

URBAN SUFISM: SPIRITUALITY EDUCATION FOR MIDDLE CLASS MUSLIM

***Wahid Hasyim¹, Ahmad Syafii², Arifah Fauziah³**

¹Madrasah Aliyah Negeri Yogyakarta, ²Universitas Islam Negeri Yogyakarta, ³Korea National University of Education, South Korea

Email: ¹hasyim.wakhid85@gmail.com; ²azfy99@gmail.com; ³arifahfauziah@knue.ac.kr.

Abstract

The development of civilization does not mean ending the need for spirituality. The development of technology and the increasingly independent human life does not mean that the presence of God is not a necessity. Even amidst the increasingly glamorous millennial life, the need for spirituality is increasing. Islamic pop culture is followed by a religious spirit that is increasingly becoming the keyword and nowadays the need for spirituality is even more visible. In the midst of the aridity of worldly life, Sufism is an alternative answer by some classes of Muslim society. This research tries to explore how the development of urban Sufism is currently developing in our society. This type of research is literary research (library). Primary and secondary data sources are used as data. The results of the study show that the identity of middle-class Muslims in urban areas is experiencing a new chapter in the world of Sufism. Precisely after the New Order, along with the flow of globalization that gave birth to modernism, the urban middle-class Muslim Sufism movement appeared as the antithesis of the previously established conventional tarekat movement.

Keywords: urban sufism; middle class; muslim.

Abstrak

Perkembangan peradaban tak berarti menutup kebutuhan spiritualitas. Perkembangan teknologi dan semakin mandirinya kehidupan manusia bukan berarti kehadiran Tuhan tak menjadi kebutuhan. Bahkan ditengah semakin glamournya kehidupan milenial, kebutuhan akan spiritualitas semakin menjadi-jadi. Budaya pop islam di susul dengan semangat keberagaman yang semakin naik menjadi kata kunci bagaimana saat ini kebutuhan spiritualitas malah semakin nampak terjadi. Ditengah kegersangan kehidupan duniawi, sufisme menjadi alternatif jawaban oleh sebagian kelas masyarakat muslim. Riset ini mencoba mengeksplorasi bagaimana perkembangan urban sufisme yang saat ini sedang berkembang di tengah masyarakat kita. Jenis penelitian ini adalah penelitian literer (pustaka). Sumber data primer dan sekunder digunakan sebagai data. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan Identitas muslim kelas menengah di perkotaan menemui babak baru dalam dunia sufisme. Tepatnya pasca orde baru seiringan dengan arus globalisasi yang melahirkan modernisme, gerakan sufisme muslim kelas menengah perkotaan menampakkan diri sebagai antitesis gerakan tarekat konvensional yang sebelumnya telah mapan.

Kata kunci: urban sufisme; kelas menengah; muslim.

INTRODUCTION

Currently the world is in the era of modernity. Modernity is a period marked by the release of humans from the shackles of irrationality. (Luke, 2021) departing from the anxiety of the world community against the restraints of feudalism, society is then awakened to oppressive world relations. Awareness of this relation is what leads humans to modern awareness, namely awareness where humans place rationality as a way of thinking. Globalization which is the biological child of modernity is an example of how humans who want to penetrate the limits of life become undeniable. This globalization has also changed the order of people's lives.

Globalization is not a new thing in the current order of life. it continues to grip life forcing order to run dynamically. The dialectic of the times continues to move around human life without stopping. This dialectic requires that the link between ideality and reality continues. However, the development of modernity actually makes humans shackled. To borrow the term used by Karl Marx, humans become eliminated from themselves (Kristeva, 2015). Exploiting capitalism makes humans become like robots. instead of liberating, this actually makes humans shackled from the real reality of themselves. Spirituality, which is an important part of human life, has been abandoned. Humans lose the meaning and purpose of their lives.

Not allowing humans to live happily and peacefully, capitalism and modernity have made humans lose their orientation to the meaning of life and realized that humans experience spiritual aridity. A perspective focused on material-oriented philosophy must be paid for rather than material gain, namely what Majid Tehranian calls "cognitive tyranny", or "cognitive confusion" (Peter I. Berger) or "epistemological panic" (Nurcholis Majid). (Burhani & Bagir, 2001)

In the midst of a crisis of legitimacy towards modernism, postmodernism emerges. This school of thought wants to say that science as a meta narrative is in conflict with other narratives. In general, modern criticism is divided into two, namely critical theory and postmodernism. Critical theory in general still wants to maintain rationality as the main reference. One of the well-known figures in this school is, for example, Jurgen Habermas with his theory, namely the theory of communicative action. (Sudrajat & UNY, 1988) While Postmodernism, one of the figures that becomes a reference is Jacques Derrida with his famous theory, namely deconstruction. (Norris, 2003) deconstruction wants to say that the crisis of the legitimacy of science can be answered with other narratives, one of which is spirituality.

Faced with these conditions, the urban Muslim community then tries to find spiritual values that have been lost. Departing from that cause then emerged the phenomenon of urban sufism. In other terms, urban Sufism is also called urban/urban Sufi. This phenomenon is something that happens in almost all big cities in the world. In simple terms, Howell defines urban Sufism as the birth of a passion for spirituality (read: Sufism) in urban Muslim communities in Indonesia. Howell sees this spiritual passion emerging as represented by middle-class Muslim society with a neo-modernist background. Although in subsequent developments he realized that the phenomenon of spiritual passion does not only appear in urban Muslim middle class society with a modernist background but also originates from the tarekat followed by the urban Muslim middle class from the ideological line of the traditionalists. This is interesting for Howell where neo-modernists who are the biological children of previous modernism reject the doctrine of Sufism without reserve. Genealogically, the term urban sufism is a continuation of neo-sufism. This Neo-Sufism movement is a critique of the (classical) Sufism tradition with key figures such as Abu Hamid Al-Ghozali, Suhrawardi Almaqtul, Al-Qushayri, and so on. The Neo-Sufism movement basically wants to reject the teachings of Sufism, especially the teachings about Wahdatul becoming, Ittihad, hulul,(Howell, 2007)

Martin argues that the birth of Sufism in several big cities in Indonesia is thought to have appeared in the early 1980s when the urban Muslim middle class began to form. With a good educational background, the city's Muslim community has careers in various sectors, both in the government and domestic sectors.(Wahid, 2003)A different view was even expressed by Louis Massignon. The assumption says that Sufism will not be able to survive in the modern era. He argues that by the mid-20th century the tarekat had been crippled by constant attacks from the modern Muslim elite. This constellation is also strengthened by the notion that spiritualism which is the core of tasawuf and tarekat is not compatible with modernity which continues to increase its momentum in almost all Muslim countries.(Azyumardi Azra in Aziz, 2014)since the 18th century, scholars in the west have predicted that religion will be replaced by science (science) and the functions of religion will decrease in human life.(Wahid, 2003, p. 193)

The assumption above is contrary to the reality that occurs. In the midst of the pressure of materialism that modernism glorifies, Sufism can survive and adapt to the times. Conventional Sufistic practices can blend in with the times. The emergence of a high interest

in the spiritual path (the spiritual path) has become an interesting phenomenon in the life of urban communities in Indonesia recently. (Noah, 2009) The spiritual path is the answer for modern humans when they face their essential emptiness. The emptiness of its existence in life in the midst of urban dynamics is answered by this spiritual path.

Islam as a religion has been accepted and practiced by urban communities since the beginning, namely the people of Mecca and Medina. They (the people of Mecca and Medina) are people who are able to think rationally and logically and can clearly distinguish and draw a dividing line between which is Islam and which is not. The terms that appear such as polytheism and monotheism, Islam and infidel, Islamic and ignorant, and other terms are a form of a very clear dividing line between Islamic teachings and the old traditions of the time of ignorance. Therefore, in terms of religion, Islam teaches to seek the true guidance of God. (Simuh, 1996)

In Islam, that to seek and get God's true guidance is to focus on studying the main sources of Islam, namely the Koran and Hadith. In its development, various branches of knowledge in Islam emerged, namely fiqh, kalam, interpretation, tasawuf and so on. The results of this study are used as a formal legal product as well as a way of life.

Sufism (mysticism or Sufism) as a branch of knowledge in Islam is not new. In the context of the history of Islam in the archipelago, for example, Sufism developed rapidly along with the development of Islam in the 13-15th centuries AD. Early Islamic communities recognized Sufism as an Islamic spiritual building that is rich in wisdom and practices that can lead people to the path of Allah. (tawhid). People who carry out tasawuf activities are usually referred to as Sufis. A Sufi must be able to live in simplicity. Quoted in one of the expressions of sheikh Sibahuddin Umar Al-Suhrawardi in his book *Awarif Alma'arif*:

A fakir or Sufi must renounce the idea of possessions (worldly), live in full harmony (views) with his brothers. Love them. Generous and always vigilant about the words of the prophet Muhammad SAW: give anyone who asks (alms), even if he comes riding a horse, friendly and polite, middle-aged; always showing a smiling face; apply the highest justice to his brothers; maintaining the right balance between excessive *zuhud* (simple life) and living too comfortably. (quoted from Burhani & Bagir, 2001)

Theoretically, Islam entered Indonesia through various directions and ways. For example, the theory of the entry of Islam into Indonesia, some say through Chinese, Gujarati, Arabic, and so on. Besides that, the channels of Islamization in Indonesia are through various ways, for example through trade, marriage and Sufism. (Rahayu Permana & Hum, tt) This Sufism channel is an important channel in the process of Islamization. This Sufism channel

then crystallized in the form of Sufistic organizational groups such as Naqshabandiyah, Qodiriyah, Tijaniah and others according to their murshid. Murshid is a term in the world of Sufism to describe a teacher who can lead to the true path.

Initially this Sufistic movement developed in the countryside. But then this Sufism developed towards the cities. City people who are trapped in a materialistic cosmopolitan life need spiritual touches in their lives. The remembrance activities that are usually carried out by Sufism groups are the answer to this spiritual aridity.

Considerable economic development in Indonesia, especially after the New Order, increased the number of middle class in urban areas. This of course also makes the number of urban Muslim communities continue to increase. The urban Muslim community has become one of the new classes in the social class structure in Indonesia. They are rationally educated people. It becomes an interesting phenomenon when the community then comes into contact with Sufistic values which tend to be irrational.

The power of remembrance of prayer and other spiritual touches is an attractive treat for urban communities.(Fathurahman, 2007) Dhikr is one of the most important teachings in Islam which is also emphasized in both the Qur'an and hadith.(Rahman & Halim, 2019) In the tradition of Sufism, dhikr is even the core of all the teachings conveyed by a murshid (Sufi teacher). Sufi teachers generally create specific formulas and formulas for remembrance so that they become a differentiator between the tarekat they teach and other tarekat. However, this will later form an interesting thing in the world of Sufism when conventional Sufism values that develop in the countryside then meet with the urban Muslim middle class. Based on the uncertainty above, the researcher is interested in examining how the development of Sufism exists in this urban society. That's why this research was conducted.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research was conducted with a qualitative descriptive approach. This type of research is literary research (library). Data sources are divided into two, namely primary data and secondary data. The primary data in this study is a literature study which contains core information regarding the development of urban Sufism. Meanwhile, the primary data is the literature which is the supporting data for this research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following are the results and discussion

Definition of the Muslim Middle Class

The discussion on middle class is an interesting issue. The urban Muslim community existed after 1998, which had previously been marked by the emergence of various kinds of Islamic products such as *Republika* newspapers, Muamalat banks, and other types of sharia products. The emergence of the post-1998 Muslim middle class displays the ideals and image of the middle class that are adaptive to the state. Islam becomes an identity that can be negotiated with the state while still maintaining their Muslim identity. (Jati, 2015a, p. 23)

The Muslim middle class is a very big force in the nation-building process. There are at least four reasons why the middle class can become a very significant force. First, because the middle class has a very close relationship with democracy. If democracy has a causal relationship with growth, it can be concluded that the middle class also causes growth. Second, the middle class provides entrepreneurs who create jobs so that productivity in society can grow. Third, because the accumulated value of human capital owned by the middle class is very important for economic growth. Fourth, the middle class is able to drive demand for high-quality consumer goods. (Nizar, 2015)

For urban Muslim communities, the power of Islam is a variable that cannot be separated. Islam is a powerful force because it has a strong mass base. About 87.2% of the total population of Indonesia is Muslim. (Indonesian Population - Population - Demographics & Economic Potential | Indonesia Investments, tt) Matters related to religion will easily take them where these issues are blown.

Specifically, the Asian Development Bank (Asian Development Bank) categorizes the spending of the middle class into 3 groups. The first is the lower middle class (lower middle class) of USD 2-4 per day. Both middle class (Middle middle Class) of USD 4-10 per day. The third is the upper middle class (upper middle class) of USD 10-12 per day. The main thing that is striking from the emergence of middle class consumption behavior is that it leads to improving the quality of life and meeting social needs. (Yuswohady in Jati, 2015b)

Urban Factors of Sufism

Urban Sufi or Sufism in urban areas is developing due to various factors. The factors that cause the development of Sufism in urban areas are as follows:

First, Sufism is a means of searching for the meaning of life. The urban Muslim community who lives in the cosmopolitan crush full of material interests needs a true purpose in life. The "cruel" and self-willed life of the city community is the reason why the urban Muslim community wants to find the true meaning of their life.

Spirituality is not a new thing in human experience. Nearly all major religious traditions encourage a contemplative life to one degree or another. This life is a search for meaning and purpose in a harmonious life. This life is seen as something very important. Spirituality recognizes that there is something sacred at the center of all life. Whatever the source, this sacred element resides within every living organism. Spiritualism is not an exclusive dogma. In addition to spiritualism, it also does not look at gender differences and is also not hierarchical. Spiritualism is a process in human life in the form of meaning and purpose and in it has an impact on individuals and their environment. (Nurtjahjani, 2010)

Second, Sufism as a means of struggle and intellectual enlightenment. In the Sufi world, one of the sources of strength that has allowed him to survive to this day is the authority of his scientific chain or his pedigree lineage. In the genealogy of the tarekat in the 20th century it generally lists about 40 people's names, from the last name being the murshid of a particular tarekat to the companions and then the Prophet Muhammad. then the angel Gabriel until finally it reached Allah. This link is guarded very strictly so that the teachings developed in the world of Sufism are truly authentic and accountable. In the tarekat tradition, not everyone who has been sworn in as a student can become a murshid (Sufi teacher). Becoming a murshid is not easy. (Aziz, 2014)

In addition, the process of continuity of knowledge lineage and tarekat rituals must be carried out through the awarding of certificates (authorization, licenses). (Trimmingham, 1998) It is the murshid who has the authority to be able to determine which of his students is entitled to the authority to continue his murshid lineage. If one student has been considered to be at a certain level then a murshid will appoint him to become a new murshid. After being sworn in as a new murshid, this student has the right to spread the teachings of the tarekat. With strict regulations and well-maintained scientific authority, urban Muslim communities are interested in studying the world of Sufism. Intellectuality mixed with spiritual values is very attractive to the quota Muslim community.

Third, Sufism or Sufism can be a means of psychological therapy. (Gratitude, 2012) Urban Muslim communities living in the midst of a cosmopolitan era need psychological

touches that can soothe their souls. In the midst of very busy work and various pressing interests, the urban Muslim community wants to get new enlightenment in their lives.

It is commonly known that in humans there are two important parts, namely the physical and spiritual. From a physical point of view, human needs have been sufficiently met, especially in the class of urban Muslim communities. Having a good place to live, good clothes, and eating a healthy and nutritious diet is a description of the life of urban Muslim communities. However, this physical stability is not matched by spiritual stability. Departing from that, then the urban Muslim community wants an answer to psychological aridity, namely in the form of spirituality.

What the urban Muslim community wants is not an explanation of God. They don't need arguments for the existence of God, they don't need explanations for holistic forms of life. In addition, they also do not target themselves to obtain scientific and rational explanations regarding religious practices. But all they want is an opportunity and a mystical experience that can have a positive effect on them.(Burhani & Bagir, 2001)

Fourth,Sufism can be a means of strengthening religious traditions. In the Indonesian context, an issue that has developed since the beginning of the Islamization process is Sufism. In every area where Islam developed, both at the royal and societal levels, Sufism always colored the picture that emerged. This is in line with what was put forward by AH Johns (1961) he explained that those who most influenced the process of Islamization in the archipelago were Sufi teachers.(AH Johns in Fathurahman, tt)

Islam cannot and will never be able to stick firmly to its roots among the population of the archipelago or even Islamize the rulers if it is not broadcast massively by the Sufis. If you look at this, of course it shows a very close character in Sufism itself, namely its flexible nature in responding to various local religious beliefs and practices. Indigenous people at that time were still very strongly influenced by traditions and practices of pre-Islamic beliefs that could be changed little by little.

Islam has various forms of aspects as part of its main teachings. For example, such as fiqh, aqidah, dates, tasawuf and so forth. Sufism as part of Sufism is part of Islamic teachings that are most in line with local cultural adaptations. This can be said so because in Sufism religious ritual practices that are carried out place more emphasis on meditation to achieve a 'degree of oneness' with God. This level is considered a form of perfection in religion when compared to religious practices prescribed by sharia (fiqh).(Fathurahman, 2007)

The urban Muslim community gained enlightenment through Sufism activities. It does not mean that then we leave the rules that have been determined in fiqh, but with this tasawuf the needs of the spiritual aspects can be fulfilled. Fiqh which is rigid and rigid can be perfected by this Sufism which is flexible and eclectic.

Fifth, the reason for the development of Sufism or Sufism in urban areas is due to economic reasons. The market economic system that is liberal in nature makes the demarcation line very far between the poor and the rich. As released by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) as of March 2016, the Gini coefficient for the Indonesian population reached 0.40. (Poverty & Inequality in Indonesia & Gini Ratio | Indonesia Investments, tt) This figure is still quite far compared to other ASEAN countries. In addition, the practices in the liberal economy that are implemented in Indonesia are contrary to the religious principles that exist in the Islamic religion, for example in banking practices. Although it is still debatable regarding the existence of interest in banking practices, some urban Muslim communities view that the practice of bank interest is part of usury which is prohibited in Islamic law.

Based on this view, the urban Muslim community built associations that were economic in nature. The network that was built aims to improve the welfare of the community without having to clash with usury. The movement against usury is based on a religious spiritual spirit. The common interest in building an Islamic economic system is the basis of the spirit in building an economic chain network.

Movement Pattern

In various literatures the patterns and forms of movement from urban Sufism are very difficult to distinguish. However, in general the pattern of urban Sufis can be mapped into two. The first is the Sufism movement which still adheres to the conventional tarekat organizational system, which requires students to pay allegiance to their teacher. The second is those who develop Sufism without being tied to a particular tarekat organization. The second pattern is much more flexible because there is no special attachment between students and teachers. Even unlike the first where the teacher is a murshid, this second model can be guided by teachers who are not from the murshid circle

Movement Form

Based on the pattern above, the form of urban Sufi can be grouped into four forms as follows:

First is an institutionalized form of the urban Sufi movement. What is meant by this group is that spiritual activities are carried out through interesting recitation activities and spiritual courses. spiritual training packaged in dynamic training activities. The material presented is related to Sufism. Among them is the Paramadina waqf foundation led by Nurcholish Majid. Through the recitation and training activities held, Sufism is packaged in an attractive form to fulfill the desires of urban Muslim communities who are thirsty for spiritual values.

In other forms, for example, such as the True Tazkia institution founded by Jalaluddin Rakhmat. This institution tries to introduce Sufism to urban communities in the form of short courses. In addition, Jalaluddin Rakhmat's self-composed remembrance guide is also provided. (Misbah, 2016) The participants are elite people such as government officials, high-ranking military officers, and wealthy businessmen. There is also The Indonesia Islamic Media Network (IIMAN) which was built by Haidar Bagir. In these institutions there are training classes, workshops and spiritual formation with a good income. (Howell, 2001)

The second is the urban movement of Sufism which places more emphasis on the power of remembrance and prayer without any specific ties to conventional tarekat organizations. An example of this form of Sufism tradition is the activities carried out by Ustad Haryono, KH. Arifin Ilham, KH. Abdullah Gymnastiar, KH. Ustad Yusuf Mansur, or Habib Mundzir al-Musawwa. Prayer remembrance and other spiritual touches are the teachings that are constantly conveyed by this group. The remembrance and prayers that are taught are more loose in nature and are not tied to a certain standard. The arrangement of the dhikr is certainly different from the formulation of the dhikr taught by conventional tasawuf groups. The remembrance and prayers taught by conventional tasawwuf groups are often a combination of what was taught literally by the Prophet Muhammad. (Sokarina, 2020)

Meanwhile, in the urban Sufism movement group, the remembrance that is taught is loose and not bound by certain standards and orders. Apart from that, in participating in remembrance and prayer activities, the congregation does not have to take Bai'at first as is done in conventional tarekat organizations. Besides that, the method of remembrance is also easy for ordinary people to follow because it is translated into Indonesian. Also in conventional

congregations, organizational ties are manifested in the form of congregations. It is this then that forms the very genealogical tradition and explains the spiritual relationship between the murshid and the murid. It is this tradition that does not develop in the urban Sufi phenomenon.

The third is the conventional tarekat organization itself. Examples include the Khalwatiyah order, the Naqsabandiyah order, the Naqsabandiyah-Qadiriyyah order, the Tijaniyah order and other orders. In this movement, the tarekat is divided into two, namely the muktabarah tarekat and the ghairu muktabarah tarekat. If a tarekat is not included in these two categories of tasawwuf groups, then the behavior undertaken can only be referred to as morality. (Oman Fathurrahman, "Urban Sufism: Sufis with Ties in Indonesia" in Misbah, 2016)

A muktabarah congregation is a congregation that is muttasil (connected) to the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Meanwhile, the ghairu muktabarah congregation is a congregation that has a munfasil (not continuous) chain to the Prophet Muhammad. (NU Online, tt) This division aims to avoid the deviation of Sufism from the straight line that has been laid by the previous Sufis. With this division, the line of scientific sanad is maintained. This congregation initially appeared in urban areas, then shifted to rural areas. However, recently it has reappeared in urban areas.

Fourth namely urban sufism which teaches spirituality in an eclectic manner. In his training, his very eclectic nature can be seen in the model of spiritual training that is not bound by certain religious barriers. For example, as was done by Anand Krishna. In his training various kinds of religious characteristics were presented which were combined into a spiritual menu "A la Anand". In his training, he seems to want to take advantage of the local potential of all religions that develop in society. In another example, as was done by Lia Aminudin (Lia Eden) with the Salamullah group.

Urban Sufism in Muslim Popular Culture

Taking the Sufi path means trying to find the oasis of life by being on the path to God, to win God's approval. Of the four forms of Sufism above, the second model has quite an interesting discussion because the organization of this form of movement is not binding or institutionalized, but is able to attract the attention of its congregation continuously with a high level of loyalty. This urban sufism model also has a concept that is the opposite of the conventional tarekat. If the tarekat necessitates an ascetic life and obedience to the murshid, then urban sufism has a model of ijtihady by demanding self-responsibility for life. They

believe that bonds like conventional orders do not guarantee that they can change someone for the better. Aspects of mysticism and syncretism that are identical to conventional tarekat were thrown away and then replaced and adapted to sharia and fiqh. The ascetic behavior that was often carried out to seek divine truth was no longer carried out.

The development of the entry of Sufism into urban areas was followed by many Muslim middle classes, causing the world of Sufism to also experience changes. At first Sufism only sought to find true truth, but then developed into efforts to find solutions that are collectively transcendental. This characteristic can be seen from Heart Management in Bandung led by KH. Abdullah Gymnastiar, the Rasulullah Assembly led by (the late) Habib Mundzir al-Musawwa, the Maiyah Jamaah led by Emha Ainun Nadjib, the Zikir adz-Dzikra Assembly led by KH. Arifin Ilham, the Quranic Study Council, the Alms Council led by KH. Yusuf Mansur. Pilgrims who are members of the urban Sufism movement are people who hold the values of hard work, love to worship, and live simply. They embody it as a form of active piety and the application of Sufistic balance (tawazun), a balance between worldly and spiritual aspects. In their movement, the assemblies above tend to direct the congregation to a model of worship that is more identical to the Shari'a, such as the more often someone gives alms, the smoother their fortune will be. Another example, all problems can be solved if someone keeps his prayers and wants to pray consistently. Teachers in urban Sufism do not provide a rigid standard as in conventional tarekat. In guiding the congregation, they only provide general views to be interpreted independently by the congregation. like the more often someone gives alms, the smoother his fortune will be. Another example, all problems can be solved if someone keeps his prayers and wants to pray consistently. Teachers in urban Sufism do not provide a rigid standard as in conventional tarekat. In guiding the congregation, they only provide general views to be interpreted independently by the congregation. like the more often someone gives alms, the smoother his fortune will be. Another example, all problems can be solved if someone keeps his prayers and wants to pray consistently. Teachers in urban Sufism do not provide a rigid standard as in conventional tarekat. In guiding the congregation, they only provide general views to be interpreted independently by the congregation.

Urban Sufism that lives in the modern world still has an interest in tradition. It is interesting if we pay attention to how Emha Ainun Nadjib (Cak Nun) combines Sufism with music in her movements. The kasidah in classic books such as barzanji are sung again, in collaboration with traditional gending and modern musical instruments. This development then

spread among middle class Muslims in urban society in the form of nasyid music which was even contested on one of the television stations. Nasyid is proof that the urban Muslim middle class has not abandoned tradition in coloring their Sufistic life, whose aim is none other than to shape their social piety.

The relationship between students and teachers in urban Sufism is different from conventional tarekat. There is no special agreement or commitment as bai'at. The relationship pattern that they build is more flexible and dynamic because there is no more custom of imitation. The student can come to the teacher in his assemblies whenever he wants, and the teacher meets the student's needs through remembrance and prayer.

The essence of urban sufism is the search for solutions to life collectively. The urban Muslim middle class who are in the stream of modernity interpret their piety in signs and meanings, as the terminology in postmodernism is. To interpret piety, they manifest it in signs that can be easily recognized, such as clothes. They think that by wearing Muslim clothing, there is spiritual satisfaction that is fulfilled. Likewise with the intensity in enlivening the month of Ramadan, or the culture of Hajj and Umrah which is increasing every year. They also believe that both can increase piety as well as improve social relations. From there then sharia does not only exist in religious rules, but is also attached to various products that can be commodified.

Popular Islamic culture, which entered for the first time in 2004 when the film *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* was shown, is a Sufistic social capital that the Muslim middle class wants to express by presenting Islam in the public sphere. These efforts were made by them to introduce Islam in an inclusive manner, as well as being the antithesis of the salafi people who reject modernism. The introduction of the culture of hijab, syisa, fashion, and so on, popular Islamic culture strengthens the commodification of religion, which is the response of the Muslim middle class to the industrial capitalization that has gripped them all this time. With spiritual capital and piety, they try to get rid of it, although in the end they also create a new capitalization. However, the acculturation of Islamic values to the popular culture of society indirectly makes the process of disciplining society.

CONCLUSION

The identity of middle-class Muslims in urban areas is experiencing a new chapter in the world of Sufism. Precisely after the New Order, along with the flow of globalization that gave birth to modernism, the urban middle-class Muslim Sufism movement appeared as the

antithesis of the previously established conventional tarekat movement. This culture is in line with postmodernism in which the Sufi movement is defined in terms of signs and meanings. Slowly but surely then this culture became popular by showing itself as a middle-class Muslim identity, which aims to quench their thirst from the tiredness of modernism.

REFERENCE

- Aziz, AA (2014). The Rise of the Order of the City. *ISLAMICA: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 8(1), 59–83.
- Burhani, AN, & Bagir, H. (2001). Urban Sufism: Think clearly, find positive spirituality. *Porch of Universe Science*.
- Fathurahman, O. (tt). Urban Sufism: Change and Continuity of Sufism's Teachings. Retrieved 9 November 2017, from <http://oman.uinjkt.ac.id/2007/01/urban-sufism-perpension-dan.html>
- Fathurahman, O. (2007, January 17). Urban Sufism: Change and Continuity of Sufism's Teachings. *Indonesian Islamic Philology*. <http://oman.uinjkt.ac.id/2007/01/urban-sufism-change-dan.html>
- Howell, JD (2001). Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic revival. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 60(3), 701–729.
- Howell, JD (2007). Modernity and Islamic spirituality in Indonesia's new Sufi networks. *Sufism and the 'modern' in Islam*, 217–240.
- Jati, WR (2015a). Muslim Intelligence Perspective Review of the Genealogy of the Muslim Middle Class in Indonesia. *ISLAMICA: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 9(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2014.9.1.1-29>
- Jati, WR (2015b). Less Cash Society: Measuring the New Mode of Consumerism in Indonesia's Middle Class. *Journal of Sociotechnology*, 14(2). <https://doi.org/10.5614/sostek.itbj.2015.14.2.1>
- Poverty & Inequality in Indonesia & Gini Ratio | Indonesia Investments*. (yyyy). Retrieved 9 November 2017, from <https://www.indonesia-investments.com/id/keuangan/angka-economy-macro/kemiskinan/item301?>
- Kristeva, NSS (2015). *History of World Ideology*. Kreasindo Lantern.
- Luke, TW (2021). Environment and risks. In *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory* (pp. 260–268). Scopus. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003111399-22>
- Misbah, M. (2016). The Phenomenon of Urban Spirituality is the Solution to the Spiritual Aridity of City Communities. *KOMUNIKA*, 5(1), 135–146.
- NU Online. (yyyy). Tariqah Al-Mu'tabarrah from Time to Time | NU Online. nuonline. Retrieved November 10, 2017, from <http://www.nu.or.id/post/read/2907/thariqah-al-mu039tabarrah-dari-Jadi-ke-Time>

- Nizar, MA (2015). The middle class and its implications for the Indonesian economy. An anthology of financial economics, 171–192.
- Norris, C. (2003). Dismantling Jacques Derrida's theory of deconstruction. *Ar-Ruzz*.
- Noah, NM (2009). Religious schools/understandings and urban Sufism. Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, Agency for Research and Development and Education and Training, Center for Research and Development of Religious Life.
- Nurtjahjani, H. (2010). Work spirituality as an expression of the employee's self-will to seek meaning and purpose in life in the organization. *Undip Journal of Psychology*, 7(1), 27–30.
- Indonesia's Population—Population—Demography & Economic Potential | Indonesia Investments*. (yyyy). Retrieved 10 November 2017, from <https://www.indonesia-investments.com/id/budaya/penduduk/item67>
- Rahayu Permana, SA, & Hum, M. (tt). History of the Entry of Islam into Indonesia.
- Rahman, A., & Halim, A. (2019). Study of Sufism in Islamic Boarding Schools (Study of Al-Ghazali's Sufism Thought). *Journal of Islamic Thought and Science*, 2(1), Art. 1.
- Simuh. (1996). Sufism and its development in Islam. RajaGrafindo Persada.
- Sokarina, A. (2020). Islamic Political Economy Of Accounting: Generating Spiritual Awareness Based On The Thoughts Of Iwan Triuwono, Ibnu Taimiyah, And HOS Tjokroaminoto For The Benefit Of Humanity And The Universe.
- Sudrajat, A., & UNY, PISF (1988). Jurgen Habermas: Critical Theory with a communication paradigm. Url: <http://staff.uny.ac.id/system/files/research/Ajat%20Sudrajat,%20Prof.%20Dr,%20>
- Gratitude, MA (2012). SUFI HEALING: THERAPY IN SUFFICIENT LITERATURE. *Walisongo: Journal of Religious Social Research*, 20(2), Art. 2.
- Trimingham, JS (1998). The Sufi Orders in Islam. Oxford University Press.
- Wahid, D. (2003). Sufism and the "Modern" in Islam. *Islamic Studies*, 10(3).