was shown by unearthing burial grounds which occurred in Tiganan Wetan village, Leces District, Probolinggo. This action was driven by several reasons. First, after the body was buried with COVID-19 protocols, the examination results reported that the body was negative of the COVID-19. Secondly, the family members of the dead refused to abide to the health guidelines for the funeral process. The people unearthed to health guidelines.<sup>14</sup> Similar case happened in Taeh Baruah the ground and took the body out of the casket and reburied the body without adhering village, Limapuluh Kota Regency, West Sumatera. Not only did they unearth the ground, but also removed the body from the plastic bag, bathed it, and prayed

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<sup>10</sup>“Interview with Masrinal, the Bereaved Family Member in Bukittinggi, on August 27 & 30, 2021,” n.d.

<sup>11</sup>KompasTV, “Warga Mengambil Paksa Jenazah COVID-19 (Locals Seized a COVID-19 Body).”

<sup>12</sup>MetroTV, “Lagi, Jenazah COVID-19 Dijemput Paksa (Again, COVID-19 body was forcibly taken).”

<sup>13</sup>Tribunnews, “Masa Di Ambon Ambil Paksa Jenazah Covid (People in Ambon forcibly Seized a COVID-19 Body).”

<sup>14</sup>Ravianto, “Kasus Pembongkaran Peti Jenazah Positif COVID-19 Kembali Terjadi, Terdengar Teriakan Provokatif (Opening the Coffin of the Deceased Body infected with COVID-19, Provoking Voice Heard).”

for the dead before they reburied it.<sup>15</sup> All these forms of resistance represent disagreement to the application of health guidelines.

### **Contributing Factors of Resistance**

The resistance among Muslim people is triggered by several factors. This study has found the three main factors elaborated in the following:

#### **The Commitment Of The Muslims To The Principle Of Sharia**

Muslim people hold a strong commitment to *fiqh* principles. Therefore, they may not readily accept any matters regarding the reform of *fiqh* principles implemented in the funeral process, especially in relation to the funeral process of the COVID-19 bodies set by the Indonesian Ulema Council (henceforth referred to as MUI) under the Fatwa Number 14 of 2020 concerning Worship amidst COVID-19 and Fatwa Number 18 Year 2020 concerning Guidelines of Funeral Preparation Handling for Corpses (*Tajhiz Al-Jana'iz*) infected with COVID-19. A person in charge of the organization of Nahdlatul Ulama in Yogyakarta, Gus Hilmy Muhammad, received complaints from the local community who suggested that the funeral process for COVID-19 bodies contravened the Islamic sharia.

“Sometimes people complained about one of their relatives buried in the procedures of COVID-19 protocols. Resistance to the respective funeral process in regional areas was based on the demand for implementing Islamic approach. We hope this funeral process is not only seen from health perspective but also taking cultural and religious values should into account”.<sup>16</sup>

This statement indicates that while the community have appropriately adhered to the health guidelines, they have their own doctrine to understand the sharia. Departing from this point, they feel the need for establishing a dialogue to incorporate sharia perspective in addition to health perspective.

#### **Lack of Introduction to Society**

Disseminating related information to society also determines the success of the COVID-19 protocols for funeral funeral. The Head of Health Agency of PKPI, Eddy Prasetyo, confirmed that the government should educate and inform

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<sup>15</sup>Harlina, “Buntut Pembongkaran Peti Jenazah Pasien COVID-19 Di Limapuluh Kota (Consequences Following the Forcible Opening of the Casket of a COVID-19 in Limapuluh Kota).”

<sup>16</sup>Wijana, “Dapat Aduan Dari Masyarakat Soal Pemulasaraan Jenazah, PWNU DIY Siap Terjunkan 39 Relawan (Following Grievances from the Members of the Public over COVID-19 Corpse Handling, PWNU of Yogyakarta deployed 39 Volunteers).”

the public of COVID-19 protocols in handling the dead due to COVID-19. This is necessary to bring peace of mind and reduce public resistance to funeral process performed according to the health guidelines.

“The government should be present, educating people by giving clear information on the procedures of a funeral process under the health guidelines. That is, it will minimize any chaos among people refusing the implementation of health guidelines in the funeral process”.<sup>17</sup>

The family members of the dead infected with COVID-19 argued that they did not receive any information on the guidelines applied. One of the interviewees in Padang said:

“We never got any information from the hospital and other parties about the funeral with the health guidelines, and we have no idea how to perform the funeral under these guidelines. All we know is the funeral process performed normally, bathing the body, covering it with white cloth, and praying in front of the body before the funeral. We have no idea how to perform funeral with these guidelines, especially when it comes to covering the body with white cloth and bathing it.”<sup>18</sup>

### Provocation

Public resistance to implementing health protocols when burying the dead may be resulted from provocation. The head of Disaster Risk Management Forum (FPRB) Bantul, Yogyakarta stated:

“Previously, the family of the patient could accept the funeral performed under health guidelines. However, the resistance arose minutes before a body was buried. The family accepted the procedure at first, but then they changed their mind since they were provoked by the locals. They insisted that the body would be buried according to the local tradition and the sharia of Islam”.<sup>19</sup>

The local people of Nogosari village, Rambipuji District, Jember, East Java, fussed about the health protocols in funeral process. However, gravediggers received questions from the people concerned regarding how the funeral process would take place. For example, the body put in a casket

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<sup>17</sup>Konfrontasi, “Pemerintah Harus Edukasi Masyarakat Tentang Cara Pengurusan Jenazah Pasien Corona (The Government has to Educate People on How to Take Care of COVID-19 Bodies).”

<sup>18</sup>“Interview with Syamsi Yulisman the Bereaved Family Member in Padang, on August 20, 2021” .

<sup>19</sup>Edi, “Diduga Karena Provokasi Satu Warga, Jenazah Pasien Covid Dimakamkan Tanpa Prokes (Provoked by Locals, People buried a COVID-19 Body without Health Guidelines).”

contravenes the sharia principle. From this issue, the people disagreed with how the funeral process was performed. It raised doubt among the gravediggers, causing them to undo the digging. Rumors had it that it came from the provocation of the locals, saying “casket does not represent the sharia of Islam”.<sup>20</sup>

### **Public Resistance affecting the Authority of *Fiqh* Application**

In terms of a religious community in compliance with the *fiqh* principle, the doctrine of this principle has a strong influence on shaping the perspective of the people about the funeral process of the corpses due to COVID-19. When these religious doctrines are challenged and affect the life of society, there are at least three implications found in this study: pros and cons of the resistance to the funeral process of the dead due to COVID-19, the distrust in the representatives taking care of COVID-19 corpses, and the discourse of *fiqh* that is getting wider. The following are the data regarding those implications.

### **Pros and Cons of the Resistance to COVID-19 Guidelines implemented in Funeral Procedures**

Public resistance to COVID-19 protocols for funeral has raised pros and cons. Some agree with this resistance, while others choose to stand against it. Family of the deceased COVID-19 patient and the members of the public in general tend to go for this resistance, as they believe that the funeral procedures contravene the Sharia principle, even regarded as inhuman since the bodies are not bathed and covered with a white cloth before funeral.<sup>21</sup> White cloth is the symbol of purity, and therefore, Muslim people are expected to wear white in their act of worship, such as praying or going to Hajj.<sup>22</sup>

The people of Nogosari village, Rambipuji District, Jember, East Java have fussed about the health protocols for funeral procedures. They refused these procedures which are perceived to be contrary to Islamic teaching.<sup>23</sup> The Chief police officer of the Sector Police Department reported this refusal is

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<sup>20</sup>Purba, “Dinilai Tak Sesuai Syariat Islam, Pemakaman Jenazah Dengan Protokol COVID-19 Ditolak Warga (Seen Violating the Sharia of Islam, COVID-19 Burial Under Health Guidelines was Rejected).”

<sup>21</sup>Malang, “Pro Kontra Pemulasaraan Jenazah Corona, Pemkot Malang Ajak Tokoh Agama Terlibat (Pros and Cons over the Handling of COVID-19 Bodies).”

<sup>22</sup>Amir Anisatun Muthi’ah, Wasman, “Menelusuri Makna Penggunaan Pakaian Putih Ketika Salat: Analisis Living Hadis Pada Jemaah Asy-Syahadain Cirebon,” *Diya Al-Afkar* 8, No. 1 (2020), p. 112–22.

<sup>23</sup>Purba, “Dinilai Tak Sesuai Syariat Islam, Pemakaman Jenazah Dengan Protokol COVID-19 Ditolak Warga (Seen Violating the Sharia of Islam, COVID-19 Burial Under Health Guidelines was Rejected).”



indeed taking place.<sup>24</sup>

However, the governments and health workers are against this resistance. The Vice Major of the Malang city, Sofyan Edi Jarwoko mentioned, “Regarding the way the infected corpses are bathed, laid, and prayed, most people still believe that this is part of a conspiracy. We allow them to do it all according to their belief and traditions but first, the bodies have to be disinfected.”<sup>25</sup>

### **Distrust in the Health Workers in Charge of the COVID-19 Health Guidelines for Funeral**

Some community members cast doubt on health workers who are responsible for the preparation of the COVID-19 dead body before funeral, as Hilmi Muhammad stated that they doubted whether the preparation incorporated the sharia of Islam.<sup>26</sup> Dr. Dewi, the Director of the Regional Hospital of Subulussalam City of Nangro Aceh Darussalam added:

“Taking care of the cadaver infected with COVID-19 requires special treatment. Besides, health workers have become the target of public distrust for handling COVID-19 dead bodies despite the specific training they have previously undergone in management and preparation of COVID-19 corpses, and the meticulous guideline issued by the Ministry of Religion of Indonesia.”<sup>27</sup>

This distrust is parallel to public resistance which is unfortunately, being enabled and normalized. When the resistant group of people forcefully open a casket containing a COVID-19 dead body, they were enraged to find the body was not covered in white cloth properly as stipulated in the Sharia Law.

### **Wider Extension of *Fiqh* Discourse**

These phenomena of public resistance to the funeral process performed under health guidelines have opened a wider room for *fiqh* discourse in society. The discourse is not restricted to some communities such as *majelis ta'lim* (Islamic Forum), mosques, and other places of worship, but goes beyond other corners bare of religious symbols. There was a debate in the General Hospital of Djasamen Saragih, Pematang Siantar, North Sumatera over a female body

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Malang, “Pro Kontra Pemulasaraan Jenazah Corona, Pemkot Malang Ajak Tokoh Agama Terlibat (Pros and Cons over the Handling of COVID-19 Bodies).”

<sup>26</sup>Wijana, “Dapat Aduan Dari Masyarakat Soal Pemulasaraan Jenazah, PWNU DIY Siap Terjunkan 39 Relawan (Following Grievances from the Members of the Public over COVID-19 Corpse Handling, PWNU of Yogyakarta Deployed 39 Volunteers).”

<sup>27</sup>Acehkini, “Keluarga Ingin Pulasaran Sendiri Jenazah COVID-19, RSUD Subulussalam Sediakan APD (The Family Insisted on Taking Care of the COVID-19 Body before the Burrial, the General Hospital of Subulussalam Provided PPE).”

bathed by four male health workers in the hospital, two of whom were non-Muslim. The Muslim men, usually called *bilal*, had the certificate of handling dead bodies issued by the Religious Ministry. This case was reported to the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) of Pematang Siantar city. Upon receiving this complaint, the Head of MUI confirmed that men were forbidden to bathe a female corpse unless they were the husband or the *mahram*. As a consequence, MUI imposed sanctions to the involved health workers and the hospital, namely revoking the certificate of the male health workers bathing the female body and reporting the person in charge of the hospital to the board.<sup>28</sup> The Secretariat General of MUI Headquarter also declared that this act violated the sharia of Islam and the fatwa of MUI.<sup>29</sup> In Furthermore, this case was brought to the court since a man bathing a female corpse or the other way around is regarded as a contempt of religion.<sup>30</sup>

From the above case, it is clear that *fiqh* is no longer owned by a few people existing in particular organizations with religious symbols, but it is rather common in public and openly discussed.

### Resistance to Fiqh Transformation

This research came up with three findings related to public resistance to health protocols for burying COVID-19 bodies. First, public resistance may take different forms of actions, either forcible discharge of the COVID-19 cadaver from a hospital, unearth the grave of the COVID-19 bodies to rebury the bodies according to Sharia law, or forcible hold-up of an ambulance carrying a COVID-19 body. Secondly, public resistance is probably due to the commitment of the community to apply Sharia principle in the funeral preparation and process. However, there was limited to no information about health protocols in the management and preparation of COVID-19 dead bodies provided to the community. To make things worse, there was circulating provocation infused by irresponsible members of the society. Thirdly, public resistance have negatively impacted the unity of the society, which potentially leads to heated pros and cons over the status of the dead bodies, public distrust in health workers or the funeral management and preparation, and increasing discourse on *fiqh* understanding to a wider scope. All these findings represent

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<sup>28</sup>Detiknews, "Geger Jenazah Pasien Corona Wanita Dimandikan Petugas Pria (Outcry over A Female Body bathed by Male Health Workers)."

<sup>29</sup>Irmansyah, "MUI Pastikan Nakes Pria Mandikan Jenazah Covid Wanita Langgar Syariat (Indonesian Ulama Council believed that male health workers bathing the female COVID-19 body violated sharia of Islam)."

<sup>30</sup>Saputro, "Nakes Pria Mandikan Jenazah Covid Wanita Bagaimana Hukumnya? (Male Health Workers bathing Female Deceased Body How is It seen from the Perspective of Law)"

the complexity of public resistance which may spill over to other life aspects, such as health, infrastructure, economy, and socio-culture.

These findings also reflect the change in Islamic law (*fiqh*) during the pandemic, affecting socio-cultural life as confirmed by Davy (2021).<sup>31</sup> Muslim people will give responses when the concept and the implementation of their law experience changes. The *fiqh* provisions in the practice of Muslim principles when burying the dead have been perceived as appropriate. The pandemic in Indonesia, as reported by Shaw et al. (2015), has pushed certain parties to remake national policies.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, economic and cultural factors have also stimulated legal changes; in case of Saudi Arabia, women are now allowed to leave their house without the company of a mahram.<sup>33</sup> During the pandemic COVID-19, MUI has brought about new *fiqh* on the funeral process under Fatwa Number 18 of 2020 concerning the Guidelines of Funeral Process for Bodies Infected with COVID-19. However, not everyone readily accepts this new *fiqh* because some provisions of health protocols in the said Guidelines are found to be contradicting the long-established *fiqh* as retained in the mindset of the Muslim people.

The concept of law reform was introduced by Ibn Qayyim, stating that law is subject to change with the shift of time and situations.<sup>34</sup> Legal changes are made by *ijtihad*. *Ijtihad*, or intellectual exercise to formulate Islam law/*fiqh*, can be done freely as long as compliant with *maqashid sharia*.<sup>35</sup> This shift in law

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<sup>31</sup>Benjamin Davy, "Social Distancing and Cultural Bias: On the Spatiality of COVID-19," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 87, No. 2 (2021), p. 159–66.

<sup>32</sup>Karena Shaw et al., "Conflicted or Constructive? Exploring Community Responses to New Energy Developments in Canada," *Energy Research and Social Science* 8 (2015), p. 41–51.

<sup>33</sup>Firqah Annajiyah Mansyuroh, "Analysis of Legal Change for Women Traveling without Mahram: A Case Study of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Royal Decree No.m/134 of 2019," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial* 14, No. 2 (2019), p. 201–20; Mai Mohammed H Alharbi, "Kingdom Vision 2030 and the Women's Empowerment in Saudi Arabia: An Empirical Investigation," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 21, No. 1 (2022), p. 62–73.

<sup>34</sup>Nofialdi Nofialdi, "Ijtihad Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyyah Dan Al-Maqasid Al-Juz'iyah: Refleksi Penyelesaian Kasus Hukum Islam," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 12, No. 1 (2018), p. 71–85; Elfia Elfia, "Pemikiran Ibn Qayyim Al-Jauziyah Tentang Hilah Dan Implikasinya Dalam Fikih," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 14, No. 1 (2015), p. 21–34; Rusdaya Basri, "Urgensi Pemikiran Ibnu Al-Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah Tentang Perubahan Hukum Terhadap Perkembangan Sosial Hukum Islam Di Lingkungan Peradilan Agama Wilayah Sulawesi Selatan," *DIKTUM: Jurnal Syariah Dan Hukum* 16, No. 2 (2018), p. 187–207.

<sup>35</sup>Asrul Hamid and Dedisyah Putra, "The Existence of New Direction in Islamic Law Reform Based on The Construction of Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauziyah's Thought," *Juris (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 20, No. 2 (2021), p. 247–57.

may take place due to the embodiment of *mashlahah*<sup>36</sup> and with the intention of averting *mafsadah* or risks.<sup>37</sup> Establishing a law also takes into account *illat* (the cause, reasonable state),<sup>38</sup> which follows the existence of law. In other words, *illat* cannot exist when there is no law or any changes in the law. The funeral process that is different from that in *fiqh* principles is intended to suppress the probability of viral infections to other people involved in the process.<sup>39</sup> The unprecedented pandemic has disrupted normal life as we know it, and therefore, laws and regulations must adjust to this change. However, Muslim people do not seem to welcome this change as if they resisted the probability that *fiqh* may also have to change. Meanwhile, Ismail et al. (2022) stated that the fatwas produced during the pandemic are moderate.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the change in *fiqh* is evidence that religion responds to COVID-19 in a way that, according to Mehfooz, provides comprehensive guidelines related to preventive and restorative aspects of health.<sup>41</sup>

The resistance among Muslim people to the health protocols for the funeral of COVID-19 bodies represents their sensitivity to religious matters. This sensitivity is evident in the implementation of *fiqh* as part of Islamic teaching. All forms of resistance mentioned in the sections above are meant to perfect the funeral process according to the *fiqh* that has been long-established in society so far. When traditions have to be adjusted to the pandemic situation, people may not easily welcome this change for fear that it would negatively affect their religious principles. Therefore, it is necessary it is crucial to introduce the changes in *fiqh* regarding the funeral of COVID-19 bodies infected

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<sup>36</sup>Muhammad Safwan bin Harun, Mohd Farhan Md Ariffin, "Social Change in the Time of COVID-19: A Phenomenal Study in Malaysia from the Perspective of Maqasid Al-Shari'ah", *Islamic Thought and Civilization* 11 No. 2 (2021), p. 186-212.

<sup>37</sup>Lukman Abd Mutalib et al., "Analisis Hubungan Maslahah Dan Mafsadah Dalam Mempengaruhi Pembentukan Hukum Fiqh Pandemi Di Malaysia (The Analysis of Correlation between Maslahah and Mafsadah to affect Fiqh Law Making on Pandemic in Malaysia)", *INSLA Proceeding* 3, No.1 (2020), p. 222 - 234.

<sup>38</sup>Abd. Rahman, "Pendekatan Illat Hukum Dalam Penalaran Fikih", *Nukhbatul 'Ulum: Jurnal Bidang Kajian Islam* 4, No. 1 (2018), p. 1-8; Bahar, "Metode Penemuan Alasan Rasional Dalam Hukum Islam (Masalik Al-'Illat) (Approach to Illat Law in Fiqh Reasoning)", *Fitrah* 01 No. 1 (2015), p. 177-188.

<sup>39</sup>Munawwaroh, "Sadd Al- Dzari'at Dan Aplikasinya Pada Permasalahan Fiqh Kontemporer (Sadd Al-Dzari'at and its Application in Contemporary Fiqh Problems)", *Jurnal Ijtihad* 12 No. 1, (2018), p. 63-84.

<sup>40</sup>Abdul Manan Ismail; Ahmad Syukran Baharuddin, "Moderation in Fatwas and Ijtihad: An Analysis of Fatwas Issued by the MKI Malaysia Concerning the COVID-19 Pandemic," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 22, No. 1 (2022).

<sup>41</sup>Musferah Mehfooz, "Understanding the Impact of Plague Epidemics on the Muslim Mind during the Early Medieval Period," *Religions* 12 No. 10 (2021), p. 843.

at the community and national level. This present study revealed that the introduction to this new *fiqh* was relatively rare, and we found limited to zero data which proved the efforts from the government or non-government stakeholders to disseminate this precaution at a larger scale to both persons and institutions. Eventhough the dissemination does exist, it is eclipsed by the provocation infused by individuals or social media, rejecting the COVID-19 protocols for funeral. As a results, it divides public perspectives into pros and cons.<sup>42</sup> Also, there is a growing public distrust<sup>43</sup> in health workers and their performance. It may be generated by health workers' lack of knowledge and skills to implement *fiqh* principle while maintaining health protocols when handling dead bodies.

Previous studies put more emphasis on three matters: restriction of physical contact between family members and the dead; restrictions of the funeral process; and the procedures of the funeral preparation.<sup>44</sup> All these studies tend to be simply descriptive, overlooking the topics in the context of integrated thoughts and science. Therefore, this study elaborated a more contextual message of *fiqh*. This resistance undoubtedly encourages the birth of one of the forms of *fiqh* reformulation, namely a more integrated and comprehensive *fiqh*. *Fiqh* needs to be more responsive to changes and conditions in society.

In line with the resistance of Muslim people over the funeral preparation for COVID-19 bodies which affects the implementation of *fiqh*, there needs intensive and massive introduction to the society in order to avoid misunderstanding and public uproar. Also, it is crucial to raise public awareness of the importance of these co-existing principles and to reconcile the divided community due to health protocols for burying COVID-19 bodies. More importantly, increasing public awareness of the potential changes in *fiqh* as a way to respond to unusual conditions like the pandemic needs to be implemented. The need for *fiqh* emerging from varied disciplines of science like health and other fields is essential in the reformulation of *fiqh* literature in the time to come. By considering the integration, the reformulation of *fiqh* is

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<sup>42</sup>Allan Dafoe, Sophia Hatz, and Baobao Zhang, "Coercion and Provocation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65 No. 2-3 (2020), p. 372-402.

<sup>43</sup>Peter A. Groothuis and Gail Miller, "The Role of Social Distrust in Risk-Benefit Analysis: A Study of the Siting of a Hazardous Waste Disposal Facility," *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty* 15, (1997), p. 241-257.

<sup>44</sup>Maula Sari and Abd Wahid, "Fenomena Penolakan Jenazah COVID-19 Perspektif Hadis Di Indonesia," *Mashdar: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 2, No. 1 (2020), p. 61-76; Sweta Saraff, Tushar Singh, and Ramakrishna Biswal, "Coronavirus Disease 2019: Exploring Media Portrayals of Public Sentiment on Funerals Using Linguistic Dimensions," *Frontiers in Psychology* 12 (2021).

expected to be more contextual in its implementation.

## Conclusion

The resistance among Muslim people to the funeral process for the bodies infected with COVID-19 has reformed *fiqh* and brought about new *fiqh* regarding the funeral process. This change is marked with the issuance of Fatwa Number 18 of 2020 concerning Guidelines of Funeral Preparation Handling for Corpses (*Tajhiz Al-Jana'iz*) infected with COVID-19. This study provides new information implying that COVID-19 pandemic has caused *fiqh* to change, replacing classic *fiqh* that is not capable of comprehensively addressing issues related to COVID-19 dead bodies. This resistance has also raised a new awareness among people of the fact that the paradigm of *fiqh* that has been long established for centuries has to conform to the conditions triggered by the pandemic, and it has to shift to the paradigm that is sensitive to changes.

While this study focused on revealing the fact that public resistance has changed *fiqh*, the materials and methodological aspects of the reformed *fiqh* were not included. Therefore, further research can probe deeper into the urgency of reforming *fiqh* doctrines on virtual prayer, virtual condolence, virtual wedding, and other life events.

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## Interviews

- Interview with Syamsi Yulisman, the bereaved family member in Padang, on August 27, 2021
- Interview with Yulia Rahman, the bereaved family member in Bukittinggi, on August 27, 2021
- Interview with Masrinal, the bereaved family member in Bukittinggi, on August 30, 2021

**COVID 19 PANDEMIC IN INDONESIA: SOME REFLECTIONS FROM *BAḐL AL-MĀ'ŪN* BY IBN ḤAJR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ**

*Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy\**, *Mustaqim Pabbajah\*\**, *Hasse Jubba\*\*\**, *Muhammad Zain\*#*, *Arkan Syafera\*\*#*

\*Department of Quranic Studies. Faculty of Ushuluddin and Islamic Thought. Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga. Jl. Marsda Adisucipto. 55281. Sleman. Indonesia.

\*\*Department of Informatics. Faculty of Science and Technology. Universitas Teknologi Yogyakarta. Jl. Siliwangi Ringroad Utara Jombor. 55285. Sleman. Indonesia.

\*\*\*Department Political Islam. Graduate School of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. Jl. Brawijaya, Geblagan. 55183. Bantul. Indonesia.

\*#Ministry of Religious Affairs. Jl. Lapangan Banteng 3-4. 10710. Jakarta. Indonesia.

\*\*#Department of Anthropology. Faculty of Cultural Science. Universitas Gadjah Mada. Jl. Dr. Sarjito No. 25. 55223. Sleman. Indonesia.

Email: \*saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id

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**Abstract**

History and pandemics are two inseparable entities, yet often forgotten. The occurrence of a pandemic in a certain time and place has always become a critical object of study and documentation, thus generating innumerable research literature. This research attempts to re-state the urgency of historical literature as a source of knowledge on dealing with the Covid-19 crisis through the religious scholars' approach. The data were compiled through observation and literature review with content analysis method on *Baḏl al-Mā'ūn* of Ibn Ḥajr al-'Asqalānī, a classic

book containing pandemic studies sourced from *ḥadīth* and the history of the early Muslim community. The result of this study reveals that classical religious literature as historical knowledge could provide contextual solutions for society. The study of the historical works not only gives clues on the past events but also provides material to contextualise the attempt to build newly-induced awareness in the community. Learning from past events teaches society that pandemics are recurring events. Some similarities and differences are seen in every part of the pandemic. Thus, religious scholars serve as agents who disseminate the lesson learned from the past to prevent the recurrence of similar events in the future. This way, people of today should refer to the past to set some appropriate strategies for coping with the pandemic. Likewise, a historical account mentions the relevance of some terminologies that are currently used around Covid-19.

**Keywords:** Covid-19; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī; religious scholars; *Ḥadīth*; *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*.

### **Khulasah**

Sejarah dan pandemik merupakan dua entiti yang tidak dapat dipisahkan, namun sering dilupakan. Kejadian pandemik pada waktu dan tempat tertentu sentiasa menjadi objek kajian dan dokumentasi yang kritikal, dan dengan itu menjana literatur penyelidikan yang tidak terhitung banyaknya. Kajian ini bertujuan menjelaskan semula kepentingan kesusasteraan sejarah sebagai sumber pengetahuan dalam menangani krisis Covid-19 melalui pendekatan ulama. Data disusun melalui pemerhatian dan tinjauan literatur menggunakan kaedah analisis kandungan ke atas *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* karya Ibn Ḥajr al-‘Asqalānī, sebuah penulisan klasik yang mengandungi kajian pandemik yang bersumberkan hadis dan sejarah masyarakat Islam awal. Hasil

kajian ini mendedahkan bahawa literatur agama klasik sebagai ilmu sejarah mampu memberikan penyelesaian kontekstual kepada masyarakat. Kajian terhadap karya sejarah bukan sahaja memberi petunjuk tentang peristiwa masa lalu, tetapi juga menyediakan perkara yang boleh dikontekstualisasikan sebagai percubaan membina kesedaran baru kepada masyarakat. Belajar daripada peristiwa masa lalu mengajar masyarakat bahawa wabak atau pandemik adalah peristiwa yang berulang. Beberapa persamaan dan perbezaan dilihat dalam setiap kejadian tersebut. Justeru, ulama berperanan sebagai agen yang menyebarkan iktibar masa lalu untuk mengelakkan kejadian serupa berulang di masa hadapan. Dengan cara ini, manusia kini harus merujuk kepada masa lalu bagi menemukan beberapa strategi yang sesuai dalam menghadapi pandemik. Begitu juga, rekod sejarah menyebut kerelevanan beberapa istilah yang digunakan semasa Covid-19 melanda.

**Kata kunci:** Covid-19; Ibn Hajar al-‘Asqalānī; ulama; Hadith; *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*.

## Introduction

There have been innumerable studies to address the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia from the medical perspective, whereas the relevant historical literature has arguably been ignored despite its potential to be one of the sources of knowledge. Thus, the academic community needs to take into account the history of pandemics from the religious perspective despite the constant focus on the medical aspect.<sup>1</sup> The ongoing pandemic crisis has given rise to social anxiety and information dependency on medical authorities

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<sup>1</sup> Irwan Abdullah, "COVID-19: Threat and Fear in Indonesia," *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy* 12(5) (2020), 488-490. <https://doi.org/10.1037/tra0000878>.

disseminated through media, including for a large number of Muslims. This condition pinpoints that Indonesian Muslims do not have adequate knowledge regarding the pandemic of the past.

Historical knowledge about past events is crucial as a lesson to learn and to reflect the need for future steps to take as a wise decision making in dealing with a particular problem, including the pandemic situation. This poor understanding of the current situation is proven by the number of violations of the health protocols that bring about the escalating rate of Covid-19 infection in Indonesia.<sup>2</sup>

There has been a daily constant rise of Covid-19 cases as the Covid-19 Handling Task Force (*Gugus Tugas Penanganan Covid-19*) pointed out that 15 June 2021 saw the highest case increase, amounting to almost 2 million cases; the highest recorded cases since the announcement on the first confirmed cases on March 2, 2020. On this basis, a review of historical works is needed as the alternative source of information in addition to the widely accessible information from the medical authorities.

Thus far, there has been little research on history books and their connection to the pandemic, especially in terms of classical Islamic history books. Hence, the current study aims to cover three perspectives of knowledge about past pandemics and how it was handled. First, Telaumbanua, Maulana, and Wardiana showed that the pandemic is an epidemic of an infectious disease that has spread across a large region and requires special

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<sup>2</sup> Mustaqim Pabbajah et al., "Deauthorization of the Religious Leader Role in Countering Covid- 19: Perceptions and Responses of Muslim Societies on the Ulama's Policies in Indonesia," *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology* 9 (2020), 265. <https://doi.org/10.6000/1929-4409.2020.09.25>.

treatment.<sup>3</sup> This fact further stimulates some medical research on this topic.<sup>4</sup>

The second perspective is related to responses and management of the pandemic. Azwar *et. al.* and Yuliana<sup>5</sup> showed that someone who is detected early experiencing symptoms of Gastrointestinal and chest pain can prevent patients from unnecessary services. As well as the predictable impact on all walks of life during and after the pandemic, such as economic impact.<sup>6</sup> The third perspective concerns the accommodation of societal approaches and local wisdom in responding to the pandemic, as shown by Putra and Anis.<sup>7</sup> Thus far, it has

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<sup>3</sup> Dalinama Telaumbanua, "Urgensi Pembentukan Aturan Terkait Pencegahan Covid-19 di Indonesia," *QALAMUNA: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial, Dan Agama* 12(1) (2020), 50-70, <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v12i01.290>; Ilham Maulana, "Kepemimpinan Kolektif Era Pandemi di Indonesia," *Management and Business Review* 4(1) (2020), 32-38, <https://doi.org/10.21067/mbr.v4i1.4606>; Andri Wardiana, "Diagnosis SARS-CoV-2 : Peran Sistem Deteksi dan Ragam Metode Uji dalam Menanggulangi Pandemi," *BioTrends*, 11(1) (2020), 21-29.

<sup>4</sup> Yordan Khaedir, "Perspektif Sains Pandemi Covid-19: Pendekatan Aspek Virologi dan Epidemiologi Klinik," *MAARIF* 15(01) (2020), 40-59, <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v15i1.76>.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Khifzhon Azwar et al., "Gastrointestinal Presentation in COVID-19 in Indonesia: A Case Report," *Acta Medica Indonesiana* 52(1) (2020), 65; Y. Yuliana, "Corona Virus Diseases (Covid-19): Sebuah Tinjauan Literatur," *Wellness and Healthy Magazine* 2(1) (2020), 187. <https://doi.org/10.30604/well.95212020>.

<sup>6</sup> Wibowo Hadiwardoyo, "Kerugian Ekonomi Nasional Akibat Pandemi Covid-19 [National Economic Losses Due to the Covid-19 Pandemic]," *Baskara Journal of Business and Entrepreneurship* 2(2) (2020), 83; Aknolt Kristian Pakpahan, "COVID-19 dan Implikasi bagi Usaha Mikro, Kecil dan Menengah," *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* (2020), 59-64.

<sup>7</sup> Ida Bagus Gede Karyambara Putra, "Minister Terawan Encourages Usadha Bali Development under Traditional Balinese Medicine Branding," *Bali Tourism Journal* 4(1) (2020), 10-13, <https://doi.org/10.36675/btj.v4i1.40>; Fathimatuz Zahra Anis,

been revealed that local wisdom plays a great role in the outbreak of every pandemic situation.<sup>8</sup>

Indonesians mostly share a lack of awareness of the relevant literature on the history of pandemics, especially for works written in foreign languages, such as Arabic, since only a handful of Indonesians have a prolific competence in the Arabic language. *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī is a work written in the XV century. It is one of the essential works about the history of pandemics that Muslims may have overlooked.<sup>9</sup>

The history of the past pandemic and the way it was handled as written in classical Islamic literature have been relatively understudied. Some Arabic treatises have accounted for some major plague pandemics throughout the VII to the XV centuries of Islamic civilization. These treatises have attempted to provide religious and theologically oriented explanations in dealing with the pandemic, and thus it was deemed to provide an insufficient contribution to medical aspects. *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī is however rather unique since it narrated the mitigation strategies to fight the plague. This article elaborates on the book and its ideas on addressing the pandemic crisis, and how it becomes one of

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"Understanding COVID-19 in Disaster Perspective Based on the Tsunami Manuscript Kyai Haji Maimun Zubair," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 22(2) (2021), 263–277, accessed October 4, 2022, <https://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/ushuluddin/esensia/article/view/3043>.

<sup>8</sup> Puji Lestari & Sularso Sularso, "The COVID-19 Impact Crisis Communication Model Using Gending Jawa Local Wisdom," *International Journal of Communication and Society* 2(1) (2020), 47, <https://doi.org/10.31763/ijcs.v2i1.150>.

<sup>9</sup> Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy & Ahmad Sholahuddin, "Kredibilitas Hadis dalam COVID-19: Studi atas *Baḥl Al-Mā'ūn* fi Fadhli Al-Thāun Karya Ibnu Hajar Al-Asqalany," *AL QUDS: Jurnal Studi Alquran dan Hadis* 4(1) (2020), 1-18, <https://doi.org/10.29240/alquds.v4i1.1476>.



the references to be widely read by Indonesian Muslims in their attempt to understand the unending Covid-19 pandemic that they are currently facing.

This article is based on three arguments. *First*, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* provides ideas on how to encounter the pandemic at its time. The currently commonplace terminologies of plague mitigation strategies, such as physical distancing, quarantine, isolation, and so on were practised in the fifteenth century. *Second*, the book also covers several medical treatments in addressing the disease, meaning that there is much more than theological polemic that Muslims were concerned about at the time of the pandemic. *Third*, the ideas offered by *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* have started to gain popularity these days in Indonesia, both through online and offline learning sets. Also, there has been a discursive discussion on the attempt to refer to the *ḥadīths* mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī in his book as the dynamics of Indonesian Muslims in dealing with Covid-19.

### **The Pandemic in the Islamic World**

A pandemic is a medical terminology that refers to the outburst of disease that affects a significant proportion of people over a very large area.<sup>10</sup> The pandemic has gone beyond provincial, radical, conceptual, spiritual, social, and pedagogical boundaries.<sup>11</sup> The Islamic perspective offers at least two concepts to understand pandemics. *First*, the pandemic is a natural calamity, or an absolute truth of divine planning (*sunnatullāh*), which happens

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<sup>10</sup> Lalu Juntra et al., "Gaya Hidup Masyarakat Nusa Tenggara Timur Dalam Menghadapi Pandemi Corona Virus Disease 19 (Covid-19)," *Jurnal Kesehatan Masyarakat*, 7(1) (2020), 34-40.

<sup>11</sup> Siba Kumar Udgata & Nagender Kumar Suryadevara, "COVID-19: Challenges and Advisory," (2021), 1-17, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-7654-6\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-7654-6_1).

only for the will of Allah.<sup>12</sup> *Second*, the pandemic shall also be considered as *marāḍ* (an illness). In this context, Al Eid & Arnout<sup>13</sup> conducted a qualitative analysis of the Qur'ānic verses and the prophetic traditions on the issue and suggested four key management concepts in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic, namely the strategy, stages, leaders' characteristics, and leaders' role during the management of the crisis. One of the preventive measures of the global pandemic is the implementation of physical distancing as a new global norm.<sup>14</sup> During this time of crisis, it is proven that the most significant *da'wah* (Islamic proselytizing) method is by calling for people to combine religious and scientific-based mitigation strategies.<sup>15</sup>

Islamic tenets on epidemics are aimed to protect people from death and sickness, as Ashraf et al.<sup>16</sup> conveyed, that the Prophet Muhammad once advised the companions to maintain their healthy lifestyle to save their lives from a plague by walking away from regions with an outbreak of a plague. In addition to that, Islam also gives children, pregnant women, and individuals suffering from chronic diseases such as diabetes mellitus, kidney failure,

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<sup>12</sup> Ilham Maulana, "Kepemimpinan Kolektif Era Pandemi di Indonesia," *Management and Business Review* 4(1) (2020), 32-38, <https://doi.org/10.21067/mbr.v4i1.4606>.

<sup>13</sup> Nawal A., Al Eid & Boshra A. Arnout, "Crisis and Disaster Management in the Light of the Islamic Approach: COVID-19 Pandemic Crisis as a Model (A Qualitative Study Using The Grounded Theory)," *Journal of Public Affairs* 20(4) (2020), 2217.

<sup>14</sup> Rubén D. Manzanedo & Peter Manning, "COVID-19: Lessons for the Climate Change Emergency," *Science of the Total Environment* 742 (2020), 140563, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2020.140563>.

<sup>15</sup> Zahratunnisa, "Peran Ulama dalam Mitigasi Pandemi Covid-19," *Adalah: Buletin Hukum dan Keadilan* 4(1) (2020), 259-269.

<sup>16</sup> Ashraf, H., Faraz, A., Raihan, M. & Kalra, S., "Fighting Pandemics: Inspiration from Islam," *Journal of the Pakistan Medical Association* 70(5) (2020), 155, <https://doi.org/10.5455/JPMA.34>

heart disease, lung, and cancer the relief of fasting; those individuals are also highly vulnerable to the Covid-19 infection.<sup>17</sup> In other words, Islamic tenets are highly concerned with maintaining a healthy lifestyle for individual and community well-being. According to Faraz et al.,<sup>18</sup> dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic requires a holistic approach, including preventive, remedial, social, and emotional measures. Likewise, High et al.<sup>19</sup> suggested that the pandemic is a health crisis that requires continuous treatment and recovery measures.

### Methodology

This article applied library research on *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* as the primary source of data. In particular, it interpretatively analyses the description of the book about the ways to treat the people infected with *tā'ūn*. The last section of this article focuses on the data about the use of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* in Indonesia as a mitigation reference during the pandemic crisis to see how knowledge about pandemics in the book could be useful in addressing the current issues of Covid-19.

The data referred to in the research analysis was obtained from a literature review, particularly referring to *Kitab Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* written by Ibn ajar al-'Asqalānī. The particular reference derived from this book was mainly on the explanation of the pandemic, including the coping strategy for the dangerous conditions generated by the

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<sup>17</sup>Sheraz Yaqub, Mohammad Usman Rana & Pål Aukrust, "Ramadan under Covid-19-Pandemien," *Tidsskrift for Den Norske Laegeforening : Tidsskrift for Praktisk Medicin, Ny Raekke* (2020), <https://doi.org/10.4045/tidsskr.20.0390>.

<sup>18</sup>Faraz et al., "Fighting pandemics," S-155.

<sup>19</sup>High, Patrick M., Katherine Marks, Vestena Robbins, et al., "State Targeted Response to the Opioid Crisis Grants (Opioid STR) Program: Preliminary Findings from Two Case Studies and the National Cross-Site Evaluation," *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment* 108 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsat.2019.06.008>.

pandemic. Once the data related to the pandemic were collected from the book, they were analysed through the perspective of content analysis to figure out the appropriate meaning in each excerpt of the book regarding the pandemic.

This article begins with a brief overview of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* to describe the research object under study as the primary data. The following section of this article presents a review of the handling of the pandemic in Indonesia by elaborating on the strategies chosen by various parties, including the government.

### **A Brief Overview of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī**

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī had a full name of Shihāb-al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar. He was born in the riverside of Nile, around Dār-al-Nuhas, near al-Jadīd Mosque,<sup>20</sup> Egypt in Sha'bān 773 AH<sup>21</sup> or February 1372 AD, and passed away on 18 Dhū-al-ḥijja 852 AH or 2 February 1449 AD. He was an orphan since his childhood. His father was a *mufī* and his mother was a wealthy woman; both passed away when he was a child. Al-'Asqalānī could memorize the entire Qur'ān when he was only nine years old.<sup>22</sup> When he was eleven, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and further stayed in the holy city to learn *fiqh* and the Qur'ān, even though eventually what interested him the most was *ḥadīth*. He moved from one city to another,

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<sup>20</sup> Fitriā Laiya, "Metode Penyusunan Kitab Tahzib al-Tahzib Ibnu Hajar al-Asqalānī," *Farabi* 15(2) (2018), 136, <https://doi.org/10.30603/jf.v15i2.1018>.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Terjemah Lengkap Bulughul Maram* (Jakarta: Akbar Media, 2007), 9.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn fī Faḍl al-Ṭā'ūn* (Saudi Arabia: Dār al-Ashimah, 1991), 7-8.

including Yemen, Sham, and Cairo, to learn *ḥadīth* from some renowned scholars in Yemen, Sham, and Cairo.<sup>23</sup>

He then compiled the names of his teachers in *al-Majmaʿ al-Muʿassas bi al-Muʿjam al-Mufahras*. Some of the names he mentioned in this book are al-Zin al-ʿIraqī (*ḥadīth* teacher), al-Nūr al-Ḥaithamī (a *mutūn* memoriser), and so on. After he got married, he became a supreme judge in Egypt for 21 years. During this time, he developed quite a reputation before the Mamlūk II dynasty. He had five daughters. Al-ʿAsqalānī was a prolific writer who produced a lot of works, two of which were *Bulūgh al-Marām* and *Fath al-Bārī*; two of his greatest work in *Tafsīr al-Qurʿān* and *Sharḥ al-Ḥadīth*.<sup>24</sup>

Based on the information provided in *Baʿl al-Māʿūn*, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī wrote the book based on a request from his colleagues who needed information about the pandemic and how to handle it. This urgent demand motivated him to write a book following the death of three of his daughters for an outbreak of the rampant pandemic on that day.<sup>25</sup> The book, however, was published quite recently, in 1991 in Dār al-ʿĀşima, Riyadh, covering a volume of 440 pages, edited by Aḥmad Işām ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Kātib. The book was written with the following structure: Chapter 1 on the attitude towards *Ṭāʿūn*, Chapter 2 on the definition of *Ṭāʿūn*, Chapter 3 on *Ṭāʿūn* as *shahīd* and mercy for Muslims, Chapter 4 on the legal status of entering and leaving from a region with the outbreak of a pandemic, and the last chapter discusses the recommendations during the *Ṭāʿūn* crisis.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Baʿl al-Māʿūn*, 9.

<sup>24</sup> Qudsy and Sholahuddin, "Kredibilitas Hadis dalam COVID-19," 1-18.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

**Table 1. The Relevance of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn fi Fadhl al-Ṭā'ūn* with COVID-19**

<b>Pandemic</b>	<b>Physical Distancing</b>	<b>Isolation</b>	<b>Lockdown</b>
<p><i>Ṭā'ūn</i> is a kind of contagious disease that infects a large number of people, with more specific ways of transmission and forms.</p>	<p>‘Amr ibn ‘Aṣ asked the people to go to the mountains to leave the crowds: “Verily, <i>Ṭā'ūn</i> is vile; you should walk away from it.”</p>	<p>“Whoever resides in a country which is affected by <i>Ṭā'ūn</i>, shall stay patiently in there and shall not walk away, he shall contemplate and deserve the rewards equal to <i>shahīd</i>.” (Al-Asqalany, 1991, p. 255)</p>	<p>“This pandemic is vile, a punishment, or part of the punishment by which Allah had destroyed people before you. In the case of an outbreak of <i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in a certain place, you should not leave it; and if you hear of a place affected by it, you should not come there.”</p>
<p>“My people are annihilated by war (<i>ta'n</i>) and <i>ṭā'ūn</i>.”</p>	<p>Al-‘Asqalānī once refused to attend an event of prayer ordered by the kingdom as a way of protection from a pandemic.</p>	<p>“A sick person should not be taken to one who is healthy.”</p>	

Source: Derived from *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*

This section discusses some keywords around the pandemic management, especially Covid-19. Based on the explanation of al-'Asqalānī's book, this study highlights the similarities between terminologies in pandemic management in the past from the XV century when *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* was written and those of the present. Each term will be discussed in sequential order.

### 1. *Ṭā'ūn*, Plague and Pandemic

*Ṭā'ūn* is a kind of disease that affects a large number of people, with distinctive and different ways of transmission from other common diseases and with different from the others.<sup>27</sup> Citing from al-Nawāwī, al-'Asqalānī stated that *Ṭā'ūn* was a widely recognized disease. It is a small boil yet very painful. It could be taken out with the heat of the fire that, however, makes the surrounding skin turn black, green, or purplish red. When people contract the disease, their heartbeat heightens, and they will vomit. They will suffer from some boils that usually grow around the groin, armpits, hand, fingers, or across the whole body.<sup>28</sup> *Ṭā'ūn* not only occurred in Islamic regions but also spread around the world. *Ṭā'ūn* is different from *waba'* since the former is more specific than the latter. In this context, it equals the pandemic, in the same way, that the virus affects a very large area, and even spread all around the world with rapid transmission from one region to another.

It is noteworthy to take heed of the differentiation between *ṭā'ūn* and *wabā'* since al-'Asqalānī specifically devoted a part of his book to the dispute around this issue. He objected to a view considering *wabā'* as *ṭā'ūn*, referring to a *ḥadīth* about the city of Medina that was transmitted by Anas from Rasūlullāh, who said: "Dajjāl would get into Medina, but the angel knows of it, so they

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<sup>27</sup> Al-'Asqalānī, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, 95.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

could not enter the city, as the *ṭā'ūn* could not *inshā'Allāh*.<sup>29</sup>

Al-'Asqalānī cited several *aḥādīth* on the characteristic of *ṭā'ūn* which greatly reduced the number of the Muslim population. Ibn al-Athīr, in *al-Nihāyah*, mentioned a *ḥadīth* that goes: "My people are annihilated by war (*ṭa'ni*) and *ṭā'ūn*. Furthermore, citing from 'Abd al-Bār, al-'Asqalānī.<sup>30</sup> wrote a *ḥadīth*: "*Ṭā'ūn* is like *ghuddah* (the gland) of a camel that grows in the armpit or the groin." Al-'Asqalānī mentions the general characteristics of *ṭā'ūn*, as follows: a) the swollen gland on the body, such as the armpit, sometimes in the hand, or the whole body; b) it could grow in every part of the body, such as festering sores, the boil, or the acne, but more often on the armpit; c) having sore throat; it is not *ṭā'ūn* unless happening during the *ṭā'ūn* time.<sup>31</sup>

In the next section, al-'Asqalānī shows that the occurrence and the increasing cases of the plague were caused by the defective air, which resulted from two factors: *arḍiyyah* and *samā'iyyah*. *Arḍiyyah* is a condition where the water was contaminated by corpses - such as the unmanaged corps from war, the submersion of the graveyard, or water sources resided by insects or frogs. *Samā'iyyah*, on the other hand, refers to the increasing number of falling meteors at the end of the summer, which led to the rise of the volume of the south or east wind in two seasons, and the widespread of pre-rain signs during the summer but without the actual rain. This knowledge is based on experiences, as al-Jāhīz stated, "if a crow feels such kind of wind, it would leave the area right away, as so the mouse, it would hide underneath the soil."

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<sup>29</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, (Karachi: al-Bushra, 2016), 936

<sup>30</sup> Al-'Asqalānī, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, 96.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100.



## 2. Physical Distancing

The definition of this word is to physically keep a safe distance between one person to another, typically between 1.5 to 2 m, in the public sphere. Concerning this issue, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* gives some lines of explanation. The first explanation is about the attitude of 'Amr ibn 'Aṣ during his administration in Sham, that he asked the people to go to the mountain and avoid the crowds. He said: "Verily, *Tā'ūn* is vile; you should walk away from it."

Secondly, al-'Asqalānī once refused to attend a kingdom-commissioned event of prayer for protection from a pandemic. He argued that such a kind of prayer is heresy and syllogistically inconsistent with the prayer begging for rain.<sup>32</sup> The idea behind the protection prayer was an *ijāzah* from a pious who had met the Prophet Muhammad in his dream. In the dream, he stated, the Prophet taught him the prayer and how to perform it. Al-'Asqalānī denied and rejected this dream as the legal basis of the prayer. For him, a *ḥadīth* could not be transmitted through a dream. Before him, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī and Ibn Abī Halaja had the same view as al-'Asqalānī on this issue.<sup>33</sup>

Al-'Asqalānī further reported that, when a pandemic affected Damascus, the residents organised a communal prayer in an open field. They cried and begged God for the disease to be uplifted. Nevertheless, according to al-'Asqalānī, the prayer did not reduce the contagion but rather boosted it because a large number of people had gathered in one place. Nevertheless, concerning the issue of visiting the sick, referring to a *ḥadīth* al-'Asqalānī justified that; one can visit and pray for his sick fellow; something we should not do during this Covid-19 crisis.

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<sup>32</sup> Al-'Asqalānī, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, 329-330.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 332-334.

### 3. Isolation

The term isolation refers to a situation in which a sick person secludes him/herself from others to prevent contagion. There is a *ḥadīth* that concerns this idea, transmitted by Abū Hurayrah: "A sick person should not be taken to one who is healthy" (Sahih Bukhari dan Muslim).<sup>34</sup> Besides, the Prophet had also said that: "It is forbidden to do harm and cause harm" (transmitted by Ibn Mājjah, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal from 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās). In *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, al-'Asqalānī wrote: "Whoever resides in a country which is affected by *Ṭā'ūn*, shall stay patiently in there and shall not walk away, and shall contemplate, and deserves the rewards equal to *shahīd*".<sup>35</sup>

An individual should isolate himself from others when contracting a disease. Those suffering from a less chronic disease shall conduct self-isolation and keep away from interacting with other people. The current support of advanced technology allows early detection of disease even for the asymptomatic. Self-isolation, either for symptomatic or asymptomatic patients during a pandemic crisis is a must to constrain the contagion. Technological developments have enabled early detection of disease, especially for Covid-19 cases as a way to prevent the spread of the virus to larger masses.

### 4. Lockdown and Quarantine

The term 'lockdown' refers to a state of restricted access instituted as anticipation against the spread of the disease. Likewise, quarantine refers to a situation where people must stay at home or a particular designated place for a certain period to avoid contagion from and to other people. Both measures are conducted to cut off the chain of contagion. A fragment of a *ḥadīth* says: "So if you hear of the spread of *Ṭā'ūn* (plague) in a land, don't approach

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<sup>34</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 177

<sup>35</sup> Al-'Asqalānī, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, 255.

it, and if a plague should appear in a land where you are present, then don't leave that land to run away from it."<sup>36</sup>

Al-'Asqalānī devoted one particular chapter on this issue, namely *Fī ḥukm (al-khurūj min) al-balad al-ladhī yaqa'u bihā al-tā'ūn wa al-dukhūl ilayhā*. In the Qur'ān, Allah says:

"Have you [Prophet] considered those people who abandoned their homeland in fear of death, even though there were thousands of them? God said to them, 'Die!' and then brought them back to life again; God shows real favour to people, but most of them are ungrateful."<sup>37</sup>

*Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* mentions that they are the Israelites people, upon whom the pestilence occurred so they ran away from their land. (Allāh said to them: 'Die'), so that they die, (He further brought them back to life).<sup>38</sup> Quraish Shihab explains as follows<sup>39</sup>:

"You, the prophet, should know a unique story. It is a story of the people who left their land and ran away from the battlefield in fear of death. There were thousands of them. Then, Allah decided to make most of them perish by a defeat in the battle. Eventually, when the rest of them fought with great patriotism, Allah brought them back to life. Verily, living a noble life after having humiliation is the mercy of Allah that deserves thankfulness, but many people are not grateful."

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<sup>36</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Juz 5, 163.

<sup>37</sup> The Qur'ān, al-Baqarah: 243.

<sup>38</sup> Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, nd), 334.

<sup>39</sup> Quraish Shihab, *Tafsīr al-Misbah*, Vol. 1 (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2025), 525-527.

In addition to that, Ibn Kathīr transmitted a report from Ibn 'Abbās about the revelation of Allāh: "*alam tarā ilā al-ladhīna kharajū min diyārihim wa hum ulūfun ḥadhar al-mawt* (Have you [Prophet] considered those people who abandoned their homeland in fear of death, even though there were thousands of them?). Ibn 'Abbās said: "They were four thousand people. They left away from *ṭā'ūn*. They said: 'We would go to a place where there is no death'. When they arrived, they all died. Further, a prophet passed by them. He prayed to God for Him to bring them back alive. Eventually, Allāh brought them back to life."<sup>40</sup>

This issue is supported by a *ḥadīth* from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Muslim* as well as *Musnad Aḥmad*, which says: "This pandemic is vile, a punishment, or part of the punishment-Habib, one of the transmitters, was not sure about the precise wordings of the *ḥadīth*—by which Allah had destroyed people before you. So, if you hear of the spread of *Ṭā'ūn* (plague) in a land, don't approach it, and if a plague should appear in a land where you are present, then don't leave that land to run away from it."<sup>41</sup> In another *ḥadīth*, the Prophet Muhammad said: "*ṭā'ūn* (a contagious disease) is a warning from Allah to examine His servants from among the human beings. So, if you hear of the spread of *Ṭā'ūn* (plague) in a land, don't approach it." (transmitted by Muslim).<sup>42</sup>

A comprehensive *ḥadīth* source about the pandemic issue is a lengthy *ḥadīth* reporting the discussion between the Caliph of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb when he was about to come into an area affected by a pandemic:

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<sup>40</sup> Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar ibn Kaṣīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm*, Vol. 1, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1419 H), 502.

<sup>41</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Vol. 5, 163.

<sup>42</sup> Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim bin al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Vol. 4 (Cairo: al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1955), 1737.

Having told us ‘Abdullāh ibn Yūsuf, that he had told Mālik from Ibn Shihāb from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, from ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal from ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abbās, that ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb once went to Sham; when he arrived in Sargha, he met the commander-in-chief, namely Abū ‘Ubaydah with his companions. They told ‘Umar that Sham was being affected by a pandemic. Ibn ‘Abbās said: “Then ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said: ‘Call for me the first *muhājirīn*’—then they were called and invited into a discussion, that Sham was being affected by a pandemic. They were in disagreement. Some of them said: ‘You have departed for an affair, and we suggest that you should not refrain from it.’ Some others said: ‘You are accompanied by the people, among which were the companions of the Prophet; we suggest that you should not make them face the pandemic.’ ‘Umar then said: ‘Leave, and call for me *Anṣār*’. They were called and invited into a discussion. Like *muhājirūn*, they were in disagreement. ‘Umar said: ‘Leave, and call for me whoever was a Quraysh figure and had gone for *hijrah* before the *Faṭḥ al-Makkah*.’ They were called, and no disagreement between them, except from two people—they said: ‘We suggest that you should follow those who had suggested that you should not make them face the pandemic.’ They then announced: ‘I would rise in the morning on the saddle of my horse (meaning that he would be ready to come back home the next morning); so you should rise early!’ Abū ‘Ubāydaḥ ibn Jarrah asked him: ‘Are you running from the destiny of Allāh?’ ‘Umar answered: ‘I wished it was not you who asked that, O Abū ‘Ubaydah! Yes, indeed we are running from a destiny of Allah into another destiny of Allah. What do you think (about this): if you have a camel, and you arrive in a valley near two areas: the first is fertile, while the other is dry; do not you think that if you bring it into the fertile

land, you would bring it with the destiny of Allah, and if you bring it into the dry one, you would also bring it with the destiny of Allah?" Ibn 'Abbās said: "And then 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf came - he had not attended the discussion for an affair - and said: 'I have a *khābar* on this issue from the Prophet Muhammad, as he had said: 'If you hear of the spread of *Ṭā'ūn* (plague) in a land, don't approach it and if a plague should appear in a land where you are present, then don't leave that land to run away from it; .'" Ibn 'Abbās said: "Then 'Umar praised God and left."<sup>43</sup>

### **The Doctor's (*al-Ṭibbā'*) Suggestion for Individuals Suffering from *Ṭā'ūn* in *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn***

Baharuddin<sup>44</sup> suggests that Islamic medicine is one of the healing methods that have been developed by Muslims from different ethnicities since the early age of Islam. Roland on the other hand defines Islamic medication as part of efforts developed by Muslim scholars to tackle the health problem, which works under the assumption that God, human beings, nature, and society are interconnected in harmony. Traditional medication and Islam, according to Rawi and Fetters,<sup>45</sup> are practiced based on the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, as the primary sources of Islamic theology and Muslim practices.

Al-'Asqalānī, with his *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, compiles the data from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* as one of the methods of medical therapy. He shows that during the *ṭā'ūn* period, complying with the doctor's suggestion is compulsory. In this book, he provides at least three measures that were

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<sup>43</sup> Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Vol. 5, 163.

<sup>44</sup> Khadher Ahmad et al., "Understanding the Perception of Islamic Medicine Among the Malaysian Muslim Community," *Journal of Religion and Health* 57(5) (2018), 1649-1663, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-017-0507-9>.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

suggested by the doctors: medication, providing guidance, and preventing infection. From the medication point of view, the doctor at that time treated the patients with sponges dipped in vinegar and water, rose oil, apple oil, or unsalted oil. The medication method practised at that time was phlebotomy (*al-faṣd*); ejecting the blood of the patient very slowly until he vomits. Furthermore, the doctor would touch the patient's chest in the position of the heart, and press it with cold or fragrance material to cool down the heartbeat.<sup>46</sup>

In Islam, this practice is known as *ṭibb al-nabawī*, referring to the medical practices that are attributed to the Prophet Muhammad and have been transmitted through generations from his companions and further ahead into the next generations.<sup>47</sup> *Tibb al-nabawī* covers a lot of materials, such as honey, black caraway, rose oil, vinegar, Zamzam water, dates, and some other healthy food and beverages. Cupping treatment is considered an Islamic medical treatment, even though such a practice had been recognised long before the era of the Prophet Muhammad. This method attempts to pull out dirty blood from the body through incisions or inserting needles. Another method is also known to belong to *ṭibb al-nabawī*, namely *ruqyah*;<sup>48</sup> a therapy using the recitation of the Qur'ān. In addition to that, *ṭibb al-nabawī* also recognises compressing, quarantine, and many other practices.

In *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, al-ʿAsqalānī wrote down some necessary treatments suggested by the doctors, such as taking out humid items, eating a little, avoiding physical exercises, staying in the bathroom, avoiding going out

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<sup>46</sup> Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, 340-341.

<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Ihsan, "Pengobatan Ala Rasulullah SAW sebagai Pendekatan Antropologis dalam Dakwah Islamiah di Desa Rensing Kecamatan Sakra Barat," *PALAPA* 4(2) (2016), 176, <https://doi.org/10.36088/palapa.v4i2.32>.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-177.

from home or going for leisure activities, and not breathing in the infected air.<sup>49</sup> In addition to that, concerning the infection-preventing measures, the scholars advised people to avoid physical contact with patients suffering from the virus and to refrain from visiting the infected patients. Nevertheless, al-ʿAsqalānī delivered his disagreement about this issue. For him, in this context, we should refer to a *ḥadīth* that reveals the nobleness of visiting the sick. According to him, infection is the destiny of God.

Furthermore, he also mentioned several actions to help relieve the pain of the infected patients: praying for him, motivating patience, positive thinking, and paying a visit. In the context of Covid-19, paying a visit for an infected patient is unacceptable, following closely a *ḥadīth* transmitted by al-Bukhārī that goes: "A sick person should not be taken to one who is healthy." Accordingly, in the context of Covid-19, the *ḥadīth* would mean those healthy people should not have physical contact with infected people, and the former should not visit the latter. In exchange for paying a visit, they should pray for each other via phone or other technologies.

### **The Ideas of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*: Constructing Indonesian Perspective through Online Preaching**

*Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* of al-ʿAsqalānī is less widely known in Indonesia. Covid-19, however, increases its popularity among many Indonesians. Some Indonesian scholars, including Oman Fathurrahman, a professor from UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, held an open online discussion of the book through his regular online study platform *Ngariksa*. In addition, Ali Imron, a Doctor from UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta also held an online

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<sup>49</sup> Al-ʿAsqalānī, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, 343-344.



session to discuss the book organized by LSQH.<sup>50</sup> The following table list some online platforms to discuss the book.

**Table 2. Several online platforms on the discussion of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn***

No	The channel	The links and the title	Themes
1	NGARIKS A Channel	<p>"Tha'un dan Waba' dalam Manuskrip Arab dan Nusantara   Kang Oman"</p> <p><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOUgcPVVxD0&amp;fbclid=IwAR2BzrVAb2lvGYN7tsROXjXsGDunKLWkbIYi6cSS7yhSe2oAGiU8QwQtPqI">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JOUgcPVVxD0&amp;fbclid=IwAR2BzrVAb2lvGYN7tsROXjXsGDunKLWkbIYi6cSS7yhSe2oAGiU8QwQtPqI</a></p>	<i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in Islamic literature
2	Yayasan al-Muafah	<p>"Ini Dia Musuh Besar COVID-19 Yang Paling Ditakuti Riwayat COVID-19 Benar-Benar Akan Berakhir"</p> <p><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LUMxPiDHlfk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LUMxPiDHlfk</a></p>	<i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in Islamic literature
3	Joel Buloh Channel	<p>"Cara Ibnu Hajar Asqalani Memutuskan Mata Rantai Penularan Wabah Virus Menular (Tha'un/Corona)"</p> <p><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Y-DtZ2jDxo">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Y-DtZ2jDxo</a></p>	Breaking the Chain of Plague Transmission

<sup>50</sup> He also wrote an article on what Indonesian people search in Google during Covid-19 outbreak. See, Ali Imron, "Indonesian Interests in Hadith-Sourced COVID-19 Queries According to Google Trends," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 22(2) (January 21, 2022), 205–218, accessed October 4, 2022, <https://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/ushuluddin/esensia/article/view/2978>.

4	Aql Islamic center	"Social Distancing Zaman Ibnu Hajar Al-Asqalani" <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wpJA3p3tc3k&amp;t=3141s">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wpJA3p3tc3k&amp;t=3141s</a>	Social distancing
5	Rizha Hafiz	"Kajian atas kitab Baḏl al-Mā'ūn" <a href="https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=235698151116206&amp;ref=search">https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=235698151116206&amp;ref=search</a>	Studies on <i>Baḏl al-Mā'ūn</i>
6	Madina center ID	"Ayo di rumah saja" <a href="https://www.facebook.com/watch/?ref=search&amp;v=155320492348403&amp;external_log_id=365b5997-e625-479c-8b62-8b34650c1972&amp;q=badzlu%20maun">https://www.facebook.com/watch/?ref=search&amp;v=155320492348403&amp;external_log_id=365b5997-e625-479c-8b62-8b34650c1972&amp;q=badzlu%20maun</a>	Stay at home
7	Catatan Syamsuatir	"Thoun Amwas" <a href="https://www.facebook.com/watch/?ref=search&amp;v=1273850802808194&amp;external_log_id=365b5997-e625-479c-8b62-8b34650c1972&amp;q=badzlu%20maun">https://www.facebook.com/watch/?ref=search&amp;v=1273850802808194&amp;external_log_id=365b5997-e625-479c-8b62-8b34650c1972&amp;q=badzlu%20maun</a>	<i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in Islamic literature
8	Muhibbin Gus Qoyyum	"Gus Qoyyum : Kisah Pandemi di zaman Ibnu Hajar al Asqalani" <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2Ja5Gr09Vg">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2Ja5Gr09Vg</a>	<i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in Islamic literature

Besides social media, the ideas of *Baḏl al-Mā'ūn* have also started to gain popularity in the articles published by both print and online media. The following is a list of articles in print and online media platforms.

**Table 3: Some articles in Indonesian media that cite *Baḏl al-Mā'ūn* of al-‘Asqalānī**

No	Media Platforms	Links	Themes
1	Republika	<a href="https://republika.co.id/.../dua-wabah-penyakit-yang-diabadikan-ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani">https://republika.co.id/.../dua-wabah-penyakit-yang-diabadikan-ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani</a>	<i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in Islamic literature
2	Republika	<a href="https://www.republika.co.id/.../syahidnya-orang-yang-meninggal-saat-wabah-menurut-ibnu-hajar">https://www.republika.co.id/.../syahidnya-orang-yang-meninggal-saat-wabah-menurut-ibnu-hajar</a>	<i>Syahid</i> in <i>Ṭā'ūn</i>
3	Republika	<a href="https://www.republika.id/posts/5760/thaun-dan-wabah-dalam-turos-ulama">https://www.republika.id/posts/5760/thaun-dan-wabah-dalam-turos-ulama</a>	<i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in Islamic literature
4	Koran Kaltim	<a href="https://www.korankaltim.com/.../ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani-kritik-doa-bersama-secara-fisik-saat-ada-wabah">https://www.korankaltim.com/.../ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani-kritik-doa-bersama-secara-fisik-saat-ada-wabah</a>	Al-Asqalany's critique on mass gathering for praying in the time of pandemic
5	Harian Aceh	<a href="https://www.harianaceh.co.id/.../pesan-social-distancing-ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani-saat-wabah/">https://www.harianaceh.co.id/.../pesan-social-distancing-ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani-saat-wabah/</a>	Social distancing

6	Web Muhammadiyah	<a href="https://mpi.muhammadiyah.or.id/artikel-wabah-penyakit-dalam-lintasan-sejarah-islam-detail-1205.html">mpi.muhammadiyah.or.id/artikel-wabah-penyakit-dalam-lintasan-sejarah-islam-detail-1205.html</a>	Pandemic / plague in Islamic history
7	Hidayatullah	<a href="https://www.hidayatullah.com/.../fatwa-ibnu-hajar-tentang-kegiatan-kumpul-massal-untuk-berdoa-saat-dilanda-wabah.html">https://www.hidayatullah.com/.../fatwa-ibnu-hajar-tentang-kegiatan-kumpul-massal-untuk-berdoa-saat-dilanda-wabah.html</a>	Al-Asqalany's critique on mass gathering for praying in the time of pandemic
8	Web NU	<a href="https://islam.nu.or.id/.../salah-kaprah-pengertian-thaundan-wabah-dalam-hadits-rasulullah-saw">https://islam.nu.or.id/.../salah-kaprah-pengertian-thaundan-wabah-dalam-hadits-rasulullah-saw</a>	The definition of <i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in ḥadīth
9	Republika	<a href="https://republika.co.id/.../duras-wabah-thaun-yang-dicatat-ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani">https://republika.co.id/.../duras-wabah-thaun-yang-dicatat-ibnu-hajar-al-asqalani</a>	Plague duration
10	Islami.co	<a href="https://islami.co/hadis-rasulullah-yang-menganjurkan-di-rumah-saja-saat-wabah/">https://islami.co/hadis-rasulullah-yang-menganjurkan-di-rumah-saja-saat-wabah/</a>	Stay at home
11	Asianmuslim.com	<a href="https://www.asianmuslim.com/.../benarkah-kemunculan-virus-corona-di.html">https://www.asianmuslim.com/.../benarkah-kemunculan-virus-corona-di.html</a>	<i>Ṭā'ūn</i> in Islamic literature

Tables 2 and 3 present the use of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* as a reference to explain the pandemic. This trend denotes the

soaring popularity of the book among Indonesian Muslim communities to be referred in understanding the plague. Some intellectuals become religious scholars or scholars who explain the book in their series of articles or sessions, especially the parts that concern the current pandemic crisis. They disseminate the ideas of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī derived from the Qurʾān, *aḥādīth*, and the history of Muslims concerning the pandemic.

The need for the explanation of religious transmitters/scholars is underpinned by the fact that the book was written in Arabic, and most Indonesian Muslims do not speak the language. The encounter of some Muslims in this book is commonly brought about by the ease of internet access that allows people to gain insight into the book during the pandemic crisis. Unrestricted internet access and technological advancement have opened up more room for the wide distribution of religious ideas.<sup>51</sup> The widely changing knowledge transmission has led to the degradation of traditional institutions and scholarships, which, according to Ibrahim & Ainul,<sup>52</sup> play an important role as religious scholars.

### **Discussions: Religious Scholars as a *Mustamlī*ʾ of Religious Message through New Technology**

The new technology enhances the position of religious preachers and the teachings of religion as two irreplaceable dimensions within the process of spreading

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<sup>51</sup> Ridwan Rustandi, "Cyberdakwah: Internet sebagai Media Baru dalam Sistem Komunikasi Dakwah Islam," *NALAR: Jurnal Peradaban dan Pemikiran Islam* 3(2) (2020), 85-86, <https://doi.org/10.23971/njppi.v3i2.1678>.

<sup>52</sup> Haslina Ibrahim & Ainul Jaria Ainul, "Mediation and Interreligious Discourse: Prospects and Challenges in Resolving Interreligious Skirmishes in Malaysia," *Intellectual Discourse* 28(1) (2020), 35-60.

religious knowledge; as so suggested by Umam.<sup>53</sup> However, the simplification of the dissemination of religious messages has downgraded the qualification of the teachers/preachers and the teaching method. In the past, teachers are traditionally trained scholars/*ulamā'*, but today anyone with the good rhetorical ability and minimum understanding of religious tenets can disseminate their ideas.

In this context, a plain contrast between this new trend and the conventional system lies in the fact that the new trend of religious learning does not have to take place in the *madrasah*. Despite being apart from the *madrasah*, Hasaruddin<sup>54</sup> suggested, that the transmission process employs the conventional method of *al-implā'* (dictation). These videos, which are not live broadcasts, and the writings presented in the media comply with a one-direction approach of the *al-implā'* practices. In this context, the intellectuals and the scholars become the *mustamli'*.<sup>55</sup>

Unlike offline learning methods, online platforms give rise to new actors who do not have to necessarily pass a conventional training process to be teachers. Nevertheless, they still play a crucial role as the religious scholars who introduce *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* as a relevant work during the pandemic context for the Indonesian Muslim community. Besides less qualification requirement for religious scholars as the main actors of religious knowledge dissemination, the online learning platforms that discuss *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* also promote inclusivity in that

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<sup>53</sup> Khaerul Umam, "Legitimasi Kekuasaan Elit Agama di Kediri," *Religi Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 3(2) (2017), 207, <https://doi.org/10.14421/rejusta.2017.1302-04>.

<sup>54</sup> Hasaruddin, "Madrasah pada Masa Islam Klasik: Analisis Historis atas Metode yang Digunakan," *HUNafa: Jurnal Studia Islamika* (2011), 121, <https://doi.org/10.24239/jsi.v8i1.90>.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

it allows anyone to join and distribute the materials delivered during the sessions. The listeners/users are also treated equally since there is no particular filter on the internet to differentiate the users' level of religious understanding.

The fast pace of online media brings about the escalating distribution of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* materials, especially given the popularity of the author, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī in Indonesia. The online learning platform through technological devices has enabled the rapid distribution of the book. This is in line with the notion asserted by Campbell and Louise that the new media that is based on the internet has strongly influenced many aspects of contemporary life, including the religious aspect through digital channels, such as social media, online religious forums, and religious mobile applications. The abovementioned tables indicate that online media has become the new basis of information, which allows ease of interaction between people to gain new ideas and insight about religious teachings.

According to Horner et al.,<sup>56</sup> accessibility is an unavoidable benefit of the computer and the internet. In his notion, accessibility supported by a good system will lead to a more efficient mobilization of people and enable them to access more activities. In an online learning set, accessibility that is supported by the personal function and religious experience of the viewers—which Sauer, Sonderegger, & Schmutz<sup>57</sup> termed as usability and user

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<sup>56</sup> Mark W. Horner, et al., "Do Aging Populations Have Differential Accessibility to Activities? Analyzing the Spatial Structure of Social, Professional, and Business Opportunities," *Travel Behaviour and Society* (2015), 182, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tbs.2015.03.002>.

<sup>57</sup> Juergen Sauer, Andreas Sonderegger & Sven Schmutz, "Usability, User Experience and Accessibility: Towards an Integrative Model," *Ergonomics* 63(10), 1207-1220, (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00140139.2020.1774080>.

experience - allows a greater benefit and continuous encounter with the viewers. In this line, accessibility does not fully comply with the conventional triangle pattern introduced by Watanabe,<sup>58</sup> because the content and the users do not come from the authors but rather from the uploader of the content. This is generated from the fact that *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* is a classical book that is not been recently produced; the actors—the intellectuals—merely cite and discuss it.

Previously, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* was not widely known among Muslims, but the outbreak of Covid-19 has led to the popularity of the book since many people start to learn about it. The learning process is mainly derived from social media contents created by intellectuals who reintroduce the work of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. This kind of platforms, Arafat<sup>59</sup> suggests, become the provider of an alternative public sphere, which opens up an ever wider public sphere. According to Campbell and Louise,<sup>60</sup> the new media has directly involved people in religious activities every day. Nevertheless, the religious practices in the new media will certainly influence traditional religious practices, attitudes, and behaviour.

### ***Baḥl al-Mā'ūn*, Redundancy in Ḥadīth Riwāyah Study and the Importance of scholars of Ibn Ḥajar's Ideas**

In principle, *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* is pretty easy to learn for individuals with Arabic proficiency but is a daunting task for individuals without Arabic proficiency. The only challenge in the book reading for those having Arabic

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<sup>58</sup> Takayuki Watanabe, "Communication Model of Web Accessibility," in *Communications in Computer and Information Science*, 2017, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58750-9\\_11](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-58750-9_11).

<sup>59</sup> Muhammad Yasser Arafat, "Kitab Klasik Elektronik Gratis: Menuju Keberdayaan Literasi dan Rekonstruksi Ilmu," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 5(2) (2013), 67, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsa.2013.%25x>

<sup>60</sup> Campbell and Connelly, "Religion and New Media", 273.



competency is the repetitive materials which may lead to tedium. The repetitive materials include the text of the *ḥadīth* and the analysis of chains of transmitters and their qualities. Nevertheless, repetitiveness is a typical book structure in the fourteenth century; since scholars at that time were concerned with preserving the chains of transmitters. A large number of books had been written using this method, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Faḥḥ al-Bārī* or *Sīrah Nabawiyyah* of Ibn Hishām. Accordingly, we are not in a position to downgrade this style of writing a book.

It is exactly at this point that lies the importance of, to use Azra's<sup>61</sup> terminology, the religious scholars, or the cultural broker - that is how Geertz calls it. These scholars have worked hard to make the ideas of Ibn Ḥajar accessible to us now. The scholars with an adequate Arabic competence, either those who graduate from the Middle East *madrāsah* or the local *pesantren*, play role as the important actors who deliver the ideas of *Baḥl al-Mā'ūn* to the Muslims community in general as guidelines during the pandemic by learning from the history of the pandemic in Islamic civilization. In addition, their presentation of the book using easy and accessible rhetoric ensures the delivery of the main message of the book to the public, because, direct reading of the book will be tedium given the lengthy chains of material and the repetitive contents. These scholars are the interpreters of the *aḥadīth* and the explanations written by Ibn Ḥajar in his book to the wider society since they use the relevant idea organization in their presentation to meet the current context and technological development.

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<sup>61</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII : Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004), 73.

## Conclusion

Some history books, which more often than not are forgotten, may record some important information about past events that may help an attempt to address the current social problems, including the pandemic Covid-19 crisis. This article shows that *Baḏl al-Mā'ūn* plays an important role in introducing the history of the pandemic in the Islamic world to Indonesian Muslims. *Baḏl al-Mā'ūn* discusses some terminologies and concepts related to the strategies in handling the plague implemented in the fifteenth century, which correspond to the current strategies in curbing the prevalent Covid-19.

In addition, al-ʿAsqalānī's book also covers the aspect of medical treatment in the context of the pandemic that was practised by Muslims at that time. Nevertheless, it would not have been possible for Indonesian Muslims to easily access all of the information in *Baḏl al-Mā'ūn* without the help of religious scholars and cultural brokers as the main actors to disseminate the ideas in the book to the broader scope of audience. The use of popular platforms, such as YouTube, Facebook, and other periodicals has enabled a larger number of Muslim communities to access the ideas of the book. This also indicates that Indonesian Muslims have paid better recognition of al-ʿAsqalānī's work in addressing the pandemic although previously the book had relatively been unnoticed.

All in all, this study only discusses one particular work of history about the past plague and pandemic which was relatively still understudied. Accordingly, it is necessary to do further and more comprehensive research that takes into account the other works on history as a source of knowledge to address the current problem. In addition, the scope of this study is limited to the analysis of the works of religious scholars on *Baḏl al-Mā'ūn*, which leaves a wide opportunity to conduct further

research on the same issue by addressing other aspects as a way to better understand the growing crisis of the Covid-19. This point calls for all parties to take more heed of the current issue to provide a better understanding of Covid-19 and how to face it. Therefore, we must learn more from the classical works on history about the past pandemic as a lesson to learn for possible adoption of the same strategy in pandemic management and to generate better understanding in the community.

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# Tiga Lapis Makna Ayat Toleransi dalam *Mori Sama*

Misbahul Khairiyah

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta - Indonesia  
misrya431@gmail.com

Saifuddin Zuhry Qudsy

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta - Indonesia  
saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id

<b>Keywords :</b> Tolerance in the Qur'an; principles of <i>mori sama</i> , local tradition; theory of meaning.	<b>Abstract</b> Tolerance is an issue that is widely promoted in the midst of the Indonesian government's efforts to moderate daily attitudes in religious and state life. An understanding of it continues to be explored through the values of the texts of the Qur'an and hadith as well as local traditions that exist in the community. <i>Mori Sama</i> in Donggo, Mbawa is one tradition that has tolerance values which are given a dimension of legitimacy by the traditional leaders of the Qur'anic texts. This paper explored the understanding of the Donggo Mbawa community in understanding tolerance; sees how the community understands the verses of tolerance; and finally how the practical implementation of the Donggo community on their understanding of tolerance. As a form of field research, this paper was based on observation and interviews as the main sources of data. By borrowing Karl Manheim's analysis through the theory of meaning, this research concluded that the Mbawa community has held the principle of <i>mori sama</i> because they basically come from one ancestor. Then after Islam and other religions entered the Donggo area, the Mbawa people began to separate themselves by determining their own beliefs. Second, the understanding of Donggo Mbawa Islamic religious leaders and the community towards the verses of tolerance is realized in the form of mutual respect, appreciation, and acceptance of every difference that exists. For example, events that are held in the village, such as weddings, circumcisions, taste prayers, pilgrimage prayers, Kasaro ceremonies and also when celebrating religious holidays. Third, the meaning of the verses of tolerance in the understanding of Islamic religious leaders and also the Mbawa community in general is based on the hereditary principle, namely the principle of <i>mori sama</i> .
<b>Kata Kunci :</b> Toleransi dalam al-Qur'an; prinsip <i>mori sama</i> ; tradisi lokal; teori makna.	<b>Abstrak</b> Toleransi menjadi satu isu yang banyak diusung di tengah usaha pemerintah Indonesia untuk memoderasi sikap sehari-hari dalam beragama dan bernegara. Pemahaman mengenainya terus digali melalui nilai-nilai teks al-Qur'an dan hadis serta tradisi-tradisi lokal yang eksis di masyarakat. <i>Mori Sama</i> di Donggo, Mbawa menjadi satu tradisi yang memiliki nilai-nilai toleransi yang oleh para pemangku adatnya diberikan dimensi legitimasi teks-teks al-Qur'an. Tulisan ini mengeksplorasi pemahaman masyarakat Donggo Mbawa dalam memahami toleransi; melihat bagaimana masyarakat itu memahami ayat-ayat toleransi; serta yang terakhir bagaimana implementasi praktis masyarakat Donggo atas pemahaman mereka mengenai toleransi. Sebagai bentuk penelitian yang bersifat <i>field research</i> , tulisan ini mendasarkan observasi dan wawancara sebagai sumber utama dalam memperoleh data. Dengan meminjam analisis Karl Manheim melalui teori makna, penelitian ini menghasilkan kesimpulan bahwa Masyarakat Mbawa telah memegang prinsip <i>mori sama</i> karena pada dasarnya mereka berasal dari satu nenek moyang. Setelah Islam dan juga agama lain masuk ke wilayah Donggo, masyarakat Mbawa mulai memisahkan diri dengan keyakinannya masing-masing. Kedua, pemahaman tokoh agama Islam Donggo Mbawa dan juga masyarakat terhadap ayat-ayat toleransi direalisasikan dalam bentuk saling menghormati, menghargai, dan menerima setiap perbedaan yang ada. Misalnya acara-acara yang digelar di kampung, seperti acara pernikahan, khitanan, do'a rasa, do'a haji, upacara Kasaro, juga saat perayaan hari besar keagamaan. Ketiga, makna ayat-ayat toleransi dalam pemahaman tokoh agama Islam dan masyarakat Mbawa umumnya dilandasi prinsip turun temurun, yakni prinsip <i>mori sama</i> .
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## Pendahuluan

Praktik toleransi yang berbasis kearifan lokal menjadi satu praktik yang pondasinya kuat dan mengakar dalam keseharian masyarakat. Masyarakat Indonesia yang beragam mengekspresikan toleransi dalam berbagai cara dan praktik. Filosofi satu tungku tiga batu misalnya menjadi satu praktik harmoni sosial yang berbasis pada tradisi lokal.<sup>1</sup> Kehadiran praktik toleransi menggunakan landasan kearifan lokal mulai banyak menggunakan sandaran teks keagamaan sebagai basis atau alasan terhadap dilaksanakannya toleransi tersebut.

Kajian mengenai toleransi merupakan satu kajian yang telah banyak dilakukan para sarjana. Setidaknya terdapat dua kecenderungan praktik toleransi di masyarakat Indonesia yang telah menjadi konsen para peneliti. Pertama, kajian mengenai toleransi yang berbasis kearifan lokal. Beberapa tulisan yang dapat disebut di sini di antaranya adalah Purna<sup>2</sup> dengan fokus kearifan lokal masyarakat setempat berupa praktik ritual *raju* yang dilaksanakan setiap menjelang musim tanam; Ahmad<sup>3</sup> mendeskripsikan mengenai kerukunan masyarakat Donggo yang berbasis kearifan lokal serta mencoba memetakan potensi konflik yang ada.

Kedua, Kajian yang melihat toleransi dalam sudut pandang al-Qur'an-Hadis. Dengan menjadikan *Tafsir al-Mihsbah* sebagai kajian Prima<sup>4</sup> menunjukkan perlunya pemahaman atas keberagaman yang didasarkan pada kesadaran perbedaan tanpa adanya perbedaan. Zainuddin<sup>5</sup> juga menunjukkan bahwa dakwah Islam *rahmatan lil-'alamin* mengasumsikan dunia bisa damai mana kala sejumlah pesan keagamaan diilhami oleh nilai-nilai perdamaian yang diisyaratkan dalam surah al-Kāfirūn. Pesan moral yang bisa digali dalam

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<sup>1</sup> Saidin Ernas, "Politik Simbol Dan Harmoni Sosial: "Makna Satu Tungku Tiga Batu Dalam Dinamika Politik Lokal Di Fakfak, Papua Barat", *Dialektika*, (2015); Delvia Pandaiya, Marthinus Ngabalin, and Lindra Yolanda Camerling, "Pengaruh Budaya 'Satu Tungku Tiga Batu' Terhadap Toleransi Beragama Masyarakat Werba Fakfak Papua," *Jurnal Misioner*, (2021), <https://doi.org/10.51770/jm.v1i1.5>; Marthinus Ngabalin, "Falsafah Hidup Orang Fakfak Satu Tungku Tiga Batu [Toromit War Istery]," *KENOSIS: Jurnal Kajian Teologi* (2018), <https://doi.org/10.37196/kenosis.v1i1.21>; Daud Alfons Pandie, "Konsep 'Satu Tungku Tiga Batu' Sosio-Kultural Fakfak Sebagai Model Interaksi Dalam Kehidupan Antarumat Beragama," *Societas Dei: Jurnal Agama Dan Masyarakat*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.33550/sd.v5i1.78>.

<sup>2</sup> I Made Purna, "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Desa Mbawa Dalam Mewujudkan Toleransi Beragama", *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* 1, no. 2, (2016): 261-277. <https://doi.org/10.24832/jpnk.v1i2.764>.

<sup>3</sup> Haidlor Ali Ahmad, "Revitalisasi Kearifan Lokal: Pengembangan Wadah Kerukunan dan Ketahanan Masyarakat Lokal di Kecamatan Donggo Kabupaten Bima Provinsi NTB", *Harmoni: Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius* 12, no. 3, (2013): 110-122. Lihat pula, Ilmiawan, "Sejarah Musik Kalero Sebagai Aktifitas Kultural Sosial Masyarakat Desa Mbawa Kecamatan Donggo Kabupaten Bima Tahun 2014", *Jurnal Ilmiah Mandala Education* 1, no 2 (2015): 179-207. <http://dx.doi.org/10.58258/jime.v1i2.105>

<sup>4</sup> Daniel Prima, "Penafsiran Ucapan Selamat Natal Dan Prinsip-Prinsip Toleransi Beragama Dalam Tafsir Al-Misbah, *Jurnal Analytica Islamica* (2015). Cek lebih lanjut, Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbah: Pesan, Kesan, dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2009).

<sup>5</sup> Zainudin, "Dakwah Rahmatan Lil-'Alamin: Kajian tentang Toleransi Beragama dalam Surat Al-Kafirun", *Jurnal Dakwah* 10, no. 1, (2009): 29-30. Lihat pula, Zuhairi Misrawi, *Al-Qur'an dan Kitab Toleransi Inklusivisme, Pluralisme, dan Multikulturalisme* (Jakarta: Penerbit Fitrah, 2007); Muhammad Jayus, "Toleransi dalam Perspektif al-Qur'an", *Jurnal Al-Dzikra* 9, no. 1 (2015):115-128. <https://doi.org/10.24042/al-dzikra.v9i1.1728>; M. Thoriqul Huda, dkk, "Ayat-Ayat Toleransi Dalam Al-Qur'an Perspektif Tafsir Al-Misbah Dan Tafsir Al-Azhar", *Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman* 30, no. 2 (2019):260-281. <https://doi.org/10.33367/tribakti.v30i2.657> .Zakiyuddin Baidhawi, *Kredo Kebebasan Beragama* (Jakarta: PSAP Muhammadiyah, 2005).

ayat ini mengarahkan pada ajaran Islam yang santun, ramah, toleran, menghormati dan menghargai perbedaan pendapat dalam masyarakat Islam. Lapis makna pemahaman atas ayat toleransi yang berbasis pada masyarakat lokal Donggo Mbawa dalam hal ini merupakan satu kajian yang luput dari perhatian para peneliti. Hal ini menarik karena memperlihatkan adanya harmoni yang dihasilkan dari perkawinan lokalitas budaya dengan ayat-ayat al-Qur'an yang dipahami oleh para tokoh dan masyarakat pada umumnya.

Tulisan ini setidaknya melihat tiga bagian: mengeksplorasi pemahaman masyarakat Donggo Mbawa dalam memahami toleransi; melihat bagaimana masyarakat itu memahami ayat-ayat toleransi; serta yang terakhir bagaimana implementasi praktis masyarakat Donggo atas pemahaman mereka mengenai toleransi. Tiga kajian ini akan menjadi fokus pembahasan utama dalam tulisan pendek ini dengan menekankan pada tiga lapis makna yang ditawarkan oleh Karl Manheim.

Tulisan ini berargumen bahwa budaya toleransi yang terbentuk dan terejawantah dalam praktik kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat muslim di Donggo tidak dapat dilepaskan dari dua hal: pertama, tradisi hidup bersama yang dipraktikkan dari semboyan *mori sama* telah menempatkan Donggo sebagai masyarakat yang mempraktikkan hidup bersama. Kedua, semboyan tersebut juga didukung oleh pemahaman mereka terhadap ayat-ayat yang memiliki nilai-nilai toleransi.

Subjek lokasi penelitian ini adalah Desa Mbawa, Kec. Donggo, Kabupaten Bima-NTB. Pilihan atas lokasi ini didasarkan pada tingkat toleransi yang tinggi dibanding dengan desa atau kelurahan lainnya yang ada di Kota dan Kabupaten Bima, khususnya di Provinsi NTB itu sendiri. Penulis melakukan penelitian dalam rentang waktu Juli-September 2020. Sebagai bentuk penelitian yang bersifat *field research*,<sup>6</sup> tulisan ini mendasarkan observasi dan wawancara sebagai sumber utama dalam memperoleh data. Data-data tersebut kemudian diolah lalu dianalisis dengan model analisis sosiologi pengetahuan Karl Manheim dengan tiga lapis makna pemahamannya, yakni makna objektif, ekspresif dan makna dokumenter.<sup>7</sup>

### **Pemahaman Masyarakat Muslim Donggo Mbawa tentang Toleransi Beragama**

Dalam pandangan tokoh agama Islam Donggo Mbawa, toleransi beragama bukan hanya sebuah konsep teoritis, namun lebih kepada kewajiban bersama yang telah ditentukan oleh Allah Swt. kepada seluruh umat manusia, lebih khusus kepada umat Islam, karena telah disebutkan dalam al-Qur'an berulang kali. Toleransi beragama yang dimaksud di sini adalah hidup rukun dengan agama lain yang hidup di sekitar kita. Adanya dinamika hubungan antara agama dengan budaya yang di masyarakat Mbawa menjadikan *Dou* (suku) Mbawa tersegmentasi atas beberapa kelompok keagamaan, di antaranya: Islam, Kristen, Katolik, dan *Parafu*. Meskipun begitu, mereka semua tetap hidup dengan identitas dan budaya yang melekat pada masing-masing agama yang mereka anutan. Masyarakat

<sup>6</sup> Moh Soehadha. *Metode Penelitian Sosial Kualitatif untuk Studi Agama*. Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2012. Lihat pula, James P Spradley. *Metode Etnografi*, terj. Misbah Zulfa Elizabeth Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana, 1997.

<sup>7</sup> Karl Mannheim, *Essay on The Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Brodway House, 1954). Lihat pula Gregory Baum, *Agama dalam Bayang-Bayang Relativisme, Kebenaran dan Sosiologi Pengetahuan*, terj. Ahmad Murtajib (Yogyakarta: PT. Tiara Wacana Yogya. 1999).

tetap bisa hidup berdampingan secara damai. Hal ini dikarenakan pada dasarnya mereka berasal dari satu leluhur yang sama. Pluralitas agama dan identitas ini bahkan berlangsung dalam satuan sosial keluarga. Sebagai contohnya, menjadi hal yang biasa dalam keluarga tertentu di mana ayah berbeda agama dengan anak, istri, atau saudara kandung. Hal ini mengindikasikan mereka memiliki kebebasan dalam memeluk agama yang diyakini di tengah kondisi masyarakat yang penuh toleran.<sup>8</sup> Namun hal ini tetap dilakukan pada koridor dan batasan-batasan yang tetap harus diperhatikan. Umat Islam diwajibkan toleran dalam hal muamalah, namun dalam hal akidah lebih diperketat. Hal inilah yang menurut salah satu informan penulis harus diperhatikan oleh umat Islam.<sup>9</sup>

Dengan adanya toleransi, maka akan dapat melestarikan persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa, mendukung dan mensukseskan pembangunan, serta menghilangkan kesenjangan. Hubungan antar umat beragama Donggo Mbawa didasarkan pada prinsip *mori sama* (hidup bersama) karena mengingat antar satu sama lain masih satu keturunan.<sup>10</sup>

### Landasan Normatif Praktik Toleransi di Masyarakat Mbawa

Dalam banyak kesempatan, tokoh agama Islam Donggo Mbawa menekankan kepada jama'ahnya tentang ayat-ayat al-Qur'an yang berbicara tentang toleransi atau kerukunan beragama. Di antara ayat-ayat al-Qur'an yang diangkat dan menjadi sumber pemahaman masyarakat Donggo Mbawa tentang toleransi beragama antara lain:

a) QS. Al-Kafirūn (109) ayat 1-6

قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا الْكٰفِرُونَ ۚ لَا اَعْبُدُ مَا تَعْبُدُونَ ۚ وَلَا اَنْتُمْ عٰبِدُونَ مَا اَعْبُدُ ۚ وَلَا اَنَا عٰبِدُ مَا عَبَدْتُمْ ۚ وَلَا اَنْتُمْ عٰبِدُونَ مَا اَعْبُدُ ۚ لَكُمْ دِيْنُكُمْ وَلِي دِيْنِ ۝

*Katakanlah (Muhammad), "Wahai orang-orang kafir! Aku tidak akan menyembah apa yang kamu sembah. Dan kamu bukan penyembah apa yang aku sembah. Dan aku tidak pernah menjadi penyembah apa yang kamu sembah; Dan kamu tidak pernah (pula) menjadi penyembah apa yang aku sembah. Untukmu agamamu, dan untukku agamaku."<sup>11</sup>*

Ayat ini memiliki sejumlah riwayat *asbāb al-nuzūl*. Ibnu Ishak dan ulama' lainnya menuturkan riwayat bahwa suatu ketika beberapa pemuka Quraisy di antaranya al Walid bin al Mughīrah, al-‘Āsh bin Wail, al-Aswad bin ‘Abd al-Muṭalib dan Umayyah bin Khalaf bertemu dengan Nabi Saw. Mereka berkata “wahai Muhammad, kami akan menyetujui ajakanmu menyembah tuhan yang engkau sembah, namun dengan syarat kamu harus menyembah tuhan yang kami sembah. Dengan begitu kami dan kamu dapat berbagi dalam segala hal. Maksudnya apabila ajaran yang kamu bawa lebih baik daripada yang kami percayai maka kami sudah berusaha mengikutimu dan kami pasti akan mendapatkan apa yang kami usahakan itu. Dan apabila yang kami percayai ini lebih baik dari ajaran yang kamu bawa, maka kamu sudah berusaha untuk ikut bersama kami, dan kamu pasti akan menerima dari hasil usahamu itu.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Wawancara dengan Imran S.Ag, selaku tokoh agama dusun Mbawa I pada tanggal 11 Maret 2020.

<sup>9</sup> Wawancara dengan Ma'ruf S. Pd. I selaku tokoh agama dusun Sangari I pada tanggal 14 Maret 2020.

<sup>10</sup> Wawancara dengan Ma'ruf S. Pd. I selaku tokoh agama dusun Sangari I pada tanggal 14 Maret 2020.

<sup>11</sup> Aplikasi Qur'an Kemenag.

<sup>12</sup> Imam Al-Qurtubi, *Al-Jāmi' li Ahkām Al-Qur'ān terj. Tafsir Al-Qurtubi*, terj. Dudi Rosyadi dan Faturrahman (Jakarta: Pustaka Azzam, 2009), 830-831.

Huruf *alif* dan *lam* pada kata **الْكٰفِرُوْنَ** memiliki makna tertentu walaupun biasanya digunakan untuk makna keseluruhan jenis. Makna dari lafadz al-Kafirun di sini ditujukan pada beberapa tokoh yang mengajak dalam berkompromi dalam urusan agama kepada Nabi Muhammad. Lafadz tersebut merupakan sifat dari kata *ay* pada kalimat **يٰۤاَيُّهَا** (yakni: *wahai kaum orang-orang kafir, dan bukan wahai sekalian orang-orang kafir*). Lafadz ini sendiri termasuk lafadz umum yang memiliki makna khusus.

Mengenai pengulangan yang terdapat dalam ayat ini, sejumlah mufassir berpandangan bahwa hal ini menunjukkan adanya penegasan makna, bahwa apa yang mereka lakukan merupakan hal yang sia-sia belaka. Al-Qur'an sendiri diturunkan menurut lisan orang Arab, dan kebiasaan mereka adalah mengulang perkataan untuk mempertegas ucapan mereka agar lebih dipahami. Pendapat lain mengatakan bahwa pengulangan dalam surah ini bermakna ancaman. Tafsiran lain menurut Al-Akhfasy dan Al-Mubarrad menyatakan bahwa makna dari surah ini adalah "*aku tidak akan menyembah apa yang kamu sembah walaupun dalam satu jam, hingga kamu tidak perlu menyembah tuhan yang aku sembah selama satu jam. Dan aku juga tidak akan pernah menyembah apa yang kamu sembah di masa yang akan datang*".

Selanjutnya pada ayat terakhir (*Untukmulah agamamu dan untukkulah agamaku*), persoalan yang dibahas hanya satu masalah saja. Ayat ini mengandung makna ancaman sama seperti ayat yang terdapat dalam firman Allah, QS. Al-Qaṣaṣ: 55:

.....لَنَاۤ اَعْمَالُنَا وَّلَكُمْۭ اَعْمَالُكُمْۭ سَلَّمَ عَلَیْكُمْۭ.....

"*Bagi kami amal-amal kami dan bagimu amal-amal kamu*".

Ayat tersebut bisa dimaknai "kalian telah ridha dengan agama yang kalian anut dan kami juga telah ridha dengan agama yang kami anut". Ayat ini diturunkan sebelum adanya perintah untuk berjihad, dan setelah diturunkannya kewajiban untuk berjihad –ada yang berpendapat bahwa- ayat ini secara otomatis telah *di-nasakh*. Adapula beberapa ulama' yang kemudian berpendapat bahwa tidak ada satu ayat pun dari surah ini yang *dinasakh* oleh ayat manapun, karena surah ini hanya berisi keterangan saja, dan tidak memuat adanya perintah maupun larangan.<sup>13</sup> Makna dari dua kalimat ayat ini adalah perbedaan yang sempurna dalam menyembah. Seolah Allah berfirman, "*sesembahan kita semua tidak satu dan penyembahan kita semua tidak satu*".<sup>14</sup>

b) Q.S Al-Baqarah (2) : 256

لَاۤ اِكْرَاهَ فِی الدِّیْنِ ۗ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ ۗ فَمَنْ يَّكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوْتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ ۗ

بِاللّٰهِ فَقَدْ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقٰى لَا اَنْفِصَامَ لَهَا ۗ وَاللّٰهُ سَمِیْعٌ عَلِیْمٌ ۙ ۲۵۶

256. *Tidak ada paksaan dalam (menganut) agama (Islam), sesungguhnya telah jelas (perbedaan) antara jalan yang benar dengan jalan yang sesat. Barang siapa ingkar kepada Tagut dan beriman kepada Allah, maka*

<sup>13</sup> Al-Qurtubi, *Al-Jāmi' li Ahkām Al-Qur'ān...*, 838.

<sup>14</sup> Muhammad Ali Al-Shabuni, *Shafwatut Tafasir: Tafsir Tafsir Pilihan*, jilid 5, terj. Yasin (Jakarta: Pustaka Al Kautsar, 2011), 832-833.

*benar, dia telah berpegang (teguh) pada tali yang sangat kuat yang tidak akan putus. Allah Maha Mendengar, Maha Mengetahui.*<sup>15</sup>

Ibnu Jarir al-Ṭabarī dalam tafsirnya menjelaskan *sabāb al-nuzūl* dari ayat ini, sebagaimana diriwayatkan dari Ibnu Abbas r.a. ia berkata, *ayat di atas turun berkaitan dengan seorang laki-laki kaum Anshar dari Bani Salim yang bernama al-Husain, ia memiliki dua putra yang memeluk agama Nasrani, sedangkan al-Husain sendiri adalah seorang Muslim. Lalu ia berkata kepada Rasulullah Saw, “Bolehkah saya memaksa kedua putraku tersebut untuk memeluk Islam? Karena mereka berdua tidak mau kecuali memeluk agama Nasrani”, lalu turunlah ayat ini. Di dalam kitab tafsir al-Munir dijelaskan bahwasanya kita dilarang memaksa seseorang untuk masuk Islam, karena bukti dan dalil-dalil kebenaran Islam sudah sangat jelas, jadi tidak perlu adanya suatu paksaan untuk memeluknya. Karena keimanan didasarkan pada kesadaran dan kerelaan, *hujjah* dan bukti-bukti, jadi tidak ada gunanya segala bentuk paksaan.*<sup>16</sup>

Ayat ini memuat kata (رشد) yang bisa dimaknai dengan “jalan lurus”. Kata ini selanjutnya dimaknai dengan “ketetapan mengelola sesuatu serta kemantapan dan kesinambungan dalam ketetapan itu”. Makna kata ini kemudian dinilai bertolak belakang dengan (الغي). Jika demikian, maka yang menelusuri jalan lurus itu pada akhirnya melakukan segala sesuatu dengan tepat, mantap, dan berkesinambungan.<sup>17</sup> Dari ayat ini kita mendapatkan tiga poin penting dalam bertoleransi, yang pertama adalah bahwasanya dalam menganut agama Islam tidak ada paksaan. Karena agama yang diridhoi Allah dan jalan lurus adalah agama Islam. Kedua, keberagaman harus didasarkan pada suatu kerelaan dan ketulusan tanpa paksaan. Dan yang terakhir adalah semua orang mempunyai hak untuk menentukan pilihannya sendiri baik itu dalam urusan kepercayaan.

c) Q.S Al-Hujurat (49): 13

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُمْ مِنْ ذَكَرٍ وَأُنْثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا ۗ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ ۝۱۳

13. *Wahai manusia! Sungguh, Kami telah menciptakan kamu dari seorang laki-laki dan seorang perempuan, kemudian Kami jadikan kamu berbangsa-bangsa dan bersuku-suku agar kamu saling mengenal. Sesungguhnya yang paling mulia di antara kamu di sisi Allah ialah orang yang paling bertakwa. Sungguh, Allah Maha Mengetahui, Maha Teliti.*<sup>18</sup>

Ayat ini merupakan salah satu ayat yang panjang dan sangat penting untuk mengajak kaum Muslimin agar berdialog dan mencapai kesepahaman dengan ahlu kitab. Seperti juga dengan ayat-ayat lain, ayat ini mengajak kaum muslimin untuk berbuat baik selama mereka tidak bermaksud melakukan makar dan perang terhadap kedaulatan Islam. Pada titik inilah ayat ini mengandung pesan pluralisme sosial atau toleransi.

<sup>15</sup> Aplikasi Qur'an Kemenag.

<sup>16</sup> Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, *Tafsir al-Munir fī 'Aqīdah: As-Syari'ah wa Manhaj*, jilid 2, terj. Abdul Hayyie al Kattani, dkk, (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2013), 48.

<sup>17</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian Al-Qur'an*, Vol. 1 (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2000), 513.

<sup>18</sup> Aplikasi Qur'an Kemenag.

Shihab menjelaskan bahwa ayat ini berkaitan dengan hubungan antar manusia, karena ayat ini tidak lagi menggunakan panggilan yang ditujukan kepada orang-orang beriman, tetapi kepada jenis manusia. Bagian ayat pertama mengandung pengantar untuk menegaskan bahwa derajat kemanusiaan semua manusia itu sama di sisi Allah. Perbedaan suku pun bukanlah sesuatu yang membedakan derajat satu orang dengan orang yang lain. Pada akhir ayat, dikatakan bahwasanya hanya ketaqwaanlah yang dapat mengantarkan seseorang bisa bersanding di sisi Allah.<sup>19</sup> Ayat ini turut mengajarkan kepada kita agar menerima sebuah kenyataan akan keberagaman. Keberagaman inilah yang akan membawa interaksi saling mengenal satu dengan yang lainnya demi memperkecil sebuah benturan. Sampai di sini, keberagaman bukanlah sebuah ancaman, ia akan melatih kita untuk bersikap toleransi dan menebar kasih sayang dalam berkehidupan di dunia.

Pada dasarnya, Islam mempunyai modal yang sangat besar dalam mewujudkan kehidupan harmonis karena al-Qur'an secara eksplisit menjelaskan pentingnya menjadikan takwa sebagai energi toleransi. Perbedaan jenis kelamin, suku, budaya, dan bangsa bukanlah penghalang dalam menyongsong masa depan yang lebih harmonis. Ajaran toleransi dalam Islam sesungguhnya mempunyai landasan teologis yang sangat kuat dan kukuh, karena didorong oleh spirit dari Tuhan. Hanya Tuhanlah yang Esa, sedangkan makhluknya yang beranekaragam. Dari sinilah kita bisa memulai untuk membangun toleransi yang berlandaskan petunjuk Tuhan Yang Maha Kasih, toleransi yang bertujuan membangun kesepahaman dan saling pengertian.<sup>20</sup>

### **Budaya Toleransi di Donggo Mbawa**

Masyarakat Donggo, khususnya daerah Mbawa bisa dikatakan sebagai masyarakat yang unik jika dilihat dari khazanah keagamaannya. Nuansa toleransi dan multi-religi di sana terasa sangat kental. Perbedaan agama yang dianut oleh masyarakat Donggo tidaklah membuat jarak dan *gap* psikologis antara pemeluk agama di sana, baik pemeluk Islam, Kristen, maupun aliran kepercayaan lokal lain. Di Bumi Donggo, lonceng penganut agama Kristen dan beduk maupun suara adzan orang Islam terdengar menggema secara harmonis. Hal ini menunjukkan betapa tingginya sikap dan rasa toleransi yang ada di Donggo Mbawa.<sup>21</sup>

Toleransi beragama di Donggo Mbawa dibuktikan juga dengan adanya sikap saling menghormati salah satu dari agama yang menjalankan ritual keagamaan. Ketika ada perayaan hari-hari besar keagamaan yang dilaksanakan di tempat ibadah masing-masing, kohesi masyarakat Mbawa terlibat intim dalam peleburan suka cita bersama. Mereka yang berlatar belakang beda agama saling mengapresiasi dan saling mengunjungi. Bentuk toleransi yang tinggi juga bisa dilihat saat bulan Ramadhan, di mana mereka yang beragama di luar Islam menghargai umat Muslim yang sedang menjalankan ibadah puasa dengan tidak ikut makan dan minum pada siang hari. Dalam hal ini, masyarakat Mbawa dan penduduknya menunjukkan adanya keberagaman agama atau budaya yang tinggi dari masyarakat Donggo yang mewakili Kabupaten Bima pada umumnya.

<sup>19</sup> Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah: Pesan... 620*.

<sup>20</sup> Misrawi, *Al-Qur'an Kitab Toleransi...*, 308.

<sup>21</sup> Mustahid H. Kako, Ghazaly A, *Peristiwa Donggo 1972 Sketsa Pergolakan Politik Bima Era Orde Baru*, Cetakan ke-II (Lombok Post Group: PT. Suaranusa Niaga Nusantara, 2017), 15.

Bentuk-bentuk toleransi yang ada di Desa Mbawa merupakan satu contoh dari tingginya sikap toleransi warga Desa. Bentuk-bentuk toleransi dapat berupa partisipasi masyarakat terhadap perayaan kegamaan salah satu agama dari ketiga agama yang ada di Desa Mbawa. Bentuk toleransi yang lainnya adalah saat adanya perayaan musiman seperti:

- a. Acara hajatan seperti upacara pernikahan, dalam hal ini masyarakat Donggo tanpa terkecuali saling membantu antar sesama baik berupa materi ataupun jasa. Dalam pernikahan sendiri ada beberapa rangkaian yang dilaksanakan sebelum berlangsungnya acara pernikahan. Pertama, yakni *Mbolo Weki* (musyawarah). Dalam musyawarah ini dibicarakan sekitar keperluan atau biaya yang dibutuhkan yang bertujuan untuk menimbulkan partisipasi kedua keluarga yang berhajat dan juga masyarakat dengan suka rela.<sup>22</sup> Kedua, *wa'a co'i* (pengantaran mahar). Upacara *wa'a co'i* selalu dihadiri oleh wakil-wakil dari calon pengantin laki-laki dan wakil dari calon pengantin puteri dengan disaksikan oleh penghulu, kepala desa, pemuka masyarakat lainnya termasuk masyarakat yang berbeda keyakinan juga turut serta memeriahkan proses berlangsungnya acWra. Ketiga, upacara *Tekara Ne'e* (pemberian sumbangan), dalam hal ini masyarakat memberikan sumbangan kepada pihak keluarga yang melangsungkan perkawinan berupa uang, beras, dan lain sebagainya sebagai antusias atau persaudaraan untuk saling tolong menolong. Hal ini dilakukan dengan maksud di samping untuk meringankan beban yang dialami oleh keluarga pengantin atau juga bisa dikatakan sebagai solidaritas dan hubungan kekeluargaan. Keempat, *Jambuta* (pesta), dalam kegiatan ini juga masyarakat bergotong royong seperti membangun tenda dan menyiapkan makanan untuk dihidangkan saat acara inti berlangsung.
- b. Upacara Khitanan  
Deretan kegiatan acara khitanan yang umumnya berlaku di Bima termasuk Donggo Mbawa berlangsung selama dua hari<sup>23</sup>, yaitu: acara *kanpanca* dan *compo sari*.
- c. Upacara *kasaro* (acara untuk orang meninggal), Upacara sapisari (penguburan), Doa Rasa (do'a kampung) yang diadakan lima tahun sekali, tari *kalero* dan pesta *raju*. Tari *kalero* merupakan atraksi tarian tertua di Tanah Bima. *Kalero* merupakan tarian pelepasan arwah yang berasal dari tradisi masyarakat Donggo lama untuk menghormati dan melepas kepergian anggota keluarga, sahabat dan kerabat keharibaan Yang Maha Kuasa. *Kalero* adalah tarian dan nyanyian yang berisi ratapan, pujian, pengharapan, dan penghormatan terhadap arwah. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari atribut yang dikenakan yang didominasi warna hitam, mulai dari baju hingga sarung.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Fachrir Rahman, *Islam di Nusa Tenggara Barat Proses Masuk dan Penyebarannya*, Cet. I (Yogyakarta: Alam Tara Learning Institute, 2012), 16.

<sup>23</sup> Rahman, *Islam di Nusa Tenggara Barat.*, 23.

<sup>24</sup> Rahman, *Islam di Nusa Tenggara Barat.*,40.





**Gambar 1**  
Tari Kalero

Sumber: <https://alanmalingi.wordpress.com/2016/09/27/tarian-pelepas-arwah/> diakses pada tanggal 02 Oktober 2020.

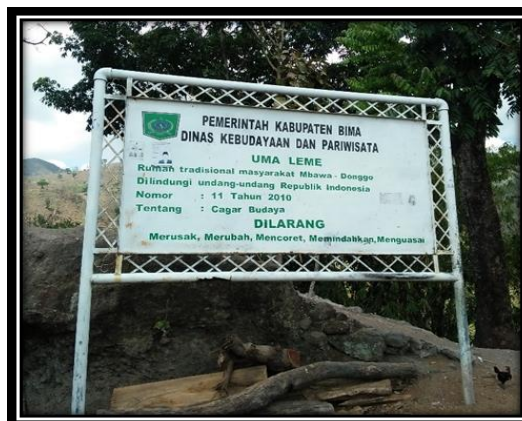
Sedangkan Upacara *raju* merupakan hari besar bagi masyarakat Donggo Mbawa, pada hari itu dilakukan berbagai rangkaian acara perayaan. Dimulai dari musyawarah besar para ketua klan atau yang disebut dengan klan atau *ndo'i* untuk menentukan hari *raju*. Perayaan hari *raju* biasanya dilakukan pada bulan Oktober atau sebelum masa tanam selama tujuh hari.<sup>25</sup> Akan tetapi seiring berkembangnya zaman dan juga masuknya Islam di tanah Bima yang terpencar di berbagai seluruh pelosok desa, membuat sebagian masyarakat Mbawa sadar bahwa apa yang telah dilakukan selama ini bertentangan dengan ajaran al-Qur'an dan penyampain para mubaligh atau penyiar agama Islam saat itu.

Selain itu, simbol kerukunan umat beragama di puncak Donggo (Mbawa) bisa dilihat dengan adanya *uma leme*.<sup>26</sup> *Uma leme* merupakan sebuah simbol kedamaian yang mampu menyatukan perbedaan keyakinan antar umat beragama yang terletak di desa Mbawa. *Uma leme* ini diakui sebagai tempat bermusyawarah antar umat beragama dalam setiap menyelesaikan suatu persoalan. Fungsi *uma leme* menjadi amat sangat penting, *uma leme* sebagai pusat toleransi dan sumber penyatuan antar umat beragama. Dan juga *uma leme* sebagai pusat orientasi penyelenggara upacara *raju*.<sup>27</sup> Dalam hal ini, upacara *raju* dan *uma leme* dapat dijadikan rujukan kesadaran sosial antar umat beragama.

<sup>25</sup> Rahman, *Islam di Nusa Tenggara Barat...*,23.

<sup>26</sup> "Uma" berarti: rumah. Sedangkan "Leme" berarti: kerucut.

<sup>27</sup> I Made Purna, "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Desa Mbawa Dalam Mewujudkan Toleransi Beragama, Balai Pelestarian Nilai Budaya Bali, NTB, NTT", *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* 1, no. 2 (2016): 273.



**Gambar 1**  
Cagar Budaya Uma Leme



**Gambar V**  
Cagar Budaya Uma Leme

Bentuk toleransi keagamaan juga bisa dilihat dalam kehidupan beragama melalui kearifan lokal, seperti pemberian nama. Pada masyarakat Mbawa pemberian nama dari dua bahkan tiga agama sebagai keyakinannya sudah tidak asing lagi. Padahal agama yang dianut dan diyakininya hanya satu agama. Namun untuk penghormatan karena agama merupakan ciptaan Tuhan maka seorang warga sangat banyak mengutip dan mencontoh tokoh-tokoh maupun nabi-nabi dari dua agama yang berbeda. Strategi seperti ini belum tentu dapat diterapkan pada etnik maupun daerah lain untuk mewujudkan toleransi beragama. Namun bagi etnik Donggo yang berada di desa Mbawa akan merasa aman, bermoral, dan sudah terbukti hasilnya dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat. Pada umumnya nama-nama tersebut digunakan oleh pemeluk agama Katolik dan Protestan sebagai bentuk pengejawantahan terhadap sikap toleransi.<sup>28</sup>

Hal ini terbukti saat penulis memawancarai salah satu masyarakat yang memiliki nama campuran tersebut, seperti Lukas Muhammad. Ia menjelaskan bahwa pemberian nama tersebut sebagai do'a dan harapan dari orang tua sehingga nantinya diharapkan bisa mencontoh perilaku setiap kata yang ada dalam nama. Walaupun pada dasarnya nama Muhammad identik dengan nama dari kaum Muslim yang merupakan nama seorang contoh teladan dalam umat Islam, yakni nabi Muhammad Saw. Selain itu sebagai wujud dari rasa toleransi itu sendiri.<sup>29</sup>Toleransi beragama menjadi hal yang harus diperhatikan oleh setiap elemen masyarakat. Agama sebagai perantara individu terhadap Tuhan haruslah memiliki kedudukan yang setara. Pentingnya menjaga sikap toleransi beragama adalah untuk menciptakan kerukunan di masyarakat, terutama masyarakat multikultural seperti Desa Mbawa.

Perwujudan interaksi dalam pergaulan antar umat beragama di Desa Mbawa pun direalisasikan dengan cara: *pertama*, setiap penganut agama mengakui eksistensi agama-agama lain dan menghormati segala hak asasi penganutnya. *Ketiga*, dalam pergaulan bermasyarakat setiap penganut agama menampakkan sikap saling menghormati dan menghargai. *Ketiga*, dalam masalah kematian baik dari pihak Kristen maupun Islam, masyarakat Mbawa masih kental dengan sifat gotong royong dalam hal menggali kubur. *Keempat*, Dalam hal pernikahan masyarakat Mbawa masih kental dengan sikap saling

<sup>28</sup> Purna, "Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat...", :267-268.

<sup>29</sup> Wawancara dengan Lukas Muhammad pada tanggal 28 Juli 2020.

membantu antar umat beragama. Begitupun dalam hal pembangunan, baik membangun sarana umum maupun pribadi masih juga dengan sikap saling kerja sama antar umat beragama.<sup>30</sup> Selain kegiatan-kegiatan di atas, dalam kehidupan sehari-hari pun seluruh umat beragama di desa Mbawa selalu mengedepankan asas kerukunan, seperti dalam kegiatan jual beli, relasi bisnis, dan lainnya.

### **Makna Obyektif Ayat-Ayat Toleransi menurut Masyarakat Mbawa**

Bagi Karl Manheim, makna obyektif adalah suatu makna yang berlaku bagi semua orang atau makna yang ditentukan oleh suatu konteks sosial di mana tindakan tersebut berlangsung.<sup>31</sup> Selain itu, makna obyektif merupakan suatu makna dari tindakan yang dapat diperoleh dengan cara melihat secara langsung suatu konteks sosial yang mempengaruhinya. Makna obyektif digunakan untuk mencari makna dasar atau makna asli.<sup>32</sup> Sehingga melalui makna obyektif, penulis menemukan keadaan sosial yang memengaruhi pemaknaan para pelaku dalam mengamalkan nilai-nilai toleransi yang sesuai dengan petunjuk ayat-ayat al-Qur'an.

Makna Obyektif dari pemahaman tentang ayat-ayat toleransi ini adalah sebuah kegiatan yang ditanamkan kepada seluruh masyarakat Muslim desa Mbawa yang diharapkan akan menjadi sebuah kebiasaan yang dilakukan secara istiqomah dalam menerapkan sikap toleransi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari.

Tabel 1. Makna obyektif atas ayat-ayat toleransi

<b>Makna Obyektif</b>
Rasa Patuh Terhadap Tokoh Agama
Sebagai Bentuk Sosial Kemanusiaan
Melatih Tanggung Jawab
Menambah Ketakwaan
Menambah Ketakwaan
Realisasi dari semboyan Maja Labo Dahu
Implementasi dari <i>Nggusu Waru</i>

Makna Obyektif dari pemahaman tentang ayat-ayat toleransi ini diantaranya:

a. Rasa Patuh Terhadap Tokoh Agama

Masyarakat Mbawa sebagai masyarakat heterogen masih sangat menghargai petuah para pemuka agama atau orang-orang tua di desanya. Penghormatan dan rasa patuh terhadap orang yang dituakan dan tokoh agama di sini masih sangat tinggi. Masyarakat tidak akan bertindak dan berbuat sendiri-sendiri, bilamana dilarang oleh tokoh agamanya atau yang dituakan. Dengan demikian hal inilah yang menjadikan *Dou* (suku) Mbawa selalu menjaga kerukunan dalam hidup berdampingan antar sesama pemeluk agama lainnya.

b. Sebagai Bentuk Sosial Kemanusiaan

<sup>30</sup> Masni Zuriatin, "Dinamika Kehidupan Sosial Budaya Masyarakat Islam di Desa Mbawa Kecamatan Donggo Kabupaten Bima" *Jurnal Pendidikan IPS* 4, no. 2 (2014): 846.

<sup>31</sup> Gregory Baum, *Agama dalam Bayang-Bayang Relativisme, Kebenaran dan Sosiologi Pengetahuan*, terj. Ahmad Murtajib Chaeri dan Masyhuri Arw, 15.

<sup>32</sup> Karl Manheim, *Essay on The Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Brodway House, 1954), 43.

Praktik toleransi tersebut merupakan sebuah bentuk sosial kemanusiaan, menjadikan masyarakat aman dan tentram tanpa adanya konflik yang tidak diinginkan serta meredam masyarakat yang ingin berbuat negatif antara sesama. Terlebih karena masyarakat Mbawa seluruhnya adalah berasal dari satu darah dan terikat dengan prinsip *mori sama* (hidup bersama).<sup>33</sup> Hal ini yang membuat masyarakat Mbawa tetap selalu rukun dan damai dalam nafas kebajikan.

c. Melatih Tanggung Jawab

Dalam hasil wawancara dengan masyarakat dusun Mbawa I, tidak sedikit dari mereka yang memahami bagaimana pengamalan ayat-ayat toleransi. Di sisi lain, di antara mereka juga ada beranggapan bahwa pengamalan ayat-ayat toleransi hanya sebagai rutinitas untuk menggugurkan kewajiban. Meskipun demikian, semangat masyarakat dalam mengamalkan ayat-ayat toleransi perlu dicontoh untuk umum.

d. Menambah Ketakwaan

Dalam makna ini yang lebih berperan adalah tokoh agama, sebagaimana hasil wawancara dengan tokoh agama dusun Mbawa I menuturkan bahwasanya kegiatan penyampaian ayat-ayat al-Qur'an khususnya ayat-ayat toleransi tersebut sebagai bentuk ibadah rutinitas masyarakat untuk membangkitkan semangat dalam hidup berdampingan dengan pemeluk agama lainnya demi menjaga persatuan dan keutuhan masyarakat Mbawa, terlebih sebagai bentuk ibadah semata-mata untuk mendekatkan diri kepada Allah SWT.<sup>34</sup>

e. Realisasi dari semboyan *Maja Labo Dahu*

Pada umumnya masyarakat Bima-Donggo memegang teguh budaya atau kultur yang disebut "*Maja ro Dahu*". *Maja*: malu terhadap sesama manusia, dan *Dahu*: takut kepada Allah Swt yang Maha Mengetahui dan Maha Kuasa di dunia sampai akhirat kelak. Budaya *Maja ro Dahu* itulah yang menjadi manajemen pengendali, antisipasi berbuat maksiat atau kejahatan yang melanggar ketetapan adat. Dalam ajaran agama Islam yang menjadi teologi *Dou Donggo* disebut iman dan taqwa. Sebab kata Nabi: الحياء من الإيمان. Mereka betul-betul taat dan patuh dengan penuh kesadaran sendiri, apa yang diperintahkan tentu dikerjakan dan apa yang dilarang mereka menjauhkan dirinya dari kejahatan yang melanggar adat karena dianggap mendobrak tabu kultural yang sudah mendarah-daging dalam lanskap kultural *Dou Donggo* yang tidak lepas dari koridor adat maupun budaya.<sup>35</sup>

Hal ini mencerminkan bahwa masyarakat Donggo Mbawa secara tidak langsung merealisasikan ayat al-Qur'an yang mengandung perintah dan larangan untuk keselamatan hidup manusia di dunia dan di akhirat, yakni dalam QS. An-Na}hl ayat 90 :

﴿ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاءِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ وَيَنْهَىٰ عَنِ الْفَحْشَاءِ وَالْمُنْكَرِ وَالْبَغْيِ يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَذَكَّرُونَ ﴾

90. Sesungguhnya Allah menyuruh (kamu) berlaku adil dan berbuat kebajikan, memberi bantuan kepada kerabat, dan Dia melarang (melakukan) perbuatan

<sup>33</sup> Diolah dari hasil wawancara dengan Ma'ruf S. Pd. I salah satu tokoh agama dusun Sangari I tanggal 10 Juli 2020.

<sup>34</sup> Diolah dari hasil wawancara dengan Imran, S.Ag salah satu tokoh agama dusun Mbawa I tanggal 12 Juli 2020.

<sup>35</sup> Mustahid H. Kako, Ghazaly A., *Peristiwa Donggo 1972 Sketsa Pergolakan Politik Bima Era Orde Baru*, Cetakan ke-II (Lombok Post Group: PT. Suaranusa Niaga Nusantara, 2017), 41-42.

*keji, kemungkaran, dan permusuhan. Dia memberi pengajaran kepadamu agar kamu dapat mengambil pelajaran.*<sup>36</sup>

f. Implementasi dari *Nggusu Waru*<sup>37</sup>

Pada dasarnya, masyarakat Bima memiliki ragam budaya dan tradisi sosial masyarakat. Hingga saat ini, hal tersebut masih berjalan dan dinilai bersesuaian dengan ajaran Islam, tanpa harus meninggalkan ajaran tradisi budaya setempat. Dalam hal ini, *nggusu waru* merupakan implementasi dari asas pluralisme dan toleransi yang bersifat demokratis dan terbuka. Sehingga tradisi budaya *nggusu waru* secara substansial dimiliki oleh masyarakat Bima, baik dari lintas budaya, lintas etnis, maupun lintas agama. Tradisi *nggusu waru* sendiri berpotensi dapat dikontekstualisasikan di tengah keberagaman tradisi budaya sosial yang bertujuan pada penciptaan masyarakat yang humanis serta menghargai nilai-nilai kemanusiaan terhadap realitas kehidupan yang beragam.

g. Sebagai sarana untuk memuliakan satu sama lain

Sebagaimana wawancara peneliti dengan tokoh agama Dusun Sangari I, Ma'ruf menuturkan:

“Dalam kehidupan yang serba majemuk dalam berbagai sisi ini sangat penting sikap saling menghormati dan memuliakan satu sama lain”.<sup>38</sup>

Dalam menguatkan argumennya, beliau merujuk kepada surat Al-Isra' ayat 70:

﴿وَلَقَدْ كَرَّمْنَا بَنِي آدَمَ وَحَمَلْنَاهُمْ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ وَرَزَقْنَاهُمْ مِّنَ الطَّيِّبَاتِ وَفَضَّلْنَاهُمْ عَلَىٰ كَثِيرٍ مِّمَّنْ خَلَقْنَا تَفْضِيلًا ۗ﴾<sup>٧٠٤</sup>

*70. Dan sungguh, Kami telah memuliakan anak cucu Adam, dan Kami angkat mereka di darat dan di laut. Kami beri mereka rezeki dari yang baik-baik dan Kami lebihkan mereka di atas banyak makhluk yang Kami ciptakan dengan kelebihan yang sempurna.*<sup>39</sup>

Harapan tokoh agama kepada masyarakat yakni agar tetap istiqomah mengamalkan ayat-ayat toleransi, tidak hanya di dalam lingkungan desa saja melainkan juga dapat diamalkan kapanpun dan dimanapun mereka berada. Karena, bukan hanya diharuskan bertoleransi dengan non-muslim tetapi juga dengan sesama saudara muslim lainnya. Sebagaimana wawancara peneliti dengan kedua informan:

“Harapan kami selaku tokoh agama di sini kepada masyarakat Mbawa dapat mengamalkan ayat-ayat toleransi yang telah kami sampaikan, selain karena sikap toleransi sudah

<sup>36</sup> Aplikasi Qur'an Kemenag.

<sup>37</sup> *Nggusu Waru* secara bahasa berasal dari dua suku kata “*Nggusu*” dan “*Waru*”. *Nggusu* berarti; segi empat atau pijar. Sedangkan *Waru* berarti; delapan. Secara istilah *Nggusu Waru* dapat diartikan sebagai: Delapan sifat atau watak-laku (karakteristik) yang harus dimiliki oleh seorang pemimpin sultan sekaligus masyarakat. Terciptanya konsep kepemimpinan ini atas dasar penyatuan nilai-nilai agama, sejarah, dan budaya masyarakat Bima.

<sup>38</sup> Diolah dari hasil wawancara dengan Ma'ruf, S. Pd. I selaku tokoh agama dusun Sangari I tanggal 10 Juli 2020

<sup>39</sup> Aplikasi Qur'an Kemenag.

mengakar sejak dahulu melalui kearifan lokal dan budaya lainnya, dengan begitu masyarakat akan lebih berhubungan langsung dengan al-Qur'an".<sup>40</sup>

Kerukunan antar umat beragama di Donggo khususnya Mbawa merupakan *capital sosial-cultural* sangat mendukung pembangunan fisik yang sedang menggeliat. Hal ini bisa dilihat dari umat bergama disana yang jarang sekali terjadi ketegangan, meskipun ditimpa kondisi alam yang begitu keras. Kondisi damai yang tercipta di Donggo Mbawa berkat "turun tangan" tokoh kharismatik Bumi *Ncuhi*<sup>41</sup> untuk mendamaikan persoalan secara kekeluargaan, menjunjung tinggi adat istiadat. Secara etnologis dan sosio-antropologis, manusia Donggo adalah manusia yang memiliki dinamika tinggi karena tempaan alam begitu keras, namun penuh cita rasa damai.<sup>42</sup> Hal ini tidak terlepas dari filosofi *Dou* Donggo yang luhur nan menjunjung tinggi silaturahmi dan menghargai antar sesama. Tanpa disadari, kebiasaan mereka dalam mengamalkan ayat-ayat toleransi mendapatkan timbal balik yang dirasakan.

### **Makna Ekspresif Ayat-Ayat Toleransi menurut Masyarakat Mbawa**

Makna Ekspresif adalah makna yang diresepsi secara personal dari orang-orang yang terintegrasi dalam praktik toleransi di desa tersebut. Karl Manheim menyebutnya juga dengan aktor tindakan atau pelaku tindakan sosial. Pada pelaksanaan praktik toleransi di desa tersebut, tokoh agama menjadi aktor tindakan tunggal di dalamnya. Selain tokoh agama sebagai pelaku tindakan, adalah masyarakat yang terlibat juga di dalamnya, sehingga dari masing-masing-masing komponen tersebut akan ditemukan dan diverifikasi (keragaman) makna mengenai praktik toleransi yang ada di desa tersebut. Seperti yang telah diuraikan di atas, penulis membagi menjadi dua kategori:

*Pertama*, Makna menurut tokoh agama Donggo Mbawa. Memahami dan memaknai ayat toleransi yang dilakukan beberapa tokoh atau orang yang ahli dalam bidang ini, di desa Mbawa merupakan bentuk dari sebuah pengalaman atau reflektivitas dan aplikasi dalam bermasyarakat setiap harinya. Sebagaimana yang dikatakan oleh seorang filsuf Ricour bahwa: "karena kita harus memahami supaya dapat percaya, dan kita harus percaya supaya dapat memahami."

Dalam surah al-Baqarah, Imran menjelaskan bahwa ayat tersebut dapat kita maknai toleransi dua hal yaitu dalam bidang akidah:

"Kami bertoleransi dengan rasa percaya saja tidak sampai mengikuti. Atau bisa dikatakan karena berlandaskan suatu alasan menghormati menjadikan kita harus mempercayai akidah mereka, yang kedua adalah toleransi dalam bidang muamalah, selagi mereka masih berlandaskan pada Al-Qur'an dan sunnah dan tidak mengusik yang lainnya kami menghormati apa yang mereka lakukan. Ayat ini mengajarkan juga kepada kita harus berlapang dada dan sikap ketidakpedulian demi menjaga tauhid masing masing".<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Diolah dari hasil wawancara dengan kedua tokoh agama desa Mbawa.

<sup>41</sup> *Ncuhi* merupakan sebuah jabatan kepala masyarakat Suku Mbojo (Bima) yang juga berarti Kepala Suku. *Ncuhi* sudah ada sebelum kerajaan Bima terbentuk pada abad 12 M. Setelah kerajaan Bima terbentuk, keberadaan *Ncuhi* masih tetap pada fungsinya yaitu sebagai kepala suku/ketua komunitas masyarakat, terlebih yang menempati wilayah pegunungan.

<sup>42</sup> Kako, Ghazaly A., *Peristiwa Donggo 1972...*, 18.

<sup>43</sup> Wawancara dengan Imran, S. Ag selaku tokoh agama dusun Mbawa I tanggal 19 Juli 2020.

Dalam QS. al-Kafirūn, ia menuturkan:

“Ayat ini merupakan landasan pertama yang harus dipegang sebagai dasar toleransi. Dan bahwa sudah sangat jelas tidak ada toleransi dalam beragama, di mana agama yang kita anut hanya untuk diri kita dan kita juga tidak harus mengikuti atau melakukan apa yang disembah atau diyakini oleh orang lain. Akan tetapi, hal tersebut juga tidak membenarkan sifat membenci kita pada agama lain di luar agama Islam, karena meskipun tidak ada toleransi dalam aqidah, namun kita tetap wajib menghormati apa yang menjadi keyakinan mereka. Sehingga keberagaman yang ada di desa Mbawa ini bisa berjalan selaras selama penduduk agama lain tidak pernah memaksa kita untuk memeluk keyakinan yang sama dengan mereka, begitupun sebaliknya. Yang bisa kami lakukan hanya berdakwah dan menyebarkan nilai-nilai Islam untuk sesama umat muslim, sedangkan hidayah tetap menjadi keputusan Allah Swt”.<sup>44</sup>

Makna dalam Qs. Al-Ḥujurāt, ia menjelaskan:

“Manusia diciptakan sama, tidak ada perbedaan dari segi penciptaan. Allah pun menjadikan berbeda suku dan bangsa agar manusia dapat bekerja sama satu sama lain dengan berbagai macam latar belakang, golongan, suku dan bangsa. Perbedaan yang ditimbulkan sengaja Allah ciptakan untuk menarik minat satu sama lain agar saling mengenal untuk kemudian dapat saling bekerja sama dan tolong menolong yang sesuai anjuran Allah.

Beliau juga memperkuat argumennya dengan mengutip QS. Al-Ma’idah: 2 yang berbunyi:

...وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ ۖ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ ۗ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ ۖ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ ۚ

*2. Dan tolong-menolonglah kamu dalam (mengerjakan) kebajikan dan takwa, dan jangan tolong-menolong dalam berbuat dosa dan permusuhan. Bertakwalah kepada Allah, sungguh, Allah sangat berat siksaan-Nya.*<sup>45</sup>

Melalui ayat tersebut, beliau berharap masyarakat Mbawa pada umumnya mampu meredam dan membendung derasnya arus kemaksiatan dan permusuhan yang juga dibangun dengan prinsip *ta’awun* (kerjasama) yang solid dan berkesinambungan, sehingga dengan turunnya ayat ini akan memudahkan pekerjaan, dan menampilkan persatuan dan keutuhan umat. Jangan sampai ini menimbulkan perpecahan di antara sesama, namun sebaliknya harus menimbulkan hubungan yang harmonis demi keberlangsungan hidup berdampingan. Melalui surah ini juga, beliau menekankan kepada masyarakatnya untuk tidak saling memandang perbedaan, baik itu dari yang keyakinan di luar Islam maupun dengan keyakinan yang sama.<sup>46</sup>

Dengan merujuk pada QS. Al-Baqarah Ma’ruf, salah satu tokoh dusun Sangari Mbawa, menjelaskan bahwa:

“Kedamaian tidak dapat diraih kalau jiwa tidak damai. Paksaan menyebabkan jiwa tidak damai, karena itu tidak ada paksaan dalam menganut keyakinan agama Islam.

<sup>44</sup> Wawancara dengan Imran, S. Ag selaku tokoh agama dusun Mbawa I tanggal 20 Juli 2020.

<sup>45</sup> Aplikasi Qur’an Kemenag.

<sup>46</sup> Wawancara dengan Imran, S. Ag selaku tokoh agama dusun Mbawa I tanggal 23 Juli 2020.

Sebab kebebasan beragama merupakan bagian dari penghormatan terhadap hak-hak manusia yang sangat mendasar. Tugas seorang Nabi, demikian juga seorang da'i hanyalah menyampaikan risalah, bukan untuk memaksa dan menguasai. Oleh karenanya, tidak boleh ada seorang manusia yang didzalimi, ditindas, dan direnggut kebebasannya karena pemaksaan dalam bentuk keyakinan tidak akan membuat seseorang yang dipaksa merasakan kebebasan akan hal pilih karena kebebasan beragama berkaitan dengan fitrah setiap manusia, bahwa sesungguhnya ke arah kebaikan seseorang memiliki martabat yang sangat tinggi, memiliki akal, dan pikiran yang berguna untuk menentukan antara kebaikan dan keburukan. Oleh karena itu, kebebasan dalam beragama merupakan fitrah yang dikaruniakan oleh Allah Swt sejak lahir sebagaimana karunianya berbentuk persamaan dan kedudukan mulia".<sup>47</sup>

Ia juga menjelaskan dengan merujuk pada QS. Al-Kāfirūn:

"Dalam surat ini jelas dikatakan bahwa prinsip Islam tidak mengenal toleransi akidah. Hal ini berarti bahwa umat Islam tidak dibenarkan beribadah selain kepada Allah Swt. Hanya saja yang kami tekankan kepada masyarakat di sini yakni terkait dengan toleransi dalam hal muamalah, atau saling gotong royong dan saling menolong satu sama lain antar sesama pemeluk agama yang ada di sini, mengingat bahwa kami masyarakat Mbawa berasal dari satu rumpun. Karena dalam al-Qur'an juga ada batasan-batasan toleransi yang telah dijelaskan, salah satunya dalam QS. Al-Fath : 29:

مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ أَشِدَّاءُ عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَاءُ بَيْنَهُمْ تَرَاهُمْ رُكَّعًا سُجَّدًا يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانًا سِيمَاهُمْ فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ مِّنْ أَثَرِ السُّجُودِ ذَٰلِكَ مَثَلُهُمْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَمَثَلُهُمْ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ كَرَزَعٍ أُخْرِجَ شَطْهُ فَازْرَهُ فَاسْتَغْلَظَ فَاسْتَوَىٰ عَلَىٰ سَوْقِهِ ۖ يُعْجِبُ الزَّرَّاعَ لِيغِيظَ بِهِمُ الْكُفَّارَ ۗ وَعَدَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ مِنْهُمْ مَغْفِرَةً ۖ وَأَجْرًا عَظِيمًا ٢٩

29. Muhammad adalah utusan Allah dan orang-orang yang bersama dengan dia bersikap keras terhadap orang-orang kafir, tetapi berkasih sayang sesama mereka. Kamu melihat mereka rukuk dan sujud mencari karunia Allah dan keridaan-Nya. Pada wajah mereka tampak tanda-tanda bekas sujud. Demikianlah sifat-sifat mereka (yang diungkapkan) dalam Taurat dan sifat-sifat mereka (yang diungkapkan) dalam Injil, yaitu seperti benih yang mengeluarkan tunasnya, kemudian tunas itu semakin kuat lalu menjadi besar dan tegak lurus di atas batangnya; tanaman itu menyenangkan hati penanam-penanamnya karena Allah hendak menjengkelkan hati orang-orang kafir (dengan kekuatan orang-orang mukmin). Allah menjanjikan kepada orang-orang yang beriman dan mengerjakan kebajikan di antara mereka, ampunan dan pahala yang besar.<sup>48</sup>

Jelas bahwa ayat ini membahas tentang anjuran umat muslim agar bersikap keras kepada orang-orang non-muslim pada waktu dan kondisi tertentu. Hal ini yang kemudian menjadikan kami mewanti-wanti masyarakat Mbawa dalam bertoleransi secara baik dan

<sup>47</sup> Wawancara dengan Ma'rif S. Pd. I selaku tokoh agama dusun Sangari I tanggal 22 Juli 2020.

<sup>48</sup> Aplikasi Qur'an Kemenag.



benar sesuai al-Qur'an, sehingga nantinya tidak ada lagi yang namanya konflik atau perpecahan antar umat beragama.<sup>49</sup>

Secara garis besar praktik toleransi dalam bidang muamalah yang dilakukan oleh masyarakat Donggo Mbawa masih berpegang teguh pada al-Qur'an, sebagaimana yang terdapat dalam QS. An-Nahl :125:

أَدْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجَادِلْهُمْ بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ ۚ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ  
بِمَنْ ضَلَّ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ۗ وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ ۝ ١٢٥

125. Serulah (manusia) kepada jalan Tuhanmu dengan hikmah dan pengajaran yang baik, dan berdebatlah dengan mereka dengan cara yang baik. Sesungguhnya Tuhanmu, Dialah yang lebih mengetahui siapa yang sesat dari jalan-Nya dan Dialah yang lebih mengetahui siapa yang mendapat petunjuk.<sup>50</sup>

Kebersamaan dan saling peduli walau mereka berbeda tetap terjaga akan kerukunan, keamanan dan perdamaianya. Jika ada gesekan tidak akan terjadi begitu lama, karena saling terbuka dan mau bermusyawarah lebih-lebih mengingat mereka berasal dari satu rumpun yang sama dengan adanya prinsip *mori sama*.

Kedua, Makna menurut masyarakat Donggo Mbawa. Hal ini dapat ditunjukkan dalam tabel wawancara berikut ini:

Tabel 2. Makna Ekspresif Ayat Toleransi menurut masyarakat Donggo

<b>Makna Ekspresif Toleransi</b>
Dengan adanya toleransi, kita dapat menghargai dan menghormati kegiatan yang dilakukan masyarakat sekitar, khususnya kehidupan antar umat beragama. Selain itu, kita harus tetap mengeratkan tali silaturahmi baik antar sesama umat beragama maupun yang berbeda agama. Terlebih lagi mengingat bahwa masyarakat Mbawa berasal dari satu keturunan atau satu nenek moyang. Oleh karena itu kami di sini sangat menjunjung tinggi nilai-nilai toleransi itu sendiri sebagai bentuk kepatuhan kami terhadap firman Allah melalui ayat-ayat al-Qur'an tentang toleransi yang disampaikan oleh para tokoh agama yang ada di desa kami. <sup>51</sup>
Melalui ayat-ayat yang disampaikan oleh tokoh agama di desa kami, saya memahami bahwasanya hidup berdampingan dengan orang yang tidak sepaham atau seakidah dengan kita dijadikan sebagai keberkahan dari Allah SWT bahwasanya Allah menunjukkan kepada kita untuk saling peduli dan toleransi terhadap orang lain meskipun berbeda keyakinan dengan kita. <sup>52</sup>
Penyampaian ayat-ayat toleransi di kalangan masyarakat yang dilakukan oleh para tokoh agama sangat mempengaruhi pola pikir kami akan pentingnya hidup toleran dengan saudara kami yang berbeda keyakinan dengan kami. Walaupun pada dasarnya sikap toleran telah ada sejak dahulu, karena kami terikat oleh prinsip <i>mori sama</i> . <sup>53</sup>
Kerukunan yang kami bangun tidak hanya berangkat dari posisi minoritas dan mayoritas satu umat beragama, namun berangkat dari kesadaran akan keberagaman yang telah ada sebelumnya. <sup>54</sup>
Dari dulu hingga sekarang kami diajarkan tentang pentingnya nilai dan makna kebersamaan kendati berbeda keyakinan, hal ini tentunya di dasari dengan pemahaman kami terhadap ayat al-Qur'an, khususnya ayat <i>lakum dinukum wa liya din</i> . Selain dari

<sup>49</sup> Wawancara dengan Ma'ruf S. Pd. I selaku tokoh agama dusun Sangari I tanggal 25 Juli 2020.

<sup>50</sup> Aplikasi Qur'an Kemenag.

<sup>51</sup> Wawancara dengan Umar Hasan salah satu warga dusun Mbawa I pada tanggal 27 Juli 2020.

<sup>52</sup> Wawancara dengan St. Hajar salah satu warga dusun Mbawa I tanggal 27 Juli 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Wawancara dengan H. Samsuddin salah satu warga dusun Mbawa I tanggal 27 Juli 2020.

<sup>54</sup> Wawancara dengan H. Mustamin salah satu warga dusun Sangari I tanggal 29 Juli 2020.

pada itu yang membuat kami mampu dan tetap bertahan tanpa adanya ketegangan antar umat beragama lainnya karena didasari persaudaraan. Yang pada awalnya kami semua yang ada di Mbawa sini adalah satu keturunan, setelah Islam masuk dan juga berbagai agama lainnya masuk di Mbawa, barulah kami menentukan jalan kami.<sup>55</sup>

Dari pemaparan beberapa masyarakat pada tabel 2, makna *ekspresif* yang telah dipaparkan dapat dikategorikan sebagai bentuk rasa patuh dan taat kepada seorang guru, sebagai aturan yang harus dijalankan dan dijadikan sebagai tanggungjawab dalam keberlangsungan hidup berdampingan dengan agama-agama lain sebagaimana yang telah diajarkan para tetua terdahulu mereka. Kemudian menunjukkan makna praktis dalam diri berupa pembentuk moral dalam diri yaitu meng-istiqomah-kan praktik sikap saling menghargai, menghormati satu sama lain, baik antar sesama muslim maupun non muslim yang ada di Donggo Mbawa.

### **Makna Dokumenter Ayat-Ayat Toleransi menurut Masyarakat Mbawa**

Makna dokumenter merupakan makna yang mengekspresikan aspek yang menunjuk pada kebudayaan secara keseluruhan. Makna ini diperoleh dengan melihat posisi pengamalan al-Qur'an terhadap konteks. Makna dokumenter dari pengamalan ayat-ayat toleransi ini dapat diketahui jika diteliti secara mendalam. Karena makna dokumenter adalah makna yang tersirat dan tersembunyi, yang secara tidak disadari bahwa dari suatu praktik pengamalan ayat ayat ini bisa menjadi suatu kebudayaan yang menyeluruh.

Para pelaku tindakan atau aktor dari tradisi tersebut tidak menyadari bahwa apa yang mereka lakukan dalam pengamalan ayat-ayat toleransi merupakan bagian dari makna menghidupkan al-Qur'an dalam lingkungan desa yang menimbulkan tiga resepsi terhadap masyarakat: *Pertama*, sebagai tradisi material, yaitu suatu keadaan di mana masyarakat menganggap bahwa pengamalan ayat-ayat tersebut merupakan aturan yang telah ada dan wajib diterapkan demi keberlangsungan hidup yang harmonis antar sesama. *Kedua*, tradisi religius atau praktik keberagamaan, yaitu masyarakat yang menerima suatu keadaan apa yang mereka lakukan termasuk dalam cara beragamanya dilihat dari praktik keberagamaan. *Ketiga*, tradisi simbolis, yaitu masyarakat menganggap bahwa apa yang mereka lakukan sesuai dengan makna lokus yang melingkupnya.

Jadi, tujuan utama tokoh agama menjadikan masyarakat Mbawa senantiasa mengamalkan ayat-ayat toleransi ialah membudayakan ayat dalam al-Qur'an untuk senantiasa dibaca dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Lebih dari itu, tujuan utamanya yakni diharapkan mampu menciptakan rasa aman, dan tenteram antara masyarakat dalam hidup berdampingan dengan yang berbeda keyakinan.

### **Penutup**

Artikel ini memperlihatkan bahwa: *pertama*, praktik toleransi di Mbawa merupakan satu praktik yang telah dilakukan jauh sebelum Islam masuk ke Bima. Masyarakat Mbawa telah memegang prinsip *mori sama* karena pada dasarnya mereka berasal dari satu nenek moyang. Kemudian setelah Islam dan juga agama lain masuk ke wilayah Donggo, masyarakat Mbawa mulai memisahkan diri dengan menentukan keyakinannya masing-

<sup>55</sup> Wawancara dengan Abdul Akhir, masyarakat Donggo Mbawa dusun Sangari I pada tanggal 29 Juli 2020.

masing. *Kedua*, pemahaman tokoh agama Islam Donggo Mbawa dan juga masyarakat terhadap ayat-ayat toleransi direalisasikan dalam bentuk saling menghormati, menghargai, dan menerima setiap perbedaan yang ada. Adapun bentuk dari sikap menghormati dan menghargai satu sama lain terwujud dalam acara-acara yang digelar di kampung, seperti: dalam acara pernikahan, acara khitanan, do'a rasa, do'a haji, upacara kasaro dan juga saat perayaan hari besar keagamaan satu sama lain. Bentuk toleransi yang tinggi juga dapat dilihat dari masyarakat Mbawa dalam kehidupan beragama melalui kearifan lokal, seperti pemberian nama. *Ketiga*, makna ayat-ayat toleransi dalam pemahaman tokoh agama Islam dan juga masyarakat Mbawa pada umumnya dilandasi dengan prinsip turun temurun yakni prinsip *mori sama*. Selain daripada itu, dilandasi dengan ayat-ayat toleransi yang ada di dalam al-Qur'an. Yang menjadi pedoman tokoh agama Islam di Mbawa yakni QS. Al-Kafirūn: 1-6, QS. al-Baqarah: 256, dan juga QS. Al-Hujurat: 13. Demikian halnya dengan masyarakat Mbawa, berlandaskan pada tiga surah yang disampaikan oleh tokoh agama.

Penggunaan konsep makna yang digunakan dalam tulisan ini berhasil mengungkap dimensi-dimensi makna dan jaringannya yang ada dalam struktur berpikir masyarakat Donggo Mbawa. Hal ini tercermin dalam tiga lapis makna yang menunjukkan bahwa pemahaman toleransi beragama di masyarakat Donggo memiliki pijakan teksnya dalam literatur teks Al-Qur'an sebagaimana telah ditunjukkan oleh para tokoh dan masyarakat Donggo. Di sini, artikel ini menegaskan bahwa suatu praktik ataupun tradisi akan dapat berjalan dan bertahan secara baik bilamana terdapat setidaknya dua komponen: *pertama*, adanya kultur yang mendukung praktik toleransi, yakni budaya local. *Kedua*, adanya struktur yang meniscayakan pandangan atau praktik seperti ini sehingga dapat bertahan dengan baik. Peran-peran actor atau agen dalam bentuk tokoh agama dan adat yang ada di masyarakat menegaskan bahwa strategi ini dapat dilanjutkan dan bahkan masih bertahan hingga saat ini. Perpaduan antara struktur dan kultur meniscayakan berjalannya praktik toleransi di masyarakat Donggo secara dinamis dan minus dari konflik-konflik horizontal.

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**2023**

## Contemporary Fragments in Islamic Interpretation: An Analysis of Gus Baha's Tafsir Jalalayn Recitation on YouTube in the Pesantren Tradition

*Fragmen Kontemporer dalam Tafsir Islam: Analisis Pembacaan Tafsir Jalalayn Gus Baha di YouTube dalam Tradisi Pesantren*

Mahfidhatul Khasanah<sup>(\*)</sup>, Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy<sup>(a)</sup>, Thoriqotul Faizah<sup>(a)</sup>

(\*) Corresponding Author, email: mahfidha25@gmail.com

(a) Department of Quranic Studies, Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga, Jl. Laksda Adisucipto, Kabupaten Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55281,

### Abstract

The impact of digital technology on Indonesian society has been profound, leading to changes in cultural and religious practices. This study focuses on the phenomenon of Gus Baha's Jalalayn Tafsir recitation on YouTube and aims to understand how this has become a contemporary fragment in the history of tafsir recitation in Indonesian pesantrens. The study employs a media theory approach popularized by Marshall McLuhan to analyze the workings and impact of this recent phenomenon. McLuhan's theory includes three main ideas, such as Medium is The Message and Medium as Extension of Man, which are used to explore the new workings of Gus Baha's Jalalayn Tafsir recitation on YouTube, as well as the Global Village and Technology Determinism to understand the impact of this phenomenon. The study seeks to answer two key questions: (1) how is the phenomenon of Gus Baha's Tafsir recitation on YouTube and (2) how it has become part of the long history of pesantren tradition. The results of this study will provide insights into how digital technology has changed religious practices in Indonesia and the role of YouTube in this change.

Keywords: Tafsir Jalalayn, Gus Baha, Pesantren Traditions, YouTube.

### Abstrak

Dampak teknologi digital terhadap masyarakat Indonesia sangat besar, yaitu dapat menyebabkan perubahan dalam praktik-praktik budaya dan keagamaan. Penelitian ini fokus pada fenomena pembacaan Tafsir Jalalayn Gus Baha di YouTube dan bertujuan untuk memahami bagaimana hal ini menjadi fragmen kontemporer dalam sejarah pembacaan tafsir di pesantren-pesantren di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan teori media yang dipopulerkan oleh Marshall McLuhan untuk menganalisis cara kerja dan dampak dari fenomena terbaru ini. Teori McLuhan mencakup tiga gagasan utama, yaitu Medium is The Message dan Medium as Extension of Man, yang digunakan untuk mengeksplorasi cara kerja baru pembacaan Tafsir Jalalayn Gus Baha di YouTube, serta wilayah Global dan Determinisme Teknologi untuk memahami dampak dari fenomena ini. Penelitian ini berusaha menjawab dua pertanyaan kunci: (1) bagaimana fenomena pengajian Tafsir Jalalayn Gus Baha di YouTube dan (2) bagaimana fenomena ini menjadi bagian dari sejarah panjang tradisi pesantren. Hasil dari penelitian ini mampu memberikan wawasan tentang bagaimana teknologi digital telah mengubah praktik keagamaan di Indonesia dan peran YouTube dalam perubahan ini.

Kata Kunci: Tafsir Jalalayn, Gus Baha, Tradisi Pesantren, YouTube.

## Introduction

Gus Baha', known as an eccentric and simple kiai figure, has now produced many interpretations on YouTube, which in the author's opinion has a lot of influence on the media. It can be seen in a number of accounts that later made videos of his audio recordings at the pesantren, appearing through many Youtube channels. Therefore, it shows that he is famous for the studies he delivered, such as the recitation of the Jalalayn classical book. The choice of delivery that hits will make it easier for the course to be accepted in the circle and can present according to interests and inclinations. It can be seen that it is important for kiai to be technologically literate, which in turn means that santri must also be technologically literate.<sup>1</sup> The kiai need to master the space for the public through the digital world. The development of social media has now filled the public space.<sup>2</sup>

As far as the author's searches go, the theme of the discussion that the author will study has been carried out by Indonesian Muslim scholars, including Muhammad Miftahuddin<sup>3</sup>, who in his article tries to classify the history of tafsir media in Indonesia that developed according to the context of the times. This article mentions the development in the media of delivering tafsir starting from the first era, namely oral media to the era of social media. In addition, Muhammad Fajar Mubarak, et al. mentioned the digitization of the Qur'an and tafsir.<sup>4</sup> A similar theme was also studied by Mabur.<sup>5</sup> Long before that, Fadhli Lukman had mentioned about Tafsir Sosial Media.<sup>6</sup> The transformation of da'i based on the yellow book (*kitab kuning*) on social media is found in an article by Aris Risdiana, et al.<sup>7</sup>

- 1 Babun Suharto dan Erma Fatmawati, "Digital Learning Transformation at Islamic Boarding Schools: Digital-Based Learning Patterns in Salaf and Modern Islamic Boarding Schools In Jember," *Journal of Positive School Psychology* 6, no. 2 (3 Maret 2022): 5319–29.
- 2 Jeffrey S. Juris, *Reflections on #Occupy Everywhere: Social Media, Public Space, and Emerging Logics of Aggregation* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
- 3 See the full article at Muhammad Miftahuddin, "Sejarah Media Penafsiran di Indonesia," *Nun: Jurnal Studi Alquran dan Tafsir di Nusantara* 6, no. 2 (30 Desember 2020): 117–43.
- 4 Muhamad Fajar Mubarak dan Muhamad Fanji Romdhoni, "Digitalisasi al-Qur'an dan Tafsir Media Sosial di Indonesia" 1, no. 1 (2021): 5. with the development of technology become very easy, including the Al-Qur'an and its interpretation. From the editorial, the author focuses this discussion on the question, "How is the digitization of the Qur'an and Tafsir in Indonesia?". The method used by the author is the qualitative method (library research)
- 5 Mabur, "Mabur, Era Digital dan Tafsir al Qur'an Nusantara: Studi Penafsiran Nadirsyah Hosen di Media Sosial.," *Prosiding Konferensi Integrasi Interkoneksi Islam dan Sains* 1 (Maret 2020).
- 6 Fadhli Lukman, "Tafsir Sosial Media di Indonesia," *Nun: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an dan tafsir* 2, no. 2 (2016).
- 7 In this article, Aris Risdiana et al. using a digital sociology approach by trying to see the progress of digital-based da'wah transformation using the yellow book (*kitab kuning*). See the full article at Aris Risdiana, Reza Bakhtiar Ramadhan, dan Imam Nawawi, "Transformasi Dakwah Berbasis 'Kitab Kuning' Ke Platform Digital," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 18, no. 1 (30 Juni 2020): 1–28. and that has been transformed into more inclusive. This paper studied activities of muslim leaders and mosques as the main actors of Islamic Da'wah

What distinguishes this research from other studies with the same subject is that this research focuses on the recitation of *Jalalayn* tafsir that intersects with technology by focusing on Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation on YouTube as a research case study. More specifically, this study seeks to see how Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation, which was originally offline, was finally mediated by new media, namely YouTube, which finally made the contemporary fragment of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation a new phenomenon in the long history of the *pesantren* tafsir recitation tradition that had existed so far.

The purpose of this paper complements the existing shortcomings by showing how Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation on YouTube social media with its various facilities appears as a new phenomenon in the history of *pesantren* tafsir studies. With YouTube facilities that are arguably new in the world of da'wah media, especially in the long history of *pesantren* tafsir so far, finally the recitation of Tafsir *Jalalayn*, which can usually only be obtained within the scope of *pesantren*, is now able to appear to the public with a new form that can be used in a new way as well. By applying McLuhan's media theories, such as *global village*, *medium as extension of man*, and *medium is the message*, various new phenomena of the emergence of *pesantren* interpretations on YouTube media are explained, so that new findings can be found regarding the intersection of the development of *pesantren*-based interpretation studies with new media technology.

This study is a research on the contemporary history of *pesantren* tafsir when it intersects with technology using media theory analysis and fieldwork. In this research, the author uses Gus Baha's tafsir recitation on social media as a research case study. The researcher collected data from various videos of Gus Baha's Qur'anic tafsir recitation uploaded on Youtube as well as tafsir *Jalalayn* which he used as a source of interpretation in his recitation. The selection of these two variables is based on the role of Youtube as the primary medium for disseminating Gus Baha' tafsir recitation videos in cyberspace, while tafsir *Jalalayn* throughout the history of its development was used as one of the sources of interpretation of the Qur'an which became a tradition of interpretation within the *pesantren* as a medium for establishing active interaction between kyai and santri, now in the hands of Gus Baha' also used as interaction with his online audience. Researchers conducted online searches to analyze audience responses reflected in the activities of social media users linked to Gus Baha' tafsir recitations, such as the action of giving likes, subscribing, commenting and other active interactions.

The popularity of Gus Baha's tafsir recitation was born through cyberspace,

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(preachers



which can be accessed by anyone anywhere. Likewise, fans and listeners are spread across various cities in the country. Therefore, researchers also conducted fieldwork in the form of direct interviews. Due to the limitations of conducting interviews with Gus Baha' directly, the researcher took the option of interviewing senior santri at PP. Rembang owned by Gus Baha' and several offline jama'ah who are the audience of Gus Baha's recitation. This interview is intended to find out how the influence of Gus Baha' tafsir studies in shaping their behavior and patterns of interaction with the Qur'an and to find out if there is a difference between offline tafsir studies that intersect with technology. Furthermore, for the completeness of data analysis, the author collects various information from various academic literatures related to *pesantren* traditions, *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation in Islamic boarding schools, social media tafsir studies, and so on.

### **Gus Baha's Recitation of Tafsir *Jalalayn* on YouTube as a New Media of the *Pesantren* Tafsir Tradition**

Gus Baha's recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* spread on YouTube as a new media referred to in this study is different from the old (traditional) media that previously developed within the scope of *pesantren*. The most prominent difference is the breadth of reach that can be penetrated and the form of its communication.<sup>8</sup> The new media is identical to internet-based technology,<sup>9</sup> which in this study is media in the form of YouTube. YouTube has a wider audience reach than the limited reach of traditional media of *pesantren* interpretation recitation. YouTube is able to reach unlimited space and time so that one can communicate quickly even internationally. This phenomenon is one of the positive impacts of the internet.<sup>10</sup> The internet in the current era has become a universal medium that has broken through geographical and social barriers.<sup>11</sup> There is nothing that can prevent the spread of information in a more global direction, because in this dimension the regional and time boundaries have disappeared. The time and space constraints that used to limit the continuity of the process on social media do not exist in the new media era.

In addition to the differences mentioned, in terms of receiving and delivering information, new media is also more active than traditional media.<sup>12</sup> The impact

8 Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy dan Althaf Husein Muzakky, "Dinamika Ngaji Online Dalam Tagar Gus Baha: Studi Living Qur'an Di Media Sosial," *Poros Onim: Jurnal Sosial Keagamaan* 2, no. 1 (29 Juni 2021): 1–19.

9 S. Shyam Sundar dan Anthony M. Limperos, "Uses and Grats 2.0: New Gratifications for New Media," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 57, no. 4 (1 Oktober 2013): 504–25.

10 Janner Simarmata, *Pengenalam Teknologi Komputer dan Informasi* (Yogyakarta: Andi, 2006), 5.

11 Tandiyo, *Produksi Media* (Banten: Universitas Terbuka, 2014).

12 Ujang Rusdianto, *Cyber CSR: A Guide to CSR Communication on Cyber Media* (Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu,

of this communication system is that audiences are no longer seen as passive recipients but also as active entities in interpreting and producing the meaning of messages.<sup>13</sup> This active role also causes YouTube media to be preferred by many people. The various advantages of this media cause many people to eventually move from traditional media to new media.<sup>14</sup> The phenomenon of media switching by audiences simultaneously leads to a global meeting of people from various parts of the city and even the world in one space and time. In this condition, McLuhan calls it a global village, which is a dimension where people globally, across space, gather and interact with each other without meeting physically, and as if they are really in one space. The existence of the Internet itself is considered the origin of the global village concept, where the electronic system of a media can quickly integrate this world with physical distance and geography no longer affecting the global village.<sup>15</sup> These groups of people gather in a virtual reality.<sup>16</sup> This kind of reality can simply be called a global village.

McLuhan revealed that electronic technology allows various human components or communities to be interconnected with one another in a global village, where electronic technology is able to tear down the barriers of space and time.<sup>17</sup> The global village concept in YouTube media can be directed at two forms of association. *First*, form of global village is shown by the sophistication of YouTube media that is able to attract many users. In the context of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube, this can be seen from the use of one YouTube media together by an unlimited audience. From some of the data obtained from the information on YouTube, Gus Baha's tafsir recitation mediated by YouTube is able to be accessed by a very large audience as the data that the author has attached in the previous chapter. When Gus Baha's tafsir recitation is in traditional media, the audience is limited as explained in the interview results in the previous chapter section, but when it is mediated by YouTube, the audience is fantastic as follows:

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2014), 55.

13 Ujang Rusdianto, 53..

14 Ujang Rusdianto, 37.

15 Ujang Rusdianto, 31.

16 David Holmes, *Teori Komunikasi: Media, Teknologi dan Masyarakatm*, terj. Teguh Wahyu Utomo, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012).

17 Morissan, *Teori Komunikasi Massa: Media, Budaya dan Masyarakat* (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2013), 36.

No.	Account	Surah	Viewers
1.	Kajian Cerdas Official	Al-Fatihah: 1-7	707k
2.	Tafsir NU		7,7k
3.	Al-Muhibbiin Channel		152k
4.	Ngaji Gus Baha Official		5,2k
1.	KasDW	Asy-Syuaro' 69-104	36k
2.	Kajian Cerdas Official		15,5k
3.	Tafsir NU		148
4.	Dhamar Pamilih		4,1k
5.	Ngaji Gus Baha Official		962
6.	Ngaji Gus Baha Jogja		681
1.	Tafsir NU	Al-An'am 33-39	1261
2.	Ngaji Gus Baha Jogja		681
3.	Dhamar Pamilih		8,2k
1.	KasDW	Al-Furqon 54-509	13k
2.	Tafsir NU		254
3.	Dhamar Pamilih		2,2k
4.	Ngaji Gus Baha Jogja		840
1.	Al-Muhibbiin Channel	QS. Shod 1-8	4945x
2.	Tafsir NU		180x
3.	Rekaman Ngaji KH Bahauddin Nur Salim		15.559x
4.	Ngaji Gus Baha Jogja		290x

The data above is the number of audience classifications (viewers) of Gus Baha's *pesantren*-based tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation mediated by YouTube. Thus, if in general YouTube media itself is used as a reference, then of the many *pesantren*-based tafsir recitations, it can gather an uncountable number of audiences that are increasing day by day.

McLuhan believed that by connecting information electronically, a global village would be created that is interconnected.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn pesantren* mediated by YouTube as part of electronic media has succeeded in gathering the masses that form virtual associations. Through Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation on YouTube, the fragment is able to build a completely new dimension

18 Nafisatuzzahro, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an Audiovisual di Cybermedia: Kajian Terhadap Tafsir Al-Qur'an di YouTube dan Implikasinya terhadap Studi al-Qur'an dan Tafsir" (Yogyakarta, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2016).

in the long history of the *pesantren* recitation tradition. In contrast to other media, although Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation on YouTube is in the form of fragments, YouTube is also the first media and the main space that is able to share video shows in a very long time limit of up to hours and is also the main media capable of building a virtual community in the world of *pesantren* tafsir recitation. This global village also shows how this facility is used in one environmental scope. The togetherness that occurs is not in the same place, but in the same media horizon.<sup>19</sup> By using the same YouTube media, everyone who accesses Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation has become a member of the Global Village community

*Second*, the form of Global Village shown by YouTube can be seen from the comment space as part of the facilities provided by YouTube to its users. YouTube is able to facilitate the formation of virtual communities on a large scale.<sup>20</sup> The emergence of various comments responding to Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube, shows the interaction between YouTube media users. Although the audience does not directly communicate with Gus Baha', but still this comment facility is able to build a two-way dialog with the account owner or fellow audiences. In contrast to his offline *Jalalayn* recitation, which does not facilitate discussion sessions, Gus Baha's online recitation fragments on YouTube are dialogic because they are able to build a two-way dialog.<sup>21</sup> This interactive character is also often used to distinguish new digital media from traditional analog media.<sup>22</sup> New media can not only mediate to share messages, but also receive a response from the recipient of the message. The various responses of the audience participating in this comment space form a virtual discussion forum that takes place regardless of distance and time. This forum in this study can be referred to as a global village.

The recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* by Gus Baha mediated by YouTube in the form of fragments is also different from the recitation of tafsir in traditional media, which in the Youtube media facility provides an audience communication space located below the video content. This dialog space functions as a virtual world community. The community that emerges in cyberspace is the next stage of using the Internet.<sup>23</sup> This section contains a comment box that can be directly written by anyone visiting the YouTube site. This virtual reality is a stage where the audience owns and hides

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19 Rohadi Abdul Fatah and Sudarso, *Ilmu dan Teknologi dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Rineka Cipta, 1992), 98.

20 David Holmes, *Teori Komunikasi: Media, Teknologi dan Masyarakat*, 102.

21 David Holmes, 164.

22 Rully Nasrullah, *Teori dan Riset Media Siber (Cybermedia)*, 2 ed. (Jakarta: Prenamedia Group, 2021), 75-76.

23 Ujang Rusdianto, *Cyber CSR: A Guide to CSR Communication on Cyber Media*.

their identity backstage and what appears on stage is their social identity.<sup>24</sup>

The global value of this discussion forum is not only seen from the number of audiences that are not limited to space and time, but the more diverse background of the audience also shows that the elements that can be touched by this media are also very broad. From some of the fragments of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube, we can find various respondents who have different cultural backgrounds. Everyone in this global village is an 'actor' so each individual has the same right to do anything.<sup>25</sup> Thus, whatever background the audience has will not limit them from becoming members of this global village. The form of comments that emerged varied, there were comments that positioned themselves as *santri*, positioned as if the fragment directly communicated with Gus Baha, positioned the show as purely just a video uploaded by other parties, and there were also comments that criticized. Here the author attaches some sample forms of response as follows:

#### *Comments that position themselves as santri*

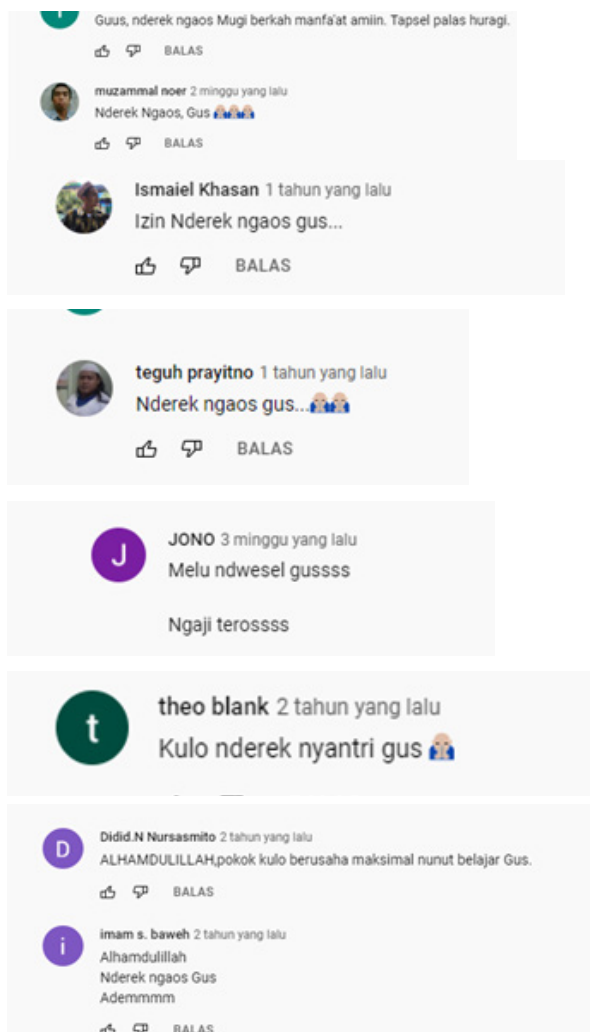
The author classifies this comment as *santri* because the audience uses the fragment of Gus Baha's show as a source of interpretation to translate the book (*kitab*);



24 Rully Nasrullah, *Teori dan Riset Media Siber (Cybermedia)*.

25 Nafisatuzzahro, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an Audiovisual di Cybermedia: Kajian Terhadap Tafsir Al-Qur'an di YouTube dan Implikasinya terhadap Studi al-Qur'an dan Tafsir."

*Comments that positioned the fragments as if they were directly communicating with Gus Baha;*



*Comments that position the show as purely video uploads uploaded by account admins;*



**t** towok nini 2 tahun yang lalu  
Peeh soouuuii ora upload tak kiro wes ngilang min  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

**n** nyam channel 2 tahun yang lalu  
Alhdllah akhirnya post juga...blitar hadir min  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

**k** kinjenkeren 2 tahun yang lalu  
Moga tetap Istiqomah ya Min...  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

**D** Didid.N Nursasmito 2 tahun yang lalu  
ALHAMDULILLAH,pokok kulo berusaha maksimal nunut belajar Gus.  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

**i** imam s. baweh 2 tahun yang lalu  
Alhamdulillah  
Nderek ngaos Gus  
Ademmmm  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

*Comments of approval and criticism;*

**Y** Yani Ambarwati 1 tahun yang lalu  
Pengen bahasa Indonesia....yg ngaji kitab rutin seperti ini...  
👍 🗨️ BALAS  
[Sembunyikan balasan](#)

**Tafsir NU** 1 tahun yang lalu  
Gus baha ngajinya pakai bahasa jawa, solusinya ya belajar bahasa jawa  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

**Y** Yudi Hermana 2 tahun yang lalu  
Terjemahan indo nya tolong di masukan kak... gak ngerti b.jawa. 🙏 makasih  
👍 1 🗨️ BALAS

**HJ** HJ Daldiri 6 bulan yang lalu  
Betapa agungnya ajaran Islam yg di jabarkan gus baha sejuk rasanya  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

**A** Adlan Bagus Pradana 2 bulan yang lalu  
Gus Baha ini ga ada pgelar formalnya. Tapi bahasanya bisa seperti orang yang pernah sekolah formal, bahkan melebihi. Kok ada orang kaya gini.....  
👍 🗨️ BALAS

**V** Viky Hilman 2 tahun yang lalu  
sya ingin ngaji terus sama gus baha'walau lewat you toub,biar faham,mengerti dan tambah husuk baca alqur'annya,dan semoga tumut ngaji gus bahak sampai 30 jus,Aamin  
👍 10 🗨️ BALAS

**Eddie Chandra** 1 tahun yang lalu  
Barokah nya internet sbg produk IT..Alhmdllh...sya bisa ketemu chanel ini dan ikut ngaji..dg segala keterbatasan,keterbatasan referensi..allah maha rohman shg bisa mendapatkan ilmu dari gus baha..bagi saya ini adalah model ngaji zaman ahir,ilmu nya ulama di tranfer di server youtube...semoga yg buat chanel di hitung amal jariah..aamiin  
👍 1 🗨️ BALAS

These various conditions are automatically formed in cyberspace according to what the user wants. The ability of technology to create the world that each user wants is inseparable from technology as the first extension of the human body and senses.<sup>26</sup> Through YouTube, everyone who accesses Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation can extend the ability of each of their senses to determine the conditions that occur in the virtual dimension. Nonetheless, the commentators or commonly referred to as netizens do not act as 'producers' who share through YouTube. They only act as respondents who provide comments. In new media studies, comment culture is different from sharing culture. Sharing indicates the initiative of the subject sharing the information while commenting refers more to the subject's response to the posts shared by others. However, both have managed to transcend time and space.<sup>27</sup>

The global village formed from the fragment of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation on YouTube is a new dimension in the tradition of *pesantren*-based tafsir recitation. Tafsir *Jalalayn*, which has been synonymous with *pesantren* tafsir, is studied in the real world which is limited to a certain time and space. This new phenomenon of contact with the virtual new world has moved the study of Tafsir *Jalalayn* Gus Baha, which was originally formed by traditional media, has been mediated by the recitation of Tafsir *Jalalayn* based on *pesantren* in a new dimension. The characteristics of the internet are based on the use of gadgets that make geographical distance no longer an obstacle, allowing communication and interaction between cultures, quite easy and cheap in producing messages, and interactive in every facility (instant messages can create responses).<sup>28</sup> The existence of fragments of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation on YouTube media is also able to simplify the conference forum at a lower cost because people who live far away do not need to bother to spend funds to listen to his tafsir recitation and do not have to meet in one room. The students with incomplete translations of the *Jalalayn* book are now facilitated by this recitation fragment.

Although Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation fragment on YouTube has brought many positive impacts on the tradition of *pesantren* tafsir recitation, in some conditions this global value also brings its users to the opposite situation. This global aspect requires the presence of various cultures and backgrounds. The media binds the world together, becoming one global social and cultural system. Given the fact that the producers of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation (accounts that upload videos of Gus Baha's recordings) are not official accounts, in terms of giving titles there

26 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding The Media* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 80.

27 Melkyor Pando, *Hiruk Pikuk Jaringan Sosial Terhubung: Refleksi Filsafat Teknologi atas Jaringan Sosial Terhubung* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2014), 56.

28 Ujang Rusdianto, *Cyber CSR: A Guide to CSR Communication on Cyber Media*.



are still accounts that cause controversy because they are on behalf of Gus Baha. In fact, Gus Baha himself did not deliver a recitation related to the issue upheld by the interpretation producer. The existence of this riot is nothing but to increase the number of viewers so that more adsense is obtained because the controversial title of the show is able to invite the curiosity of the audience.

In addition, the comment section, which is a YouTube facility, allows for a heated dialog. The cultural diversity of communicants as the cause of the global village results in differences in understanding messages in the virtual communication process.<sup>29</sup> Basically, every entity in the virtual space realizes that they must act as members of the virtual space. The various backgrounds, demographics, and politics adopted by these entities become neglected when in virtual space. The discourse that is built is in the public interest. So a conflict will arise when this background is brought into it.<sup>30</sup> However, this is the reality in the age of cyber media or what McLuhan called *the age of automation* or *the age of cybernation*.<sup>31</sup> Regardless of the form of discussion that arises in this community, the existence of the community itself has shown that Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation fragment on YouTube media has expanded to a new dimension that is broader and more interactive than traditional media.

### **The Fragments of Gus Baha's Recitation of Tafsir *Jalalayn* on YouTube as an Extension of Human Senses (*Medium as Extention of Man*)**

In facilitating the delivery of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation to a wider audience, recitation through YouTube is an application of a media concept called McLuhan as a medium as an extension of man. YouTube here is referred to as an extension of man or more specifically the media as an extension of the human senses.<sup>32</sup> McLuhan himself chose to define media as all means that strengthen the sensory abilities and functions contained in the human body.<sup>33</sup> He sees the media as an extension of humans, where the media becomes a technical device to expand the nervous system throughout the universe, so that media that is prominent in its use

29 Ujang Rusdianto.

30 Rully Nasrullah, *Teori dan Riset Media Siber (Cybermedia)*.

31 David Holmes, *Teori Komunikasi: Media, Teknologi dan Masyarakat*.

32 Nafisatuzzahro, "Tafsir Al-Qur'an Audiovisual di Cybermedia: Kajian Terhadap Tafsir Al-Qur'an di YouTube dan Implikasinya terhadap Studi al-Qur'an dan Tafsir."

33 Morissan, *Teori Komunikasi Massa: Media, Budaya dan Masyarakat*.

will refract any historical period.<sup>34</sup> Referring to this definition, the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* Gus Baha on YouTube is also able to refract the boundaries of space and time which are then able to deliver the functions of various human senses through its system.

The main basis of media has the role of human extension, as well as the role of traditional interpretive media.<sup>35</sup> However, in this case, YouTube can provide more extension capabilities, because it is present as a universal medium that can cross social and geographical boundaries.<sup>36</sup> In this regard, the fragment of the *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation conducted by Gus Baha, which is spread on YouTube, is utilized to become a medium that can facilitate humans as *mufassir* in the global world. Through YouTube, a *mufassir* can expand the reach of his interpretation. Technology has represented physical presence and involvement in communication,<sup>37</sup> so that the new phenomenon of the *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation fragment on YouTube can represent Gus Baha's presence and involvement as a *mufassir* in communicating *Jalalayn* tafsir, which was originally identical to tafsir *pesantren*, to be consumed by all groups of people who want to access it. The existence of Gus Baha who conveys the meaning of the Qur'anic message which was originally offline or in a dimension of space and time can be presented without space and time limits, in contrast to the use of traditional media that was present before, which was only limited to indirect extension.

McLuhan's point of media as an extension of human senses is to position technology as an artificial body or body part. Humans interact with the surrounding world through a connected network supported by various facilities, including video.<sup>38</sup> In mediating Gus Baha's recitation of Tafsir *Jalalayn*, the form of YouTube technology then disappears and then appears as Gus Baha's own body shape. This also builds the audience's perception where their interaction with YouTube media is felt as if they are interacting with Gus Baha directly. In some of the comments that appeared, many audiences expressed their happiness watching the tafsir video. This form of expression is expressed as if the audience met directly with Gus Baha to get an explanation. This type of audience acceptance occurs a lot because when Gus Baha explains the contents of tafsir *Jalalayn*, even though it is only in audio form, the video upload is uploaded from the beginning of Gus Baha starting the recitation with the intonation

34 Stephen W. Littlejohn dan Karen A. Foss, *Teori Komunikasi* (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2009).

35 Michael A. Cacciatore, Dietram A. Scheufele, dan Shanto Iyengar, "The End of Framing as we Know it and the Future of Media Effects," *Mass Communication and Society* 19, no. 1 (2 Januari 2016): 7–23.

36 Tandiyo, *Produksi Media*.

37 Rully Nasrullah, *Teori dan Riset Media Siber (Cybermedia)*.

38 Melkyor Pando, *Hiruk Pikuk Jaringan Sosial Terhubung: Refleksi Filsafat Teknologi atas Jaringan Sosial Terhubung*, 118.

of the real recorded voice when the recitation of Gus Baha's offline recitation process can be heard clearly through YouTube.

This extension of the body appears in human perception as if he is not in contact with the machine but in contact with the human itself. Media and the human body transform into one form and become what Sherry Turkle calls *the second self*, an existence where humans have a new identity in the dimension of cybermedia. Both are the same person but appear with different selves in two different media. The use of YouTube media is based on various factors, one of the main reasons people enter the virtual world is because of the inability to meet face-to-face with other individuals.<sup>39</sup> echnology with its sophistication comes and touches various kinds of human limitations.<sup>40</sup> It mediates all human physical limitations in communicating and establishing relationships that allow users to share activities in cyberspace.<sup>41</sup>

The way humans see the world, including how they think and act, is directly related to the extension of the media used to communicate, and interpretation is no exception. Technology that plays a role, in mediating humans to connect with the global world is used to reach these unreachable boundaries.<sup>42</sup> The facilities on YouTube that present the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* Gus Baha are able to extend human abilities that are used to overcome human dependence on distance and time because everything is available online and can be accessed at any time.<sup>43</sup> In accessing Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation, a person at one time can compare one tafsir study show with another tafsir study. Thus, the fragment of Gus Baha's tafsir recitation on YouTube media to communicate tafsir *Jalalayn* can penetrate every unlimited human space at one time, so that the expansion of tafsir studies can be done more efficiently.

Broader than just an extension of the human body and senses, in general, the phenomenon of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube is an extension of the social relations that occur outside it. McLuhan also said that the media is always connected (always on), as an extension of the environment which results in the fading of the boundaries between the subject and its extension.<sup>44</sup> It is not only Gus Baha's oral ability that is extended to deliver tafsir content, but more broadly, the *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation that he does offline which intersects with various social realities is also extended by this media. As a virtual reality, the emergence of a discussion room

39 Melkyor Pando, 33.

40 Melkyor Pando, 111.

41 Melkyor Pando, 49.

42 Melkyor Pando, 115.

43 Marisa, *Komputer dan Media Pembelajaran* (Banten: Universitas Terbuka, 2012).

44 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding The Media*.

in Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube attended by a number of people is also a form of extension of social relations.

### **The Fragments of Gus Baha's Tafsir *Jalalayn* Recitation on YouTube as a Message (*Medium as the Message*)**

The emergence of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation phenomenon on YouTube social media also determines the position or level of popularity of tafsir *Jalalayn* which is widespread in the community. In terms of titles, giving controversial or thematic titles invites more interest than impressions with titles recommended by Gus Baha's team. In fact, the content of the uploaded videos is the same. In addition, controversial titles generate more responses, especially responses that appear in the comment space provided by YouTube media. These responses become a form of virtual communication that may be carried out by its users,<sup>45</sup> which in turn forms a community that interacts with each other in the virtual world mediated by YouTube.

According to McLuhan, interactivity that appears in this virtual world basically does not have to be defined as an interaction between individuals through the media, but can also be understood as an interaction between individuals and the media itself. This led McLuhan to a concept known as "*Medium as the Message*". Media is referred to as a message because the media has shaped and controlled the form of human associations and actions. McLuhan stated about media that every form of media transforms the human experience, and this influence is far more important than the content transmitted by the media itself.<sup>46</sup> The effect of a medium amplifies and intensifies because it contains content, but it is the effect of the medium itself regardless of the content that has an impact on people.<sup>47</sup>

Here, the existence of YouTube in addition to acting as a medium for the delivery of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation to the general audience, also basically acts as a message itself. Among the several messages that arise from this media is the emergence of media dependence in consuming *pesantren*-based tafsir *Jalalayn*. McLuhan understood this media as an environment, about the function of the media in mediating content. YouTube, which initially acted as a medium for delivering Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation, then became a separate environment where each tafsir was consumed and studied by its visitors easily, thus building an effective message communication system. Slowly, the promising ease of YouTube media began to spoil

45 Ujang Rusdianto, *Cyber CSR: A Guide to CSR Communication on Cyber Media*, 45.

46 Stanley J. Baran dan Dennis K. Davis, *Teori Komunikasi Massa: Dasar, Pergolakan, dan Masa Depan* (Jakarta: Salemba Humanika, 2010).

47 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding The Media*.

humans so that dependence on this media began to appear.

In addition, YouTube also has the advantage of a different communication system from traditional media, which only uses a one-way communication system.<sup>48</sup> Another virtue is the ease of accessing the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* on social media, because, before the new media era, *Jalalayn* only developed within the scope of *pesantren*. Moreover, this technological sophistication is present in the fact that new media is changing the way in which old media is associated with new media.<sup>49</sup> The current technology-driven reality will automatically encourage people to choose technology-based media, especially those that are able to reach a wide network.

The new phenomenon of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation fragments appearing on YouTube social media shows that the phenomenon occupies a position that is quite influential in society. Fragments of the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* spread on YouTube also show that this phenomenon is a solution in the era of human dependence on technology and tries to tell that this is how the media should play a role in the sustainability of information. Technology with its sophistication becomes a medium for all physical limitations in communicating and establishing relationships and allowing sharing activities in cyberspace.<sup>50</sup> This is what every human being needs, namely facilities to achieve what they are aiming for easily. Implicitly, this condition signals that Islam, especially the scope of *pesantren*, needs to use this type of facility to convey its religious messages, especially in the reality of a digital society that is heavily dependent on new media.

### **The Implications of Gus Baha's Tafsir *Jalalayn* Fragments as a New Phenomenon of the *Pesantren* Tafsir Tradition**

By using the three theories initiated by McLuhan, the author concludes that the phenomenon of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube is an interpretation that exists offline in the form of a regular recitation forum which is then uploaded on YouTube by other parties who are suspected of being his offline audience. Before becoming a form of audiovisual interpretation, this interpretation has a dimension that is outside the media device. Although this tafsir eventually appeared online in the same format and media, the different initial forms affected how the explanation of this tafsir was delivered. Tafsir recorded from a recitation will appear with different explanations compared to tafsir which is deliberately made by utilizing

48 Marshall McLuhan,

49 David Holmes, *Teori Komunikasi: Media, Teknologi dan Masyarakat*.

50 Melkyor Pando, *Hiruk Pikuk Jaringan Sosial Terhubung: Refleksi Filsafat Teknologi atas Jaringan Sosial Terhubung*.

voice recordings through smartphones collaborated with the help of technology.

The transformation of media from traditional forms to more modern forms in the form of digital technology has brought Islamic studies into a new world.<sup>51</sup> This has had a certain impact on the sustainability of Islamic studies. Moreover, with the emergence of this phenomenon, every human being becomes interactively connected. Humans simultaneously began to utilize their facilities to communicate information. This then leads to humans globally gathering in an “untouchable room” to carry out an activity together, even though each is actually alone.

This change is shown by the difference in the form of interaction between traditional interpretation media (offline) to the latest interpretation media (online). The traditional media referred to in Gus Baha’s offline tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation is that the audience must make a direct effort, by visiting the place where the recitation is held at PP LP3IA Rembang to be able to study the Tafsir *Jalalayn* delivered by Gus Baha with the method applied in the pesantren, namely *bandongan* which is identical to one-way interaction. In contrast to traditional media, this Internet-based media is dialogic and able to build a two-way dialog. With this form, people can get information about interpretation without having to look for a teacher directly. Even if a question arises, the audience can simply write it in the comments column and wait for an answer that can be given by anyone, both the *mufassir* and other audiences. The new form of communication shown by this media is one of the effects of technological advancement. As a medium for delivering tafsir, YouTube has a global system that can reach a wider network. With the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* spread on YouTube media, this is no longer an obstacle. The *rihlah ilmiah* culture to study with an *ulama* has also begun to be replaced by a form of online communication that knows no distance.

It is in this situation that the influence of new media on humans begins to appear. Since humans prefer to leave traditional media to move to new media, it has become a major sign of human dependence on new technology. This dependence has an impact on how forms of social studies, politics, scientific studies, life patterns, and even religious forms develop. This is shown by the data obtained by the author that visitors to Gus Baha’s *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube media are quite fantastic, namely up to hundreds of thousands of video visitors. This impact arises as a consequence of the infinity presented by new media. A wide network that is not limited by space and time makes humans put more interest in this media.

This phenomenon also changes the structure of the offline recitation

51 Birgit Meyer, “Introduction: From Imagined Communities to Aesthetic Formations: Religious Mediations, Sensational Forms, and Styles of Binding,” dalam *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion, and the Senses*, ed. oleh Birgit Meyer, Religion/Culture/Critique (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2009), 1–28.

mechanism. In the traditional system, the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* Gus Baha goes through several stages before it is carried out, so an organization that really understands the expertise is needed. Among other things, the recitation committee consists of his students (*santri*).<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile, with YouTube, this need began to disappear and is not required because the formation of interpretation in this media is different from the formation in traditional media. This tafsir recitation can be produced and distributed or uploaded to YouTube media by everyone, where the form is the form recording of the recitation that Gus Baha delivered orally. The use of mass media which was once controlled by certain institutions is now able to be accessed by everyone, regardless of whether the information is valid or not, but its existence appears as public information that can be accessed by anyone.<sup>53</sup>

In addition, the involvement of audiences in cyberspace also has implications, in addition to changing the existence of traditional media and the authority of sources in producing information or messages, it also defines the study of 'producers and consumers'. In relation to the phenomenon of tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube, the status of producers and consumers can be owned by anyone and without any conditions, so that anyone can upload their videos. The producers referred to here are accounts that upload videos of Gus Baha's tafsir recitation, while consumers are viewers of the video.

### **The Emergence of a New Form of Mediatized *Pesantren* Interpretation**

The existence of contemporary fragments of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* on YouTube shows that the development of media is able to present *pesantren*-based interpretations in increasingly diverse forms. In general, since the early days of tafsir, starting from various written media, it has shown that tafsir, which was once only understood as an explanation in the form of oral interpretation from the Prophet, appeared in a new form in the form of written interpretation. Broadly speaking, the interpretation that appears with the written media appears with the presence of a medium as well. Currently, the existence of Gus Baha's *Jalalayn* interpretation on YouTube media is a new phenomenon of *pesantren*-based interpretation that emerges due to mediation by YouTube. This makes the *pesantren* interpretation, which was originally traditional, undergo a newer transformation. The recitation of *pesantren* interpretation which is identical to *Jalalayn*, which has only been found within the scope of *pesantren* with

52 Processed from the results of interviews with Ustaz Hana as Gus Baha's senior *santri* at PP LP3IA Rembang, on April 9, 2022.

53 Rully Nasrullah, *Teori dan Riset Media Siber (Cybermedia)*.

all its limitations, has found a new media in the form of YouTube which appears in video format, or what is called audiovisual interpretation.

With the existence of the *Jalalayn* tafsir recitation fragment on YouTube, this new media finally shows a new form of *pesantren* tafsir. Because what is new in this case is not the content, but the media. The main message is that with the presence of changing media, it also marks the emergence of a new form of interpretation. From the development of the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* through YouTube as a new media that underlies the performance of tafsir studies, this further develops into a new form of Qur'anic studies that further opens the door for more researchers to study the interpretation of social media that exists today, which the author calls 'mediatization of tafsir'. The possibility of the emergence of new studies in the ranks of al-Qur'an studies is not a strange thing in the history of al-Qur'an and tafsir studies. Historically, the study of the Qur'an and tafsir has always developed more broadly. The emergence of various new sciences is the main factor in the widening of the wings of al-Qur'an studies.

Tafsir is a form of Qur'anic message that has a purpose to be communicated. The main purpose of communication itself is the delivery of the message to the audience. While this communication will run well and achieve its goal, namely the delivery of the message, will not happen without the media as an intermediary. The media itself, which functions as an intermediary agent and messenger, will play a role as its function when the media controls what an era has, in the sense of having a system that is in accordance with the demands of the times. New media has become a very effective medium in conveying information processing. Distance and time are no longer considered as obstacles for everyone to communicate and interact with others. This new form of media system is what people love more in this technological age. Such is the form of interrelationship between interpretation, the purpose of interpretation, and YouTube as a new media in this day and age.

The *pesantren* community has begun to realize the benefits of technological sophistication in the current era. In the development of technology, *kiai* are forced to be technologically literate so that *pesantren* still exist in the internet world. *Pesantren* basically has 2 functions, as a teaching institution, namely internal and external. The internal role is to manage in the form of religious science lessons, while the external role is to interact with the community including its empowerment and development.<sup>54</sup> In today's technological era, in order for *pesantren* to continue to exist, both functions must be able to run in balance. However, so far many *pesantren* have only played a role in internal factors. As for the connection with tafsir *Jalalayn*

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54 Muhammad Jamaludin, "Metamorfosis Pesantren di Era Globalisasi," *Karsa* 20, no. 1 (2012), 11.



as a characteristic of teaching in the scope of *pesantren*, in my opinion, with the phenomenon of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube media which is very much in demand by the public, existing *pesantren* can consider taking an active role in doing the same thing in the form of teaching.

The recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* in *pesantren* that has been running for a long time does not rule out the possibility of shortcomings in it. For example, during the process of reciting tafsir *Jalalayn*, the *santri* missed the translation and explanation of the *kiai*, so that the teaching of tafsir *Jalalayn* was not optimal for the *santri*. It would be nice if *pesantren* realize this gap so that the existence of technology can be used as an alternative. In the learning process, the *pesantren* can record it and upload it on a YouTube account devoted to uploading video recordings of material with the aim of playing it on a schedule that may be agreed upon so that students can repeat the book material. In addition, the video recordings uploaded on the official accounts of *pesantren* will also benefit the general public who want to learn the meaning of the contents of the Qur'an through tafsir *Jalalayn*, which was previously only given to *santri*. Given the existence of adsense from YouTube to reward accounts that are active in uploading videos, *pesantren* can also allocate these funds for the benefit of *pesantren*, and *pesantren* will also continue to exist following the times.

## Conclusion

The recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* Gus Baha, which is identical to the interpretation of *pesantren*, which was originally carried out offline, experienced an intersection with new media in the form of YouTube. This fragment of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation is a new phenomenon in the long history of the *pesantren* tafsir tradition. The existence of the phenomenon of contemporary fragments of tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube is able to master across time and refract the boundaries of social and geographic boundaries which have been a problem in traditional media, so that a virtual community without borders appears as McLuhan called a global village. The new system that can be utilized to access tafsir more easily makes the phenomenon of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation on YouTube media an extension of the old media system. Gus Baha's recitation fragment on YouTube is present as an extension of the traditional system with a more effective system, as McLuhan called the idea of 'Media as Extension of Man'.

YouTube, which initially served as a medium for delivering Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation, then became a separate environment where each tafsir was consumed and studied by its visitors easily, thus building an effective message communication system. Slowly, the ease of YouTube began to spoil humans so that

dependence on this media emerged. The existence of YouTube as a medium for the recitation of tafsir *Jalalayn* Gus Baha, which is identical to the tradition of *pesantren* interpretation, also provides its own message, that with this media, media dependence arises, so that the interpretation media is required to always evolve following the times. *Second*, the transformation of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation from offline to online shows some advantages and disadvantages (impacts). The advantages include the reach that can be touched by the existence of this contemporary fragment is very broad. Even though it is based on *pesantren*, with this phenomenon, the general public can easily reach it without having to attend recitation sessions that are conducted offline. The interaction that is built in the fragment of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation becomes a two-way communication, different from the interaction that is built when the recitation is carried out offline. The presence of this contemporary fragment also makes it easier for audiences to access via YouTube without having to travel long distances to attend Gus Baha's offline recitation.

Apart from the shortcomings and advantages that arise, the existence of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation fragment on YouTube media is evidence of the development of a long history of the study of the *pesantren* tafsir tradition and also the general study of the Qur'an. In general, the intersection between Gus Baha's offline tafsir recitation with YouTube technology as an intermediary medium resulted in the emergence of a new object form of tafsir, with the form of Gus Baha's tafsir *Jalalayn* recitation fragment, namely audiovisual interpretation. This new form marks the emergence of new object particles as well, such as the emergence of a new broader reality as the context of interpretation seen with communication science and media studies, namely the mediatization of interpretation. This mediatization of interpretation comes as a form that is able to expand the academic study of interpretation to the wider realm of media studies and communication science because this study is in the large space of social media that can be accessed by the public without limits.

## **Supplementary Materials**

The data presented in this study are available in [insert article or supplementary material here] (Usually the datasets were analyzed from library research can be found in the whole data references ).

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## **Authors' contributions**

All listed authors contributed to this article. M.K. wrote the original draft,

reviewed and edited it, S.Z.Q. wrote the formal analysis, compiled the resources, conceptualised the study, and managed the project administration. T.F. was responsible for the methodology and validation and supervised the project

### Data availability statement

Data sharing is not applicable to this article as no new data were created or analysed in this study.

### Conflicts of Interest

None of the authors of this study has a financial or personal relationship with other people that could inappropriately influence or bias the content of the study.

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## Virtual Friday Prayer Practices During the Covid-19 Pandemic in Indonesia

### Praktik Solat Jumaat Virtual Semasa Pandemik Covid-19 di Indonesia

SAIFUDDIN ZUHRI QUDSY<sup>1\*</sup>, MAHBUB GHOZALI<sup>1</sup> & ABD. AZIZ FAIZ<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Faculty of Ushuluddin and Islamic Thought, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta 55281, Indonesia

\*Corresponding Author; email: saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id

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#### ABSTRACT

*This study aims to analyze the practice of virtual Friday prayers implemented to provide convenience of worship during the pandemic in Indonesia. Ease of access and fulfillment of social distancing that is relevant to the conditions of the Covid-19 outbreak is considered a solution to solving religious problems in the context of a pandemic. To achieve this goal, this research uses qualitative methods with data collection techniques through observation and documentation which are analyzed using content analysis techniques. Research into the practice of virtual Friday prayers raises two main trends. The first trend is related to the need to shift the practice of conventional Friday prayers to virtual Friday prayers which are considered relevant in dealing with the pandemic. The second trend is related to the impact of changes in practice that produce new terms in the implementation of virtual Friday prayers. The shift in worship practices with various terms that are considered to provide solutions for ease of worship does not go hand in hand with efforts to reconceptualize the main provisions that make Friday prayers valid in Islamic law (fiqh). The concept of the continuity of the movements of the imam and the congregation, which is a requirement for the validity of prayer with the condition of being in one place, is not owned by virtual Friday prayers, so its validity is doubtful. Re-conception is needed to maintain the continuation of the virtual Friday prayer, which is considered easy and relevant to the pandemic context. Ignoring the availability of supporting arguments has an impact on identifying the practice of virtual Friday prayers as an effort to appropriate religion with technology that is prone to conflict and debate in society.*

*Keywords: Friday prayer; virtual prayer; Covid-19; fiqh of disaster*

#### ABSTRAK

*Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis praktik solat Jumaat virtual yang dilaksanakan untuk memberikan kemudahan ibadah pada masa pandemi di Indonesia. Kemudahan akses dan pemenuhan social distancing yang relevan dengan kondisi wabah Covid-19 dianggap sebagai solusi pemecahan masalah keagamaan dalam konteks pandemi. Untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan teknik pengumpulan data melalui observasi dan dokumentasi yang dianalisis dengan menggunakan teknik content analisis. Penelitian terhadap praktik solat Jumaat virtual memunculkan dua kecenderungan utama. Kecenderungan pertama terkait dengan kebutuhan terhadap pergeseran praktik solat Jumaat konvensional ke solat Jumaat virtual yang dianggap relevan dalam menghadapi pandemi. Kecenderungan kedua berkaitan dengan dampak perubahan praktik yang menghasilkan term baru dalam pelaksanaan solat Jumaat virtual. Peralihan praktik ibadah dengan beragam istilahnya yang dianggap memberikan solusi kemudahan beribadah tidak berjalan lurus dengan upaya merekonsepsi ketentuan utama yang menjadikan solat Jumaat sah secara hukum Islam (fiqh). Konsep kubsambungan gerakan imam dan makmum yang menjadi syarat sah solat dengan ketentuan berada dalam satu tempat tidak dimiliki oleh solat Jumaat virtual, sehingga keabsahannya diragukan. Rekonsepsi dibutuhkan untuk mempertahankan keberlanjutan pelaksanaan solat Jumaat virtual yang dianggap memudahkan dan relevan terhadap konteks pandemi. Pengabaian terhadap ketersediaan dalil yang mendukung berdampak pada identifikasi praktik solat Jumaat virtual sebagai upaya apropriasi agama dengan teknologi yang rentan terhadap konflik dan perdebatan di masyarakat.*

*Kata kunci: Solat Jumaat; ibadah virtual; Covid-19; fiqh bencana*

## INTRODUCTION

The pandemic situation has brought about many changes in Muslim's way of worships, ranging from the closure of mosques, the ban of regular Friday Prayer, and the offer of virtual Friday prayer as a new alternative. The practice of virtual Friday prayer was introduced by the public virtue congregation and is considered as an alternative form of worship during the pandemic. However, the validity of this practice is subject to much debate. Many media headlines have reported the pros and cons of the practice of virtual Friday prayer (Republika, Detik, Kompas, Suara Muhammadiyah, NU Online). These innumerable controversial reports on the virtual Friday prayer highlight the typical response of Indonesians towards a newly created method of worship during the pandemic in exchange of activities normally conducted in mosques that leads to fierce debate (Aula 2020). Van Dun et al. (2015) has highlighted the debate about the "danger" of online rituals, which is assumed to eliminate the dimension of authenticity and authority of the rituals. However, Van Dun et al. (2015) further explained that authentication of an online ritual is highly dependent on the framework of previous ritual experiences acquired in the offline domain. The only things needed to bring these rituals online are mundane and profane devices, such as computers and desk as online tool.

Studies on the practice of religious worship during the pandemic have given birth to some research trends. The first trend is related to the forms and strategies of worship during the pandemic (Aziz & Wardhani 2021; Fahiza & Zalikha 2021; Jubba 2021; Baidowi et al. 2022; Qudsy et al. 2022; Kuipers et al. 2020; Makmun 2020; Rostiani et al. 2021; Wiguna 2020). Jubba (2021) in his research on the worship of Christians and Muslims during a pandemic articulated that the pandemic not only compels religious people to think about myriad ways of coping strategies for worship, but also opens up a room for the religion to allow its adherents to seek and strive for new ways to ensure the viability of religious practices. The second deals with resistance and opposition against the prohibition of congregational worship during the pandemic (Aziz & Wardhani 2021). Aziz and Wardhani (2020) denoted that the application of the health protocol in places of worship is far from optimal. Likewise, Johnson (2020), who examined the resistance of the Christian community to the banning of religious

sermons in churches, also revealed similar results. Apart from these two trends, a study to analyze the appropriation of online worship, especially virtual Friday prayer remains understudied. A few studies on Friday prayer during the pandemic are more concerned with the attempt to reduce religious mass gatherings, for example by holding Friday prayer twice in one mosque during the pandemic. Nonetheless, there has been no research to discuss the ideas and community appropriation of virtual Friday prayer during the pandemic, which underlies the significance of this research.

This research article, in particular, is directed to fill the abovementioned research gap by highlighting that congregational prayer, as a form of long-established regular worship that has always been conducted in the same way, has gradually experienced a shift during this pandemic as a process of reinterpretation and appropriation. Accordingly, three questions are proposed: first, how is the virtual Friday prayer practice held; second, what are the factors that encourage the holding of virtual Friday prayer; third, how does the practice of virtual Friday prayer affect the implementation of worship in the Indonesian Muslim community? These three questions underpin the focus of this research article.

This paper argues that virtual Friday prayer is held as a response to the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, given the widely available online platforms during the pandemic. The currently existing online system has necessitated an effort to carry out *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) in Islamic law to solve the problem that *salih li kull zamn wa makan* (relevant in all times and places). The practice of virtual Friday prayer not only requires a solid legal basis in Islamic jurisprudence but also requires Muslims to be ready to accept changes. In this way, the Muslim community will accept new traditions, such as virtual Friday prayers, if they are supported by legitimate Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Otherwise, they will be rejected.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### RELIGIOUS WORSHIP DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC

The proliferation of Covid-19 has altered the widely held religious practices and faith at large. Such rapid changes, on the one hand, may trigger some conflicts between religious adherents and policy makers in the face of Covid-19 policy. On the other hand, the pandemic situation has also strengthened the

religious faith of religious adherents (Kowalczyk et al. 2020). Patience in worship during Covid-19 is a must so that Muslims can remain calm in carrying out worship during this pandemic (Salleh et al. 2022). Hence, religion, the state, and the wider community shall work hand in hand in responding to problems generated by regulations on Covid-19 mitigation (Regus 2022). Religion has an effective role in promoting healthy life in the face of the Covid-19 pandemic through three aspects: explaining the effects of Covid-19 to the community, promoting a religious world-wide view and lifestyle in society, and providing a scientific perspective in facing real-life situation during the pandemic (Barmania & Reiss 2020). The pandemic condition has also urged the quest for solutions regarding future forms of worship, such as the possibility for conducting religious pilgrimage once the spread of Covid-19 is under control (Olsen & Timothy 2020). Religion can be an effective and preventive tool against the pandemic. In fact, the Covid-19 pandemic opens up a room for dialogue between science and religion, which is increasingly considered to play a significant role in fighting against the challenges at stake, such as pandemics to epidemics (Alexander 2020).

Some Christians who carry out virtual religious worship consider it as an alternative to ensure the continuity of religious worship while at the same time complying with government policies (Langfan 2021; Ochs 2020). Nonetheless, several groups oppose the practice of virtual religious worship (Johnson 2020). Apart from a controversy of virtual religious worship, it is noteworthy that the practice of worship is principally a personal relationship between humans and God, which should not be restricted by space and time, and thus can be conducted online by utilizing audio, video devices, and other technological means (Luchenko 2021; Tambunan 2021). The use of online media in religious activities has led to various innovations, such as live streaming of worship services, religious worship software applications, digital prayers, online pilgrimages, and even the soaring demand for virtual prayer in Russia (Berger 2017; Kisser 2020).

#### VIRTUALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS RITUALS

Virtualization of religious rituals is a condition when religious rituals are practiced using technological devices, such as homepages, weblogs, chat rooms, newsgroups and virtual meeting platforms (Radde-Antweiler 2008). This phenomenon must be understood as a change in social and religious

contexts involving new media in religious rituals (Ruah-Midbar 2014). Virtualization in religious rituals connects thousands of people to each other online at the same time, which results in new forms of ritual, management and networking that are influential in a global context (Hutchings 2017). Overall, advances in information technology have contributed greatly to the birth of the virtualization of religious rituals. Such trend is generally resulted from the sophistication of information technology, which thus makes it easier for people to actively seek for information needed and in turn has an impact on society's dependence on technology, especially in the practice of religious rituals (Sururi 2019). Massive use of technology in the practice of religious rituals has changed the form of religious rituals and may transform religious identity. Such changes are obvious in the distinctive identity between the Sufi community in Europe and the Sufi community in eastern countries (Piraino 2016).

A commonplace practice of virtualization of religious rituals is the ODOJ (one day one *juz*) ritual, a collective recitation of the Qur'an using the WhatsApp Group mobile application. Such a semi-virtual Islamic proselytizing movement is deemed as a successful practice since it could recruit 140,000 followers in 2018. ODOJ followers consider this movement as a form of *da'wa* (proselytizing) in the contemporary era given its ability to strengthen religious sentiment through technological intermediaries (Nisa 2018). The virtualization of religious rituals initially started from *da'wa* movement and continued to touch the core rituals, as in the case of St. John's Internet Church, which performs all their rituals of worship virtually through an online platform. One of the virtual religious worships of St. John Internet Church merely requires the audience to press the "in church" button on the screen, which will automatically display a virtual picture of the church and the worship procedures that are commonly done offline (Casey 2006). The myriad virtualization of religious rituals has pinpointed the close correlation between religion and the media, both of which may fuse and correct each other (Wagner 2012).

#### THE *FIQH* OF DISASTER

The *fiqh* of disaster is a guide for Muslim's worship in disaster conditions (Suyadi et al. 2020). The *fiqh* of disaster serves as a guide for Muslim's worship to provide an alternative to actual and contextual worship procedures (Saenong et al. 2020). The



Fiqh of disaster is highly required by Muslims to guide their worship in times of disaster or epidemic and serves an important reference in carrying out religious orders. In the face of Covid-19 pandemic situation, religious communities are ultimately forced to adapt their religious rituals (Suyadi et al. 2020). Likewise, Muslims are also required to adjust their laws of worship, including by adapting alternative Friday prayer during the Covid-19 pandemic that has hit since 2020 (Idris et al. 2021; Mahmuddin & Akbar 2020; Sahil 2020). In fact, it is commonplace to change the law or way of worship according to the prevailing conditions and situations (Fauzi 2019; Saeed 2011).

The conceptual implementation of the *fiqh* of disaster is carried out in various forms. For instance, there has been a change in the implementation of pilgrimage (*hajj*) during the pandemic to adjust with the prohibition of mass gatherings (Atique & Itumalla 2020; Hoang et al. 2020; Mansyur 2020; Saidun 2020). Although presently still being held, the pilgrimage is highly restricted for some small groups and shall be carried out with a strict health protocol (Ebrahim et al. 2021; Hashim et al. 2021; Jokhdar et al. 2021). In addition to pilgrimage, there has also a significant adaptation in the practice of *tarawih* prayer during Ramadan and Eid prayer during the Covid-19 Pandemic (Darmawan et al. 2020; Hede et al. 2020). These facts highlight that the rules of worship are adjustable in accordance with the applicable context and social conditions in the community, especially during the outbreak of a plague.

## METHODS

This is qualitative research that aims to explain the virtual practice of Friday prayer during the Covid-19 pandemic. This topic is selected based on the widespread discussions regarding virtual Friday prayer in social media. It is directed to emphasize the efforts to find out the existing views, knowledge, values, norms, and rules as a legal basis to carry out virtual Friday prayer. The research data were derived both from primary and secondary sources. The primary sources were some selected websites, such as [www.publicvirtue.id](http://www.publicvirtue.id) and some social media accounts on Facebook and Instagram, and some YouTube channels. The secondary data were some articles concerning the same topic. These data were obtained in two steps: observation, and documentation. The observations were made by

directly attending and participating in the virtual Friday prayer, while the documentations were collected from some written articles, Friday sermon texts, photos, posters, and so on.

The collected data were then processed through the stages of data reduction, data display, and data verification, by referring to Miles and Huberman (1984). The collected data were reduced by way of summarizing and verifying the existing data. Data were then displayed by categorizing them based on the discussion topic according to the research problems, by adding some visualizations in the form of photos and flyers. Subsequently, data were analyzed using content analysis, by choosing and selecting related views, arguments, and procedures for the virtual implementation of Friday prayer. This data was then dialogued with the public response, through news, social media, and scientific writings related to the virtual implementation of Friday prayer during the Covid-19 pandemic.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The practice of Friday prayer is virtually displayed in this section. The explanation of the practice of virtual Friday prayer is explained in 3 models. The first model is a descriptive explanation that includes the practice of virtual Friday prayer. The second model is a critical explanation of the factors that encourage the enactment of virtual Friday prayer. The third model is a transformative explanation that includes the implications of the practice of virtual Friday prayer on the worship rituals of Indonesian Muslim communities at large.

### THE PRACTICE OF VIRTUAL FRIDAY PRAYER

The ongoing Covid-19 pandemic has turned the conventional practice of congregational Friday prayer into the practice of virtual Friday prayer. The observation revealed the real practice of virtual Friday prayer which took place in *Masjid Jami' Virtual Hilful Fudhul (Hilful Fudhul Congregational Virtual Mosque)* organized by the Public Virtue Research Institute (2021c). Virtual Friday prayer is carried out by means of some virtual platforms in the form of Zoom Meeting or Google Meet applications. In practice, the Friday prayer virtually begins with the opening ceremony, the reading of the sermon, and the implementation of the Friday prayer, which is led by an *imam* (leader of prayer) virtually. The practitioners of virtual Friday prayer are required to listen to the virtual reading of the *khutbah* (religious

sermons) as a condition for the validity of Friday prayer. The virtual Friday prayer is led by an *imam* followed by the practitioners through a virtual application. The practitioners are also required to comply with the praying movement of the imam clearly made visible through the computer screens of respective practitioner (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). The use of online technological devices during the implementation of virtual Friday prayer is resulted from the enactment of large-scale social restrictions imposed during the pandemic.

The practice of virtual Friday prayer has changed the regular procedures of Friday prayer. The virtual Friday prayer in congregation is scheduled to be present in a virtual room 30 minutes before *bilal* (the caller to prayer) announces the first call to prayer (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). Prior to the call to prayer, the committee gives a speech that is framed in a five-minute prologue procession. After *bilal* gives the first call to prayer, *bilal* continues the procession by facing the screen instead of facing the congregation as in the conventional Friday prayer procedure. Afterwards, *bilal* transfers the program to the preacher as a form of virtual handing over of sticks (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). The next process in virtual Friday prayer is carried out in accordance with the practice of conventional Friday prayer with the reading of the first and

second sermons to the implementation of virtual congregational prayers (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). The different form of interaction between the *imam*, preacher, and congregation since they are not in the same place is the main distinctive feature of the practice of virtual Friday prayer from the practice of conventional Friday prayer.

The practice of virtual Friday prayer not only changes the practice of offline to online congregational prayer, but also alters the topics raised in the Friday sermon. Organizers of virtual Friday prayer limits the topic of virtual Friday sermons to contemporary problems existing in the life of society, nation and state. The main issue to deliver generally relates to the democratic regression that befell Indonesia (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). The preachers are carefully selected based on their integrity, expertise, and broad insight in guiding and acknowledging the community with the informative knowledge to understand the current situation they currently face and improve the existing problems (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). The adjustment of the topic of the sermon is made to comply with the purpose of holding virtual Friday prayer as a way to help the public in understanding the actual problems at stake (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). The selected topics for virtual Friday sermons are as follows:

TABLE 1. Sermon Topics for Virtual Friday Prayer

Date	Topics	Khatib/Preachers	Description
March 5, 2021	Islam, Democracy, and Women's Rights	Dr. KH. Imam Nahe'i, MA	First Virtual Friday Prayer
March 12, 2021	The Liberation of Women According to the Qur'an	K.H. Wawan Gunawan Abdul Wahid	2nd Virtual Friday Prayer
March 19, 2021	Democracy: Me, We and Us	Prof. Komaruddin Hidayat	3rd Virtual Friday Prayer
March 26, 2021	Religious Tolerance and Freedom as Human Rights	Dr. Budhy Munawar Rachman	4th Virtual Friday Prayer
April 2, 2021	Substantive Islam	Prof. Dr. H. Fauzul Iman, M.A	5th Virtual Friday Prayer
April 9, 2021	Progressive Zakat, Comprehensive Citizenship & Awareness of Social Justice for All Indonesians	Ghifari Yuristiadhi	6th Virtual Friday Prayer
April 16, 2021	A Model of Independent Muslim Woman	Hatib Rahmawan	7th Virtual Friday Prayer
April 23, 2021	Islam's Call to Protect and Care for Orphans	KH. Abduh Hisyam, S.Ag.	8th Virtual Friday Prayer
April 30, 2021	The Main Points of Fasting: Climate Justice and Intergenerational Justice	Ust. Parid Ridwanuddin	9th Virtual Friday Prayer
May 21, 2021	Palestine and World Peace	Ust. K.H. M. Abduh Hisyam, S.Ag	12th Virtual Friday Prayer
May 28, 2021	Islam and the Future of Democracy in Indonesia	Ust. Joko Arizal, M.A.	13th Virtual Friday Prayer
June 4, 2021	Taqwa and the Challenging Decadence of the Ummah	Ust. Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, SH.I., LL.M.	14th Virtual Friday Prayer
June 11, 2021	Are Women Really Made of Ribs?	Ust. Hatib Rachmawan	15th Virtual Friday Prayer

continue ...

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June 18, 2021	Islamic Message to Uphold Social-Ecological Justice	Ust. Parid Ridwanuddin, S.Fil., M.A., M.Ud.	16th Virtual Friday Prayer
June 25, 2021	Corruption: Mental Pandemic that Damages the Elements of the State	Ust. H. Helmi Hidayat M.Ud.	17th Virtual Friday Prayer
July 2, 2021	The Crisis within Our Education Quality	KH. M. Abduh Hisyam, S.Ag.	18th Virtual Friday Prayer
July 9, 2021	Religion, Climate Crisis, and Health Crisis	Ust. Parid Ridwanuddin, S.Fil., M.A., M.Ud.	19th Virtual Friday Prayer
July 16, 2021	Political & Social Riba (Usury) in the Perspective of the Qur'an	Ust. Ir. Yahya 'Abdul Rasyid, M.Ag.	20th Virtual Friday Prayer

The sermon topics were selected based on the actual issues facing the Indonesians. The significance of democracy, women's equality, the issue of usury, environmental and health crises, and widely discusses issues on national development in Indonesia are part of these selected topics. Thus, in addition to the changing procedure in religious activities from offline to virtual Friday prayer, another change is also notable in the selection of issues to be delivered in the virtual Friday sermon.

#### FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE VIRTUAL FRIDAY PRAYER

The practice of virtual Friday prayer held by the Public Virtue Research Institute reflects emergency situations given the massive wide spread of Covid-19. This new form of religious worship is introduced to prevent the crowds and thus anticipate the extensive infection of the virus (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021c). This activity is initiated by taking into account the government's recommendation through the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) fatwa regarding restrictions on activities in mosques that involve large numbers of people (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021). Such restrictions are decided based on some considerations on health and religious aspects (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021). However, the community may respond these prohibitions negatively since the ban has deprived them from the right to pray and listen to sermons (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021). The escalation of cases and harmful conditions of the ongoing time of crisis trigger the implementation of virtual Friday prayer as a way to facilitate the community to listen to Friday sermons.

The current restrictions are deemed as the impact of the vulnerable circumstance of the spread of Covid-19, and partly is attributed to the vague political policies of the government. The government lack of control over the pandemic has cost the life of fallen victims (Public Virtue Research Institute

2021). The ambiguous policy also has an impact on the public's negligence on the recommended health protocols, especially during mandatory congregational worship (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021). The current implementation of policies of large-scale social restrictions and public activity restrictions are not substituted with other policies that facilitate religious worship during a pandemic to ease the community (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021). As a way to ease the procedure of religious worship, the virtual Friday prayer is considered as an alternative solution for people in areas imposed with restriction policy.

The implementation of virtual Friday prayer in areas with restriction policies is supported by the valid and strong legal basis of Islamic law (*fiqh*). The problem of religious worship during a pandemic is classified as a state of crisis, which eliminates the debate about the need to follow or prohibit laws that are not stated in sharia (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021). Various fatwas related to policies, both in the context of positive law and religion, as a form of applicable crisis mechanism in *fiqh* that allow the practice of virtual Friday prayer, as issued by Ahmad bin al-Siddiq al-Ghamari, al-Husain Ayit Sa'ide, and Ahmad al-Raisuni became a legal basis in the virtual implementation of Friday prayer (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021). *Fiqh* is a normative argument that encourages the virtual implementation of Friday prayer.

#### THE EFFECTS OF VIRTUAL FRIDAY PRAYER TO THE FUTURE IMPLEMENTATION OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AMONG THE INDONESIAN MUSLIM COMMUNITY

Virtual Friday prayer as an alternative form of worship to respond the pandemic situation has prompted the birth of a new concept in the implementation of Friday prayer. The data revealed two aspects to strengthen this argument. The first aspect is the introduction of new terms for the virtual Friday

prayer procession and the regaining awareness on the need to conduct other religious worships in a virtual space. The introduction of new terms in the religious procession has brought about new definition of worship instruments related to virtual Friday prayer, such as a virtual mosque called *Masjid Jami' Hilful Fudhul* (*Hilful Fudhul* Congregational Virtual Mosque). Like a typical mosque, the administrator of the mosque is called the *ta'mir* (manager) of the *Hilful Fudhul* Congregational Virtual Mosque and the congregation is named as the *Jamaah Majlis Ta'lim Hilful Fudhul* (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021a). The naming of virtual space as a mosque, where virtual Friday prayer is hold, is based on its substance as a place of prostration, instead of referring to its physical meaning.

Dear the worshipers to whom Allah showers His countless blessing, as previously stated at the beginning of this *ijtihad* (independent reasoning), we would like to use this group as “a place to learn together about the values of virtue”. Please allow us to name it as “*Masjid Jami' Hilful Fudhul*”. *Masjid* (mosque) is a place to prostrate, worship God, and conduct activities that benefit humanity, which are highly rewarded by Allah, while “*Jami*” means “to gather” and “include” all people for worship and strengthen the universal humanitarian movement. Given its virtual nature, the words *masjid* and *jami'* in this context refers to a place of congregational prostration not only in a physical sense, but also in a virtual sense as a way to worship God together through activities that benefit humanity (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021b).

The redefinition of the terms and devices used for the virtual implementation of Friday prayer is done to meet the requirements for the validity of the virtual Friday prayer.

The second aspect is awareness of the need for virtual worship during the pandemic. The adoption of virtual Friday prayer may have an impact on the awareness on the need to create alternative spaces in the implementation of other form of worship during the pandemic. The ease of virtual practice of Friday prayer during the pandemic has sparked the intention of the community to keep on practicing the mandatory Friday prayer (Institute n.d.). The perceived ease in carrying out Friday prayer encourages the intention to carry out other forms of worship in a virtual space.

“Not only do we have this sole virtual mosque, but also do we have other mosques. Other hosts also organize similar events and I have been campaigning for it in many groups (Helmi Hidayat-Member of virtual Friday Prayer) (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021b).”

“I have shared this (activity) with my friends, including the network in my contacts. Alhamdulillah, we have been able to perform virtual Friday Prayer, considering that in our office 42 people were infected with Covid-19, and thank God we were able to meet at the assembly. This activity has been very useful for us (Heru Cahyono- Member of virtual Friday Prayer) (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021b).”

Interestingly, it is notable that the virtual Friday prayer has urged a new tradition since some female worshipers have attended the Friday prayer. Typically, women are always excluded from the practice of Friday prayer since they are not obliged to perform Friday prayer, as stated by one of the members.

“I was very moved that I was able to join the virtual Friday prayer. I haven't attended Friday Prayer for a long time because I am a woman. The last time I attended Friday prayer was when I was a student back then in the 1980s, and after that I was no longer allowed to attend the prayer. Thus, I felt very grateful (about this activity) and I will spread it to my extensive range of networks (bini Bukhari – Female member of virtual Friday prayer) (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021b).”

A newly adapted tradition during the process of virtual Friday prayer is the question-and-answer session that takes place after Friday prayer (Hamid 2021). The flexibility provided by technology has overcome the distance-related problems in the implementation of the virtual Friday prayer and gives rise to a new tradition during the process of worship.

The third aspect is the introduction of a virtual space for the implementation of other forms of worship. The comfort and high enthusiasm of the community to participating in virtual Friday prayer may encourage other forms of virtual congregational worship. The data demonstrated several other religious worships that are carried out virtually, such as virtual congregational *tarawih* prayers for a whole month (Public Virtue Research Institute 2021d), virtual Eid prayers, and virtual *Halal bi Halal* (ask and give forgiveness at the end of the fasting period). These two activities were carried out by the *Jama'ah Majlis Taklim Hilful Fudhul* in the 2021 Eid al-Fitr prayer under the same spirit: providing an alternative form of worship during the pandemic. The enthusiasm is well reflected in the comment of one of the following practitioners of virtual Eid prayer. “It was an amazing alternative new form of worship. I was really touched by this activity. I really thanked the preacher for delivering such a great speech (PSIPP ITB Ahmad Dahlan

Jakarta 2021)”. The practice of virtual Friday Prayer may trigger the implementation other forms of worship using the same online platforms.

## DISCUSSION

The use of virtual media in the implementation of virtual Friday prayers does not have an impact on changes in the rules and requirements for the validity of Friday prayers essentially. The changes occur only in the media used as a result of the use of technology in religious rituals during the pandemic. The limitations of worship caused by the pandemic provide an open space for dialogue between science and religion (Alexander 2020) as a creative mechanism for society to deal with the difficulties experienced (Olsen & Timothy 2020) by producing solutions to the implementation of religious rituals (Barmania & Reiss 2020). The use of media in the virtual implementation of Friday prayers has led to new terms for the completeness of worship and the actual scope of sermon material. Changes in the mention of the completeness of worship are part of the adaptations made in response to the pandemic (Saenong et al. 2020). This statement is reinforced by Suyadi et al. (2020) who mentioned that adjusting the worship mechanism during an outbreak is a necessity that gave birth to the concept of the *fiqh* of disease. Media adjustments as a solution to religious rituals and offering solutions to actual problems as sermon material are carried out without making fundamental changes to the rules and legal requirements for Friday prayers.

The adjustment of Friday prayer rituals using technology is a form of imitation of adaptations that take place in socio-cultural practices that have utilized virtual space. The adaptation of socio-cultural practices into virtual space is considered as an impact of technological determination that can be implemented into religious activities. Religion practiced in new media resulting from technological developments (Radde-Antweiler 2008; Ruah-Midbar 2014) forms new habits in its implementation. Casey (2006) shows a new mechanism in virtual worship centered on technological sophistication. This kind of change is considered a fusion of religion with technology (Wagner 2011) which is also utilized by Muslims. The practice of reciting the Qur’an using WhatsApp Group media (Nisa 2018), online pesantren (Qudsy 2019), and virtual marriage (Hakim & Qodsiyah 2022) are forms of adaptation of Islamic rituals by utilizing technology. The use

of technology as an alternative media framed in an emergency situation has an impact on the ongoing polemic about its validity in the structure of Islamic law (*fiqh*).

The polemics over the validity of virtual Friday prayers in place of conventional Friday prayers due to emergencies are related to the form of dispensation (*rukhsah*) or strictness (*azimah*). The conventional Friday prayer, which is established as an initial law (*ibtida’*) imposed on all determined people (*mukallaf*), is exempted in the form of a waiver (*takhfif isqat*) (Al-Zuhayli 2006) in the presence of an impediment (*uzr*) (Al-Zuhayli n.d.). A waiver of the obligation to perform the Friday prayer may occur when the conditions for performing it in congregation—conducted by forty Muslims, male, burdened (*mukallaf*), free, and settled—are not met. In cases of emergency and unfulfilled conditions, the Friday prayer can be replaced by the Zuhr prayer (Al-Haytami 2000). In fact, the life-threatening emergency of Covid-19 can be a barrier that nullifies the obligation of Friday prayer. This is based on the view of Ibn Qudamah (1997) who made Friday prayer a matter of *Sunnah* (recommendatory) for people who are unable to perform it. The transfer of obligation in the form of an exemption from Friday prayer is related to the fulfillment of mandatory conditions that have been stipulated in Islamic law (*fiqh*).

However, the ability to perform Friday prayers for people who are prevented due to the pandemic through virtual means can restore the fulfillment of the conditions of the obligation to perform them. Ibn Qudamah (1997) provides a basis by stating that the ability to perform Friday prayers for people who are not charged occurs when the obstacle (*mushaqqah*) that prevents them can be overcome. The use of virtual technology is an element used by the *Masjid Jami’ Hilful Fudhul* (Hilful Fudhul Congregational Virtual Mosque) to eliminate difficulties caused by the pandemic. The virtual practice of Friday prayer follows the legal requirements of its implementation, namely, it is performed in congregation (*jama’ah*), followed by forty people, held in a predetermined place, held at Zuhr time, and held after two sermons (Al-Jawi n.d.). The debate on the legitimacy of this practice arose over the definition of the place and conditions of congregation, which was carried out virtually as an effort to overcome the difficulties caused by the pandemic.

The difference in the concepts of congregation and mosque as the basic components that are

polarized arise in relation to the concept of gathering the imam and the congregation in one place. The unspecified gathering place of the imam and the congregation allows the Friday prayer to be performed in various places (Al-Gharnati 1994; Al-Nawawi 1347). However, the majority of scholars of Jurisprudence agree that the place can have the effect of connecting the movements of the imam and the congregation. On this basis, Abu Zahrah prohibits the Friday prayer from being performed using loudspeakers. Meanwhile, the opinion of Al-Sadiq (1375) that allows the Friday prayer to be performed at home using a microphone is used to fulfill the requirement that the congregation follow the imam's sermon. Meanwhile, the continuity of the movements of the imam and the congregation that arises from the concept of congregation in one place is an unavoidable requirement. This condition is also used by Hassah al-Sudays (2021) as a limitation on the permissibility of praying in congregation using virtual media in a pandemic situation. In fact, Ibn Hajr al-Haytami (2000) made the requirement of gathering in one place a mandatory condition. The place of gathering between the imam and the congregation in one table as a valid condition of the Friday prayer is measured through familiar customs, not by using virtual media (Alam 2020).

The continuity of the *imam* and the congregation as a valid condition of prayer that is not fulfilled in the virtual Friday prayer forms a new relationship between religion and media by borrowing and using it without understanding its terms and conditions. Ignorance of its terms and conditions has an impact on the tendency to change and eliminate the value and conditions of its obligations as a new form of appropriation in religious rituals. This impact is corroborated by the findings of Levrini et al. (2021) who claim that the impact of Covid-19 which creates cultural shock through various forms, including technology, creates new appropriations in the world of education by eliminating the basic values of learning. This is similar to what happened during the Covid-19 era with the change in preaching style (Fauzi et al. 2022). Appropriation in virtual religious rituals also has an impact on the blurring of boundaries between religious and non-religious concepts in society. The existence of a virtual mosque eliminates the sacredness of the mosque with its various worship services. The blurred distinction between the sacred and profane was also found by Saint-Blancat and Cancellieri (2014) in the appropriation process of the Santacruzian ritual in

the Philippines. In fact, appropriation can eliminate the original identity of the ritual aspects taken (Boisvert 2020). The loss of identity that emerges in the practice of virtual Friday prayers is the impact of withdrawing mandatory worship (*azimah*) without reviewing its terms and conditions.

The use of technology in virtual Friday prayers, which has an impact on the loss of religious identity as a result of the process of religious appropriation, distinguishes this research from previous studies. Other studies emphasize the influence of the pandemic on changes in the concept (Zaenuri 2020) and practice of religious worship (Kowalczyk et al. 2020), the use of virtual media in worship (Radde-Antweiler 2008), and normative-dogmatic worship rules during the pandemic (Saenong et al. 2020; Suyadi et al. 2020). The ease of worship and the compatibility of newly adapted methods with legal reasoning drive the intention to extend ongoing forms of worship during the pandemic to the adoption of similar forms of worship outside the pandemic. The shift from conventional to virtual rituals in religion is being introduced with the legal polemics that follow (Niu 2023). This makes the pandemic a driver of new changes in social life (de Souza 2020). The aspect of change in rituals by linking to the suitability of the basic concept of religious rituals in the frame of appropriation distinguishes this research from previous studies.

The practice of virtual Friday prayers that took place during the pandemic contains elements of appropriation in religious rituals. Appropriation in religious practice is prone to be present in the type of obligations that have been determined (*azimah*) for those who are prevented from fulfilling them by changing their original form (Al-Ansari n.d.). Legal leniency exists to facilitate the performance of acts of worship for Muslims who find it difficult to perform them. This idea is the basis for the formation of the *fiqh* of disease to find convenience in the implementation of worship in the context of an outbreak that follows the standard of legal change (Atique and Itumalla 2020; Suyadi et al. 2020). Changes in ritual forms that do not have rules for change are still produced by relying on the convenience available by paying attention to the provisions that have been set. Media switching in worship during the pandemic was found to be not in accordance with the requirements of the provisions (Darmawan, Miharja, Sri, et al. 2020; Hede et al. 2020), so that the appropriation of religious rituals is prone to take place significantly.

## CONCLUSION

Virtualization of religious rituals, which has been considered as an alternative action to support the ease and resolution of obstacles to worship during the pandemic, is not fully justified. This study reveals that the convenience provided in virtual worship practices through the formation of new concepts obscures the dimensions of the requirements for the validity of Friday prayers. The withdrawal of religious rituals without complete identification of requirements into virtual media gives rise to a new type of appropriation in religious territory. This appropriation can have an impact on the controversy of new religious rituals that are widespread with claims of religious secularization. The resulting impact of the utilization of media in the implementation of virtual Friday prayers requires a review by paying attention to the scope of the requirements of the obligation and its validity. Attention to this scope can open the possibility of implementing worship that has definite provisions into the virtual space.

The completion of the conditions and pillars in the performance of religious rituals can virtually set a new direction for the practice of religious rituals in the public sphere. The new direction is primarily indicated by three types of changes: 1) changes of place, from offline Friday Prayer usually done at mosques to online prayers through cyberspace; 2) changes in the management with the addition of certain practices, such as question and answer session, although this practice is an additional practice out of the core rituals; 3) changes in the content of the Friday sermon. Changes in the latter aspect indicate a shift from reflective-normative to reflective-progressive direction. The typical daily sermons mainly contain contemplation of people's daily lives, but the virtual Friday prayer sermons are more related to the issues of nationality and statehood. The sermon also serves as a form of national-universal reflection that is not only based on the normative side of religion, but also is based on the latest research on the current practice of democracy.

However, this study has two limitations. The first limitation is attributed to the research subject that only focuses on the practice of virtual Friday prayer organized by the public virtue institute

community. This fact indicates the need for further research on other forms of religious virtual worship. The second limitation lies on the fact that this study only analyzes worship practices during the pandemic. Hence, there is a need to conduct further studies on the implementation of virtual worship outside the pandemic to support or even criticize the results of this research.

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## AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Conceptualization, Ghozali, Qudsy, and Faiz.; methodology, Qudsy; formal analysis, Ghozali; writing—original draft preparation, Qudsy, Mahbub, and Faiz; writing—review and editing, Ghozali and Faiz; visualization, Ghozali; project administration, Faiz. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

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## DYNAMICS AND TYPOLOGY OF QURANIC CONTENT IN TIKTOK

**Inayatul Mustautina**

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
[im.inaa27@gmail.com](mailto:im.inaa27@gmail.com)

**Saifuddin Zuhry Qudsy**

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Indonesia  
[saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id](mailto:saifuddin.zuhri@uin-suka.ac.id)

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### Abstract

Tik Tok has been considered as an attention grabbing alternative social media platform for the millennial generation as a way to convey and receive religious messages, especially Quranic messages. The use of TikTok as a new medium has also given birth to the current trend of learning the Qur'an. This study attempts to explain the impact of Quranic content on Tiktok on Quran learning. In the academic realm, this research seeks to contribute to discussions on the study of the Qur'an in its relation to social media. Using Ahmad Rafiq's reception theory of the Qur'an and Gary R. Bunt's theory of cyber Islamic environments, this qualitative research concludes the following points; first, the Quranic-related contents on TikTok comprise of several typologies, such as; quotes, interpretations, completing Quranic verses, tajwid, tahsin, qira'ah or recitations, lectures, news, stories, daily practices, *murattal*, rasm or manuscripts, the virtues of Quranic verses, memorization, guessing surahs, tips, and duets. Second, at the beginning of 2020, during the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic, there had been an increased use of TikTok among people from various circles, ranging from the general public, celebrities, businessmen, preachers and others. Some preachers had been using TikTok as one of the learning media for the millennial generation. Third, TikTok had enabled creators of Quranic-related content to convey Quranic messages through Quranic content videos to be responded by netizens in the comments column. In this context, they started to turn to TikTok for religious advice and to answer some of their religious questions.

**Key Words:** Quran, TikTok, Content, Qurani.

### Abstrak

Aplikasi TikTok dinilai sebagai media baru yang menarik perhatian generasi milenial dalam upaya menyampaikan dan menerima pesan-pesan keagamaan, terkhusus pesan-pesan Qurani. Penggunaan TikTok sebagai media baru tersebut, melahirkan pola baru pula tentang kecenderungan belajar Al-Qur'an pada saat ini. Penelitian ini berupaya untuk menjelaskan bagaimana pengaruh konten Qurani di Tiktok. Dalam ranah akademik, penelitian ini dapat berkontribusi dalam diskusi mengenai studi Al-Qur'an yang berkaitan dengan media sosial. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori resepsi Al-Qur'an Ahmad Rafiq dan teori *cyber Islamic environments* Gary R. Bunt, dengan metode penelitian kualitatif. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah; *pertama*, beberapa tipologi konten Qurani di TikTok, diantaranya adalah; quote, interpretasi, sambung ayat, tajwid, tahsin, qira'ah atau tilawah, ceramah, berita, kisah, amalan harian, murattal, rasm atau mushaf, keutamaan surat, hafalan, tebak surat, tips, dan duet. *Kedua*, pada awal tahun 2020, dengan adanya pandemi Covid-19, penggunaan Tiktok semakin kuat dan berkembang di tengah-tengah masyarakat dari berbagai kalangan, baik masyarakat biasa, selebriti, pembisnis, pendakwah maupun yang lainnya. Para pendakwah tertarik untuk menjadikan Tiktok sebagai salah satu media dakwahnya kepada generasi milenial. *Ketiga*, para konten kreator Qurani mampu menyampaikan pesan-pesan Qurani melalui video konten Qurani, yang kemudian dapat direspon oleh netizen dalam kolom komentar, mereka beralih pada Tiktok untuk meminta nasihat dan jawaban atas pertanyaan agama yang mereka butuhkan.

**Kata Kunci:** Al-Qur'an, TikTok, Konten, Qurani

### Introduction

The escalating usage of TikTok among modern millenials has led to the creation of various contents in Tiktok to spread ideas, including religious ideas. The Indonesia Survey Center (ISC) research based on the internet survey report of the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) for 2019-2020 (Q2) revealed that social media serve as the primary reason for the exploding use of internet with a percentage of 51.5%.<sup>1</sup> Since it was launched, TikTok has been experiencing a considerable growth as seen from the massive number of its users. Astraying from its initial target of the launch mainly for entertainment, Tiktok has now been widely used to promote various scientific contents, including the religious content. The use of Tiktok for promoting Quran has positioned Tiktok as a new medium for Quran learning that is highly favored by netizens, especially those who are born as digital natives. In the 19th century AD, the learning of the Quran initially took place through traditional place

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<sup>1</sup> The data were obtained from the online survey report of the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) for 2019-2020 (Q2) in the form of a Power Point by the Indonesia Survey Center (ISC), (2020): 72-134

commonly known as *nggon ngaji*, *surau*, *dayah* or *meunasah*.<sup>2</sup> With the progress of time, the learning media of the Quran also grew more and more innovative.<sup>3</sup> Nowadays, Quran learning is not only made available at some particular places at a particular time, but also is made readily available through some accessible full-fledged digital media, such as through the TikTok application.

This article seeks to discuss Quranic content that is widely shared in social media platform, especially TikTok. Thus far, there have been many scholars who conducted some researches on the delivery of Quranic content in social media. The review on some previous researches on the topic understudy revealed two trends of research on religion, particularly the Quran and social media. The first trend deals with research on the spread of Quranic content on social media. Some of the religious studies on social media include a research written by Rizal Purnama,<sup>4</sup> Fahrudin,<sup>5</sup> and Ainatu Masrurin.<sup>6</sup> The second trend is related to research on TikTok and religious studies. Although this topic was rarely discussed, some researches including Niswatul Malihah,<sup>7</sup> Riza Soedardi,<sup>8</sup> Sholihatul Hikmawati and Luluk Farida,<sup>9</sup> and Sandi Pratama and Muchlis have addressed it in their researches.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, none of these researchers examined the dynamics of the Quran on TikTok. This paper, hence, tries to see the history of the emergence of Tiktok as a learning medium and the process of Quranic learning through TikTok and to explore the dynamics of Quranic learning on TikTok social media.

This paper assumes that first, the Quranic content in this article refers to various video contents on TikTok related to the Quran. Second, with the popular use of TikTok application, TikTok has been in demand by various groups, ranging from the

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<sup>2</sup> *Ngon ngaji* is widely known in Java, while the similar term in the West Sumatra is called a *surau* and in Aceh it is called a *dayah* or *meunasah*, which means a place where students learn to read the Qur'an. However, these designations are later known as *pondok* or *pesantren*. Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah*, (Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1983), p. 11-12.

<sup>3</sup> Karel A. Steen Brink in his book "Pesantren Madrasah Sekolah" described that at that time it was common for a child aged 6 to 10 years to learn about religion to a local religious teacher for several hours a day. Students were taught about Quran recitation at the *nggon ngaji* individually.

<sup>4</sup> Rizal Faturohman Purnama, 'The Aesthetic Reception of the Quran in Instagram: Variations, Factors, and Religious Commodification', *ULUL ALBAB Jurnal Studi Islam*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v21i2.9528>.

<sup>5</sup> Fahrudin Fahrudin, 'Resepsi Al-Qur'an Di Media Sosial (Studi Kasus Film Ghibah Dalam Kanal Youtube Film Maker Muslim)', *HERMENEUTIK*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.21043/hermeneutik.v14i1.6890>.

<sup>6</sup> 'Ainatu Masrurin, 'MURATTAL DAN MUJAWWAD AL-QUR'AN DI MEDIA SOSIAL', *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis*, 2019 <https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.2018.1902-04>.

<sup>7</sup> Niswatul Malihah, 'TIKTOK DALAM PERSPEKTIF AL-QUR'AN', *At-Tahfizh*, 2019.

<sup>8</sup> Riza Adrian Soedardi, 'TikTok and Hijab: Questioning Islamic Values in Digital Sphere', *SHAHIH: Journal of Islamicate Multidisciplinary*, 2020 <https://doi.org/10.22515/shahih.v5i2.2807>.

<sup>9</sup> Sholihatul Atik Hikmawati and Luluk Farida, 'PEMANFAATAN MEDIA TIK TOK SEBAGAI MEDIA DAKWAH BAGI DOSEN IAI SUNAN KALIJOGO MALANG', *Al-Ittishol: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam*, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.51339/ittishol.v2i1.215>.

<sup>10</sup> Sandi Marga dan Muchlis Pratama, 'Pengaruh Aplikasi Tiktok Terhadap Ekspresi Komunikasi Mahasiswa Uin Sunan Ampel Surabaya', *INCARE ( International Journal Of Educational Resource*, 2020.

public at large, celebrities, academics, to religious leaders. This motivates, especially religious leaders, to create content videos related to the Quran on TikTok. Third, along with the increasing number of Quranic creators on TikTok, the author assumes that TikTok is one of the media for Quranic learning that has been increasingly necessitated by the millennial generation as its main users as a way to satisfy their religious needs.

The method used in this study is a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytic approach, namely an approach that presents and analyzes data systematically so as to reach a clear conclusion, which first describes the forms of reception<sup>11</sup> of the Quran on Tiktok, then critically analyzes the factors the emergence factor, and finally explaining how the presence of Tiktok in transforming public reception of the Quran. In this case, the author conducts a type of field research in the form of Tiktok media. This research is research using content analysis based on social media that focuses on Quranic content that is present in the Tiktok application.

This study aims to complement the available literature as abovementioned. It departs from the abovedescribed phenomena and problems related to the constantly rapid pace of technological sophistication and advancement that inescapably urge human adaptation in various aspects, including the delivery of religious messages through the newly developed social media platform, such as Tiktok application. It mainly seeks to answer the following problems; First, what is the typology of the dynamic of Quranic content on Tiktok. Second, what are the motivating factors for the spread of Quranic content on Tiktok. Third, what are the impacts of the spread of Quranic content on Tiktok on the Tiktok audience. To obtain information and data to answer the problem formulation, the authors explored various sources, constituting of books and journals in the form of hard copies and online sources.

### **A Brief History of TikTok**

TikTok is an application or short-form music video platform originating from China. In their home country, TikTok is also known as Douyin, which literally means ‘shaking sound’, a short-form video sharing platform, primarily for lipsyncing and dancing videos to serve as a social network and music video platform.<sup>12</sup> At its initial launch in China, the music video app was referred to as Douyin, instead of TikTok, and it was not launched in other countries except China. The application enables users to share short videos of 15 second length to all users. Within a year, Douyin was able to attract more than 100 million users, thus generating huge profits. Therefore, ByteDance as the parent company launched this application in the international market for the global audience. However, since the name Douyin is deemed as less familiar for

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<sup>11</sup> Ahmad Rafiq, ‘The Living Qur’an: Its Text and Practice in the Function of the Scripture’, *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur’an Dan Hadis*, 2021.

<sup>12</sup> Sandi Marga & Muchlis Pratama, p.104.

users outside China, the name was changed to TikTok which was considered more attractive and easy to remember.

TikTok was created by a software engineer named Zhang Yiming,<sup>13</sup> who graduated from Nankai University and later founded a technological company called ByteDance in 2012, through which, Yiming created and developed the TikTok application. Previously, he had launched a news app under the name Toutiao, which later became one of the biggest news apps in China.<sup>14</sup> Yiming officially launched TikTok in September 2016 as a social media platform created to enable its users to easily create short-form video contents.<sup>15</sup>

In principle, if Instagram intends to turn all users into photographers, TikTok aims to turn everyone into videographers<sup>16</sup> by providing users with a short video duration, background music, and interesting filters to be easily applied. The applicability of TikTok has attracted million millennial users even within a few months since it was officially launched. TikTok's popularity continues to surge rapidly, even though in its early development, TikTok was only handled by eight people in 200 days<sup>17</sup> with the main target of the young generation or millennial generation in various countries, including Indonesia.

Indonesia is one of the countries with a predominating number of millennial generations or also known as generation Z. Throughout the course of 2016 to early 2018, TikTok had managed to attract the attention of Indonesian millennials to download and use it actively. Countless number of its users has gained thousand followers due to the videos they uploaded on TikTok application. Bowo Alpenlibe used to be one of the prominent young users of TikTok who went viral and gained popularity on various social media and print media. Bowo could gain many fans from the videos he uploaded on his personal account, and thus he was popularly labeled as a TikTok artist.

Nonetheless, the escalating fame of Bowo Alpenlibe has opened the eyes of the public of the seemingly negative contents of TikTok for its users. A large number of parents, public figures and others strongly criticized TikTok and its content for fear of the adverse impact on its users, especially children.<sup>18</sup> This makes TikTok a

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<sup>13</sup> Zhang Yiming is a Chinese billionaire internet entrepreneur who is currently 37 years old. He was born on April 1, 1983 in China. He studied at Nankai University (2001-2005). Afterwards, he dabbled in the world of technology by founding and leading a company called ByteDance in 2012. Then, he expanded his wings by creating the Douyin/TikTok application which is very popular today. As of March 2021, the company net worth had reached US\$ 35.5 Billion.

<sup>14</sup> Sholihatul Atik Hikmawati and Luluk Farida, p. 4.

<sup>15</sup> Soedardi, p.18

<sup>16</sup> Zanna Wharfe, "Everybody's Talking about: TikTok", in [www.wcaresocial.com](http://www.wcaresocial.com), <https://wcaresocial.com/uk/blog/2019/05/everybodys-talking-about-tiktok>. Retrieved on March 26, 2021.

<sup>17</sup> Ervina Anggraini, "Mengenal Sosok di Balik Popularitas TikTok", in [www.cnnindonesia.com](http://www.cnnindonesia.com), <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20180704152351-192-311496/mengenal-sosok-di-balik-popularitas-tik-tok>. Retrieved on March 27, 2021.

<sup>18</sup> This data were obtained from the Youtube Net Entertainment News channel with the title "Through the TikTok Application, Bowo Alpenlibe Becomes Viral on Social Media", which was

controversial social media that is deemed to fool its users, especially children, with music and dance platform or nerd dancing movements lacking of educational values and inappropriate for public consumption. In addition, TikTok is also known as tacky and cheesy social media for the “alay group” (the youth culture known with their tacky and cheesy preference), who is always underestimated by most Indonesians from various circles.

In the middle of 2018, particularly on July 3, 2018, the Ministry of Communication and Information officially announced the ban of TikTok application. The ban was resulted from the constant monitoring by the AIS Team or the Kominfo internet search engine and several reports from other ministries, such as the Ministry of Women and Children Empowerment (PPA) and the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI), as well as reports from the public through campaigns, petitions and others.<sup>19</sup>

The Minister of Communication and Information, Rudiantara, confirmed that the ban of TikTok was generated by certain reasons, such as the presence of negative content, especially for children, in the form of pornographic content, immoral content, religious harassment content and so on. However, the blocking was only made temporary, since Kominfo still provided an opportunity for TikTok to operate again on the condition that it must comply with the regulatory provisions in Indonesia. Rudiantara also mentioned that TikTok is a very good platform for children to express their creativity, but some users have misused the application for negative content, and thus resulting in the ban.<sup>20</sup> However, a week later, TikTok resumed its operations after the negotiations between Kominfo and TikTok officials.

Since its reoperation in mid-2018, Indonesians have started to accept its existence. TikTok has implemented two requirements proposed by Kominfo, as in the followings; first, the application needs to erase all the existing negative contents. Second, it shall guarantee that it has an internal filter to avoid negative contents that are not in accordance with Indonesian regulations. Henceforth, TikTok users continue to swell. Yiming explained that since its inception in 2018, TikTok has been downloaded for 500 million times on the AppStore and Playstore. Citing information provided by Kominfo that the United States research company “Sensor Tower Store Intelligence” named TikTok as the most downloaded non-gaming mobile application on the iOS App Store worldwide, beating Youtube and Whatsapp.<sup>21</sup> This is an

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uploaded on July 9 2018. Retrieved on on March 27, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3hfjxQ7BIvo>

<sup>19</sup> RBC, “Alasan Kominfo Blokir TikTok”, in [www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20180703181921-185-311178/alasan-kominfo-blokir-tik-tok](http://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20180703181921-185-311178/alasan-kominfo-blokir-tik-tok). Retrieved on on March 27, 2021

<sup>20</sup> KOMINFO, “Kominfo: Blokir TikTok Hanya Sementara”, dalam [www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/13332/kominfo-blokir-tik-tok-hanya-sementara/0/sorotan\\_media](http://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/13332/kominfo-blokir-tik-tok-hanya-sementara/0/sorotan_media). Retrieved on March 27, 2021

<sup>21</sup> KOMINFO, “Banyak Alasan di Balik Buka Tutup TikTok”, dalam [www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/13716/banyak-alasan-di-balik-buka-tutup-blokir-tik-tok](http://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/13716/banyak-alasan-di-balik-buka-tutup-blokir-tik-tok). Retrieved on March 27, 2021.



important achievement for TikTok in 2018 and serves as a driving force to constantly innovate.

2019 is an important year especially for TikTok Indonesia, since it was denoted that the average Indonesian people watches 100 TikTok videos every day. These groups of users are not mere spectators, since they are also video creators, who actively create interesting short-form videos of 15-60 seconds to be uploaded on their respective accounts on TikTok. The videos consist of full-fledged contents, including comedy, fashion, lifestyle, travel and educational content. Quoting from ArenaLTE.com, TikTok Indonesia's Head of User and Content Operations, Angga Anugrah Putra, expressed his support for the creativity of creators in content development by providing easy-to-use features and editing tools for video creation. There are several popular elements of TikTok throughout 2019, including effects, music, celebrities, creators and challenges. In addition, in 2019 TikTok also launched an annual competition themed TikTok All-Star Southeast Asia, which was attended by 302 thousand participants and watched by 657.7 million people.<sup>22</sup>

The early 2020 marked the increasingly wide acceptance of and demand for TikTok by Indonesian society across various levels. TikTok not only gains popularity among the public at large, but also among celebrities, businessmen, politicians and religious figures with certain interests. The outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic has added to the list of factors for the increasing popularity of TikTok in 2020. It was apparent that since the announcement of the COVID-19 pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO) and its rapid wide spread across the globe, every country, including Indonesia, has implemented stay-at-home policy or household lockdowns that requires all activities, including work, study and others to be done at home. This condition has driven people to search for entertaining activities to fight against their boredom while staying at home.

In such case, TikTok is considered as an appropriate social media application that can serve as the best company during the pandemic situation, because the platform enables each user to easily create short video content to express their feelings.<sup>23</sup> In 2020, TikTok managed to establish itself as one of the top seven social media applications in 2020. According to Adobe Spark, which launched the top seven social media to invest in 2020, TikTok ranked fifth after Instagram, Youtube, Facebook and Twitter.<sup>24</sup> This is a very remarkable achievement for an application that was only launched four years ago.

Towards the end of 2020, TikTok has made some predictions about video trends in 2021. The top content categories will continue to be developed in 2021 supported by

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<sup>22</sup> Deni Sukma, "Ini Dia Yang Populer di Tiktok Selama Tahun 2019" in *ArenaLTE.com*, <https://arenalte.com/berita/industri/ini-dia-yang-populer-di-tiktok-selama-tahun-2019/>. Retrieved on March 27, 2021.

<sup>23</sup> Soedardi, p.19.

<sup>24</sup> Ryan Robinson, "The 7 Top Social Media Sites You Need to Care About in 2020", in *spark.adobe.com*. Retrieved on March 28, 2021, <https://spark.adobe.com/make/learn/top-social-media-sites/>

other activities and collaborations with various parties. In addition, TikTok will also monitor the currently developing trend on its platform and prepare a series of new features to be launched in Indonesia.<sup>25</sup> As it is known that in early 2021, TikTok collaborated with RCTI television to present the 2020 TikTok Awards Indonesia, which was held on January 30, 2021. The event was organized to appreciate the creativity of TikTok creators who have presented their inspiring and entertaining short video content throughout the year of 2020. In addition, the TikTok Awards is expected to boost the creativity of Indonesian millennials through TikTok.

The millennial generation, also known as Generation Z, is the first generation to have been exposed to technology from an early age. As the digital native, Generation Z is highly focused on digital and technology that reinforces their identity. They are born and grown up along with technological developments and advances in computer technology or other electronic media, such as cell phones, internet networks or social media applications.<sup>26</sup> Thus, generation Z is the predominant users of the internet, especially social media. According to the results of the Indonesia Survey Center (ISC) research based on the internet survey report of the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII), in 2019-2020 (Q2), social media served as one of the primary reasons for using the internet with a percentage of 51.5%.<sup>27</sup> Of the many social media, TikTok is a social media predominantly used by Generation Z, who is fond of the distinctive characteristic of TikTok as compared to other social media.

The focal point that strongly distinguishes and uniquely characterizes TikTok from other social media is the role of hashtags ( # ) and the TikTok algorithm that is operated differently from other social media platforms. The TikTok algorithm serves up content entirely in accordance to user interests based on the categories of videos they frequently watch. Therefore, the TikTok content that users see on their page or homepage is not limited to the contents created by their followers or their social circles. Tiktok puts an emphasis on interest graph instead of the social graph. This way, TikTok can serve content to hundreds of millions of feeds based on what users like, instead of based on who they like. That said, popularity is not the most important point since content matters the most to get the highest reach. In addition, the role of hashtags is also very influential on the acquisition of reach. TikTok contains a hashtag trend that enables the creator to get a higher reach. The creator should include the trending or popular hashtags in the content they uploaded to enable the content to enter the homepage of TikTok users, known as fyp (for your page).

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<sup>25</sup> Virgina Putri, “Prediksi Tren Konten Tiktok Tahun 2021”, in *inet.detik.com*. Retrieved on on March 28, 2021, <https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-5296050/prediksi-tren-konten-tiktok-tahun-2021>.

<sup>26</sup> Fadhliha Izzati Rinanda Firamadhina and Hetty Krisnani, ‘Perilaku Generasi Z Terhadap Penggunaan Media Sosial Tiktok: Tiktok Sebagai Media Edukasi Dan Aktivisme’, *Share : Social Work Journal*, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.24198/share.v10i2.31443>.

<sup>27</sup> The data was obtained from the internet survey report of the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Association (APJII) for 2019-2020 (Q2) in the form of a power point by the Indonesia Survey Center (ISC), p. 72-134.

### Definition of Quranic Content

Etymologically, the word content refers to information made available by a website or other electronic medium. In today's internet era, the term content is popularly used to refer to the contents of a website or page on the internet. Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) defines content as information available through media or electronic products.<sup>28</sup> The word content is derived from English word, which the Cambridge Dictionary dictionary defines as the list of articles or parts contained in a magazine or book, with the number of the page they begin on, accompanied by page numbers. It also refers to the ideas that are contained in a piece of writing, a speech, or a film, namely the ideas contained in an article, speech or film.<sup>29</sup> These definitions indicate that content refers to various kinds of information or ideas that are presented through certain media in the form of writing, images, audio, or video.

Etymologically, the word Quran, seen from various sources, is defined as something that is or has to do with the Quran. The word Quran comes from the word Qur'an, which is a noun, while Qur'ani is an adjective which modifies the previous noun by making and explaining it more specifically. For example, in the phrase "Generasi Qur'ani", "Qur'ani" (Quranic) refers to an adjective from that modifies the noun "Generasi". Thus, this phrase can be interpreted as a generation that is related to or correlated with the Quran. Thus, it also leads to the meaning of a Quran-based generation in terms of principle and the actions taken. In essence, the word 'Qur'ani' (Quranic) is an adjective that can modify previous nouns with a more specific meaning related to the Quran.

On the basis of the abovementioned definitions of the word 'content' and 'Quranic', it is clear that the phrase 'Quranic content' refers to an idea or information in the form of writing, images, audio or video that contains components of the Quran or is related to the Quran presented through certain media. In this context, the Quranic content in this article refers to the Quranic content in TikTok application. As it is known, TikTok is a short-form music video application of 15-60 seconds in length, which allows the creators to submit any contents, including Quranic content. Thus, the Quranic content on TikTok refers to an idea or information related to the Quran in the form of a 15-60 second video presented through an electronic media called TikTok. This Quranic content is one of the most popular contents for Muslims and young Muslim women as the users of TikTok. Some of these users have been actively sharing Quranic contents, and even become the pioneer of Quranic content on TikTok.

### Emergence and Development of Quranic Contents on TikTok

<sup>28</sup> KBBI (Indonesia Dictionary) online, retrieved on April 9, 2021, <https://kbbi.web.id/konten>

<sup>29</sup> Cambridge Dictionary Online, retrieved on April 9, 2021, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/content>

At its initial launch, TikTok was designated to be a sharing platform for short-form music video with wide ranging genre about music, dance and lipsync<sup>30</sup>. The most viewed videos in TikTok are dancing and lipsync contents, where the video makers mimic some popular songs and dance attractively along with the music.<sup>31</sup> Some Indonesian TikTok creators who could gain popularity through their contents in the early days of their appearance in TikTok were some teenagers named Bowo with a TikTok account *bowoo\_alpenliebe* and Nuraini with a TikTok account *nuraini*. During the initial launch of TikTok in Indonesia, these creators could manage to gain the highest reach due to their attention grabbing lipsync content. For example, in some of the contents they shared Bowo expressed how he was frustrated with his ex-girl friend who had hurt him, while Nuraini made a memorable dancing performance with Siti Badriah's dangdut song "Syantik". No sooner had it been released than both contents went viral and the two creators gained thousands of followers, not to mention to their involvement in some TV shows during their heyday. However, this skyrocketing popularity sparked controversy that urged the management of TikTok to release an innovative idea that allows its users to create other popular contents in addition to short-music videos.

At the beginning of 2020 during the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic, there had been an escalating use of TikTok among different groups of people from various circles, including the public at large, celebrities, businessmen, preachers, and others. It was at this time that Islamic contents began to appear on TikTok, especially Quranic contents, which provide materials on Islamic teaching based on the Quran as Muslim's holy book. The initial share of Quranic contents on TikTok was pioneered by a Muslim teenager named Husain Basyaiban with a TikTok account *basyasman00*, who currently has a total of 3.1 million TikTok followers. Basyaiban initially shared a material on fasting as his first video on his TikTok account. In this content, he answered some questions from one of his followers about fasting. This first content, which was uploaded on May 18, 2020, currently has 475 shares, 1066 comments and 53.2 likes.<sup>32</sup>

### Typology of Quranic Content on Tiktok

The term content, popularly used during the internet era as of today, refers to the contents of a website or page on the internet. *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI) defines content (*konten*) as information available through media or electronic products.<sup>33</sup> The word Quran, seen from various sources, refers to anything that deals

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<sup>30</sup> Lipsync is an abbreviation for lip synchronization. This is a technical term for matching lip movements with vocals spoken by a character. Someone who does a lipsync as if mimicking the lyric of some songs by moving his lips along with the song that plays through certain media.

<sup>31</sup> Elisa Kusumawardhani and Deasy Silvyia Sari, 'Gelombang Pop Culture Tik-Tok: Studi Kasus Amerika Serikat, Jepang, India Dan Indonesia', *Padjadjaran Journal of International Relations*, 2021: 22 <https://doi.org/10.24198/padjir.v3i1.27758>.

<sup>32</sup> Data generated from Husain Basyaiban's Tiktok account, retrieved on April 10, 2021. <https://www.tiktok.com/basyasman00?lang=id-ID>


<sup>33</sup> KBBI online, retrieved on April 9, 2021, <https://kbbi.web.id/konten>

with the Quran. Quran is a noun, while ‘Qurani’ (Quranic) is an adjective form which can modify the previous noun by adding more specific explanation.<sup>34</sup> Thus, Quranic content refers to an idea or information in the form of writing, images, audio, or video containing components of the Quran or related to the Quran in it which is presented through certain media.



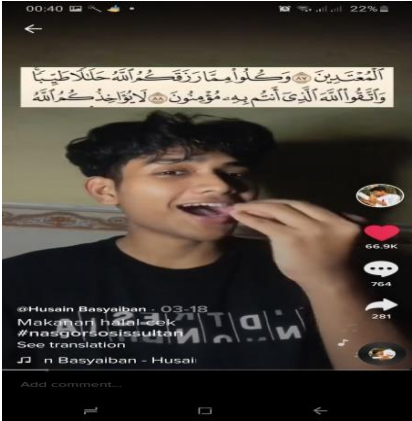
Diverse Quranic contents are shared on TikTok from time to time, making it fairly easy to find Islamic contents on TikTok. As a result, millennial TikTok users started to gain an interest in sharing Quranic content in this platform based on their respective preference and creativity. Some users prefer sharing Quranic contents in the form of quotes, public lectures, Quranic recitations, tips to recite the Quran, and so on. The following TikTok accounts are classified as millennial TikTok users who have been taking part in sharing Quranic content in TikTok: *syam\_elmarusy* *jihansalsabila44* *basyasman00* *raihan.habib* *sanjuyoksa* *adzando* *umarbinwahid* *heyouw0* *harunn98* *sandisetiadi* *daengsyawal* *nidamanurung25* *adelasihanuryapertiwi* and many others.




To get an overview of the variety of Quranic contents on TikTok, this study presents the following table on the typology of Quranic contents on TikTok;



Table 1: Typology of Quranic Content on TikTok

Type	Example	Description
Quotation	 <p data-bbox="635 1451 842 1485">Figure 1: Quote</p> <p data-bbox="609 1883 868 1917">Figure 2: Quotation</p>	<p data-bbox="991 1093 1289 1720">Quotation is a form of Quranic content shared on TikTok in the form of a group of words or short excerpts quoted from Quranic verse, with some repetition mode as a way to grab the viewer’s attention and to motivate them. It commonly includes the original source to inform audience about the referred verse.</p>



<sup>34</sup> KBBI online, retrieved on April 9, 2021, <https://lektur.id/arti-qurani/>




<p>Interpretation</p>	 <p>Figure 3: Interpretation</p>  <p>Figure 4: Interpretation</p>  <p>Figure 5: Interpretation</p>	<p>Interpretation is a form of Quranic content that allows the creators to express their impressions, opinions, or theoretical views on a verse of the Quran, which is also known as a method of Quranic interpretation.</p>
<p>Continuing the Recitation of Quranic Verse</p>		<p>This form of Quranic content provides viewers with incomplete recitation of Quranic verses</p>




	 <p>Figure 6: Continuing the Recitation of Quranic Verse</p>  <p>Figure 7: Continuing the Recitation of Quranic Verse</p>	<p>with the aim of asking viewers to continue the incomplete part.</p>
<p><i>Tajwid</i></p>	 <p>Figure 8: <i>Tajwid</i></p>	<p>This for of Quranic content allows viewers to learn about the correct pronunciation and recitation of the <i>surah</i> in the Quran and the appropriate laws of reading the Quran.</p>




	 <p>00:38 22%</p> <p>@Sandi Setiadi · 02-15 Siapa yang sulit bedainnya? #islam #belajargaji #alquran #tajwid See translation Jidi - Sandi Setiadi</p>	
<p><i>Tahsin</i></p>	 <p>21:46 53%</p> <p>سورة المائدة بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الَّذِي هَدانا لِهذا وَمَا كنا لَنهتدي لَها ولا لَنؤمن به ولا نحقره وَمَا كُنَّا لَنؤمن به ولا نحقره وَمَا كُنَّا لَنؤمن به ولا نحقره</p> <p>My Background Kesalahan : Syams TheCine Mengganti huruf ع Ngaji online part 10 Sandi Setiadi Islam yang belajar #fpv #pasy #khalim See translation Jidi original sound - Syams</p> <p>00:59 17%</p> <p>غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ</p> <p>Jangan dipantul GOX</p> <p>@Sandi Setiadi · 2020-10-03 terakhir nih #islam #muslim #ngaji #alquran #tahsin #tajwid #belajargaji See translation Jidi original sound - Sai</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content allows the viewers to improve and correct the errors in their recitation of the Quran.</p>
	<p>Figure 10: <i>Tahsin</i></p> <p>Figure 11: <i>Tahsin</i></p>	


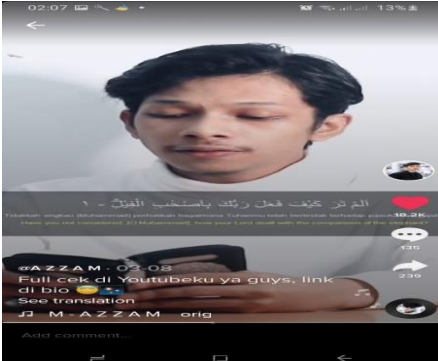
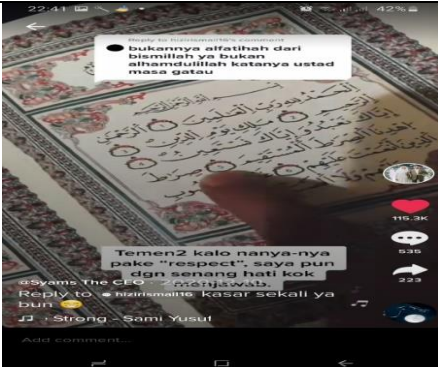
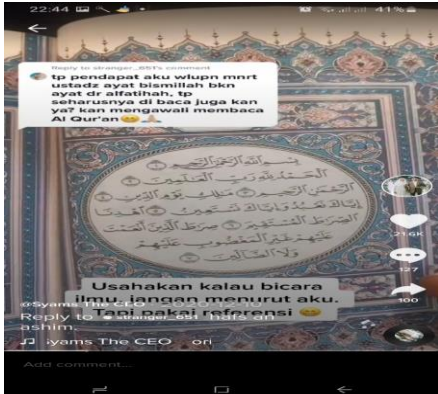




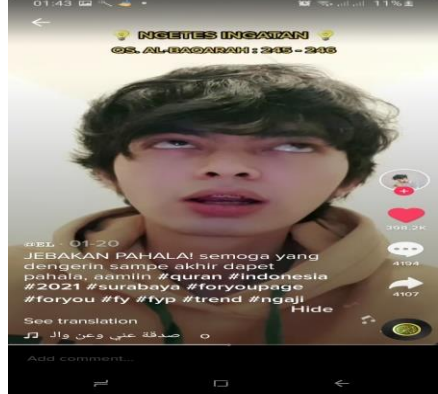
	 <p>Figure 12: <i>Tahsin</i></p>	
<p><i>Qira'ah/Tilawah</i> (Quranic Recitations)</p>	 <p>Figure 13: <i>Qira'ah/Tilawah</i></p> <p>Figure 14: <i>Qira'ah/Tilawah</i></p>	<p>This form of Quranic content teaches viewers with the correct, appropriate, and beautiful way to recite the Quran with certain rhythms.</p>


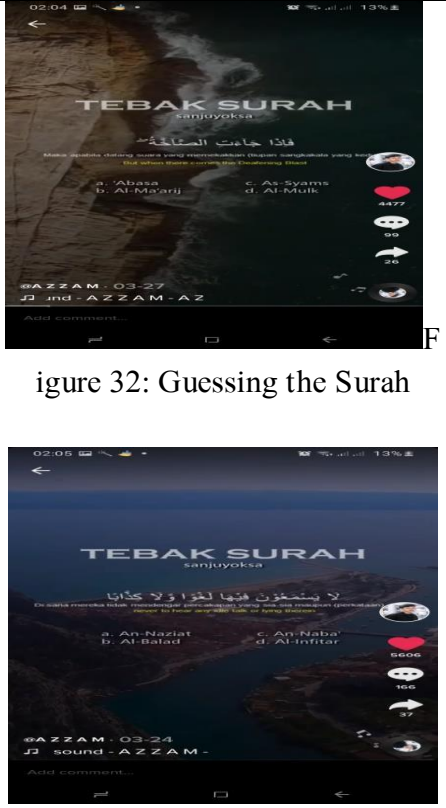

<p>Religious lecture</p>	 <p>Figure 15: Religious lecture</p>  <p>Figure 16: Religious lecture</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content delivers the messages of the Quran to the viewers by way of a religious lecture.</p>
<p>News</p>	 <p>Figure 17: News</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content delivers the information related to the Quran in the form of news reading and presentation.</p>


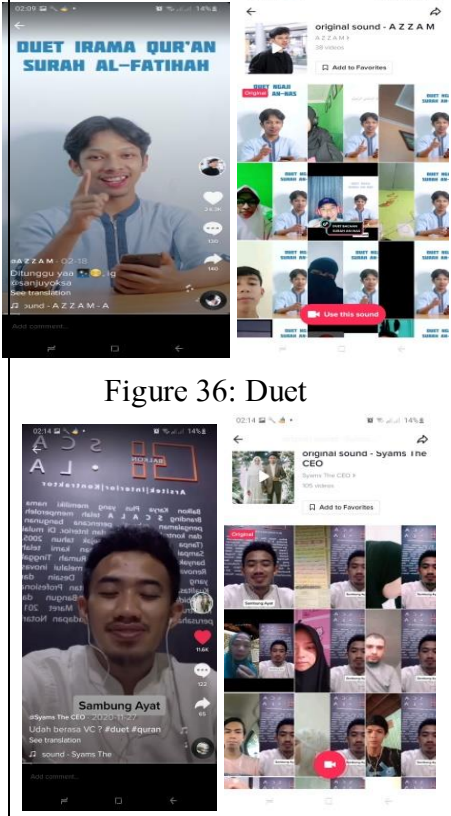
	 <p>00:41 22%</p> <p>Ternyata ada di Indonesia</p> <p>126.6K</p> <p>1222</p> <p>5124</p> <p>#HarunAlAjali • 02-14 Semoga Bermanfaat #alquran #mekkah #alquranakbar #fyp See translation</p> <p>JJ Ajabi - Harun</p> <p>Add comment...</p>	
	 <p>01:31 10%</p> <p>Ya, Boleh karena tidak ada dalil yang mensyaratkan/ mewajibkan seorang wanita memakai khimar saat membaca Qur'an</p> <p>Walaupun ada kebolehan namun ada KEUTAMAAN / 1. ADAB yang perlu diperhatikan agar dilihat Allah dalam keadaan terbaik</p> <p>539.4K</p> <p>1056</p> <p>2548</p> <p>#JihanSababilla • 01-25 Bolehkah Wanita Baca Qur'an Tanpa Khimar?   Hijab Instan - ra - lncsyari (g)   #quran #muslim #hijabtiktok #fyp See translation</p> <p>JJ a - Long Version - M</p> <p>Add comment...</p>	
<p>Stories</p>	 <p>22:34 44%</p> <p>Surah Ad-Duha turun berkenaan kasadahan yang dirasakan Rasulullah.</p> <p>33.4K</p> <p>336</p> <p>562</p> <p>#Syams The CEO • 2020-11-22 Bonjour babe #ngajipakehati See translation</p> <p>JJ The CEO - Syams T</p> <p>Add comment...</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content presents stories of certain figures in the Quran or stories related to certain <i>surah</i> of the Quran.</p>

		
<p>Daily Practice</p>	 <p>Figure 22: Daily Practice</p>  <p>Figure 23: Daily Practice</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content takes the form of recitation of certain <i>surah</i> from the Quran to be practiced on certain days or circumstances.</p>

<p><i>Murattal</i></p>	 <p>Figure 24: Murattal</p>  <p>Figure 25: Murattal</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content presents viewers with the recitation of the Quran in a slow, measured rhythmic tones known as <i>tarteel</i>.</p>
<p><i>Rasm/Mushaf</i> (manuscripts)</p>	 <p>Figure 26: Mushaf/Rasm</p>  <p>Figure 27: Mushaf/Rasm</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content provides viewers with the information and knowledge related to the Quranic manuscripts.</p>

<p>Virtues of <i>Surah</i></p>	 <p>Figure 28: Virtue of <i>Surah</i></p>  <p>Figure 29: Virtue of <i>Surah</i></p>	<p>This form of Quranic content provides viewers with the virtues of certain <i>surah</i> in the Quran.</p>
<p>Quranic Memorization</p>	 <p>Figure 30: Quranic Memorization</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content recites the Quran by way of memorizing or repeating the memorized verses.</p>

	 <p>Figure 31: Quranic Memorization</p>	
<p>Guessing the Surah</p>	 <p>Figure 32: Guessing the Surah</p> <p>Figure 33: Guessing the Surah</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content provides viewers with games of guessing the name of certain <i>surah</i> from the Quran based on the verses recited.</p>
<p>Quranic Tips</p>	 <p>Figure 34: Quranic Tips</p>	<p>This form of Quranic content provides viewers with certain tips, such as tips for memorizing the Quran or tips for completing the recitation of the Quran during the month of Ramadan.</p>

	 <p data-bbox="582 622 896 660">Figure 35: Quranic Tips</p>	
<p data-bbox="306 712 375 743">Duet</p>	 <p data-bbox="598 1093 805 1131">Figure 36: Duet</p> <p data-bbox="635 1534 845 1572">Figure 37: Duet</p>	<p data-bbox="989 712 1284 1041">This form of Quranic content provides viewers with a duet of Quranic recitation by asking viewers to continue the verses recited by the creators.</p>

### Factors for the Emergence and Development of Quranic Contents on TikTok

Initially, TikTok was designated as a short-form video platform about music, dance and lipsync.<sup>35</sup> The most popularly watched videos in TikTok are dance and lipsync contents which broadcast the video makers lip sync and dance performance

<sup>35</sup> Lipsync is an abbreviation for lip synchronization. The term is a technical term for matching lip movements with vocals spoken by a character. Someone who does this, it is as if he is actually singing by moving his lips accompanied by a song that is played through certain media.



based on the provided music.<sup>36</sup> Some famous Indonesian TikTok creators who frequently share these types of contents in the early days of TikTok were a renowned teenager named Bowo with his TikTok account *bowoo\_alpenliebe* and Nurraini with her TikTok account *nurraini*. However, their popularity sparked controversy, which urged the TikTok management to innovate new ideas that allow its users to create other popular contents besides dance and lipsync contents.

At the beginning of 2020 during the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic, there had been an escalating use of TikTok among different groups of people from various circles, including the public at large, celebrities, businessmen, preachers, and others. It was at this time that Islamic contents began to appear on TikTok, especially Quranic contents, which provide materials on Islamic teaching based on the Quran as Muslim's holy book. The initial share of Quranic contents on TikTok was pioneered by a Muslim teenager named Husain Basyaiban with a TikTok account *basyasman00*, who currently has a total of 3.1 million TikTok followers. Basyaiban initially shared a material on fasting as his first video on his TikTok account. In this content, he answered some questions from one of his followers about fasting. This first content, which was uploaded on May 18, 2020, currently has 475 shares, 1066 comments and 53.2 likes.<sup>37</sup>

Besides Husain Basyaiban, a nationally renowned preacher who has been actively creating Quranic contents, is Ustadz Syamsuddin Nur Makka, S.Sos.I., S.Q. or popularly known as Ustadz Syam. Ustadz Syam is one of Indonesia's leading preachers who regularly appears in countless number of Islamic programs on various TV stations. According to him, TikTok is one of the most popular social media platforms for millennial generation, especially children underage and teenagers. This condition drives his interest in making TikTok as one of medium for campaigning about religious contents to the millennial generation.<sup>38</sup> Syam first uploaded a video of Quranic content on TikTok on July 26, 2020 with the caption "Entering a new realm" and the hashtag *ngajipakehati* kajian kajianislam quran in his TikTok account: *syam\_elmarusy*. In this Quranic content video, Syam mentioned and interpreted the Quran Surah Ali 'Imran verse 139. This first Quranic content was warmly responded as it hit the reach of 592 shares, 61 comments and 3744 likes by the TikTok users.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Impact of Quranic Contents on the TikTok Application on the TikTok Audience**

Since the presence of Quranic contents as part of religious content on TikTok, a plethora of TikTok users have asked for advice and raised questions about Islamic teachings from the creators who actively share religious contents. Most of TikTok

<sup>36</sup> Kusumawardhani and Sari, p.22.

<sup>37</sup> Data were obtained from Husain Basyaiban's Tiktok account, retrieved on on April 10, 2021. <https://www.tiktok.com/basyasman00?lang=id-ID>

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Syamsuddin Nur Makka, Young Popular Indonesian Preacher, April 28, 2021, at the *Webinar Nasional dan Pelatihan Dakwah "Menyiarkan Seni Islami Demi Terwujudnya Generasi Qurani Di Masa Pandemi"*.

<sup>39</sup> Data were obtained from TikTok account *syam\_elmarusy*, retrieved on April 11, 2021. [https://www.tiktok.com/syam\\_elmarusy?lang=id-ID](https://www.tiktok.com/syam_elmarusy?lang=id-ID)

users are happy with such contents as these religious-related contents help them gain new knowledge about religion. Nevertheless, a handful of TikTok users may respond otherwise since they have negative view about the presence of Quranic contents on TikTok. Syam *syam\_elmarusy* stated that only about 70% of TikTok users respond favorably to any Quranic contents he shares in his account, while the remaining 30% respond otherwise.<sup>40</sup>

An example of the TikTok user who contradicted with the presence of Quranic contents on TikTok is Abu Janda who lamented the Quranic content created by Husain Basyaiban. Such undesirable comment had gone viral at that time and sparked a major polemic among many internet users. Husain’s video content went viral because Husain called “non-Muslims” as “teman kafir” (infidel friends) and added by Husain’s statement that according to Islamic creed, non-Muslims can never go to heaven, which was heavily criticized by Permadi Arya who was popularly known as Ustadz Abu Janda. Through his TikTok account, *permadiarya*, Abu Janda created a video content on his TikTok account that highlighted his disapproval of Husain’s statement by interpreting the holy Quranic verses from certain surahs.

Abu Janda interpreted Surah Al-Kafirun and Al-Baqarah verse 62 in his content. In his interpretation, he defined the word “kafir” (infidel) in the Quran as referring to the Quraish Arabs who worshipped idols, while the Christians in the Quran are known as the *ahlul kitab* (the people of the book). On this basis, he then concluded that non-Muslims can still go to heaven if they live good lives because Allah never holds His grudge.<sup>41</sup> This criticism against Husain was conveyed by Abu Janda through a video content on TikTok. However, Husain refuted Abu Janda’s criticism by further explaining the meaning of *kafir* (infidels) through his TikTok content. Husain further explained the term ‘kafir’ (infidel) in the following three videos;



Figure 38



Figure 39



Figure 40

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Syamsuddin Nur Makka, Young Popular Indonesian Preacher, April 28, 2021, at the *Webinar Nasional dan Pelatihan Dakwah “Menyiarkan Seni Islami Demi Terwujudnya Generasi Qurani Di Masa Pandemi”*.

<sup>41</sup> The data on the permadiarya TikTok account has been deleted. This data was obtained from Panji Pandev’s Youtube account, entitled “*Viral TikTok Husain X Abu Janda//Kafir dan Kufur Itu Apa?*”, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLENjirPoMA&t=4s>. Retrieved on May 3, 2021.

The abovementioned video contents highlight Husain’s response to Abu Janda’s criticism. Husain created some video contents related to the etymological and literary meaning of infidel in the Quran. In line with his statement in his previous content, etymologically, ‘kafir’ (infidel) means closing. Then, to refute Abu Janda’s statement that Christians are not to be classified as infidels, Husain referred to the Quran Surah An-Nisa’ verses 150-151 in his TikTok content. According to his interpretation, the real disbelievers are those who take the middle way, namely between being faithful and being in disbelief. Hence, Christians who believe in the teachings of the Prophet Jesus but disbelieve in the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad are true disbelievers according to the Quran.

The Quranic content of Husain regarding the meaning of infidel in the Quran was well received by TikTok users. Countless TikTok users were enlightened by Husain’s explanation in his content. This fact is indicated by the various positive responses expressed by the users, both in the form of comments, captions in the videos they upload in their respective accounts, or in the form of comments on Husain’s uploaded contents. The various responses of TikTok users on Husain’s contents are clearly elaborated in the following table:

*Table 2: Tiktok User Responses to Quranic Contents of Husain Basyaiban*

<b>Account</b>	<b>Comments</b>
@giolia	This is a new lesson that I never learn from my Quran teacher. Thank you ucennn. God always blesses you.
@er.bee	SubhanaAllah. You have a very good understanding of religion. I felt suddenly so insecure.
@notification	I do agree with you. I’m not a Muslim but I completely go with you, Brother.
@alric.rico	I will make you the best moral reference on TikTok, Husain. Allahumma sholli ala Muhammad. This is my role model!!
@linnndsay	I’m not a Muslim but I really want you to be a preacher in the mosque next to my house.
@_7121323.55	Masha Allah. You can definitely beat Suga when singing a rap song. I really want to be able to memorize the Quran like you, brother Husain, let alone be able to rap using the verses of the Quran. Masha Allah.
@hadri	I hope my fyp (For You Page) is like this so that this application is more useful.

@abings	Never stop preaching/providing useful knowledge because of that 1 video, Husain. I really need your content.
@f	Watch a religious lecture at the mosque (X) Watch a religious lecture on TikTok (V)
@dheeea	We always listen to your da'wah spirit.
@fahriyannurakbar	Alhamdulillah, I can gain more religious insight about the meaning of infidel. One word for you, brother "thank you"
@indonesia	It is simple and very clear. I hope this country will be peaceful.
@rissamomskyuda'a	I really respect your opinion, Husain. Your content is useful.
@mclampungang	People are almost lost if they don't see this video.
@papalucu	I was totally amazed. You can explain the material so cleverly. Is there anyone who was also amazed? Subhan Allah. I have no idea about it.

The comments in the table above are only some parts of the zillion comments or good responses to Husain's three video contents regarding the meaning of infidel. Each of these contents received 847.8k, 1.6m and 3.6m views, 112.7k, 202.6k and 432.4k likes, 714, 723 and 2,254 shares, as well as 2,767, 3,295 and 16.9k comments.<sup>42</sup> From the comments as presented in the table, it is clear that currently Quranic contents on TikTok are no longer an additional medium for learning religion, but these contents on TikTok have become the primary medium to learn about the Quran, gain more knowledge about religious teachings, and construct the mindset of TikTok users.

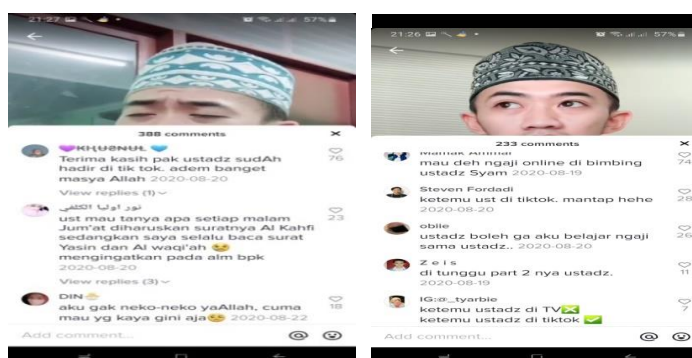


Figure 41: Recitation of Surah Al-Kahf Figure 42: Quran recitation with *murattal* rhythm of the Imam of Mecca Mosque

<sup>42</sup> Data were obtained from Tiktok account of Husain Basyaiban <https://www.tiktok.com/basyasman00?lang=id-ID>. Retrieved on May 3, 2021.

Apart from the responses of TikTok users above, it is also necessary to highlight the response of TikTok in other Quranic contents, such as the good response expressed by TikTok users through the comments column in the video content of syam\_elmarusy's upload as shown above (images 4.4 and 4.5). This indicates some positive responses from TikTok users, as written by *khusnul* account, in the following "Thank you, Ustadz, for being on TikTok. Very cool, Masha Allah." Another comment is written by *stevenfordadi* "I am glad to meet ustadz on TikTok. It's cool" and the account *obiie* "ustadz, can I learn the Quran with you?" Such positive responses are indicated by the expressions of pleasure and gratitude in the comments column of Syam's video. Seeing the responses of TikTok users, it is clear that the Quranic contents in TikTok have been able to construct the mindset of TikTok users in the religious realm.

This paper finds that TikTok is not only an entertainment application, but also a medium to learn the Quran with useful and rich contents on Quranic study positive response of the audience in the application. The Quranic contents in TikTok mostly discuss the many aspects of the Quran, including Quranic learning, brief interpretation of the verses of the Quran, learning about the method of Quran recitation, Quran recitations, and games containing guessing the *surah* of the Quran. This finding implies that TikTok as a new medium in learning the Quran has become a new trend among Indonesian TikTok users, especially for the digitally native generation.

The abovementioned findings denote that TikTok is a platform with a bright future and thus the previously deemed as illicit technological platform, according to the critic of some circles and some clergy, does not generate adverse impacts on its users. This is evidenced by the many variations of Quranic contents on this platform. This finding confirms what Ghazali's conclusion that TikTok can be effectively used for da'wah and is an excellent way to spread the recitation of al-Qur'an without distorting the meaning and intention of its users.<sup>43</sup> It also emphasizes that the relationship between the old tradition and modern life style is not always contradictory, but can also be complementary.<sup>44</sup> This fact confirms that the Quranic content on TikTok is a distinctive dimension that gains popularity, but on the other hand will eliminate or marginalize the competent expert who shall bear the authority in explaining the study of the Quran.

As Gary Bunt points out that in the Islamic hashtag,<sup>45</sup> people turn to the internet to get their religious needs, thereby marginalizing the real experts who shall have the authority to answer these needs. This fact is in line with the real practice in the

<sup>43</sup> Mahbub Ghazali, Achmad Yafik Mursyid, and Nita Fitriana, 'Al-Qur'an (Re)Presentation in the Short Video App TikTok: Reading, Teaching, and Interpretive', *Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 2022 <https://doi.org/10.47836/pjssh.30.3.18>.

<sup>44</sup> Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, 'Living Hadis: Genealogi, Teori, dan Aplikasi', *Jurnal Living Hadis*, 2016 <https://doi.org/10.14421/livinghadis.2016.1073>.

<sup>45</sup> Gary R. Bunt, 'Islam in the Digital Age', in *Islam in the Digital Age*, 2017 <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt18fs6ck.14>.

Quranic Content on TikTok in Indonesia. Quranic contents on TikTok in turn will reduce or deauthorize people who have competence in the field of religious knowledge because these people do not use TikTok as the primary media to mediate their views. The presence of novice learners who were previously never considered to have the authority in explaining the contents of the Quran will slowly shift the experts who hold the religious authority.

This paper provides a different insight as compared to the previous researches which only put less emphasis on the relation between the Quran and religious issues on social media. Some notable previous researchers on this topic included Qurrata A'yun who wrote about the reception of the Quran in the animated film *Nussa* on the Nussa Official youtube channel. A'yun explained in her writing about QS. Ali 'Imran; 185, which are functionally receptive in the informative aspect through short film content on Youtube.<sup>46</sup> Another research on the same vein was done by Rizal Faturohman who wrote about the Quran and Instagram social media. In his writing, Rizal explained about the Quranic materials which are delivered aesthetically through attractive contents of connecting verses and practicing Quran recitations and others.<sup>47</sup> In addition to these two writings, several other works also address the relationship between Quran and social media. However, of all the writings about this topic understudy, no one raises the issue about the Quran and TikTok social media more specifically.

Based on the findings and discussions presented in this article, this paper recommends several points. First, the presence of new media in the study of the Quran will continue to grow, and thus the reviewers of the Quran need to be aware of the current developments and to keep on adapting to new changes. Putting aside the presence of this new media will shift the real experts of religious teachings from their authority to explain and elucidate the issues or virtues of the Quran. As a result, many novice learners who recently started their lesson about Quran without having sufficient knowledge in the field of the Quran will take the spotlight and grab the public attention. Second, the presence of instant media and short video content such as Quranic contents on TikTok, on the one hand may accelerate Quranic learning, but on the other hand may oversimplify the understanding of the Quran if it is not accompanied by a more determined learning process.

## Conclusion

On the basis of the discussion in the previous three chapters, three important points are concluded to answer the problem formulation in this thesis. These three points are described below.

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<sup>46</sup> Qurrata A'yun, 'Resepsi Al-Qur'an di Media Sosial: Studi Kasus Film Animasi *Nussa* Episode "Hiii Serem!!!"', *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses*, 2020: 320  
<https://doi.org/10.14421/lijid.v3i2.2296>.

<sup>47</sup> Purnama, p.237-238.

First, Quranic content is an idea or information in the form of writing, images, audio or video containing components of the Quran or related to the Quran that is presented through certain media in this case is TikTok. The typologies of Quranic contents identified in this research are: quotation, interpretations, continuing recitation of verses, *tajwid*, *tahsin*, qira'ah or recitations, religious lectures, news, stories, daily practices, *murattal*, *rasm* or manuscripts, the virtues of *surah*, memorization, guessing the *surah*, Quranic tips, and duets. The various typologies of Quranic content on TikTok have been able to attract the viewers to learn more about the Quran. This receptive response to Quranic contents has led to the increasing demand on Quranic contents on TikTok. Thus, it is highly likely that there will be more number of typologies of Quranic on TikTok along with the time.

Second, TikTok is a social media platform that is widely responded by the millennial generation, particularly children and teenagers. This growing interest on TikTok urges many religious preachers to use TikTok as one of their media to promote religious contents to the millennial generation. Among the popular creator of religious contents of TikTok are Ustadz Syam Husain Basayiban, who are motivated to reach out to the millennial generation through their religious contents on TikTok.

Third, Quranic Contents on TikTok well capture the need of the TikTok audience. This can be seen from their positive responses in the comments column on various Quranic content. The majority of audiences are happy with the presence of Quranic contents on TikTok, because they find these contents as helpful to satisfy their religious quest. Nevertheless, a handful TikTok audience had a contradictory response to Quranic contents on TikTok as indicated by their criticism against such related contents.

Nonetheless, the limitation of this research is the fact that it only discusses the issue related to the various forms of Quranic contents on TikTok and their impact on the audiences. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct further comprehensive studies about the oversimplification of religious teachings resulting from the learning of Quranic contents through TikTok.

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