



The Hybrid Identity of Urban Muslim Youth: The Case of Teras Dakwah Yogyakarta

This paper aims to examine the hybrid identity of young urban Muslims in Teras Dakwah Yogyakarta. This research is an ethnographic study arguing that today's dawah activities are close to market Islam or religion. The consequence of this market Islam is that the identity of young Muslims is hybrid. They appreciate various Islamic ideologies. This study also finds that dawah done by Teras Dakwah changes the previous dawah, for example, taking popular cultural symbols, dawah center or office resembling a modern cafe, using social media, and trendy dictions in preaching and using contemporary dawah themes. It also uses music, films, futsal, and hanging out culture as an instrument of dawah. This puts dawah that fits the identity of urban Muslim youths, who are pious and modern. This study recommends that dawah can be accepted by young urban Muslims in Indonesia when it accommodates modern symbols and trendy dictions.

Keywords: Hybrid identity; Urban muslim youth; Market religion; Dawah movement; Teras Dakwah

Tulisan ini bertujuan menjelaskan identitas hibrid pada anak muda Muslim urban di Teras Dakwah Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Penelitian ini merupakan studi etnografi yang berargumen bahwa dakwah saat ini dekat dengan Islam pasar atau agama pasar. Konsekuensi dari Islam pasar ialah melahirkan dakwah yang khas, yaitu identitas pemuda Muslim hibrid yang menghargai berbagai pandangan ideologi Islam. Alih-alih identitas hibrid tersebut juga mengubah dakwah sebelumnya, misalnya mengambil simbol-simbol budaya populer, mengembangkan kantor atau pusat dakwah menyerupai kafe modern, menghadirkan kafe di pusat dakwah, menggunakan media sosial, diksi gaul dalam berdakwah dan menggunakan dakwah kontemporer. Kemudian Teras Dakwah juga menggunakan musik, film, futsal dan budaya nongkrong anak muda sebagai instrumen dakwah. Hal ini menempatkan dakwah dalam bentuk yang sesuai dengan identitas pemuda Muslim perkotaan, yang saleh dan modern. Tulisan ini merekomendasikan bahwa dakwah bisa diterima oleh anak muda Muslim perkotaan ketika ia mengakomodasi simbol-simbol modern dan kosa kata gaul.

Kata Kunci: Identitas hibrida; Muslim muda urban; Pasar agama; Gerakan dakwah; Teras Dakwah

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Introduction

This article discusses the hybrid identity of Muslim youth, focusing on Teras Dakwah. The study of the dawah movement of urban Muslim youth today experiences a hybrid identity. This mixed identity makes the current dawah movement experience a shift. This shift impacts the emergence of a market Islam or market religion discourse. Today's dawah movement is no longer seen as monolithic, which is only influenced by certain Islamic styles but adopts various styles of existing Islamic ideologies.¹

This article argues that today's dawah movement is no longer seen as a discourse on the revival of Islam, political Islam, the spread of Salafi ideology, moral panic, and fragmentation of religious authority (rather, it has become a part of) the discourse of market Islam. In Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto's terms, this is called "market religion," namely religious actors who supply religion in the form of modern society's desires, such as consuming Islamic fashion products, attending middle-class recitations, choosing halal products, and saving their money in Syariah banking. In addition, they consume various patterns of Islamic ideology under the Islamic identity of the Muslim community.² They took all the various Islamic ideologies, from Nahdatul Ulama (NU),

Muhammadiyah, Salafi, Hizbut Tahriri Indonesia (HTI) to Tarbiyah.

The hybrid style of the Islamic ideology of young people shows that today's dawah movement is no longer just about Islamic matters but also appreciating various Islamic ideologies. In inviting a lecturer or an Ustaz, dawah institutions appreciate different types of Islamic ideologies.³

Various dawah themes are classified according to their expertise. The themes include love, confusion, youth, entrepreneurship, to traveling. These diverse topics represent a shift in the orientation of dawah from Islam is open to market mechanisms, rules, globalization, and modernization. Islam is increasingly available to the outside world, popular culture, and globalization.⁴ Research on dawah and dawah today examines the rise of Islam⁵, social-politics⁶, Islamism⁷, radicalism⁸, Islamic transnational⁹,

³ Imron Rosdidi, "Da'wah and Politics Among Muslim Preachers in Contemporary Indonesia," *Intellectual Discourse* 29, no. 1 (2018): 35–52.

⁴ Arnez R Beta, "H'ijabers: How Young Urban Muslim Women Redefine Themselves in Indonesia," *The International Communication Gazette* 76, no. 4–5 (2014): 337; Eko Saputra, "Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Muslim Dan Brand Dakwah Di Teras Dakwah" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2020); Ahmalyah, "The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement."

⁵ Rifki Rosyad, *A Quest for True Islam: A Study of the Islam Resurgence Movement among the Youth in Bandung* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2006).

⁶ Asef Bayat, "The Coming of a Post-Islamist Society, Critique," *Critical Middle East Studies*, no. May (1996): University of Hamline Minnesota; Gilles Keppel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002); Robert W Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia. Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁷ Asef Bayat, "Islamism and Social Movement Theory," *The World Quarterly* 26, no. 6 (2005): 891–908; Noorhaidi Hasan, *Islam Politik Di Dunia Kontemporer: Konsep, Geneologi Dan Theory* (Yogyakarta: Sunan Kalijaga Perss, 2012).

⁸ Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad, Islam, Militancy, and Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia*. (New York: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, 2006).

⁹ Rosyad, *A Quest for True Islam: A Study of the Islam Resurgence Movement among the Youth in Bandung*;

¹ Muhammad Ibtisam Han, "Anak Muda, Dakwah Jalanan Dan Fragmentasi Otoritas Keagamaan: Studi Atas Gerakan Dakwah Pemuda Hijrah Dan Pemuda Hidayah" (UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2018); Dony Arung Triantoro, Eko Saputra, and Tri Wahyuni, "Mengelola Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Islam: Studi Pada Lembaga Teras Dakwah Di Yogyakarta," *Jurnal MD* 5, no. 2 (2019): 113–138; Wahyudi Ahmalyah, "The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement," in *The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesia*, ed. Ahmad Najib Saat, Nohsahril dan Burhani (Singapore: ISEAS–Yusof Ishak Institute, 2020), 239–254.

² Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru," in *Ulama Dan Negara-Bangsa: Membaca Masa Depan Politik Islam Di Indonesia*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan (Yogyakarta: Suka Perss, 2019), 179–206.





transnational ideologies, moral panic,¹⁰ religious authority contestation.¹¹ Research on market Islam is crucial since the contemporary dawah is close to market Islam. It can be seen from a distinctive youth dawah movement, namely the hybrid Islamic identity of young people which appreciates various backgrounds of Islamic ideology and popular culture. Islam and popular culture fused into one. Islam and Popular culture become one.

Teras Dakwah is one of the popular dawah movements for young urban Muslims in Yogyakarta. The dawah movement represents a hybrid Islamic identity. In addition to its Islamic ideology, Teras Dakwah also appreciates popular culture. Its members come from various social class backgrounds and various associations. They can be from ordinary youth, school students, college students, and multiple careers. They are fragmented. Their fragmented identity represents market Islam, a friendly and open Islam.

The authors researched Teras Dakwah because the Teras Dakwah followers were very hybrid. This can be seen from the Islamic ideological identity and the culture of its members. Apart from that, it is different from the others; Teras Dakwah makes the design of the dawah building resemble a modern cafe. They are also creative in managing social media and making contemporary (current) dawah programs. Teras Dakwah responds to the wishes of today's young people, who are open, flexible, and modern. This means the Teras Dakwah provides a link between Islam and the culture of urban Muslim youth.

Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnasional Dynamic and Lokal Development," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and Middle East* 21, no. 2 (2007): 83-94.

¹⁰ Beta, "H"ijabers: How Young Urban Muslim Women Redefine Themselves in Indonesia."

¹¹ Dony Arung Triantoro, "Dakwah Dan Kesalehan: Studi Tentang Gerakan Teras Dakwah Di Kota Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Masyarakat & Budaya* 20, no. 2 (2018): 273-286.

The authors use an anthropological approach. During the field study, the authors attended the Teras Dakwah, Yogyakarta activities for example following programs: Ngaji Teras, Ngaji Qohwah, Ngaji Hadits, Ngaji Multimedia, Tabliq Akbar, and Ngaji Entrepreneurship.¹² In addition to attending formal activities, the authors also participate in non-religious-based dawah program activities, such as camping, outbound, traveling, and shooting to create creative da'wah content. Later, the authors also became volunteers for Teras Dakwah; in a different session, the authors also conducted interviews with the boards and members of Teras Dakwah in an unstructured manner. The research was carried out for six months, from December 25, 2019, to June 25, 2020.

Dawah of Indonesian Young Muslims and Fragmentation: From Monolithic to Hybrid Dawah

The phenomenon of dawah among young Indonesians has recently experienced a significant change compared to the dawah of young people that had existed before. The dawah of young people previously tended to be monolithic or influenced by one of the patterns of thought of influential figures in their dawah movement. For example, the dawah of young people in Bandung was initiated by Imaduddin Abdulrahim at the Salman Mosque, ITB. There was Islamic training that teaches basic knowledge of Islam, the Qur'an, Sunnah, and theology. Imaduddin spreads the ideology of HMI (Islamic Student Association), which is affiliated with Masyumi and DDII.

In subsequent developments, the dawah model initiated by Imaduddin was continued by Toto Tasmara, an alumnus of Padjadjaran

¹² Ngaji Teras is a relaxing dakwah program that is held on Tuesday evenings. This program is attended by various groups of young people from various layers of social sub-culture, education, Islamic organizations, cross-cultural, hobbies and pleasures.





University (UNPAD) Bandung, who was heavily influenced by Imaduddin's views and style of thought. In contrast to Imaduddin, who focused his dawah on campus, Toto spread the concept of Imaduddin's dawah outside campus, namely at the Istiqomah Mosque. The target of his dawah is no longer limited to students but also school students. In the end, this dawah movement spread widely and initiated the emergence of the dawah movement on several campuses and schools in Indonesia.

In contrast to the dawah of young people before, which was influenced by a particular style of thought, dawah among young people recently showed a more hybrid direction. They not only follow one specific type of thought but adopt various religious types. In addition, they absorb not only Islamic spiritual knowledge through an Ustadz but also from various religious authorities who have different religious affiliations and ideological views. In short, the way young people preach lately is hybrid and leads to market religious discourse.

Current studies on youth and dawah have shown a process of identity hybridization. Han's research study, for example, discusses young people and the popular dawah movement in Indonesia, the Bandung youth community. His study shows that the dawah movement that occurs among young people today has experienced fragmentation of religious authority. The division of religious authority initiated the birth of new dawah actors.

Dawah Shift is one of the dawah movements for young people today, where the audience themselves drives dawah activities. In the end, the dawah of young people is fragmented into various communities of street youth (street culture), such as skateboarding, surfing, and motorcycles. Thus, in the Akmaliah¹³ study, there are new dawah

activities such as watching movies, listening to music, sharing creative dawah content and reading Islamic literature, and consuming Islamic products.

The above phenomenon is not typical of Indonesian Muslim youth but the global Muslim youth phenomenon. For example, a study by Nasir¹⁴ shows how the identity of Muslim children in Singapore and Sydney is negotiated with various popular cultural activities such as music, film, fashion, and tattoos. According to him, today's culture of Muslim youth in multiple parts of the world is no longer seen as monolithic. Still, it is negotiated with existing cultures, such as popular culture. On the one hand, their identity also forms a hybrid Muslim identity. They adopt various cultures, popular culture, Islamic culture, pleasure, leisure, daily life, language, community, ethnicity, and diverse Islamic identity¹⁵.

A study by Triantoro, Saputra, and Wahyuni¹⁶ also shows that the dawah of young people currently interacts with popular cultures, such as watching movies, music, futsal, camping, outbound, hanging out, and creative dawah content. They negotiate popular activities like this. Islam and pleasure seemed to merge into one. Islam is shown to be more fun and contemporary. Through the meeting of dawah activities with popular culture, it forms a hybrid identity for young people. Their hybrid identities melted one melted into one. Their identity is uprooted from their primary identity, starting from the culture, language, and ideology.

Religious Authority in Indonesia, ed. Nohsahril Saat and Ahmad Najib Burnahni (Singapore: ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute, 2020), 239–257.

¹⁴ Kamaludeen Mohamed Nasir, *Globalized Muslim Youth in the Asia Pacific: Popular Culture in Singapore and Sydney* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Triantoro, Saputra, and Wahyuni, "Mengelola Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Islam: Studi Pada Lembaga Teras Dakwah Di Yogyakarta."

¹³ W. Akmaliah, "The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement," in *The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional*





Although the study by Han¹⁷, Akmaliah¹⁸, Nasir¹⁹, Bamualim, Chaider S. and et al.²⁰, Triantoro et al.²¹ have shown how popular culture colors dawah activities in a da'wah movement, their study has not explained how the consequences of pop culture and the market are. They have an impact on hybrid identities. Pop culture and the market affect the diversity of Muslim youth identities.

If we look at the identity theory of Linda Herrera and Asef Bayat²² regarding "social construction," young people's identities will continually change. These changes are caused by social and cultural construction. In the social and cultural process, it is essential to see how young people's identities will carry out the hybridization process related to their identity. According to Bamualim, Chaider S. and et al.²³, the hybridization of youth identities will continue as they meet other groups around them. The contact with different identities experienced by these young people, in turn, also influences their views regarding Islamic issues. As long as they are in touch with the global world, the hybridization process of the youth is formed and constructed.

The urgency to understand the process of hybridization of young people's identity with

the da'wah brand is because young people are part of the global world. They are very familiar with globalization and modernization. They will continue to form their own identity based on reinventions related to their identity and self-conscious invention. Based on this explanation, this research is necessary because the consequences of the hybrid identity of young people, in turn, impact the packaged dawah brand.

Dawah and Market Religion

Dawah nowadays is packaged by fusing sacred and profane spheres.²⁴ Borrowing Julia D. Howell's term, it is called eclecticism, a combination of religious values with secular elements taken from the outside world.²⁵ Following what was conveyed by Kailani and Sunarwoto in their study of religious actors, the current dawah actors are positioned to be more "religious entrepreneurs." The packaged dawah is wrapped in the nuances of market religion. Borrowing Johanna Pink's term, Islam that is open to the market is called "market-friendly," namely Islam that is open to the outside world, flexible, modern, and globalized.²⁶ Islam, in this context, is positioned as a 'commodity' (product). As a commodity, it affects how today's religion is 'packaged' and 'sold.' Religion, in this case, adapts to the developments desired by the market.

Kailani said Islam today was articulated in terms of 'capitalism' and 'identified' the emergence of the phenomenon characterized by

¹⁷ Muhammad Ibtisam Han, *Dakwah Jalanan Kaum Muda: Dinamika Keagamaan Anak Muda Genk Motor Dan Skateboard*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Omah Ilmu, 2019).

¹⁸ Akmaliah, "The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement."

¹⁹ Nasir, *Globalized Muslim Youth in the Asia Pacific: Popular Culture in Singapore and Sydney*.

²⁰ Solahudin, *NII Sampai Ji: Salafi Jihadisme Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2011).

²¹ Dony Arung Triantoro, *Ustaz Abdul Somad: Ustaz Karismatik Dunia Digital* (Yogyakarta: Omah Ilmu, 2019).

²² Linda Herrera and Asef Bayat, "Conclusion: Knowing Muslim Youth," *Being young and Muslim in neoliberal times: New cultural politics in the Global South and North* (2010): 355–364.

²³ Bamualim, Chaider S. dan dkk., *Kaum Muda Muslim Milenial: Konservatisme, Hibridasi Identitas, Dan Tantangan Radikalisme* (Jakarta: Pusat Kajian Agama dan Budaya UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2018).

²⁴ Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

²⁵ Julia Day Howell, "Calling and Training': Role Innovation and Religious De-Differentiation in Commercialised Indonesia Islam," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 28, no. 3 (2012): 414–416; Han, *Dakwah Jalanan Kaum Muda: Dinamika Keagamaan Anak Muda Genk Motor Dan Skateboard*.

²⁶ Patric Haenni, "Introduction: The Economic Politics of Muslim Consumption," in *Muslim Societies in the Age of Mass Consumption: Politics, Culture and Identity Between the Local and the Global*, ed. Johana Pink (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 1–20.





friendly but conservative Islamic products.²⁷ seen from the involvement of religious actors and organizations. They offer religion under the wishes of the market.²⁸ Kailani and Sunarwoto call this a religious entrepreneur, a religious actor who presents religion in a form that follows the market's wishes. So, in this case, religion is used as a market ('place of sale'), and religious messages are used as a commodity ('religious commodification').²⁹ Religion becomes a market, and religious messages become a commodity.³⁰ Islam reflects a modern, friendly, peaceful, and open religion. Islam is in line with the values of modernization and globalization.

In line with Kailani and Sunarwoto, Mara Einstein also argues that religious actors are currently positioning themselves as "religious entrepreneurs," trying to present religion based on market desires.³² They have skills in packaging religious symbols and contextualizing them with everyday life. Religious actors or religious organizations in packaging religion and religious symbols are under market desires and offer them for mass consumption,³³ such as writings, training, and

short videos delivered through new media that reach a wider audience.³⁴ Patrick Haenni said market Islam is articulated with a modern, global, personal, but conservative and puritan Islam.³⁵

Identity and Muslim Youth in Indonesia: Continuity and Social Constructions

Dony Arung Triantoro, et al.,³⁶ said the identity of Muslim youth will always be constructed. Young people will seek Islam based on their identity. They will negotiate their youth identity with Islam. In this case, agency and culture within young people are critical to understanding the changes that occur in the identity of young people and how they negotiate their Islamic identity with popular cultures, such as music, film, and social media.³⁷

Another study stated that the hybridization of young people's identities would continue to be formed as long as they are in the growth and development phase, starting from childhood and adolescence to a college education.³⁸ In this phase, they will continue to undergo a hybridization process. This is based on the social, cultural, and surrounding environment. In this process, Pam Nilam and Carles Fexia said that young people's identity underwent a

²⁷ Najib Kailani, "Creating Entrepreneurial and Pious Muslim Subjectivity in Globalised Indonesia," in *Rising Islamic Conservatism in Indonesia: Islamic Group and Identity Politics*, ed. Leonard C. Sebastian, Syafiq Hasim, and Alexander R. Arifianto (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), 199.

²⁸ Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

²⁹ Ibid.; Lukens-Bull R, "Commodification of Religion and the 'religification' of Commodities," in *Commodifications in Asia: Marketing Good* (London: Routledge, 2008), 220–234; Akh Muzzaki, "Islam as a Symbolic Commodity: Transmitting and Consuming Islam Public Sermons in Indonesia," in *Religious Commodification in Asia: Marketing Good*, ed. Pattana Kitiarsa (USA and Canada: Routledge, 2008), 209–219.

³⁰ Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

³¹ Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru," 189.

³² Mara Einstein, *Brand of Faith: Marketing Religious in a Commercial Age* (New York: Routledge, 2008).

³³ Hoorhaidi Hasan, "Tantangan Islam Politik dan Krisis Legitimasi Ulama", 60.

³⁴ Suhadi and Miftahun Ni'mah Suseno, "Ulama Dan Negara-Bangsa Dalam Survei," in *Ulama Dan Negara-Bangsa: Membaca Masa Depan Politik Islam Di Indonesia*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: PusPIDep, 2018), 18.

³⁵ Kailani, "Creating Entrepreneurial and Pious Muslim Subjectivity in Globalised Indonesia."

³⁶ Triantoro, Saputra, and Wahyuni, "Mengelola Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Islam: Studi Pada Lembaga Teras Dakwah Di Yogyakarta."

³⁷ Wahyudi Ahmaliyah, "Anak Muda, Radikalisme, Dan Budaya Populer," *MAARIF Institute* 8, no. 1 (2013): 132–153; Zuly Qodir, "Kaum Muda, Intoleransi Dan Radikalisme Agama," *Studi Pemuda* 5, no. 2 (2016): 429–425.

³⁸ Ahmaliyah, "Anak Muda, Radikalisme, Dan Budaya Populer"; Qodir, "Kaum Muda, Intoleransi Dan Radikalisme Agama."





process of reinvention and self-conscious invention.³⁹

From the description above, the authors argue that the identity of Muslim youth today no longer adopts a specific Islamic style but rather a variety of Islamic ideologies. Their hybrid identity adapts to the environment and society. Their identity will always be constructed by social, political, and cultural fields. Their socially constructed identity will form a new identity by reinvention. Social, cultural, and political processes become essential to see how the process of identity hybridization occurs in young people.

First, they negotiate their identity with Islam. They adopt various types of hybrid Islamic ideologies, ranging from NU, Muhammadiyah, Salafi, HTI, Tarbiyah, and Salafi. They absorb the different Islamic ideologies according to their needs. They will choose which Islam is considered under the aspirations of their Islamic lifestyle. They absorb all diverse Islamic knowledge from various Ustaz affiliated with certain Islamic ideologies so that their Islamic identity becomes a hybrid.

Second, they negotiate their youth identity with popular culture, symbols of popular culture, and fun. They use social media, music, movies, playing futsal, traveling, touring, outbound, and hanging out. And they involve in some consumption activities that support their Islam, such as selling Islamic products in da'wah recitation events, ranging from merchandise products, and food to drinks.

Asef Bayat and Linda Herrera said that young people's identity is constructed by social, cultural, and political aspects. Their identity is not fixed but dynamic. They also take a strategic place in the socio-political and cultural aspects of the Muslim community. Local and global contexts influence them. They carve in social

spaces, environment, social media, and society.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Samuli Schielke and Liza Debevec, in the theory of "Muslim everyday practice," said that the daily practice of Muslim youth is seen as ambivalent and sometimes contradictory.⁴¹ In this process, they seek Islam based on their youth identity. This is embedded in their culture and identity.

Based on the description of the change in the identity of young people, which is seen as unstable but dynamic and ambivalent, the da'wah of young people today is changing towards a more hybrid direction. The dawah movement today has undergone a shift. Compared to the previous dawah movement, today's dawah movement is more likely to lead to a market religion that offers various religious forms that suit the market's tastes.⁴² The hallmark of market Islam is the birth of a hybrid youth identity. With this, the market affects the emergence of a hybrid identity of young people.

Studies in recent years, such as those carried out by Muhamad Ibtisam Han⁴³, Triantoro⁴⁴, and Akmaliyah⁴⁵ show that the dawah movement of young people today looks syncretic; they absorb all Islamic ideologies, even though they also absorb the cultural habits of young people from their own culture, such as

⁴⁰ Herrera and Bayat, "Conclusion: Knowing Muslim Youth."

⁴¹ S Schielke, "Being Good in Ramadan: Ambivalence, Fragmentation, and the Moral Self in the Lives of Young Egyptians," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 15 (2009): S24-S40, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.0A2009.01540.x>.

⁴² Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

⁴³ Han, "Anak Muda, Dakwah Jalanan Dan Fragmentasi Otoritas Keagamaan: Studi Atas Gerakan Dakwah Pemuda Hijrah Dan Pemuda Hidayah."

⁴⁴ Triantoro, "Dakwah Dan Kesalehan: Studi Tentang Gerakan Teras Dakwah Di Kota Yogyakarta"; Triantoro, *Ustaz Abdul Somad: Ustaz Karismatik Dunia Digital*.

⁴⁵ Ahmaliyah, "The Rise of Cool Ustadz: Preaching, Subcultures, and the Pemuda Hijrah Movement."

³⁹ Pam Nilan and Charles Feixa, *Global Youth? Hybrid Identities, Plural Word* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006).





films, music, touring, and traveling. Dawah packaged in a fun way like this makes their dawah look unique.

Yusri Amna⁴⁶ and Muhammad Sa'ad⁴⁷ explain the celebrity hijrah da'wah movement. According to Sa'ad, the Islamic style of celebrity hijrah has a hybrid identity. Their identities are diverse. They are a collection of various Islamic identity cultures. They are united through Islam. Although their identities vary, Islamic ideology, society, culture, and language do not necessarily make them mutually exclusive. Precisely, with their diversity, they respect each other, strengthen the Islamic brotherhood, and understand the meaning of being a cosmopolitan Muslim.

The phenomenon of the dawah movement of young Indonesians above is not typical of Indonesian Muslim youth but rather the phenomenon of global Muslim youth. The study conducted by Kamaluddin M. Natsir, for example, shows how the hybrid identity of Muslim youth in Singapore and Sydney occurs. According to him, the cultural identity of Muslim youth today is no longer monolithic but diverse. Thus the social construction becomes essential to understand how the identity of Muslim youth today is constantly shifting and changing. The daily practice of Muslim youth in negotiating their identity also influences how their identity is formed and constructed in social, cultural, political, and community contexts.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Fatayatul Husna Yusri, "Kajian Musyawarah: Contemporary Da'wah Pious, Identity and Virtual Ummah," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Future* xx, no. xx (2020): 1–18.

⁴⁷ Muhammad As'ad, "Hijrah Movement and Millennials Ahead of 2019," *The Jakarta Post* (Jakarta, December 2020).

⁴⁸ Kamaludeen Mohamed Nasir, *Globalized Muslim Youth in the Asia Pacific: Popular Culture in Singapore and Sydney* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Teras Dakwah, Hijrah and Hybrid Identity of Indonesian Urban Muslim Youth

The influence of the hijrah trend has led to changes in Islamic discourse. of great significance is the pious identity of young Muslims. They put off bad habits with a better life. They use Islamic identity and religious symbols to show the discourse of public piety. At its peak, this trend has occurred in the last few years. Young people who conduct the Hijrah are getting closer to religious piety. Hijrah has changed the appearance of celebrities and young people from profane to spiritual, from those who like a secular lifestyle to Islam. The discourse of public space today is increasingly shifting to become more religious. Changes in the behavior of young people from profane or secular to Islam are market lifestyle trends, intertwining subjectivity piety and public piety, and modern and religious lifestyles. The appearance of a modern and religious lifestyle is expressed, for example, through Islamic products, such as fashion consumption or halal food.

On the one hand, the increasingly religious behavior of Hijrah also brings significant changes to the identity of young people who are increasingly hybrid. They are a collection of different identity backgrounds. Hijrah makes young people's identities hybrid and unified. They know each other; appreciate various backgrounds, identities, and associations.

The hybrid style of Islam makes today's youth seem more familiar with market Islam. Market Islam has various types of Islamic ideologies. The market offers a wide selection of Islamic styles. The market also appreciates youth culture such as music, films, travel, and Islamic products. In this case, Islam is familiar with the western global lifestyle. It is not surprising that urban Muslims' behavior is influenced by popular culture by adapting to contemporary lifestyles.

Haenni said market Islam grew to employ a consumerist culture. Consumerism culture is





characterized by its openness to the outside world, modernization, globalization, and secular contexts. Islam, in this regard, has been tamed. Islam has become a friendly market that is open to the outside world along with the growth of a consumerist culture. Islam, represented through a consumption culture, reflects the face of Islam, which is flexible and open but still adheres to conservative Islamic values. Despite its openness to the outside world, market Islam still adheres to traditional values, namely Salafi ideology and subjective individualism.⁴⁹

To understand this, one sees a celebrity actor changing his appearance to become a more pious Muslim. Arie Untung is a celebrity actor who is the founder of the Deliberative Study of Dakwah movement and the initiator of the Hijrah Fest dawah movement. If traced, Arie Untung's Islamic ideology is attractive; he is not affiliated with any particular religious doctrine but adopts all Islamic ideologies. When viewed from his religious practice, he looks like Salafi, but on the one hand, he also looks like NU, or Muhammadiyah, HTI. This hybrid Islamic identity makes the identity of today's Muslim youth challenging to predict, especially for young people who are undergoing a process of transformation from a sinful life to a better one. In this process of change, their identity will experience a process of reinvention and self-conscious invention.⁵⁰

From the description above, this article argues that today's dawah movement is no longer restricted by certain religions and does not belong to specific Islamic organizations. Instead, their religious way follows the pattern of the market. Their Islam will be flexible, adapting to the development of existing market trends. They may be influenced by politics,

social relations, social dynamics, citizenship, or others.

On the one hand, this study also continues Han and Akmaliah's argument that the consequence of the hybrid identity of young Muslims is not only giving birth to the da'wah subculture or the occurrence of fragmentation of religious authority but also giving rise to other variants of new religious authorities that are not singular. However, the hybridization of young people's Islamic identity also impacts how Islam is commercialized. Based on these arguments, the consequences of the hybridization of youth identity also affect how Islam is commercialized through market religion. So, on the one hand, it impacts how Islam is packaged and promoted or marketed to young people who have a broader interest in Islam. This argument is in line with the results of the authors' field study in the Teras Dakwah community in Yogyakarta, which shows that the background of the young people of the Teras Dakwah community is very hybrid. They come from various Islamic ideologies, social class, education, association, culture, ethnicity, and pleasure. However, they do appreciate each other in line with what was conveyed by Han and Akmaliah that the da'wah actors or Islamic organizations today have brought social consequences to their hybrid identities, religion, education, community, association, and youth. Islam is currently positioned as a 'market' that can supply religion from the supply side. In other words, Islam comes with many 'faces,' Islam that accommodates the wishes of the market.

To explain the diversity of identities of young people from the Teras Dawah congregation, the following will present the story of seven informants from the Teras Dawah congregation. This section is started by discussing the story about Mas Aji. Mas Aji joined Teras Dakwah two years ago. He is categorized as a "naughty" youth whose activities like playing, having fun, and spending time outside. He uses his life to have fun. This is

⁴⁹ Haenni, "Introduction: The Economic Politics of Muslim Consumption."

⁵⁰ Ibid.





motivated by his disappointment over the way his life in which he can not achieve his goals. His hopes of becoming a police officer like his father were shattered because of partial color blindness. He felt devastated and desperate and became a disobedient Muslim. However, this condition soon ended when he saw the Teras Dakwah recitation. He saw that the da'wah study held by Teras Dakwah was entertaining and enjoyable and could motivate him to return to the spirit of life. The dawah study organized by Teras Dakwah was very busy and attended by young Muslims.⁵¹ He said:

"Why are Teras Dakwah religious studies crowded like that? Usually, lecture studies do not go like that. The concept of TD is different from other (dawah) concepts, according to the tastes of young people, not rigid like other da'wah activities."⁵²

That's what made Aji active in Teras Dakwah activities and become a volunteer, and even now becomes the administrator of Teras Dakwah. Now he is starting to be a good Muslim. He actively prays five times a day and invites others to do good deeds.

Unlike Aji, Humaidi Khair or who is familiarly called Khair is a member of NU. He also likes the Teras Dakwah recitation, just like Mas Aji. He is currently 21 years old. He is one of the Teras Dakwah volunteers who are relatively active in participating in Teras Da'wah activities. He became interested and joined Teras Dakwah because the concept of da'wah carried by Teras Dakwah differed from other dawah concepts. For him, the concept of Teras Dakwah is unique and different from other dawah movements.⁵³

According to Khair, a student majoring in Islamic Broadcasting Communication (KPI) at Ahmad Dahlan University, Yogyakarta, the

⁵¹ Triantoro, Saputra, and Wahyuni, "Mengelola Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Islam: Studi Pada Lembaga Teras Dakwah Di Yogyakarta."

⁵² Aji, "Personal Communication Informant to Jamaah Teras Dakwah" (January 9, Yogyakarta, 2020).

⁵³ Aji.

Teras Dakwah is a place for religious studies that is not affiliated with any particular Islamic ideology.⁵⁴ For the Teras Dakwah, a person's religious or ideological background is not an important thing to discuss. Because according to him, the most important thing for the Teras Dakwah is the spirit of togetherness or *Ukhuwah Islamiyyah*. Khair is a volunteer for Teras Dakwah, having the ideology of Muhammadiyah, but he still mingles with people having different religious doctrines such as NU, Tarbiyah, and Salafi.⁵⁵

Ms. Eni, one of the young Muslim women aged 25 years from Salatiga, currently works as a nurse in a hospital in Yogyakarta. She has been following the Teras Dakwah since 2018. Starting from an invitation from her friend, Ms. Eni is actively participating in the Teras Dakwah, which according to her assessment, is very enjoyable.

Unlike the three informants above, other informants, namely Farhan and Bagas, joined the Teras Dakwah because the Teras Dakwah could provide space for young people to appreciate fun⁵⁶. Teras Dakwah appreciates the joy of young people. The Teras Dakwah is not only about learning about Islam but also about understanding the pleasures and leisure time of young people. For Farhan and Bagas, if you approach Islam flexibly like this, young people will be closer to Islam. Young people will love Islam. Through fun, young people are more open to Islam.

Another informant, Reyan, chose Teras Dakwah because Teras Dawah has a Fun Futsal program.⁵⁷ The futsal program was fun to bring

⁵⁴ Khumaidi Khair, "Personal Communication Informant with Jamaah Teras Dakwah" (February 23, Yogyakarta, 2020).

⁵⁵ Saputra, "Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Muslim Dan Brand Dakwah Di Teras Dakwah."

⁵⁶ Farhan and Bagas, "Personal Communication with Jamaah Teras Dakwah," 2020.

⁵⁷ Moch Nur Ichwan, "Ulama, Negara-Bangsa, Dan Etnonasionalisme Religius: Kasus Banda Aceh," in *Ulama, Politik, Dan Narasi Kebangsaan: Fragmentasi Otoritas*





Ryan and other young people to join the Teras Dakwah. As a person who likes futsal, he feels that his hobby is very well appreciated. Teras Dakwah seriousness in making the Futsal Asik program further strengthens the loyalty of young people to join Teras Dakwah.

Benny likes Teras Dakwah because of its seriousness in accommodating street youth. The tattoo removal program initiated by the Teras Dakwah administrator provides space for Benny to return to Islam. Benny's return to Islam made him closer to Islam. Thus Benny returned to the straight path, following his little heart's desire. One day he hopes to return to the straight path. Now he found it in the Teras Dakwah. Until then, he diligently participated in Islamic studies at the Teras Dakwah and regularly joined the Teras Dakwah.

He likes Teras Dakwah because it presents topics of study on Politics and Islamic identity. Teras Dakwah has a strong orientation towards programs such as political Islam. The presence of themes of Islamic political studies can be a medicine for enlightenment to the people. Teras Dakwah responds to social issues and community welfare through political means.

From the various explanations of the informants described above, Teras Dakwah, one of the dawah movements in Yogyakarta, has accommodated different (hybrid) young Muslim identities in terms of educational, fun, and economic, ideological, and social backgrounds. Teras Dakwah also promoted the attitude of openness to all differences.

The identities of the various members of the Teras Dakwah are united through the Teras Dakwah. He appreciates the diversity of Islamic ideologies. This shows that diverse identities can be accommodated well by Teras Dakwah.



Picture 1. A meme from Teras Dakwah about respecting differences.

Nilan and Feixa said that young people would continue to form their identity through self-conscious invention and reinvention.⁵⁸ The diverse identities of Teras Dakwah members are discoveries of self-awareness and rediscoveries of their identities. They will negotiate their Islamic identity as to what suits their youth identity. Bayat and Herrera said that young Muslims apart from experiencing a hybridization of their Islamic identity, at the same time took a strategic place in the politics and culture of Muslim society. Then they say that global and local conditions influence most young people. Therefore, the cultural strength of young people is often considered the capital of nation-building. They have a strategic position in social, political, and cultural. However, at the same time, it is also considered a challenge for power actors.⁵⁹

Based on the description above, the hybrid identity of the Teras Dakwah member is a form of market ideology. In this case, Teras Dakwah is positioned as a market religion that packs its dawah based on the needs of the market Islam. The current Islamic youth market is based on cultural aspects and diverse identities that align with their Islamic needs.

⁵⁸ Nilan and Feixa, *Global Youth? Hybrid Identities, Plural Word*.

⁵⁹ Herrera and Bayat, "Conclusion: Knowing Muslim Youth."





Community, ideological diversity, and Islamic themes determine how Islam is packaged. With this, the Islamic expression of the Teras Dakwah member is adjusted to the needs of the market (market religion).

Borrowing the opinion of Schielke regarding the ambivalent and contradictory daily practices of young people, the daily routine of the Teras Dakwah member is also ambivalent and sometimes contradictory. This is embedded in their attitudes, social relations, and community. They do not prioritize a particular Islamic ideology; if they are Muslim and sound, their fellows will accept it and assume all are brothers. It allows identity investment to take place. They both seek "Islam" based on the elements of youth and Islam.

Akhid Subianto's Thoughts and Pop Dawah Movement

The emergence of Teras Dakwah does not have to leave young people's identity but appreciate their identity. They can still express their identity without having to leave their Islamic identity. Islam is not only seen as rigid but adapts to changing times. This then prompted the Teras Dakwah to appear different from other dawah movements. Teras Dakwah carries a mission that goes even further: to appreciate young people's identity. Differences for Teras Dakwah are not something that should be rejected or avoided but should be appreciated and managed correctly. Muslims will become people who can understand differences and uphold *Ukhuwah Islamiyah* through differences.

Teras Dakwah has successfully embraced various elements of young people's identity backgrounds and popular culture. This is inseparable from the figure of Akhid Subianto (founder of Teras Dakwah). He is a person who plays a vital role in the success of Teras Dakwah. Akhid has made a significant contribution to the progress of the Teras Dakwah. He is a dawah activist with a high

spirit for the world of da'wah. This can be traced from the beginning of joining the campus Islamic organization, which became the forerunner, to the front of entering the world of dawah. In the 2000s, he started dawah on campus. His days are filled with Islamic dawah. As time went on, it spread its wings more and more. He continues to be more productive in exploring the world of dawah. In the end, he founded a dawah movement named Teras Dakwah. This dawah movement is centered on the terrace of his parent's house in Kampung Nitikan, Kec. Sukoharjo, Yogyakarta City.

Based on the authors' interview with Akhid Subianto, there are several reasons behind him establishing Teras Dakwah, including: first, he is worried about the future of Muslim youth. He worries about the morality of a generation of young Muslims far from religion. Many Muslim youths are negligent in carrying out the teachings of Islam. Modernization and globalization are seen as something that must be accepted. Religion must be placed in a private space to be trendy and modern. Meanwhile, Islam itself by dawah actors is not adjusted to the changing times so that the meeting point between Islam and modernization does not occur. Islam has become a flexible, modern religion, which young people accept well.

Second, Akhid has read how future dawah opportunities must be carried out with new approaches and ways. Akhid said that so far, dawah is still using traditional approaches. According to him, this is irrelevant. If this is not done, Islam will become an abandoned religion because it is not in line with the changing times. Meanwhile, urban youth are increasingly modern, trendy, and Global.⁶⁰ Society responds to public developments. This is very influential on religion, and religion must adapt to current trends. For that, religion must be in tune with the life of modern society. The relationship

⁶⁰ Akhid Subianto, "Sharing Together Founder Teras Dakwah" (Yogyakarta, 2020).





between religion and the life of contemporary society goes hand in hand.

Third, it is not in line with the religious views of traditional actors. In preaching, traditional religious actors tend to be rigid about Islamic law. It is as if Islam is only a text that should not be in dialogue with modernization. There is no dialogue between Islam and modernization. They reject modernization because they are considered western products. This makes Akhid not in line with the opinion of traditional religious actors. They cannot be friends with youth popular culture such as music, movies, media posters, and video pasters. Ideas like this are pervasive in the cultural life of young people.⁶¹

Fourth, he experienced religious conflicts with the administrators of mosques in several cities of Jogjakarta. This conflict occurred between Akhid and the administrators of the Sulthonain mosque and the Muthohhirin mosque. Different views of the dawah program initiated this conflict. With his distinctive style, Akhid prefers Islam in the contemporary context, namely dawah, which is adapted to the popular culture of young people; for example, dawah combines music, film, play, and social media. Dawah integrating youth culture will attract young people's interest in Islam. On the other hand, for administrators of traditional mosques, Akhid's dawah is considered contrary to the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. Prophet Muhammad preaching did not use music when preaching.

The conflict of religious understanding experienced by Akhid made him take the initiative to resign from the management of the Sulthonain and Muthohhirin Mosques. Akhid believes that dawah actors must have a broad, open, fast, and flexible view of the conditions of the times. Islam must be relevant to the context of the times so that young people will be interested in Islam. Dawah, touching street

youth and tattoos will attract young people. Thus, Islam is a flexible religion, open to modernization and globalization.

In the end, he and his friends founded a dawah movement which he named Teras Da'wah. This dawah movement is unique because the Teras Dakwah not built in a mosque or prayer room but on the terraces of people's homes. He conceptualized his preaching by adopting a modern cafe design and an open concept like a house terrace. Teras Dakwah is packaged like a hangout culture for young people.⁶²

Presenting dawah with a contemporary hangout concept makes the Teras Dakwah more impressive as a place to play, not a place for dawah. This later became the hallmark of the Teras Dakwah dawah movement, where they have a unique dawah concept. The Teras Dakwah mixes its dawah designs according to the wishes of young people. Teras Dakwah knows what the congregation wants, and market trends are essential in determining dawah branding. The brand is adjusted to the wishes of young people.

Young people of the Teras Dakwah congregation are a collection of people from various identities. From the authors' observations in the field, the identity of the Teras Dakwah congregation is segmented into several types. The first is from ordinary young people. The second is from among street youths and tattooed youths. The three young people from among students (such as high school and university) and working or professionals. The four young people from the background of the campus organization movement activists. The five young people from Islamic ideological backgrounds such as Salafi, Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Tarbiyah and Wahdah Islamiyah. Finally, those who come from various ethnic backgrounds such as Javanese, Batak, Bugis, Minang,

⁶¹ Subianto.

⁶² Subianto.





Makasar, Sasak, Malay and Dayak. These diverse backgrounds are in Teras Dakwah. They merged into one. These diverse identities by Teras Dakwah are well accommodated.

This hybrid identity is appreciated by Teras Dakwah as a response from Teras Dakwah for all groups, without any identity exclusivity, such as Javanese, Batak, Bugis, Makasar, and Minang or Islamic organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, Salafi and Tarbiyah. Then when viewed from the geographical location, the city of Yogyakarta is possible for the process of identity hybridization. This can be seen from, for example, Yogyakarta's abundant tourist objects and its beautiful nature, such as hills, mountains, beaches, and cliffs. Then Yogyakarta has also become a center of education, culture, history, and many culinary delights. These various advantages then make the diversity of identities in this city happen.

The meeting point or cross between students and students from various regions in Indonesia makes Yogyakarta a hybrid city. Yogyakarta itself is dubbed the 'Student City'. Many students in this city's universities come from other areas such as Papua, Medan, Makassar, Ambon, Riau, Maluku, Padang, and others. There are also many ethnic Chinese in Yogyakarta.

Apart from being seen from a strategic geographical location, the city of Yogyakarta is very inclusive of religious differences. Even socio-religious movements such as the Waria al-Fatah Islamic Boarding School in Banguntapan Bantul are highly appreciated. This mixing of various identities, ethnicities, ideologies and religious beliefs at least shows the strength of hybridity in Yogyakarta.

The Teras Dakwah Islamic program is divided into three main segments. These divisions include: first, young people who have good religious abilities. Teras Dakwah places this good Islamic knowledge in the Ngaji

Hadith and Ngaji Bersanat programs. Second, young people have good religious abilities but have not consistently practiced them. The knowledge they get from practicing Islam has not always been running. For this second group, the congregation is directed to the study of Ngaji Qohwah (Qopi Dawah and Ukhwah). Third, young Muslims who do not know Islam. This group includes street youth, tattoos, and migration. Those in this group by Teras Dakwah are placed into the third group, namely people who do not know Islam. They are included in the Ngaji Teras programs. Here they will learn about Islam.

Teras Dakwah arranges the study program. Besides facilitating the Teras Dakwah in managing the congregation, a well-organized recitation also makes it easier for the congregation to absorb the religious knowledge conveyed by the Ustaz. They will determine which study program is suitable for them. The congregation will study Islam according to their respective abilities. Then, the clustering of the recitation program is also a form of appreciation for Teras Dakwah towards the various backgrounds of the congregation's identity. Teras Dakwah believes that diverse congregations can be appropriately managed. (Field observation at the Teras Dakwah, January 01, 2020).

Managing Islamic Ideology of Teras Dakwah Preachers

The hybrid identity of the Teras Dakwah can be seen in the preachers of the Teras Dakwah. Today's popular preachers are not only proficient in conveying religious messages but also must position themselves as cool Ustaz (preacher), who has broad knowledge, is open-minded, and understands the intricacies of the life of the world of young people. They must be able to adapt Islam to the current times (young people's culture). This is because today's Muslim youths not only want to be good (pious) Muslims by enjoying a spiritual experience but





also want to prove their self-extension as trendy, modern, and religious young people.⁶³

Self-extension is very important for them to show who 'I am. It doesn't exist if it doesn't appear with a global lifestyle. Narcissism is vital for young people when social media becomes a trend. Based on the direction of demands for the religious expression of young people above, today's dawah movement positions its da'wah as a religious entrepreneur, one of which takes this model is the Teras Dakwah movement. Today's dawah actors or religious organizations position themselves as religious entrepreneurs. Dawah actors and religious organizations present as much religion as possible in a form that follows the wishes of modern society.⁶⁴ The dawah movement which acts as a market religion has the same intonation as the emergence of popular self-help televangelism.

Based on the data found by the authors in the Teras Dakwah, the Teras Dakwah movement positions its dawah as a religious entrepreneur, presenting the dawah based on the tastes of young people. In this case, the Teras Dakwah offers religion through various religious actors. Thus the members will feel happy and able to take from multiple Islamic styles that suit their needs. They take Islamic messages according to their Islamic demands. They adopted an Islamic style that was in line with their wishes, thus leading to the democratization of religious knowledge.⁶⁵

Presenting various Islamic styles to its congregation, in this case, the Teras Dakwah invites preachers with diverse Islamic backgrounds. They are affiliated with Islamic ideologies, such as Ustaz Abu Fatah Al-Adnani. He is a preacher from the Salafis. He comes from Sukoharjo, Ngruki, one of the best alumni of Al-Mu'min Islamic Boarding School, Ngruki.

⁶³ Yuswohady, *Generasi M: Generation Muslim* (Yogyakarta: Benteng Pustaka, 2017).

⁶⁴ Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

⁶⁵ Saputra, "Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Muslim Dan Brand Dakwah Di Teras Dakwah."

He is currently preaching Islamic teachings in one of the Rafa Group studies, namely Griya Keluarga Sakinah (a unique study on households), one of the Muslim women's studies on building an Islamic family. Then he is also active in various mosques and dawah communities in Central Java and Jogjakarta. He is also working at Rafa Group, one of Rafa's employees who has a pretty good position there. He is active in writing. He is productive in writing books on the theme of the end times. A number of books he has published are *Ensiklopedi Akhir Zaman* (The End Times), *Zikir Akhir Zaman* (Remembrance of the End Times), *Indahnya Surga Dahsyatnya Neraka* (The Beauty of Heaven The Enormity of Hell), *Hidup dan Mati* (Life and Death), and *Negeri-Negeri Akhir Zaman* (and Lands of the End Times).⁶⁶

The books he wrote discussed the theme of the end times. Quite popular among young people, Ustaz Abu Fatiah at the Teras Dakwah also has many fans. During his preaching at the Teras Dakwah, hundreds of young people attended it. They admire Ustaz Fatiah, among others, because he is a prolific Ustaz who writes many books. He has expertise in the field of the end times.⁶⁷

Another preacher is Ustaz Rifky Ja'far Thalib or Ustaz Rifky. He is also a preacher of the Teras Dakwah who actively gives talks at Teras Dakwah. Although he is from a Salafi background, the religious talks he brings contain many elements of humor. He is good at getting the atmosphere of da'wah in a relaxed manner.

Another preacher is Kyai Muhammad Idrus Romli or Kiyai Satria Baja Hitam. His background is from the Nahdiyin family or NU family. He also has a strong tradition of Javanese Islamic culture. At the Teras Da'wah, he is believed to be an Ustaz who preaches about shirk (atheism), witchcraft, and black

⁶⁶ "Observation Rafa Group in Ngruki" (Surakarta, 2019).

⁶⁷ "Observation Rafa Group in Ngruki."





magic. The congregation knows him as a cleric who is an expert in the occult, mystical world. In addition to dealing with the mystical world, he is also a person who has a humorous personality.

Other preachers are Bang Zakky Ahmad Rifai and Ustadz Awan Abdullah. They are popular Islamic preachers who often get special attention from the congregation. The topics they discussed were youth, the generation of lying down, the generation of confusion, Hijrah (changing from bad to good attitudes), and *ta'aruf* (personal introduction). They actively use social media such as Instagram, Telegram, Twitter, and Youtube. They appear in trendy clothes. They wore jeans, a modern sarong, a flannel shirt, a t-shirt, a watch, and a beanie. If one looks at their appearance, they are not like a cleric but ordinary young men. Their modern, trendy appearance makes them much liked by the congregation, especially women. Borrowing Yuswohady's term about 'Muslim Cool,' current clerics often appear as trendy youths.⁶⁸

Even though they are affiliated with different Islamic organizations, they can merge into one. There is no barrier between them. They complement each other. They talk and discuss with each other. They understand the importance of togetherness and difference. This then allows the congregation or members of the Teras Dakwah to absorb a variety of diverse Islamic ideologies. Akhid, the founder of Teras Dakwah, said:

"for Teras Dakwah, Differences in religious identity are not something to be concerned about. More importantly, these differences can be managed properly and become the power of dawah. The Teras Dakwah congregation can study with any cleric with various religious backgrounds. The more clerics presented in the study of the Teras Dakwah, the more Islamic insights the congregation will be. From here, the

congregation can be wiser in dealing with differences".⁶⁹

Based on the quote above, Akhid did not question Ustadz's Islamic ideological background. The Teras Dakwah does not ask what their Islamic ideology affiliation is. As long as they convey good things and uphold the values of *Ukhuwah Islamiyah*, the Teras Dakwah will accept them. They will be wiser in dealing with different religious views. This way, the congregation will be more open. The Teras Dakwah accommodates various Islamic ideologies to put its preaching as a market religion. In this case, religious actors who present religion in packaging follow urban communities' wishes.⁷⁰ The Teras Dakwah packs religion according to the wishes of young people.

In the context of supply-side religion, the Teras Dakwah supplies religion in various forms of religious ideology, starting from NU, Muhammadiyah, Salafi, HTI, Tarbiyah, and Wahdah Islamiyah to others. From the various ideologies presented, they are free to choose what kind of Islam is suitable for their Islam. Islam is perceived in accordance with the choice and desires of young people. Through supply-side religion, Islam is positioned as a 'market' that supplies religion in a hybrid ideological style.⁷¹

Hybrid Identity of Yogyakarta Young Muslims in Geographical Context

Until now, the most appropriate keyword to understand the hybrid identity of the Teras Dakwah congregation is Yogyakarta City, a city located in a strategic geographical area. Yogyakarta is a city of culture that gives birth to various cultures. The city of Yogyakarta is the key to the cross point of the cultural

⁶⁹ Subianto, "Sharing Together Founder Teras Dakwah."

⁷⁰ Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru."

⁷¹ Einstein, *Brand of Faith: Marketing Religious in a Commercial Age*.

⁶⁸ Yuswohady, *Generasi M: Generation Muslim*.





identity of young people. The hybrid identity in this city is highly appreciated. Many young children from various regions come to this city to study. They are scattered in multiple public and private colleges and universities.⁷²

As a City of Education, the City of Yogyakarta has the best universities and well-known public and Islamic schools, so the City of Yogyakarta has become one of the educational destinations for various young Indonesian students from the region. It is recorded that there are around 106 universities in Yogyakarta based on research and education, ranging from polytechnics, institutes, high schools, academies, and universities.⁷³

This case shows that young people's identity in the city of Yogyakarta is very hybrid. They come from various ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. For example, their hybrid identity is reflected by many Yogyakarta students from universities in different other regions such as Papua, Medan, Makassar, Ambon, Riau, and Padang. There are also many ethnic Chinese who live permanently in this city, and simultaneously a favorite place for travelers for Indonesian people.⁷⁴



Picture 2.2 The meme encourages social solidarity and respect.

In addition to the diversity of identities of youth, students, university students, and the ethnicity of its people, the city of Yogyakarta is also very inclusive of religious ideologies. Even though Yogyakarta is the birthplace of Muhammadiyah. But other social and community organizations such as Tarbiyah, Ahmadiyah, and others are highly appreciated for their existence.⁷⁵

In other cases, for example, when transgender issues in Indonesia began to budge, the Waria Islamic Boarding School in Yogyakarta received support from several parties.⁷⁶ This mixture of various identities, ethnicities, ideologies, and religious beliefs at least shows the strength of identity hybridization in Yogyakarta. The city of Yogyakarta, which is distinctive with its hybrid identity, colors the Teras Dakwah movement in packaging and marketing its dawah. In turn, Yogyakarta became significant in giving birth to a distinctive dawah with a hybrid identity model, namely dawah, that accommodates the identities of diverse congregations.

⁷² Triantoro, Saputra, and Wahyuni, "Mengelola Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Islam: Studi Pada Lembaga Teras Dakwah Di Yogyakarta."

⁷³ "Access to 06/02/2020," Kelembagaan Ristekdikti, dalam <https://kelembagaan.ristekdikti.go.id/index.php/2016/11/30/infografis-kopertis-wilayah-v/>, 2020.

⁷⁴ Najib Kailani and Sunarwoto, "Televangelisme Islam Dalam Lanskap Otoritas Keagamaan Baru," in *Ulama Dan Negara-Bangsa: Membaca Masa Depan Politik Islam Di Indonesia*, ed. Noorhaidi Hasan (Yogyakarta: Suka Perss, 2019), 179–206.

⁷⁵ Triantoro, Saputra, and Wahyuni, "Mengelola Hibridisasi Identitas Anak Muda Islam: Studi Pada Lembaga Teras Dakwah Di Yogyakarta."

⁷⁶ Dony Arung Triantoro and Ardiansyah, "Negotiation and Contestation of Islamic Religious Practices of the Transvestites in Yogyakarta," *Cakrawala: Jurnal Studi Islam* 13, no. 2 (2018): 88–101.





Through the provision of dawah advice promoted in #bekalnasehat5, the Teras Dakwah urges young people not to feel that they are the worst. Closing oneself to the outside world or others is part of self-exclusivity. Feeling the most pious makes one think that the most right is not the value taught by the Prophet. So it will be straightforward to blame others. Islam, which is a blessing for the ummah, will be inclusive. Using #bekalnasehat5 the Teras Dakwah wants to invite young people to mingle and get to know each other.

The diversity of the identity of Teras Dakwah youth affects how the dawah brand is packaged and how the brand can reach a broader young people. The Teras Dakwah is not exclusive to differences, accepting all Ustaz from various Islamic ideological backgrounds; then youths from diverse identities. With this, the diversity of identities becomes an essential point for the Teras Dakwah to package its da'wah, its Islamic teachings, and the products it sells.

Borrowing the rational choice theory (RCT) of François Gauthier and Tuomas Martikainen⁷⁷ Islam applied by Teras Dakwah can be understood within the framework of the market logic of 'packaging' and demand,' how religion is supplied in the form of the law of supply and demand. In this case, the Teras Dakwah adopts the economic theory law: the higher the law of demand, the higher the product supplied. The Teras Dakwah answers the market's Islamic consumption that meets the aspects of Islamic ideology, cultural sociology, cultural consumption, lifestyle, and social class. The Teras Dakwah will supply religion according to demand. In line with Einstein's opinion, religion in the current era will 'compete' with profane products amid the scattered free market. Time, community,

experience, and lifestyle will be a consideration for dawah actors or religious institutions.

The author's motivation for choosing the Teras Dakwah Congregation to study is because Teras Da'wah is very distinctive and different from the dawah movement in general. The da'wah movement in general is still dominated by certain Islamic actors which are influenced by a certain Islamic style. For example NU, HTI, Muhammadiyah, Salafi and Tarbiyah. While the Teras Dakwah is a collection of various group identities. Anyone who wants to join Teras Dakwah is welcome. Teras Dakwah embraces various backgrounds, ranging from social status, Islamic ideology, culture, language and class. Teras Dakwah is present as a bridge for young urban Muslims who want to appear as pious and modern young people.

Conclusion

This study concludes that the hybrid identity of the Teras Dawah youth is a response to market religion. The market religion gave birth to a hybrid dawah movement. The religion of the market has changed the pattern of Islam to be open. hybrid identity in the dawah movement brought a very significant change.

Based on previous studies, it shows that the dawah movement still looks monolithic. The dawah of young people previously tended to be monolithic or influenced by one of the patterns of thought of influential figures. The dawah of young people in Bandung conducted by Immaudin Amdurahim in the Mujahid Dakwah (LMD) Exercise at the Salman Mosque ITB is affiliated with Masyumi and DDII. Most of their own audiences already know about Islam. Through LMD, an Islamic training that teaches basic knowledge of Islam, the Qur'an, Sunnah, and creed. The next development, the dawah model initiated by Imaduddin was continued by Toto Tasmara, an alumni of Padjadjaran University (UNPAD) Bandung who was heavily influenced by Imaduddin's views and thoughts.

Lately, the dawah movement has experienced a significant change from the

⁷⁷ François Gauthier, Linda Woodhead, and Tuomas Martinainen, "Gauthier," in *Religion in Consumer Society: Brands, Consumers and Markets*, ed. François Gauthier and Tuomas Martikainen (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 1–26.





dawah of young people that already existed before, they have known Islam first and are affiliated with certain Islamic views shifting to a hybrid identity.

In contrast to the dawah of young people before, which was influenced by certain patterns of thought, dawah among young people recently showed a more hybrid direction. They don't just follow one particular style of thought, but adopt a variety of religious styles. In addition, they not only absorb Islamic religious knowledge through an Ustadz, but also from various religious authorities who have different religious affiliations and ideological views.

In short, the way young people preach recently is very hybrid and leads to market religious discourse. Six of my informants (Mas Aji, Mas Humadi Khair, Mbak Eni, Farhan, Reyhan) are Muslims from different Islamic backgrounds. Mas Khair is from a Muhammadiyah background. Mas Aji, before joining Teras Dakwah, was not good a young man Muslim. And Ms. Eni is a career woman who likes the theme of *ta'aruf* studies brought by Ustadz Awan Abdullah. He liked the theme because he wanted to prepare for marriage.

Even though they come from different backgrounds, they are still united. They have no problem with other Islamic ideologies. With these differences, they realize that the different attitudes shown by them will make them understand what the differences mean. They both have the same goal, but the orientation of their needs is different. The three informants above have reasons for choosing and deciding to be part of the Teras Dakwah, even though they have different views. These differences uphold the value of brotherhood and motivations.

The hybrid identity of the congregation or members of the Teras Dakwah and its preachers is supported by the fact that the city of Yogyakarta has a diverse community identity.

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The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest to anyone.

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