Jamaah Tabligh as a Social and Religious Movement in Cianjur (1980–2020)

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Abstract

This article examines the history of the emergence and development of Jamaah Tabligh in Cianjur Regency from 1980 to 2020 and analyzes its transformation from an unfamiliar transnational preaching group into a social and religious movement rooted locally. Previous studies of Jamaah Tabligh have generally stopped at analyses of preaching strategies over short periods or at the microsociological level of a single community, leaving the long-term historical dimension and the relationship among khuruj practices, the role of mosques, and social networks in forming a regional movement largely unexplored. This article fills that gap by reconstructing the periodization of Jamaah Tabligh's development in Cianjur diachronically. This research uses the historical method through the stages of heuristics, source criticism (external and internal), interpretation, and historiography, drawing on primary sources consisting of retrospective interviews with nine participants and two documents held at Al-Ikhlas Sukamanah Mosque, supported by secondary sources in books and journal articles. The results show that Jamaah Tabligh's development in Cianjur passed through three phases: pioneering (1980–1990), marked by cultural resistance and mediation by local figures; expansion and the establishment of a permanent headquarters (1990–2000), supported by leadership succession and reported support from local ulama; and stabilization and institutionalization (2000–2010), in which regular syura and preaching routines were described. As a social movement, Jamaah Tabligh mobilizes resources through collective and collegial leadership, status associated with experience and commitment, and self-financing (infak nafsi); as a religious movement, it puts dakwah bi al-hal into practice through khuruj, bayan, and jaulah. In 2010–2020, the interaction of these two dimensions was associated in participants' accounts with changes in religious practice, inclusion of some formerly stigmatized people, and social ties. This article argues that Jamaah Tabligh's endurance over four decades can be interpreted through its members' religious commitment, interpersonal networks, and adaptation to local settings.

Keywords: Jamaah Tabligh; Cianjur; social and religious movement; dakwah bi al-hal; local history

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Introduction

Dakwah is an activity undertaken consciously to convey the messages of Islam to others by particular means so that they accept and practice them in individual and social life and attain happiness in this world and the hereafter.[1] It provides a means of upholding amar ma'ruf nahi munkar while strengthening ukhuwah Islamiyah, and serves as a process of educating the community that shapes behavior, outlook, and moral character.[2] From independence to the reform era, forms of dakwah in Indonesia have continued to develop: from formal, institutional forms through organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama to nonstructural, spontaneous, community-based movements.[3] Some movements pursue political means of change, while others choose a cultural and educational approach emphasizing moral formation and community empowerment.[4] Within this diversity, movements centered on individual formation and spiritual revival, such as Jamaah Tabligh, offer an interesting variant that provides spiritual depth without involvement in political contests or divisive theological debates.

West Java, particularly Cianjur Regency, is distinctive for its pesantren base and strong Islamic traditions. Since the 1980s, amid a wave of modernization that had begun to affect patterns of religious life, Jamaah Tabligh appeared and began to establish its influence. Its presence was first recorded around 1980, with Assa'idiyyah Mosque in Cipanas serving as the initial base of activity.[5] What is striking about this phenomenon is Jamaah Tabligh's ability to adapt to local culture without losing the characteristics of its movement. Its members did not arrive with weighty ideological discourse, but with a simple, nonconfrontational approach that avoided politics and rejected debates over furu'iyah (khilafiah), which participants describe as facilitating acceptance by some local groups, from pesantren circles to the wider public. Their preaching network continued to expand, marked by the reported shift of the movement's center to the already existing Al-Ikhlas Mosque in Sukamanah around 1999, followed by a 2000 land-use statement, which subsequently became a center of consolidation and preaching activity in the period examined.[6]

Jamaah Tabligh's presence in Cianjur did more than add to the diversity of preaching organizations: it created a new pattern of religious life that was more personal, intensive, and oriented toward practice. Participants describe members as encouraging mosque attendance and social ties and creating space for the values of ukhuwah Islamiyah to be lived in concrete ways.[7] Although Jamaah Tabligh has been studied extensively in national and global contexts, discussion of the movement's role in shaping the social and religious life of Cianjur's people remains relatively limited. Yet its dynamics in Cianjur show how a transnational preaching movement adapted

[1] Samsul Munir Amin, *Sejarah Dakwah* (Bandung: Amzah, 2014), 3.

[2] Asep Muhyiddin, *Kajian Dakwah Multiperspektif* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2014), 12.

[3] M. Quraish Shihab, *Membumikan Al-Qur'an: Fungsi dan Peran Wahyu dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 205.

[4] Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Islam Murni dalam Masyarakat Petani* (Yogyakarta: Bentang Budaya, 2000), 56.

[5] Rudi Abdurrahman, interview, Cianjur, February 12, 2024.

[6] Rudi Abdurrahman, interview, Cianjur, February 12, 2024.

[7] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

to local culture and was perceived by participants to affect individual and communal religious practice. The movement's central principles, its apolitical stance, self-financing of members' preaching journeys, and emphasis on self-improvement (islah al-fard) also meritcloser study, particularly regarding their influence on the movement's long-term continuity and stability.[8]

Previous Studies and the Research Gap

As cumulative historical research, this study does not begin from zero. It continues and tests themes advanced by earlier generations of historians to avoid duplicating discussion while establishing the novelty of the historical perspective offered.[9] Four relevant studies provide a point of comparison.

Sarwan, Denni Franata, Sabiruddin, and Zainal, in "Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh" (2021), comprehensively examine Jamaah Tabligh's origins, ideology, and preaching methods, and assert that the movement arose in response to a decline in the faith of Indian Muslims and pressure from missionary groups supported by British colonial rulers.[10] Their study emphasizes that Jamaah Tabligh's success lies in its ability to adapt preaching methods to social conditions without changing its basic principles, and in members' commitment to khuruj as a method requiring sacrifices of time, energy, and material resources.[11] This historical and sociological framework is relevant for tracing the movement's transmission to Indonesia, but does not address the dynamics of its localization in a particular area over an extended period.

M. Zainul Asror, in "Strategi Dakwah Gerakan Jamaah Tabligh di Kota Pancor" (2018), shows how Jamaah Tabligh developed in a stronghold of Nahdlatul Wathan without provoking significant conflict, thanks to a traditional cultural preaching strategy centered on the mosque.[12] The study emphasizes a warm personal approach to grassroots groups and former thugs, and Jamaah Tabligh's tendency to avoid confrontation with established religious organizations.[13] The similar social and religious character of Pancor and Cianjur, both grounded in strong pesantren traditions, makes this framework useful for comparison, although Asror does not trace leadership succession and the institutionalization of the headquarters over a long period.

Abdul Karim, in "Khuruj Fi Sabilillah: Gerakan Sufisme Jamaah Tabligh di Palembang Perspektif Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam" (2022), maps the development of Jamaah Tabligh in Palembang into three historical periods: introduction (1965–1985), consolidation (1985–1992), and expansion (1992–present). He also argues that the

[8] Muhammad Ishaq, *Khuruj fi Sabilillah* (Bandung: Al-Ishlah Publishing, 2015), 45.

[9] Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2013), 15–17.

[10] Sarwan, Denni Franata, Sabiruddin, and Zainal, "Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah dan Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (2021): 27–38.

[11] Sarwan, Denni Franata, Sabiruddin, and Zainal, "Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah dan Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (2021): 27–38.

[12] M. Zainul Asror, "Strategi Dakwah Gerakan Jamaah Tabligh di Kota Pancor," *Jurnal Studi Masyarakat dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2018): 39–45.

[13] M. Zainul Asror, "Strategi Dakwah Gerakan Jamaah Tabligh di Kota Pancor," *Jurnal Studi Masyarakat dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2018): 39–45.

movement serves both as a religious and a social force influencing society's values.[14] This three-stage model of periodization provides an important analytical tool for tracing the phases of Jamaah Tabligh's development in Cianjur, although Palembang and Cianjur differ socioculturally.

Sapuan Husni, Lukman Hakim, and Happy Saputra, in "Praktik Dakwah Khuruj fi Sabilillah oleh Jamaah Tabligh di Desa Perapat Hilir" (2023), offer a microsociological perspective on the duality of Jamaah Tabligh's internal groups (Syuro Alami and the Maulana Saad group). They connect khuruj with theological values such as faith, tawhid, and God's absolute will, while identifying collective rituals (jaulah, bayan, ijtima', ta'lim, musyawarah) as mechanisms of internal cohesion.[15] Their research, however, is explicitly limited to the implementation of dakwah in the microsociological context of one village and does not examine Jamaah Tabligh's historical development over a long period or its dynamics as a regional social and religious phenomenon.[16]

These four studies reveal a consistent gap: although considerable work has examined Jamaah Tabligh's preaching strategies and methods, few studies offer a long-term historical reconstruction of a regional community showing how khuruj, mosques, and social networks intertwine to form a cohesive social and religious movement over time. This article fills that gap by reconstructing the history of Jamaah Tabligh's development in Cianjur Regency in 1980–2020, placing its preaching practices not merely within religious activity but also within social change, the formation of collective identity, and the historical process of institutionalization.[17]

The choice of 1980–2020 rests on historical and analytical considerations. The year 1980 marks the early emergence of Jamaah Tabligh activity in Cianjur, when khuruj was first introduced and an initial community network formed. The endpoint of 2020 was chosen to capture the movement's contemporary dynamics, including consolidation, the expansion of activities, and more complex social and religious challenges, while the available sources do not independently document changes in Cianjur's preaching mobility during the Covid-19 pandemic. This study aims to establish the history of Jamaah Tabligh's formation in Cianjur and analyze its transformation as a social and religious movement, encompassing resource mobilization, the formation of social networks, recruitment mechanisms, preaching strategies, and adaptation to Cianjur's sociocultural dynamics.

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[14] Abdul Karim, "Khuruj Fi Sabilillah: Gerakan Sufisme Jamaah Tabligh di Palembang Perspektif Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam," *Tajdid: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuludin* 21, no. 2 (2022): 158–160.

[15] Sapuan Husni, Lukman Hakim, Happy Saputra, "Praktik Dakwah Khuruj fi Sabilillah oleh Jamaah Tabligh di Desa Perapat Hilir," *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 2 (2023): 111–121.

[16] Sapuan Husni, Lukman Hakim, Happy Saputra, "Praktik Dakwah Khuruj fi Sabilillah oleh Jamaah Tabligh di Desa Perapat Hilir," *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 2 (2023): 112–113.

[17] Compare the microsociological emphasis in Sapuan Husni, Lukman Hakim, Happy Saputra, "Praktik Dakwah Khuruj fi Sabilillah oleh Jamaah Tabligh di Desa Perapat Hilir," *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 2 (2023): 113.

Research Methods

This research uses the historical method, focusing on systematic procedures for finding, testing, analyzing, and synthesizing data from the past into an accountable historical narrative through four stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography.[18]

Heuristics

At the heuristic stage, the authors traced and collected sources concerning the history, development, and role of Jamaah Tabligh in Cianjur in 1980–2020, then classified them as primary and secondary sources.[19]

Primary sources comprise oral testimony and archives. Oral sources were obtained through interviews with nine informants who participated in or reported recollections of the history, including Cianjur Jamaah Tabligh amirs from different generations: Bambang Sugeng (73), Rudi Abdurrahman (65), Dani Sugara (43), Nurodin (70), Abu Thoriq (72), and Abu Dzakwan (68); one masturah figure, H. Teten (54); and two members, Zean Saputra (38) and Abdul Fatah (35).[20] Archival sources from Al-Ikhlas Mosque comprise the land endowment Statement and Testament and the Al-Ikhlas Mosque Family Council (DKM) Announcement.[21] Secondary sources include books, articles, and journals on history, dakwah, social movements, and Jamaah Tabligh, located through printed literature and online academic repositories.[22]

Source Criticism

External criticism involved verifying the informants' identities, names, ages, positions in Jamaah Tabligh, and histories of involvement, and comparing these with organizational documents and other informants' accounts.[23] The identities and roles of the individuals involved have been established; however, recollections regarding events from several decades prior still require corroboration. For instance, Bambang Sugeng's account of early activities has been cross-referenced with the recollections of other participants, given that no independent contemporary records concerning his actions in 1980 were uncovered during the research.[24] Meanwhile, the Statement and Testament (*Pernyataan dan Wasiat*) document has been documented and presented here as an archival photograph; while its wording can be examined, its physical appearance—along with personal recollections—does not in itself constitute legal proof of the registration of an endowment (*wakaf*).[25] Khuruj fi Sabilillah is relevant to

[18] Louis Gottschalk, *Mengerti Sejarah* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1982), 32.

[19] Sulasman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2014), 95–96.

[20] Sugeng Priyadi, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2012), 50.

[21] Abdullah Rif'at Dhorif, Jamaah Tabligh sebagai Gerakan Sosial dan Keagamaan di Cianjur (1980–2020); Masjid Al-Ikhlas Cianjur, "Surat Pernyataan dan Wasiat," Sekretariat Masjid Al-Ikhlas, Cianjur, October 25, 2000; Dewan Keluarga Masjid Al-Ikhlas, "Maklumat DKM Al-Ikhlas," Sekretariat Masjid, Cianjur, April 20, 2024.

[22] Sulasman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2014), 96.

[23] Sugeng Priyadi, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2012), 52.

[24] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

[25] Masjid Al-Ikhlas Cianjur, "Surat Pernyataan dan Wasiat," Sekretariat Masjid Al-Ikhlas, Cianjur, October 25, 2000.

the movement's normative practices, but a later published book is not contemporaneous evidence of events in Cianjur in 1980.[26]

Internal criticism tested the accuracy of information, the logic of its presentation, and the consistency of testimony with other historical facts by comparing interviews, archives, and scholarly literature.[27] The two local documents mainly clarify the status and use of the Sukamanah mosque in 2000 and 2024; they cannot independently establish every event recalled for 1980–2020. Differences in dates and sequences therefore remain a limitation.[28] Bambang Sugeng's account, for instance, provides a coherent first-person recollection, although the early chronology rests chiefly on oral testimony.[29] The Statement and Testament was considered credible because it describes Al-Ikhlas Mosque as a center for Tabligh preaching activity in Cianjur, consistent with this study's focus.[30]

Interpretation

Facts that passed source criticism were then connected through contextual and chronological relationships to understand Jamaah Tabligh's role both as a spiritual preaching movement and as a social and religious movement with reported changes in the lives of some participants and local communities from the 1980s to 2020.[31] This study uses a pluralistic method of interpretation that sees history as moving with intertwined social, cultural, political, and economic dynamics, requiring support from the social sciences to reconstruct the past more critically and analytically.[32]

Two theoretical frameworks are used as analytical tools. First, social movement theory views social movements as groups seeking change for the better, with social change as the basis shaping the movement's character.[33] This framework examines the social dynamics behind the movement's emergence, patterns of interaction among members, and effects on the social structures and values of Cianjur's people. Second, dakwah bi al-hal theory describes preaching through example and concrete action in everyday life, emphasizing the communication of Islamic values through conduct and tangible practices so that people can witness Islamic teachings being applied directly.[34] This theory is used because it accords with Jamaah Tabligh's characteristic emphasis on exemplary conduct through action. It also provides a means to analyze how khuruj and jaulah adapted to Cianjur's local culture, deeply shaped by santri traditions, which participants associate with the movement's continuity and local relationships.[35]

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[26] Muhammad Ishaq, *Khuruj fi Sabilillah* (Bandung: Al-Ishlah Publishing, 2015), 45.

[27] Dudung Abdurahman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2011), 68.

[28] Sulasman, *Metodologi Penelitian Sejarah* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2014), 104.

[29] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

[30] Masjid Al-Ikhlas Cianjur, "Surat Pernyataan dan Wasiat," Sekretariat Masjid Al-Ikhlas, Cianjur, October 25, 2000.

[31] Dani Sugara, member of Jamaah Tabligh Cianjur, interview, Cianjur, February 7, 2024.

[32] Abd Rahman Hamid, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2011), 50–51.

[33] Nanang Martono, *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial* (Bandung: PT Raja Grafindo, 2021), 90.

[34] Acep Aripudin, *Pengembangan Metode Dakwah* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2011), 174; Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2004), 156.

[35] Joint interview with Bambang Sugeng, Rudi Abdurrahman, and Dani Sugara, Cianjur, 2024.

Historiography

At the final stage, the synthesized findings were written as a historical narrative that not only arranges facts chronologically but connects them in a logical and meaningful sequence appropriate to their time and place.[36] This article organizes that historiography into a periodized and thematic presentation of results: reconstruction of three phases of historical development (1980–1990, 1990–2000, 2000–2010), followed by thematic discussions of the social movement's structure, preaching methods as a religious movement, and social and religious impacts in 2010–2020, before further analysis in the discussion section.

Results

The Origins of Jamaah Tabligh and Its Transmission to Indonesia

Jamaah Tabligh's historical roots are inseparable from the social and religious conditions of the Muslims of Mewat, North India, in the late 1920s. The Meos, the region's majority population, were described in the cited histories as facing limited religious education and contested religious identities resulting from limited access to religious education, which blurred the boundary between Islamic beliefs and outside traditions.[37] These conditions were compounded by pronounced syncretism, the celebration of non-Muslim festivals and use of names associated with Hindu traditions despite professing Islam, and external pressure from Shuddhi, a Hindu purification *movemen*t active in bringing Muslim Meos back to their former religion through political and social intimidation.[38]

In this context, Maulana Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandhlawi, a scholar from the Deoband milieu,[39] formulated a proactive form of itinerant dakwah rather than relying on madrasas and formal institutions deemed less effective at reaching ordinary people.[40] He formulated Sifatus Sahabah (the Six Qualities of the Companions) as a basic spiritual curriculum: realization of the kalimat thayyibah, prayer with khusyuk and khudhu, knowledge and remembrance, ikramul muslimin, tashhihun niyyah, and dakwah wat tabligh.[41] On these six principles, a movement initially local to Mewat developed into a preaching network extending through India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, aided by its refusal to engage in practical politics.[42]

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[36] Abd Rahman Hamid, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2011), 57.

[37] Yoginder Sikand, *The Origins and Development of the Tablighi Jama'at (1920–2000): A Cross-Country Comparative Study* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2002), 16.

[38] Syamsu A. Kamaruddin, *Jama'ah Tabligh: Sejarah, Karakteristik, dan Pola Perilaku Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi* (Jakarta: Gaung Persada (GP) Press, 2010), 40; Yoginder Sikand, *The Origins and Development of the Tablighi Jama'at (1920–2000): A Cross-Country Comparative Study* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2002), 20–21.

[39] Muhammad Shiddiq al-Jawi, *Mengenal Jamaah Tabligh* (Yogyakarta: Wihdah Press, 2011), 15–17.

[40] Syamsu A. Kamaruddin, *Jama'ah Tabligh: Sejarah, Karakteristik, dan Pola Perilaku Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi* (Jakarta: Gaung Persada (GP) Press, 2010), 55.

[41] Yusuf Al-Kandhalawi, *Enam Sifat Sahabat & Amalan Nurani* (Bandung: Pustaka Ramadhan, 2008), 3.

[42] Muhammad Shiddiq al-Jawi, *Mengenal Jamaah Tabligh* (Yogyakarta: Wihdah Press, 2011), 23.

In the second half of the twentieth century, this network expanded into Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, through preachers from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh who paid for all their own travel and preaching activities, a principle of self-reliance integral to the movement's ethic of sacrifice.[43] Their arrival in the 1970s initially aroused suspicion because of their unfamiliar appearance and preaching methods. The preachers' courteous conduct, however, softened resistance until an agreement was reached with the administrators of Jami Kebon Jeruk Mosque in West Jakarta, which became the first national headquarters.[44] Expansion continued from there into West Java, with An-Nabawi Arcamanik Mosque in Bandung as the regional headquarters and gateway for preaching in Pasundan, including Cianjur.[45]

Pioneering Phase: Jamaah Tabligh Enters Cianjur, 1980–1990

Jamaah Tabligh's development in Cianjur Regency is dated by retrospective testimony to around 1980, when preachers from India and Bangladesh reportedly arrived who stayed temporarily at Assa'idiyyah Mosque in Cipanas, a geographically strategic area along the main transit corridor connecting Jakarta and West Java. Their long robes, turbans, and method of walking door to door to spread their message provoked social suspicion among people unfamiliar with the group.[46]

A crucial point in this pioneering phase was the emergence of Bambang Sugeng, a key local figure born in Cianjur to an ordinary family, neither the son of a kiai nor a graduate of a major pesantren, who became interested in the movement after observing the foreign preachers' perseverance and courteous conduct in the face of rejection.[47] Bambang Sugeng bridged cultural communication by accompanying them on visits from village to village while easing public suspicion without provoking social friction.[48] This initial consolidation produced a pioneering halaqah in Cipanas and regular deliberations (syura) to organize book readings, collective remembrance, and evaluation of mosque practices.[49] From the Cipanas base, mobilization spread to the center of Cianjur town through intiqoli (a preaching relay) that followed settlements along the Cipanas–Cianjur route.[50]

Cultural resistance in this phase stemmed chiefly from concern among traditional ulama and pesantren leaders that the new group's appearance and khuruj-jaulah method were associated with a radical sect threatening the harmony of religious belief in rural Cianjur.[51] Tensions eased through adaptive strategies: limiting

[43] Syamsu A. Kamaruddin, *Jama'ah Tabligh: Sejarah, Karakteristik, dan Pola Perilaku Dalam Perspektif Sosiologi* (Jakarta: Gaung Persada (GP) Press, 2010), 171.

[44] Farish A. Noor, *Islam on the Move: The Tablighi Jama'at in Southeast Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 27.

[45] Sarwan, "Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah dan Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (2021): 30–31.

[46] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

[47] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

[48] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

[49] Muhammad Zakariyya al-Kandahlawi, *Himpunan Fadhilah Amal*, trans. A. Abdurrahman Ahmad (Yogyakarta: Ash-Shaff, 2006), 137.

[50] M. Fadly Afsana, "Pola Mobilisasi Intiqoli Jamaah Tabligh: Strategi Perluasan Jaringan Dakwah Urban," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 10, no. 2 (2016): 142.

[51] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

preaching to the improvement of worship and mosque attendance, avoiding disputes over furu'iyah and practical politics, and opening formal mosque deliberations with village heads, neighborhood leaders, and local ustadz before beginning jaulah in an area.[52] Bambang Sugeng's mediation reached an important moment when he accompanied a group of Bangladeshi preachers to Cugenang and convened a formal deliberation at Al-Ikhlas Mosque attended by local ustadz and village elders.[53] At this gathering, Ustadz Abu Thoriq, a respected local religious figure, decided to join, which participants recall as helping reduce local suspicion.[54]

The pattern of acculturation formed during this decade was *symbiotic:*[55] Jamaah Tabligh aligned its preaching with the Sundanese ethic of courtesy, silih asih and silih asuh, respected the hierarchy of kiai and senior pesantren ulama, and, amid Nahdlatul Ulama's dominance of Cianjur's religious structures, declared itself unaffiliated with any one faction (NU, Persis, or Muhammadiyah).[56] It focused instead on practices guided by the Prophet's sunna while continuing to respect local traditional cultural religious practices.[57]

Network Expansion and the Establishment of a Permanent Headquarters, 1990–2000

Entering the 1990s, Cianjur's preaching network made a spatial leap from its pioneering Cipanas base toward the urban center, taking root at Jami Al-Huda Mosque on Pangeran Hidayatullah Street and Jami Al-Muhajirin Mosque in Bojong, Karangtengah District, locations on interregional transit routes.[58] This phase brought leadership succession: Rudi Abdurrahman, a young man from a religious family active since the early 1990s, was appointed amir because of his record of commitment, religious understanding, and persuasive communication skills in engaging young people.[59]

According to participants' recollections, K.H. Zen, identified by them as chair of the Cianjur branch of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), joined around 1999. They associate his support with greater acceptance and membership growth, but the scale of that growth is not documented independently.[6061] Participants report that senior members then decided through deliberation to move the movement's center to Al-Ikhlas Mosque in Sukamanah Village, Cugenang District, a place accustomed to

[52] Dadang Suparlan, *Metodologi Dakwah Bil-Hikmah: Pendekatan Kultural Masyarakat Agraris* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2018), 89.

[53] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

[54] Nugroho, *Manajemen Dakwah Berbasis Masjid: Strategi Resolusi Konflik dan Integrasi Sosial Kemasjidan* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 2016), 114.

[55] Kunto Sofianto, *Mengenal Budaya Sunda* (Bandung: Kiblat Buku Utama, 2010), 18.

[56] Hilma Nur Khasanah, "Konfigurasi Islam Tradisional in Cianjur: Kajian tentang Dominasi Nahdlatul Ulama," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Multidisiplin Ilmu Akademik* 3, no. 3 (2018): 13.

[57] Abu Thoriq, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024.

[58] H. Nurodin, interview, Cianjur, February 12, 2024.

[59] Abu Dzakwan, interview, Cianjur, February 21, 2024.

[60] Rudi Abdurrahman, interview, Cianjur, February 12, 2024.

[61] Abu Dzakwan, interview, Cianjur, February 21, 2024.

receiving annual khuruj groups since 1990 and strategically located at the intersection of Cianjur's main routes for both urban and rural congregants.[62]

The intended use of the mosque and land is described in the "Surat Pernyataan dan Wasiat" (Statement and Testament), drawn up on Wednesday, October 25, 2000 CE (27 Rajab 1421 AH), by H. Muhammad Rukman, a self-employed man born in Kuningan and living in Legok hamlet, Sukamanah Village.[63] The document states an intention to endow 2,500 m² of land to the "Al-Ikhlash" Islamic Education and Dakwah Foundation as the waqf administrator. On that land stands the 20 × 20 m² Jami Al-Ikhlas Mosque, described in the statement as a center for Tabligh preaching activities in Cianjur Regency, alongside its function as a public place of worship and a place of worship for students of Al-Ikhlas Pesantren.[64] The signing involved heirs, community figures, foundation administrators, and representatives of the pioneering congregation, indicating a distinction between the foundation named as waqf administrator and the congregation using the mosque. The available copy does not by itself establish registration or resolve any subsequent property concerns.[65]

Stabilization and Institutionalization of the Movement, 2000–2010

After the move to Sukamanah, Jamaah Tabligh's preaching in Cianjur shifted from expanding the number of congregants toward strengthening its internal foundations under the collective leadership of a syura council.[66] The routinization of practices was the main instrument: two and a half hours a day devoted to mosque preaching, reported household ta'lim using Fadhila*h Amal aimed* at the family unit, mosque ta'lim with a standard fifteen-minute duration, and a weekly cycle of the first and second jaulah combined with three days of khuruj each month.[67] The Sukamanah headquarters operated around the clock as an administrative and logistical command center and transit space for national and transnational groups. Participants describe coordination of members' readiness, khuruj duration, and provision for families; the underlying administrative registers were not supplied for independent review.[68]

Participants attribute recruitment during this period partly to accounts of changed conduct after khuruj: personal changes among karkun after khuruj, such as

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[62] Rudi Abdurrahman, interview, Cianjur, February 12, 2024; H. M. Ridwan Lubis, *Sosiologi Agama: Memahami Perkembangan Agama dalam Interaksi Sosial* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia Group, 2017), 103.

[63] Masjid Al-Ikhlas Cianjur, "Surat Pernyataan dan Wasiat," Sekretariat Masjid Al-Ikhlas, Cianjur, October 25, 2000.

[64] Masjid Al-Ikhlas Cianjur, "Surat Pernyataan dan Wasiat," Sekretariat Masjid Al-Ikhlas, Cianjur, October 25, 2000.

[65] Masjid Al-Ikhlas Cianjur, "Surat Pernyataan dan Wasiat," Sekretariat Masjid Al-Ikhlas, Cianjur, October 25, 2000.

[66] H. Teten, interview, Cianjur, February 9, 2024.

[67] Siswanto, *Manajemen Dakwah Kontemporer* (Jakarta: Amzah, 2019), 45–47; Dewan Keluarga Masjid Al-Ikhlas, "Maklumat DKM Al-Ikhlas," Sekretariat Masjid, Cianjur, April 20, 2024; Mukarom, *Internalisasi Kesalehan Kolektif: Standardisasi Ritual dan Eliminasi Khilafiyah dalam Jaringan Dakwah Masjid* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2018), 134; Hamzah Karim, "Islamic Revivalism: The Case of the Tablighi Jamaat," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 23, no. 1 (2013): 173.

[68] H. Teten, interview, Cianjur, February 9, 2024; Ahmad Yani, *Jamaah Tabligh: Memakmurkan Masjid* (Jakarta: Al-Qalam, 2014), 23–28.

greater patience, honesty in trade, or abandonment of bad habits, attracted public attention without promotion.[69] Demographic diversification followed. The early predominance of young men gave way to fluid social layers encompassing civil servants, farmers, minibus drivers, and market traders, who came together in an egalitarian culture of eating from one tray.[70] A nonjudgmental approach also encouraged behavioral change among former offenders who became active preaching organizers.[71] Accounts also describe preaching trips to southern Cianjur, directed by headquarters deliberations that prioritized mosques with little congregational activity.[72]

Regional consolidation also involved regional ijtima' gatherings financed entirely by congregants themselves, including farmers who brought forward their harvests to attend the three-day forum, and the integration of the Sukamanah headquarters' network with Kebon Jeruk headquarters in Jakarta and the transnational center in Nizamuddin, India, through relations of trust that were not entirely top-down.[73] Harmonious relations developed with local power structures, the MUI, Ministry of Religious Affairs, and regency government, through a proportionate division of roles. They were reinforced by the presence of NU ulama such as K.H. Yahya, K.H. Umar, and K.H. Zen, who preached alongside the congregation without setting organizational affiliations against one another.[74] A consistently apolitical stance in every election also preserved neutrality and acceptance across groups.[75]

The greatest external challenge of this decade was suspicion of radicalism after September 11, 2001, when the karkun's distinctive beards, robes, and above-ankle trousers caused concern among residents in some remote areas.[76] Sukamanah headquarters responded through openness rather than verbal clarification or press conferences: the compound had no physical boundary fence, allowing the public to see directly how karkun slept, ate, and deliberated.[77] Years of consistent moral conduct, symbolically supported by the presence of figures such as K.H. Zen, K.H. Yahya, and K.H. Umar, and even a motorcycle taxi driver in Joglo who voluntarily explained the congregation's peaceful mission to residents, are recalled by participants as easing some negative perceptions.[78]

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[69] Dani Sugara, interview, Cianjur, on March, 14, 2024; Mohammad Dayyan, "Da'wah Experience, Spiritual, and Economic Resilience of Jamaah Tabligh in Langsa," *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 23, no. 2 (2018): 203.

[70] Dani Sugara, interview, Cianjur, February 7, 2024.

[71] M. Rizki, "Lived Da'wah: Temporal Structuring of Religious Practice in Tabligh Jamaat's Daily Congregation," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 45, no. 2 (2019): 134.

[72] Dani Sugara, interview, Cianjur, February 7, 2024; Lutfi Aziz, "Gerakan Jamaah Tabligh dalam Mengembangkan Syiar Islam di Pedesaan," *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 12, no. 1 (2018): 62.

[73] Bambang Sugeng, interview, Cianjur, February 6, 2024; H. Teten, interview, Cianjur, February 9, 2024; Suharno Prawiro and Obsatar Sinaga, *Teori dan Desain Organisasi: Manajemen Konflik dan Penurunan Organisasi* (Jakarta: Mitra Wacana Media, 2021), 42.

[74] Rudi Abdurrahman, interview, Cianjur, February 12, 2024.

[75] Abu Dzakwan, interview, Cianjur, February 21, 2024.

[76] Sukron Mamun, "Tabligh Jamaat, An Islamic Revivalist Movement and Radicalism Issues," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic & Social Studies* 5, no. 1 (2019): 89.

[77] H. Teten, interview, Cianjur, February 9, 2024.

[78] H. Teten, interview, Cianjur, February 9, 2024.

Structure and Resource Mobilization as a Social Movement

As a social movement, Jamaah Tabligh's reported continuity in Cianjur can be examined through mobilization of members' time and resources, converting personal religious awareness into collective strength through commitment to dakwah.[79] Its highest body is the Syura Council, a form of collective and collegial leadership that filters instructions from international headquarters to suit local sociocultural characteristics before passing them to the marhalah level.[80] The charismatic authority of ulama in hadith, exegesis, and Sufism stands beside the practical wisdom *of bur*zuq (experienced senior karkun) as a theological compass. In the field, an amir exercises flexible but respected operational command without intruding on ritual authority, such as the appointment of a prayer leader, which remains with the person most qualified under religious law.[81]

The movement's internal stratification i*s based on* experience and commitment, according to participants, rather than formal office; experienced members and Qur'an memorizers may be respected for different reasons, while testimony also notes familial prestige.[82] Routine cooperation is organized through assigned tasks, hirashah (security), istiqbal (reception), and khidmat (service), which demand high trust among karkun.[83] Meanwhile, an egalitarian culture across geographic boundaries and horizontal strategic partnerships with NU and Muhammadiyah strengthen social cohesion across organizational divisions.[84]

Recruitment takes place without commercial media, through gradual personal visits from house to house (jaulah), persuasive invitation (tasykil) to emulate the prophets' sacrifices, inclusion without moral judgment of prospective members, and the spread of authentic piety through the karkun's lived example.[85] Participants describe infak nafsi as members' contributions to their own preaching journeys. They also recount logistical self-reliance during khuruj, household savings for gatherings, and opposition to commercializing dakwah.[86] Together, this leadership structure,

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[79] Hasyim Arfid, *Kepemimpinan Kolektif-Kolegial: Model Syura dalam Manajemen Organisasi Islam* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2013), 99–103.

[80] Ahmad Subakir, "Tipologi Kepemimpinan Dewan Syura dalam Gerakan Keagamaan Kontemporer," *Religia: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 14, no. 2 (2017): 45–55.

[81] Agus Salam, "Sinergi Otoritas Karismatik Ulama dan Kearifan Taktis Senior Burzuq," *Wacana: Jurnal Otoritas Keagamaan* 6, no. 2 (2021): 99–108; M. Munir dan Wahyu Ilaihi, *Manajemen Dakwah* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), 136.

[82] Thariq Rahman, "Meritokrasi Iman: Studi Watak Kepemimpinan Berbasis Achievement Gerakan Dakwah," *Teosofia: Jurnal Teori Sosial Keagamaan* 5, no. 2 (2018): 88–95.

[83] Roni Hamdani, "Solidaritas Mekanis Specificity dalam Pembagian Kerja Khidmat Operasional," *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi Kontemporer* 13, no. 1 (2019): 120–131.

[84] Ihsan Mustofa, "Kemitraan Horizontal Gerakan Dakwah Transnasional dengan Ormas Islam Lokal," *Politeia: Jurnal Politik dan Pemerintahan Islam* 7, no. 1 (2022): 56–64.

[85] Ikhwan Syamsir, *Sosiologi Agama: Ketukan Pintu Hati Metode Dakwah Door-to-Door* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2011), 39–49; Budi Hermawan, "Penularan Kesalehan Otentik Organik: Transformasi Karakter Mikro di Pedesaan," *Psikologika: Jurnal Psikologi Agama* 9, no. 2 (2021): 54–56.

[86] Wildan Purnomo, *Ekonomi Swadaya Jemaah: Implementasi Teori Infak Nafsi di Akar Rumput* (Malang: Pustaka Islami, 2013), 77–96; M. Andi Sultan, "Manajemen Logistik Mandiri: Ikhtiar Menolak Komersialisasi Dakwah Jemaah," *Al-Tanzim: Jurnal Administrasi Keagamaan* 4, no. 2 (2019): 67; Ali Imron, *Etika Dakwah Tanpa Komersialisasi* (Jakarta: Amzah, 2018), 168–170.

solidarity, recruitment, and self-financing sustain the movement's stability without reported reliance on party-political sponsorship; the 2000 land-use statement nevertheless identifies an endowed site.

Preaching Methods as the Expression of a Religious Movement

As a religious movement, Jamaah Tabligh puts dakwah bi al-hal into practice by institutionalizing khuruj, literally "going out," as its principal means of movement, for periods ranging from three days and forty days to four months.[87] Before departure, congregants are taught the six qualities of the Companions, organized into small groups (amir, mutakallim, istiqbal, khidmat), and given a bayan hidayah session emphasizing that the essence of khuruj is self-training, not changing others.[88] During khuruj, daily activities are tightly scheduled from dawn until night, combining internal spiritual formation through ta'lim wa ta'lum (including ta'lim kitabi using Fadhilah Amal, *ta'lim halaqat* through Qur'anic recitation, and discussion of the six principles) with external preaching in the form of short sermons and jaulah.[89]

Bayan has three functions: bayan taqrir strengthens motivation before khuruj; bayan hidayah teaches etiquette and operational rules immediately before departure; and bayan wafsi consolidates congregants' inner commitment so they remain steadfast after returning home.[90] Jaulah, meanwhile, consists of door-to-door visits after the afternoon prayer for around two and a half hours. It is the principal instrument of personal engagement and a vehicle for tasykil, inviting residents to attend a ta'lim gathering or congregational prayer without provoking political or doctrinal disputes.[91] From a social movement perspective, jaulah also serves as a resource mobilization and solidarity-based network expansion strategy: it crosses social boundaries and turns private space into a space of collective awareness.[92]

Social and Religious Impacts, 2010–2020

In 2010–2020, interaction between Jamaah Tabligh's social and religious dimensions is associated in retrospective accounts with three kinds of change among some participants in Cianjur. First was cultural hijrah: adoption of visual markers of sunna-based piety (robes, turbans, beards) as nonverbal communication; reported

[87] Haris Suhendra, *Khuruj fi Sabilillah: Doktrin, Tradisi, dan Pengembaraan Religius Jemaah* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2017), 20.

[88] Ginanjar Rahayu, *Adab dan Tertib Khuruj: Panduan Pengembaraan Dakwah Jemaah* (Bandung: Al-Ishlah Publishing, 2014), 42–47; Irfan Maulana, "Analisis Bayan Hidayah Sebagai Instrumen Penyelarasan Visi Komunal Lapangan," *Retorika: Jurnal Retorika Dakwah* 4, no. 1 (2016): 14.

[89] Muhammad Nafik, "Metode Khuruj Jamaah Tabligh sebagai Sarana Transformasi Spiritual," *Al-Ihsan: Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 39, no. 2 (2019): 118–125; Israr Muadz, *Metode Pengembangan Dakwah* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2002), 42–43.

[90] Irsyad Firman, "Bayan Taqrir Sebagai Stimulus Motivasi Spiritual Calon Kader Gerakan," *Retorika: Jurnal Komunikasi dan Pergerakan Islam* 3, no. 1 (2018): 22; Fatir Gumelar, "Metode Bayan Hidayah dalam Pembinaan Spiritual Jamaah Tabligh," *Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi Islam* 8, no. 2 (2017): 46–48; Ilham Hakim, "Analisis Bayan Wafsi Sebagai Instrumen Konsolidasi Batin Pasca-Khuruj," *Ishlah: Jurnal Dakwah* 5, no. 2 (2017): 78.

[91] Taufiq Akbar, "Retorika Persuasif Tasykil dalam Aktivitas Jaulah Lapangan Jemaah Karkun," *Al-Tahrir: Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 4, no. 1 (2016): 22–23.

[92] Umar Fatih, *Tasykil dan Jaulah: Seni Komunikasi Persuasif dan Strategi Rekrutmen Lapangan Jamaah Tabligh* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2018), 41.

household ta'lim practices; reported increases in congregational prayer at some mosques; and reported contact with wider preaching networks.[93]

Second, participants recount the inclusion of some formerly stigmatized people and young people in mosque activities; these accounts do not measure crime or rehabilitation outcomes.[94] Some suspicion linked by participants to global events was reportedly eased through transparent conduct in the field, rather than verbal defense in public.[95]

Third, participants describe changes in religious routines and social ties among some farmers, laborers, and traders. The interviews suggest valued practices such as congregational prayer, mutual assistance, and honesty; they do not establish population-wide trends or a measured reduction in political division.[96]

Discussion

Converting Spiritual Capital into Social Capital: Jamaah Tabligh from the Perspective of Social Movement Theory

The findings show that Jamaah Tabligh's four-decade endurance in Cianjur cannot be explained by doctrinal strength alone, but by its capacity to convert personal religious awareness into organized social resources. Within social movement theory, which views social change as a basis shaping the character of a movement, the pattern in Cianjur is consistent with a resource-mobilization interpretation of the reported practices: [97] the resources described include time, energy, and personal funds committed through infak nafsi; participants associate these practices with networks and trust.

The collective and collegial Syura Council, experience-based status with some familial prestige, and *cooperation across assigned tasks* (hirashah, istiqbal, khidmat) suggest a division of labor and regular coordination; their efficiency has not been measured. [98] Yet this organizational rationality remains within a theological framework: tactical decisions remain subject to the ulama's authority, and an amir's operational leadership never takes over ritual authority. This combination of

[93] Rizal Mustofa, "Komodifikasi dan Simbolisme Busana Sunah: Transformasi Identitas Visual Karkun di Aceh," *Iqtishodia: Jurnal Kebudayaan dan Islam* 7, no. 2 (2016): 112; Windi Fathin, *Estetika Religius dan Ruang Publik: Konstruksi Identitas Visual Gerakan Islam di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2018), 141; Agam Sucipto, *Manajemen Kemakmuran Masjid: Revitalisasi Fungsi Sosial-Keagamaan Berbasis Pemberdayaan Jemaah* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2017), 189.

[94] Sayyid Qutub, *Petunjuk Jalan (Ma'alim fi al-Thariq)*, trans. A. Rahman (Jakarta: Robbani Press, 2017), 62–68.

[95] M. Anwar Zen, *Membongkar Desas-Desus Jamaah Tabligh: Perspektif Sosiologi Agama* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 2019), 89, 173; Saifuddin, *Stigma Radikalisme dan Transparansi Akhlak Gerakan Apotilis* (Surabaya: Pustaka Radian, 2012), 118.

[96] Abdul Fatah, interview, Cianjur, February 24, 2024; Lukman Hafiz, "Resiliensi Ekonomi Keluarga Anggota Jamaah Tabligh: Studi Kasus di Wilayah Jawa Barat," *Muamalah: Jurnal Ekonomi dan Sosial Keagamaan* 11, no. 1 (2022): 88.

[97] Nanang Martono, *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial* (Bandung: PT Raja Grafindo, 2021), 90.

[98] Fahrudin, *Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh: Sejarah, Metode, dan Pemikiran* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2018), 45; Candra Darmawan, *Gerakan Sosial Modern: Strategi Mobilisasi dan Rekrutmen Kader* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2013), 86–89.

managerial rationality and theological legitimacy offers one possible explanation for the cohesion described by informants, without establishing the absence of internal disagreement.

Self-financing (infak nafsi) should also be understood not merely as a principle of Islamic jurisprudence and economics, but as a strategy for the social movement's survival that limits reported reliance on external funding for individual preaching journeys, although the Sukamanah mosque's land was described in a separate 2000 endowment statement.[99] In other words, participants associate self-financed travel with cohesion and a perception that visiting groups do not solicit funds for their journeys.

Dakwah Bi Al-Hal and the Logic of Cultural Acceptance

While social movement theory explains Jamaah Tabligh's structural and organizational aspects, dakwah bi al-hal theory explains why that structure could be accepted by the people of Cianjur, who were initially suspicious. Dakwah bi al-hal emphasizes conveying Islamic values through exemplary conduct and concrete action, rather than spoken discourse alone.[100] The research data show a consistent pattern: early resistance in Cianjur to Jamaah Tabligh's appearance and preaching methods in the 1980s was overcome not through theological arguments but through the courteous behavior of foreign preachers, mediation by local figures such as Bambang Sugeng, and moral conduct sustained over many years.

The same pattern recurred on a larger scale when the movement faced suspicion of radicalism after September 11, 2001. Instead of offering discursive explanations, Sukamanah headquarters chose physical transparency, opening its compound without a boundary fence so the public could directly observe the karkun's daily life. Participants interpret such openness as helping build trust; the evidence does not isolate its effect from other factors.The same pattern appears in recruitment through the spread of authentic piety, where a former offender's changed character or a trader's greater honesty became a more effective "preaching brochure" than any promotion.

Jamaah Tabligh's cultural adaptation to Cianjur must also be understood against the presence of established NU-linked religious networks.[101] Rather than confronting an established religious structure, Jamaah Tabligh pursued a nonconfrontational strategy, declaring itself unaffiliated with any single organizational faction, focusing on sunna practices that cross school boundaries, and respecting NU's traditional cultural religious practices. This strategy parallels Asror's findings in Pancor, a stronghold of Nahdlatul Wathan, where Jamaah Tabligh likewise avoided confrontation with established religious organizations through an

[99] Yayan Mulyana, "Strategi Pendanaan Infak Nafsi: Refleksi Swadaya Birokrasi Iman," *Zakatwat: Jurnal Filantropi Islam* 3, no. 1 (2018): 92–97.

[100] Acep Aripudin, *Pengembangan Metode Dakwah* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2011), 174; Moh. Ali Aziz, *Ilmu Dakwah* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2004), 156.

[101] Hilma Nur Khasanah, "Konfigurasi Islam Tradisional in Cianjur: Kajian tentang Dominasi Nahdlatul Ulama," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Multidisiplin Ilmu Akademik* 3, no. 3 (2018): 13.

accommodating approach that did not disturb the status quo.[102] The similarity across two different social and religious contexts supports a comparison of nonconfrontational practices across the two settings, without proving a universal strategy.

Continuity and Change: Cianjur's Periodization in Comparison

The reconstruction of three phases of Jamaah Tabligh's development in Cianjur, pioneering (1980–1990), expansion and the establishment of a permanent headquarters (1990–2000), and stabilization and institutionalization (2000–2010), reveals a pattern of continuity and change characteristic of an informal-network-based social and religious movement. Continuity appears in the consistent preaching methods (khuruj, bayan, jaulah) and fundamental principles (apolitical, noncommercial, nonconfrontational), which participants describe as recurring across the period studied. Change appears in organizational scale and complexity: activity shifted from a small group staying at Assa'idiyyah Mosque in Cipanas toward a regular center at the already existing Al-Ikhlas Mosque in Sukamanah, whose intended use was set out in a 2000 statement; participants also describe coordination of members' readiness.

This three-phase pattern is structurally similar to Abdul Karim's three-stage periodization of Jamaah Tabligh in Palembang, introduction, consolidation, and expansion [103], but differs in emphasis. Whereas Palembang highlights Sufi characteristics in its expansion, Cianjur highlights participants' account of support from a religious leader around 1999 as one factor in the movement's shift of center. This comparison suggests that, although the general trajectory of Jamaah Tabligh's development in various regions shows similar patterns (from resistance to acceptance and from a small group to an established institution), the triggers for turning points depend on context and the configuration of local religious elites. This finding enriches understanding of local variation in the historiography of Jamaah Tabligh in Indonesia.

The sequence described in the interviews moves from early resistance and local mediation to support by a religious figure around 1999, use of Al-Ikhlas as a center, and the 2000 statement about its intended use. Later testimony describes more regular coordination and preaching routines. The evidence supports this chronology and a plausible interpretation of continuity, but does not demonstrate that each step was a necessary cause of the next or quantify social effects in the 2010s.

The Study's Place in Jamaah Tabligh Historiography and Its Novelty

Compared with Sarwan and colleagues' study of Jamaah Tabligh's intellectual history and ideology in general,[104] this research offers empirical verification of how that ideology was actually practiced and negotiated in a specific local setting.

[102] M. Zainul Asror, "Strategi Dakwah Gerakan Jamaah Tabligh di Kota Pancor," *Jurnal Studi Masyarakat dan Pendidikan* 1, no. 2 (2018): 41–45.

[103] Abdul Karim, "Khuruj Fi Sabilillah: Gerakan Sufisme Jamaah Tabligh di Palembang Perspektif Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam," *Tajdid: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuludin* 21, no. 2 (2022): 158.

[104] Sarwan, Denni Franata, Sabiruddin, and Zainal, "Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan Dakwah Jamaah Tabligh," *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah dan Ilmu Komunikasi* 8, no. 2 (2021): 27–38.

Compared with Asror's study in Pancor, which examines preaching strategy over a relatively short period,[105] this research shows how similar strategies developed and changed form over four decades. Compared with Abdul Karim's periodization of Palembang,[106] it shows that such periodization should be read contextually rather than as a universal pattern uniformly applicable to every region. Most significantly, compared with Sapuan Husni, Lukman Hakim, and Happy Saputa's microsociological study in Perapat Hilir Village, which explicitly does not address the long-term historical dimension or regional dynamics,[107] this research makes the long-term historical dimension its principal focus.

Thus, this study's novelty lies in three areas. First, temporally, it reconstructs Jamaah Tabligh's development over four decades (1980–2020) within one regency, filling a gap in research that has tended to stop at synchronic snapshots or short periods. Second, methodologically, it integrates social movement analysis (structure, resource mobilization, networks) with analysis of a religious movement (dakwah bi al-hal methods) within one coherent historical framework, instead of treating them separately as is common in dakwah studies and the sociology of religion. Third, substantively, it shows that a transnational preaching movement's acceptance in a local setting with established religious structures (in this case NU's dominance in Cianjur) is described by participants as aided by nonconfrontational conduct and mediation in local settings. This proposition enriches a broader understanding of how transnational preaching movements become localized in Indonesia.

Conclusion

This study concludes that Jamaah Tabligh's development in Cianjur Regency in 1980–2020 proceeded gradually through three historically coherent phases: the pioneering phase (1980–1990), marked by cultural resistance to a foreign preaching movement and reported mediation by Bambang Sugeng, an informal local figure, and the entry of Ustadz Abu Thoriq; the phase of expansion and establishment of a permanent headquarters (1990–2000), supported by the succession of Rudi Abdurrahman's leadership and culminating in reported support from K.H. Zen around 1999 and the move to Sukamanah, followed by a 2000 statement on the mosque land and intended use; and the stabilization phase (2000–2010), during which informants describe more regular syura and preaching routines and an open mosque compound amid reported suspicions after September 11, 2001.

As a social movement, Jamaah Tabligh in Cianjur has shown that it can mobilize resources independently through the Syura Council's collective and collegial leadership, status based partly on experience and commitment, cooperation across social and geographic boundaries, personal recruitment without moral judgment, and self-financing based on infak nafsi, without reported party-political sponsorship of preaching journeys. As a religious movement, it puts dakwah bi al-hal into practice

[105] M. Zainul Asror, "Strategi Dakwah Gerakan Jamaah Tabligh di Kota Pancor," *Jurnal Studi Masyarakat dan Pendidikan* 2, no. 1 (2018): 39–45.

[106] Abdul Karim, "Khuruj Fi Sabilillah: Gerakan Sufisme Jamaah Tabligh di Palembang Perspektif Gerakan Pembaharuan Islam," *Tajdid: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuludin* 21, no. 2 (2022): 158–160.

[107] Sapuan Husni, Lukman Hakim, Happy Saputra, "Praktik Dakwah Khuruj fi Sabilillah oleh Jamaah Tabligh di Desa Perapat Hilir," *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 3, no. 2 (2023): 112–113.

by institutionalizing khuruj, bayan, and jaulah, consistently emphasizing exemplary conduct over verbal argument. In 2010–2020, participants associated these two dimensions with changed religious routines, inclusion of some stigmatized people, and social ties; the study does not measure these changes across Cianjur.

These findings suggest that Jamaah Tabligh's endurance as a transnational preaching movement in a local setting with established religious structures is linked in participants' accounts to nonconfrontational preaching, mediation, and sustained local networks. This study contributes a long-term historical reconstruction of one regional social and religious movement, integrating analysis of organizational structure and preaching methods into a coherent narrative framework. That approach fills a gap in earlier studies, which tend to be limited to short-term preaching strategies or the microsociological level of a single community. Further research into Jamaah Tabligh's dynamics in Cianjur in and after 2020, including the Covid-19 pandemic's impact on khuruj and preaching mobility, could enrich understanding of the movement's continuity in the contemporary period.

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