



Khuruj in the Nidzamuddin Tabligh Jamaah: Implementation and religious implications in Bandung

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Abstract: This study investigates the implementation of *khuruj* within the Nidzamuddin faction of the Tablighi Jamaat in Bandung, Indonesia, and examines its implications for the religious behavior of its members. Using a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study method, the research collected data through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. The analysis is framed through Max Weber's theory of social action, which helps interpret *khuruj* as a form of meaningful and multidimensional religious engagement. The findings show that *khuruj* is not a mechanical or purely traditional ritual. It is a dynamic process shaped by affective experiences, rational calculations, and deeply held spiritual values. The practice contributes to personal religious transformation, strengthens consistency in worship, and fosters a sense of communal responsibility in religious outreach. The study also explores how internal organizational tensions, particularly the split between the Nidzamuddin and Syura Alami factions, reshaped the movement's social structure and emphasized the role of value-based cohesion. This research contributes to the sociology of religion by showing how informal, experiential religious practices can influence identity formation and offer meaningful alternatives to formal religious education.

Keywords: da'wah; khuruj; Nidzamuddin; religious behavior; religious movement; social action.

1. Introduction

Since the beginning of Islamic history, Muslims have lived in various social groups that emerged from diverse backgrounds—from the Muhajirin and Ansar groups during the time of the Prophet Muhammad, to the emergence of the Tulaqa' (People of Tulaqa) after the conquest of Mecca (Abdur-Rahman, 2018). Over time, this fragmentation developed into a variety of religious communities and organizations born from differences in geography, politics, scholarship, and understanding of religious texts. Although most of these groups were founded on the spirit of da'wah and idealism considered noble by their founders, historical facts record that this fragmentation often triggered internal and external conflicts among Muslims (Yusuf, 2019). Claims of truth by each group are often not accompanied by concrete proof in social life. In fact, in Islamic tradition, the validity of a teaching or group should be reflected in its noble morals. Classical Islamic figures have demonstrated that the ultimate success of da'wah is not solely determined by the strength of arguments, but rather by the ability to demonstrate noble character (Sertkaya, 2022). The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), the Prophet Yusuf (peace be upon him), and Ali ibn Abi Talib (peace be upon him) are vivid examples of how noble morals serve as a means of practically proving the truth of the Islamic message (Hartono & Yenuri, 2024).

Amidst the diversity of groups within contemporary Islam (Rahman, 2021), one group stands out for emphasizing moral values and avoiding conflict: the Tablighi Jamaat (B. Ali, 2024). This movement began in India in 1926—a country with a Muslim minority and a long history of socio-political tensions between religious communities (Mohomed, 2024). Uniquely, it was from this

marginalized space that the Tablighi Jamaat grew into the largest transnational movement with a vast following worldwide.

The uniqueness of the Tablighi Jamaat lies not only in its spread but also in its approach to preaching, which is rooted in the concept of *khuruj fi sabilillah*, namely, breaking away from worldly routines to carry out preaching voluntarily (Hidayat et al., 2024). Unlike other transnational Islamic movements that are often identified with political activism or ideological agendas, the Tablighi Jamaat emphasizes individual religious improvement through direct preaching practices from house to house, mosque to mosque, and community to community (Mutaqin, 2023). This method is believed to be able to touch both the spiritual and social dimensions simultaneously, thus impacting the transformation of its members' religious behavior.

The *khuruj* phenomenon is at the heart of religious practice within the Tablighi Jamaah. Although it often lasts only a few days or months, its impact is felt to be profound in shaping the character and Islamic commitment of its members (Hasanah et al., 2025). This raises an important question: how can a short program like *Khuruj* surpass the effects of formal religious education that lasts for years? Furthermore, can this method be replicated or even integrated into the formal Islamic education system in Indonesia?

This research starts from that question. With a focus on the Nidzamuddin Tabligh Congregation in Bandung City, this study aims to examine in depth how the implementation of *khuruj* is done, as well as how it influences the religious behavior of its members. This research is important, not only in understanding the dynamics of the contemporary da'wah movement, but also in revealing the potential of a more effective religious building alternative, based on awareness and voluntarism, and firmly rooted in Islamic moral heritage.

2. Research Method

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach with a case study method, which is designed to explore in depth the practice of *khuruj* within the Tabligh Jamaah Nidzamuddin and thoroughly analyzes its implications for the religious behavior of its members (Stanley, 2023). This approach is not without reason; the nature of the phenomenon being studied is not something that can be measured quantitatively, but rather needs to be understood contextually, holistically, and from within. Bandung City was chosen as the research location because it is one of the important nodes of Tabligh Jamaah activity, especially through the Nidzamuddin route, which historically and sociologically has shown a significant influence on the religious dynamics of urban Muslim communities in West Java.

Data collection techniques were carried out using three main methods: in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation (Lareau, 2021). Interviews were conducted with members of the Tabligh Jamaat who had participated in *khuruj* for various durations—ranging from 3 days, 40 days, to 4 months—to capture their subjective experiences in carrying out the practice and the spiritual and social changes they experienced. In addition, direct observations were made during routine Jamaat activities such as religious study groups (*ta'lim*), *jaulah* (journey), and limited *khuruj* programs, allowing researchers to directly witness interaction patterns, spiritual atmospheres, and internalized values. Meanwhile, documentation was obtained from various written and audio-visual sources used by the Jamaat, such as internal guidebooks, lecture notes, da'wah brochures, and the social media they manage. This documentation serves not only as a supplement but also as a crucial source for exploring the Jamaat's internal narrative construction regarding the meaning and urgency of *khuruj* in religious life.

Data analysis was carried out using the developed model (Miles & Huberman, 1992), namely through a reflective and gradual process of data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing. Data obtained from various techniques were then classified into major themes such as motivation for *khuruj*, stages of implementation, learning patterns during *khuruj*, and its impact on religious dimensions such as prayer, morals, social relations, and commitment to da'wah. To maintain the validity and credibility of the data, triangulation techniques were used, both in terms of sources

and methods. Further validation was carried out through a member checking process, where preliminary results were reconfirmed with key informants to ensure appropriate meaning and to avoid interpretative distortion by the researcher.

With this approach, it is hoped that research will be able to capture the reality of *khuruj* not only as a ritualistic activity, but as a process of internalizing values and transforming religious identity. This method also opens up space for a broader understanding of why and how *khuruj* became a practice that not only survived, but also flourished across cultures and geographies, even in the context of the very diverse Indonesian Muslim society.

3. Research Results

3.1 History of the Tablighi Jamaat's Entry into Indonesia

Jamaat Tabligh as a transnational religious movement first grew in the Mewat region, India, in 1926 at the initiative of Maulana Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandahlawi (Hasanah et al., 2025). This movement arose from Maulana Ilyas's concern over the degradation of Muslim religious practices in the Indian interior, where the majority of Muslims lived in poverty. With a spirit of sincerity and a deep sense of missionary work, he initiated a non-confrontational, non-political method of missionary work, focused on individual development through outreach (*khuruj*) to learn and teach religion directly from mosque to mosque. This movement quickly gained legitimacy among various Islamic scholars and educational institutions in India. By the time of his death in 1944, the Tablighi Jamaat had reached nearly the entire Islamic educational network and prominent religious figures in the Indian subcontinent (Nurhayati et al., 2023).

After the death of Maulana Ilyas, the reins of leadership were handed over to his son, Maulana Muhammad Yusuf al-Kandahlawi, a young cleric known as a hadith expert and historian of the lives of the Prophet's companions (Herrera & Bayat, 2010). Under his leadership, the movement experienced systematic global expansion. According to academic Barbara D. Metcalf, the Tablighi Jamaat's spread outside India began to strengthen in 1947 (Khan, 2025). In fact, according to Prakash, the first missionary group was dispatched even earlier, in 1946, when Maulana Ubaidillah Belyawi was sent to Medina to conduct missionary work among the Arab community. This expansion strategy demonstrated that Jamaat Tabligh was not merely a local movement, but possessed the ambition and structure to reach Muslims across geographical boundaries globally.

In Indonesia, historical records indicate that the Tablighi Jamaat began its presence in 1952. While nearly all sources agree on the date, debate persists regarding their first stop. Three main versions exist: Medan, Jakarta, and Palembang. The first version, the strongest in terms of documentation and testimony, states that Medan was the first city visited. This is supported by an inscription at the Al-Hidayah Mosque in Medan and testimonies from figures such as Umdatul Hasanah, Mohammad Fauzi, and Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid, who state that the Tablighi Jamaat's arrival in Medan was led by Miaji Isa from India. Furthermore, Medan's geographic proximity to Malaysia and its status as the third-largest metropolitan city in Indonesia further support the argument that Medan was a strategic first entry point (Rijal, 2023).

The second version refers to Miaji Isa's visit to Jakarta and the significant development of this congregation at the Jami' Kebon Jeruk Mosque in 1974, which was later used as the central headquarters (Irpan, 2022). A third version cites Palembang as the initial location, although the evidence and literary support for this are not as strong as those of Medan or Jakarta. Interestingly, the Tablighi Jamaat's early da'wah methods exhibited a unique pattern: they had no prior local connections or networks, but instead went directly to the airport and asked a taxi driver to take them to the home of a well-known Indian Muslim figure in the city. This model proved successful, as in the cases of Haji Zaristan Khan in Jakarta and Abdullah Tufail in Solo, who later became members of the Jamaat.

Despite facing major challenges, both in terms of language, culture, and suspicion of local communities - especially in the sensitive political atmosphere of Indonesia in the 1950s to 1960s - the Tablighi Jamaat remained consistent in carrying out *khuruj* and slowly building public trust

(Wardaya, 2021). The rejection from most West Javanese ulama, as noted in Ajid Thohir's dissertation, is also evidence that this movement was not immediately accepted openly (Thohir & Riyadi, 2002). However, their steadfastness in preaching selflessly, without politics, and with high etiquette has paved the way for wider acceptance. Figures like KH Anwar Musaddad, who was open-minded, and Maulana Rahman, who politely declined an honorarium for preaching at the Kebon Jeruk Grand Mosque, became a turning point in public recognition of the credibility of the Tablighi Jamaat.

The peak occurred in 1974 when the Jami' Kebon Jeruk Jakarta Mosque officially became the markaz (da'wah center) of the Tablighi Jamaah in Indonesia (Hasan, 2006). This is where the movement's influence began to penetrate various levels of urban society. The stories of figures like H. Tjejep and Ir. Aminuddin Noor demonstrate how individuals from diverse backgrounds—including elite families—could be attracted to and become active in the movement. In fact, the dedication of Aminuddin Noor's family culminated in the donation of land and the establishment of social facilities such as mosques and schools.

Given all these dynamics, it can be concluded that the history of the Tablighi Jamaat's entry into Indonesia is not merely a geographical journey, but also a spiritual and sociological one filled with challenges, adaptations, and the formation of a new religious identity. From small steps in Medan to a national and global da'wah network, the Tablighi Jamaat demonstrates that consistency, sincerity, and collective work in silence can create a broad, long-term impact (Bustamam-Ahmad, 2015).

3.2 The History of the Tablighi Jamaat's Entry into Bandung

Researchers have struggled to find credible written sources regarding the arrival of the Tablighi Jamaat in Bandung. Unlike other regions, such as Central Java and East Java, which are well-documented, information on the Tablighi Jamaat's presence in Bandung is minimal. For example, in Farish A. Noor's book, *Islam on the Move: The Tablighi Jama'at in Southeast Asia*, Bandung is mentioned, but only briefly and without depth (Noor, 2012).

Moreover, the information in the book contains several errors. On page 38, it is stated that Jamaah Tabligh only gained a permanent base in Bandung in the 1980s under the leadership of Ustaz A. Muzzakir, who is said to be Javanese. Based on the researcher's investigation, there are three fundamental errors: First, the correct name is Mudzakir Aris (often shortened to Mudzakir A.), not A. Muzzakir. Second, in 1980, Mudzakir Aris had not yet joined Jamaah Tabligh, and only became active around 1995. Third, he was not from Java, but from Aceh. This information was clarified through interviews with several senior *karkun* and through documentary evidence such as a book edited by Mudzakir himself (Noor, 2012).

Upon further investigation, Farish A. Noor's source turned out to be an earlier reference that also contained errors. Since the book's publication in 2012, the same errors have been widely cited by subsequent authors. Therefore, any information about the Tablighi Jamaat in Bandung post-2012 needs to be critically examined, taking into account its sources (Noor, 2012).

However, researchers still use the book *Islam on the Move* as a reference, with a critical approach (Noor, 2012). All data contained within the data was re-examined to ensure it met accountable academic standards. Due to limited written sources, researchers also sought information through theses, dissertations, and journals, although the results remained limited.

The lack of written data is a challenge for researchers, who then try to dig up information from credible sources, namely senior *karkun* or *ahbab* (*awwalun*). The criteria used: (1) they have been active in the Tablighi Jamaah since the 1980s or early 1990s, and (2) have high *mujahadah*, for example being active in the *khuruj* program 3 days per month, 40 days per year, and once every 4 months. These are the people who are considered capable of providing initial information about the Tablighi Jamaah's entry into Bandung.

Meanwhile, *karkun* who were active after the 1990s can still be used as sources as long as they meet additional criteria, such as cross-verification, individual credibility, and clarity of story details. Within the Tablighi Jamaah community, the term "*Awwalun*" is used to refer to the early generation or individuals who first revitalized da'wah in a given area (Nuraedah & Mutawakkil, 2020). In the

context of this research, the researcher focuses on the first type, namely those who have been active since the 1980s or early 1990s.

Significant developments only appeared in 1984, when a group arrived from India and Pakistan brought by Qamarul Haq, a gold trader of Indian descent who lived in Bandung. Because the place where he lived did not have an adequate mosque, the congregation was finally directed to the Baitur Rahman Mosque on Jl. Patracomala. Two years later, in 1986, a group came from Jakarta led by Ustaz Syamsuddin to the al-Muhajirin Mosque in Suryalaya, and it was from here that researchers got initial information about the involvement of Bandung residents in the Tablighi Jamaah.

One of the important sources was H. Jafar Supriyatna, S.Ag., who said he had been active since junior high school around 1985. He was also the first to receive *masturat* congregation at his home, including a member named Ir. Aminuddin Noor from Ancol, North Jakarta. Aminuddin later became a figure in the Tablighi Jamaah and an expert in the shura of the Kebon Jeruk Jami' Mosque, and was active while studying in Bandung, often taking part in activities at the al-Furqan Mosque, Kosambi.

From other sources, it is known that the Al-Furqan Mosque was once the initial headquarters of the Bandung Tablighi Jamaah. According to an interview with KEAS, one of the *awwalun* (leaders), this mosque was also the entry point for the group from Malaysia. However, initially, the congregation's appearance, dressed in Indian-style clothing, made the community reluctant to interact. It was only when they changed their dress code to wearing batik that the community began to accept them.

The headquarters has an important role, not only as a place of worship but also a center for activities, learning and organizing the Khuruj program. A regular meeting called Malam Ijtima' or Malam Sabguzari is held every Saturday night. The series of activities starts from the afternoon until evening, and continues with dawn activities and congregation discharge in the morning.

Information from H. Jafar Supriyatna and other sources, such as Muhammad Kusna Wijaya, indicates that the early growth of the Tablighi Jamaah in Bandung was rooted in personal and relational roles, not institutional ones. In this context, the involvement of figures such as Ir. Aminuddin Noor, Qamarul Haq, and H. Jafar himself were key factors in driving the growth of the Tablighi Jamaah community in Bandung since the mid-1980s.

3.3 Nidzamuddin Tablighi Jamaat in Bandung City

In the course of its journey in the world of da'wah, the Tabligh Jamaat finally experienced the problem of schism (division within a religious group). Of course, this incident was very regrettable and even heartbreaking for anyone who had high hopes for the realization of Islamic world unity at the end of time to welcome the Mahdi. Apparently, fate had other plans. After the death of the Third Hadratji Maulana In'amul Hasan on June 10, 1995, there was a disagreement among the Jamaat's *mashayikh*, especially on the issue of emirates. This culminated in 2015, when the Tabligh Jamaat was declared to have split into two factions. The first faction is the Nidzamuddin Group. This group recognizes Maulana Sa'ad al-Kandahlawi as the World Amir of the Tabligh Jamaat. The second faction is the Syura Alami Group. This group does not recognize Maulana Sa'ad al-Kandahlawi as the World Amir of the Tabligh Jamaat. The discussion about this schism has been reviewed in many writings, including books, articles, blogs, YouTube, and so on. (Bin Md Aris, 2022).

Researchers need to emphasize that the schism that occurred in India as the center of the world's Tablighi Jamaat, will certainly eventually spread down to the Tablighi Jamaat at the national level, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and others (J. A. Ali & Amin, 2020). Then, after reaching the national level, sooner or later it will surely continue to roll to the Jamaah Tabligh provincial level, then to the district and city levels, like Bandung City, and so on down to the *mahallahs*, then to families, and finally to each *karkun*. Although the peak of the schism in India occurred in 2015, the same schism, at the Bandung City level, only became a reality in 2017. The division between the two camps of Jamaah Tabligh was clearly visible at the Bandung City Headquarters, the al-Madinah Mosque, precisely on a Headquarters Night in September 2017.

Regarding this schism, the researcher conveyed the chat of Muhammad Kusna Wijaya, to the

researchers, as follows;

"Internal tensions within the Indonesian Tablighi Jamaah began to be felt after the 2015 Cikampek Ijtima, when friction arose between supporters of Syura Alami (SA) and those supporting Nizamuddin (NZ) under the leadership of Maulana Saad. This reached its peak in 2017, when SA's influence grew stronger and the majority of high-ranking officials in the Indonesian Markaz, including those in Bandung, sided with SA. This situation sparked conflict, a seizure of the Markaz, and even a coup d'etat at the Kebon Jeruk Markaz by the pro-SA faction.

"In Bandung, the situation became increasingly tense. The grassroots NZ supporters chose to remain silent due to their lack of structural strength. To counteract SA's dominance, consolidation was carried out by gathering NZ-supporting halaqahs. Initially, 16 halaqahs were gathered, which then increased to 34 out of a total of 65 halaqahs in Bandung. This served as the basis for meeting with senior figure Cecep Firdaus and conveying that Bandung was not yet fully under SA control."

"From this meeting, support emerged for a peaceful separation. The three cities that had not yet separated from NZ at that time were Bandung, Pontianak, and Lombok. The following night, a meeting at the Great Mosque of Bandung was attended by representatives of the zones. Three points were agreed upon: (1) if they separated, they would establish their own markaz, (2) if they joined NZ, they would hold their own Sabguzari night, and (3) they would remain part of NZ and Bonjer."

The official deliberation took place on Monday evening, beginning with a recitation of the rules of deliberation. When the proposal to change the local leadership from Maulana Baban (SA) to Abu Mujahid was proposed, there was resistance. A karguzari was then held, and plans for a peaceful separation were presented. During the deliberation, a decision was made: supporters of NZ and Maulana Saad were asked to step back, while supporters of SA remained. As a result, only 12 people sided with SA and joined Al-Muttaqin Ancol; the rest remained with NZ and Markaz Kebon Jeruk.

The chat above is essentially a farewell between Jamaah Tabligh Nizamuddin and Jamaah Tabligh Syura Alami at the al-Madinah Headquarters, the sequence of events being that the real incident of schism at the al-Madinah Headquarters in Bandung City was after the Hayatush Shahabah program, after the Isha prayer, the Night of Ijtima' or Headquarters Night, namely Friday night in September 2017 at the al-Madinah Mosque, the pride of Jamaah Tabligh in Bandung City. All parties present that night sat in a circle (forming a halaqah) as they would sit during a deliberation. It is known that on that occasion, the one who led the deliberation (*faisalah*) was Mr. Dadan Abu Mujahid, a long-time karkun who had been completely devoted to da'wah and tabligh (Interview with Mujahid, 2025).

The deliberation took place in the usual place, the main hall of the al-Madinah Mosque. When the deliberation opened, each side began presenting its arguments regarding their respective positions. Perhaps because each side struggled to unite, and the deliberation leader also seemed to struggle to find a compromise, the deliberation reached a deadlock, and the atmosphere became increasingly heated.

Thank God, even though the two sides involved often argued with their voices raised, they were still able to control themselves so that no physical clashes occurred. The debate in the main room of the al-Madinah Mosque ended after the representative from the Nizamuddin Camp, namely Mr. Muhammad Kusna Wijaya, stood up and said to the deliberation forum: "*Saha nu setia M. Saad Nizamuddin (Kebon Jeruk) ka pengker, nu SA (Ancol) tetap dipayun*". (That means: Whoever agrees with Maulana Sa'ad Nizamuddin becoming emir, and joining the Kebon Jeruk Jakarta Headquarters, please come back and follow me! Those taking part in the Natural Shura, please stay at the front!").

Muhammad Kusna Wijaya, said these words, while standing and leaving his original seat, and then moved to the back of the al-Madinah Mosque. Muhammad Kusna Wijaya, was followed by other karkuns or ahababs who felt they were in the same camp. And it turned out that the majority of the karkuns there also moved to join Mr. Muhammad Kusna Wijaya. Meanwhile, only a few karkuns remained sitting in the front, according to the chat above, only 12 karkuns. This means that the majority of karkuns or ahababs in Bandung at that time were loyal to Maulana Sa'ad. Their group was then called Jamaah Tabligh Nizamuddin (NZ). Meanwhile, those who did not join the group were called Jamaah Tabligh Syura Alami (SA), which at that time numbered only 12 karkuns, namely those who did not move to follow Muhammad Kusna Wijaya

After that, the deliberative assembly was declared finished. And that night was the last night, the two camps of the Tablighi Jamaah in Bandung City held a Headquarters Night or Ijtima Night together. It is proven that next week's Headquarters Night, the Nidzamuddin camp will no longer spend the night of Ijtima' at the al-Madinah Mosque.

Headquarters night or Ijtima' night the following week, the Al-Madinah Mosque was not as busy as usual Headquarters nights. This was because the *karkuns* or *ahbabs* who joined Nidzamuddin's camp did not spend the night of Ijtima' there. They spent the night at the al-Latifah Mosque, Jl. Buah Batu Canal 202 Bandung City. However, due to the fact that the al-Latifah mosque was too small to accommodate the *ahbabs* who wanted to take part in the headquarters evening, it was finally decided through deliberation that the ijtima' evening for the following Fridays would be divided into 9 (nine) mosques according to their respective areas in the Bandung area, while the headquarters remained at the al-Latifah Mosque. Since then, karkun or ahbab of Jamaah Tabligh Nidzamuddin Bandung can join the Ijtima' night at one of the 9 (nine) mosques spread across the city of Bandung and its surroundings. As for the list of the nine mosques, researchers only got data on 4 (four) mosques, the others are still being searched. The four mosques can be seen in the following table:

Table 1
List of Mosques Meeting Places for Friday Night Jamaah Tablih Nidzamuddin Bandung

No.	Mosque Name	Address	Person responsible
1.	Al-Latifah	Terusan Buah Batu	Ust. Moh. Kusna Wijaya
2.	Al-Ma'soem	Cikalang Cileunyi	Ust. H. Enan
3.	An-Nabawi	Cimahi	Ust. Yahya dan Ust. Ikhsan
4.	Surapati Core	Jl. Suci Kota Bandung	Ust. Kahfi

Each *Karkun* may choose any mosque according to their respective residence. The headquarters remains at the al-Latifah Mosque. Among the differences between the headquarters night at the al-Latifah Mosque and the Sabguzari nights at the other eight mosques is that the al-Latifah Mosque allows groups to be sent out for 40 days, four months, or even a year, while the other eight mosques only allow congregants to be sent out for three days.

Coordinating nine mosques to remain united and united in one heart, one mind, and one work is certainly not an easy task. These three unities, one heart, one mind, and one work, are essential for the success of this da'wah endeavor. This requires a strong individual who is ready to work both physically and mentally, sincerely for the sake of Allah SWT, for the sake of spreading guidance throughout the world. This is because no one is paying a salary to be active in the Jamaah Tabligh da'wah endeavor; only Allah SWT is the one who pays. Actively participating in the Jamaah Tabligh da'wah endeavor is not provided with financial capital, so one must be prepared to spend money. Therefore, if one is not mentally strong, one will certainly fall by the wayside. Thankfully, in the Jamaah Tabligh camp of Nidzamuddin, there are many strong individuals who are ready to go all out to uphold the *da'wah ala minhajin* of the Prophet *sallallaahu'alaihi wa sallam* in Bandung in particular and the world in general.

It turns out that the sincerity of these formidable figures influenced the fighting spirit of the *karkun* and other general leaders in their da'wah efforts. They always united as one, as if challenged to continually increase their sacrifices for the sake of religion. The result was the rapid growth of Jamaah Tabligh Nidzamuddin.

According to one source, at the time there were nine meeting points, each night of the ijtima', almost every mosque of the nine mosques was attended by an average of 120-130 people. This means that if combined, each night of the headquarters was attended by thousands of people. And at that time, namely meetings at the nine mosques, the number of groups formed khuruj 3 (three) days each month, if totaled, there were around 250 groups.

With achievements such as information from this source, the development of the Nidzamuddin

Tablighi Jamaah is so rapid. In fact, the Nidzamuddin camp is known as the Tablighi Jamaah camp, which is mostly lay people, aka the maulana are rare. But in fact the development is so tremendous. That was the development seen in terms of increasing the number of members. As for developments in terms of headquarters construction, it is also very encouraging.

As is known, Jamaah Tabligh Nidzamuddin after the September 2017 case, did not have a representative headquarters like the Jamaah Tabligh Syura Alami headquarters, which is at the al-Madinah Mosque, Jl. Depok Raya No. 2A, Antapani Complex. So the night meetings of Jamaah Tabligh Nidzamuddin headquarters are spread across 9 (nine) mosques. This situation made some people feel concerned, so they tried to ensure that Jamaah Tabligh Nidzamuddin also had a headquarters that was no less representative than the al-Madinah Mosque. Moreover, Mr. Cecep Firdaus as the parent of Jamaah Tabligh Nizamuddin at the Kebon Jeruk Jakarta Headquarters had given his blessing. So they worked day and night to realize their concerns. Many locations were proposed as land for the construction of Jamaah Tabligh Nidzamuddin Headquarters. Until finally the location was decided to be in the Cingised area, RT. 03 RW. 04, Cisaranten Endah Village, Arcamanik District, Bandung City.

In the process of building this Headquarters, there were many karkun or ahbab figures who had fought physically and spiritually selflessly, solely because of Allah SWT, for the sake of upholding the propagation of nubuwwah in Bandung in particular and the world in general. Those who have wealth, struggle with their wealth, those who have energy, struggle with their energy, those who have both often struggle with both. Until finally the Nizamuddin Tablighi Jamaah Headquarters was successfully established and suitable for occupancy. The headquarters, which is actually a mosque, is named the An-Nabawi Mosque. In its imperfect condition, this Headquarters, while the process of improving its various facilities continues, at the end of 2018 began to be used for holding Headquarters Nights for karkuns or ahbabs who follow Nidzamuddin's directions.

With the opening of the an-Nabawi Mosque as the Headquarters of the Tablighi Jamaah Nidzamuddin in Bandung City, there are no longer any headquarters nights or sabguzari nights in the 9 (nine) mosques anymore because they are all concentrated in the an-Nabawi Mosque in Cingised. Cisaranten Endah Arcamanik, Bandung City. And it turns out that the development of this Jamaah is increasingly rapid, so that for the sake of work management, its work area which includes Bandung and its surroundings is divided into 9 (nine) zones. Below is a table of the division of these zones along with their respective responsibilities, namely;

Table 2
List of Zones in Bandung and Surrounding Areas and Their Responsibilities

No.	Nama Zone	Area Coverage	Person Responsible
1.	Zone 1	Padalarang, Darangdang, Cikalong Wetan, Cipatat	H. Dudi Antasalam
2.	Zone 2	Cipatik, Rongga, Cililin, Cihampelas, Gunung Halu, Sindangkerta,	Ust. Nasiruddin & Ust. Asep
3.	Zone 3	Cimahi, Baros	H. Eko Brewok
4.	Zone 4	Majalaya, Ciparay, Sapan, Pacet, Ibun	H. Hasan, H. Dadan
5.	Zone 5	Nagreg, Rancaekek, Parakan Muncang	Kang Labid, kang Wawan Boldoser
6.	Zone 6	Manglayang, Tanjungsari, Sindanglaya, Ujung Berung, Cibiru	H. Tri Sarwoto
7.	Zone 7	Buah batu, Kosambi, Antapani, Kiaracondong, Kota Bandung	Ustadz Wandiki, Moh. Kusna Wijaya
8.	Zone 8	Bandung Timur, Arcamanik, Cikutra, Pasir Impun, Dago, Sukajadi, Sarijadi, Ledeng	H. Wahyu dan H. Deden
9.	Zone 9	Lembang, Cikole, Cibodas, Parongpong	Ust. Entis, & P. Guru Cece

3.4 Khuruj in the Nidzamuddin Tabligh Jamaah from the Perspective of Max Weber's Social Action Theory

Within the framework of Social Action Theory (Weber, 2023), Khuruj, as a unique practice of the Tablighi Jamaat, can be understood as a form of social action that is not merely a religious ritual, but rather a reflection of the complexity of individual motives and social orientations. This theory views human actions as having subjective meaning and being directed toward others, and it is from this that the act of khuruj gains its relevance for study as a social action (Kuswandi & Asmoni, 2025).

Through interviews in May 2025 with two main informants—Mr. Dudi and Mr. Miharja—it can be analyzed that the act of khuruj is not single in motive, but is a mixture of several types of social action classified by Weber: affective, traditional, instrumental rational, and value-oriented rational (Raza, 2022).

For the first informant, Mr. Dudi, the act of khuruj initially arose from an affective experience. He was touched by the spiritual atmosphere and devotion of the congregation in i'tikaf, while he himself was in a contrasting situation: playing *gaple* (domino) and living far from religious values (Interview with Budi, 2025). This emotional touch stirred his awareness that there was a more meaningful alternative to life. This is where affective action became the starting point.

Over time, however, his participation evolved into an instrumentally rational act—he saw the khuruj as an effective means of self-improvement, expanding his network of friends, and acquiring knowledge he could not have acquired through formal channels. He credited his active participation in the Tablighi Jamaat with helping him maintain his prayers, curbing deviant behavior, and creating a sense of spiritual security. His narrative clearly demonstrates his appreciation for the benefits of his involvement, while simultaneously understanding it as a form of moral responsibility to his religion and fellow Muslims (Ashoumi & Hidayatulloh, 2022).

Meanwhile, for the second informant, Mr. Miharja, the dominant type of social action is rational, value-oriented, and affective. Despite his high academic background and active involvement in various formal organizations, his interest in the Tablighi Jamaat arose from his admiration for the *karkun's* lifestyle, which is full of devotion and free from material interests (Yang et al., 2022). The uncompensated acts of devotion, the orderliness of organizations without complex formal structures, and the collective spiritual power of gatherings like the *Ijtimah* in Bangladesh moved him and strengthened his convictions. He did not see khuruj as a means to achieve practical gain, but rather as an expression of noble human and religious values. In this sense, Mr. Miharja's khuruj was not driven by calculations of efficiency, but by spiritual values he considered authentic and pure (de Moraes et al., 2021).

Both informants showed that the act of khuruj is a multidimensional social act; it cannot be reduced to just one type of action (Waymer & Logan, 2021). In fact, a person can begin with affective motivation, then develop into instrumental rationality, and finally become embedded in value orientation. This aligns with Weber's view that the motives for human action are dynamic and can change over time and experience. In the context of the Tablighi Jamaat, this dynamic is influenced by intensive social interaction within the community, ongoing spiritual interactions, and activity structures that allow for reflection, learning, and internalization of values (Pratama, 2024).

Thus, it can be concluded that the practice of *khuruj* is not merely a mechanistic or traditional act, but rather a process of social and spiritual transformation involving affective motivation, rational calculation, and the internalization of religious values. Within a Weberian framework, *khuruj* in the Tabligh Jamaah in Bandung demonstrates how religious action can be read as a meaningful form of social action, and becomes an important instrument in the formation of religious identity and the structure of social relations among contemporary Muslims (Al Fozaie, 2023; Bukhori & Rahman, 2024).

4. Conclusion

Based on the previous description above, the practice of khuruj in Jamaah Tabligh Nidzamuddin is not merely a form of repetitive and ritualistic religious activity, but rather a manifestation of multidimensional social action as explained in Max Weber's theory of social action. The members'

motivation to participate in khuruj is rooted in affective experiences, the interpretation of religious values, and rational calculations regarding the spiritual and social benefits they perceive. This phenomenon illustrates how informal, volunteer-based and community-based religious activities can shape more consistent and transformative religious behavior than formal-institutional approaches.

The theoretical contribution of this study lies in the integration of Weber's theory of social action with contemporary religious phenomena in Indonesia, providing a concrete example of how religious action orientations can be categorized and analyzed sociologically. Furthermore, in practical terms, these findings open up opportunities for developing a model of religious development based on direct spiritual experience (experiential religiosity) that could serve as an alternative in Islamic education in urban communities. Furthermore, this study also highlights the internal organizational dynamics of Jamaah Tabligh, including the schism between the Nidzamuddin and Syura Alami factions, which demonstrates the importance of value agreement and social cohesion in the sustainability of a da'wah movement.

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