



## Communication Strategy of Tasawuf Underground Community in Da'wah towards Punk Community

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### Abstract

This article discusses the communication strategy of the Tasawuf Underground community in da'wah to the punk community. The researcher analyzed the data collected through observation and in-depth interviews with key informants who retained da'wah experience in the Tasawuf Underground community. This study indicates that to preach to the Tasawuf Underground community, a preacher needs to have four things: a) source credibility; in this case, a preacher should have the charisma to influence the audience. b) the introduction of the "road map to home" is a term to invite punk children to study religious knowledge as a provision to return to the afterlife. c) effective communication between da'i and mad'u uses several media, mainly: social media, mass communication media, and interpersonal communication media. d) The message of da'wah is carried out in an informative and persuasive manner; an atmosphere of friendship and kinship is built between the audience and the communicator so that intimacy transpires. They built a communication strategy that resulted in changes in attitudes, actions, and improvements in the punk community members' quality of life. Credible communicators, understanding communicants, choosing the suitable media and messages, and da'wah messages conveyed in a friendly and familial manner make communicators or preachers competent to influence the punk community in Tebet to return to the path of God and family.

**Keywords:** communication strategy; Community Da'wah; Tasawuf Underground; Punk Community.

### Introduction

The phenomenon of hijrah is currently a social trend in Indonesia. One of the reasons is the Muslim middle class's growth and communication technology advances (Fuad, 2020). A similar phenomenon also emerged with the *Tasawuf Underground* community, and this community started from a Facebook Fanpage called "*Tasawuf Underground*," which was created by Ust. Halim Ambiya on

Wednesday, February 8, 2012. *Underground Tasawuf Fanpage* uploads many Sufism materials, which are presented in the form of quotes, wisdom studies, short videos, to in-depth reviews of Sufism. The followers of the *Tasawuf Underground* fan page up to now have numbered 435,754 (data on August 2, 2021). The Facebook fan page *Tasawuf Underground* also has an Instagram account with the same name, followed by 86,100 followers (data on

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August 2, 2021). The number of followers of the Tasawuf Underground fan page is shown in Figure 1 below:



**Figure 1.** Fan Page of Tasawuf Underground

Figure 1 shows that since 2015, *Tasawuf Underground* has often conducted off-air recitations from house to house, as well as from cafe to cafe. This community is attended by various professions such as lecturers, students, journalists, soldiers, psychologists, Koran teachers, doctors, to entrepreneurs. They are always seen participating in community agendas. In its journey, the *Tasawuf Underground* community was called to make a social impact by guiding punk and guttersnipes.

*"We sometimes make recitations from cafe to cafe and then suddenly we are touched by seeing the phenomenon of street children, punks in the capital. That is why we try to build punk and street children with volunteers from Tasawuf Underground. Okay. It turned out to be a good effect." (Interview with Halim Ambiya, April 27, 2020)*

*Tasawuf Underground* community activities for punk communities began in the Ciputat area in 2017. In November 2018, da'wah activities expanded under the bridge near Tebet station, Jakarta. The expansion of the training to Tebet was carried out because there was a demand from punk and guttersnipes in the Tebet area for Ustadz Halim Ambiya and the Underground Tasawuf Community to conduct training there. At that time, many online media began covering *Tasawuf Underground* activities,

such as [Republika.co.id](http://Republika.co.id) (Karta Raharja Ucu, 2018), [merdeka.com](http://merdeka.com) (Imam Buchori, 2018), [Suara.com](http://Suara.com) (Okay Atmaja, 2018), [detik.com](http://detik.com) (Rifkianto Nugroho, 2018), and several other media. Most of these media are interested in covering *Tasawuf Underground* recitations because the da'wah target is unique, scilicet punk children/punk communities.

After extensive publicity in various media, at the end of 2018, more volunteers began to attend and participate in *Tasawuf Underground* activities. There were only 24 volunteers in 2018, a significant increase to 41 people in 2019. This phenomenon arises because online media has several advantages in speed, audience interaction, and multimedia. (Abdurrahman, 2020).

Inviting punk communities to study religion is not an easy matter. The difference in lifestyle is a challenge for Ust. Halim Ambiya and the *Tasawuf Underground* Community. Punk children have a lifestyle that is free from all norms and rules, which is very contrary to the lifestyle of the general public. (Mahdi. NK, 2018). Their way of dressing is also unique with mohawk hair, tattoos and piercings, so these punk kids often get a bad stigma in society (Berek, 2014).

With the determination and the right approach strategy, the Da'wah of the Underground Tasawuf community could change punk children's behavior patterns and lifestyles. Some have started to leave the streets and regularly recite the Quran in *Tasawuf Underground* lodges to deepen their religion.

*"If he has regularly prayed, he has routine dhikr, has given up his drugs, emotionally there must be a massive change, he feels inner peace in his life. He does not feel restless, and he does not get emotional easily, does not get easily influenced by friends*

*who are still drunk. Yes, indeed, some take part in The Quran 1-2 times, and then they get drunk again. It is normal to join again, but the fact that the majority is istiqomah who recites the Quran has a remarkable change." (Interview with Halim Ambiya, April 27, 2020).*

Tasawuf Underground community preaching to the punk community can provide role models for other groups who want to approach marginalized communities. This fact makes researchers interested in conducting in-depth research on the phenomenon of the Da'wah activity of the Tasawuf Underground community, especially from communication strategies. In-depth research on this phenomenon aims to obtain a model of the right communication strategy for da'wah activities when it makes marginal communities, such as punk children, the target of da'wah. (Muaz & Ahmad (2020)

Several previous studies found that the phenomenon of hijrah by the street punk community (street punk) has various social symptoms. Rahmat Hidayatullah's research (2014) compares the Punk phenomenon in Aceh with the Punk community in Jakarta. In Aceh, punk is considered as pollution of Islam that must be cleaned from the Veranda of Mecca. Meanwhile, in Jakarta Punk, a Muslim Punk community presents themselves as defenders of Islam and also voices the rights and freedoms of Palestinian Muslims by carrying out a solid pan-Islamic spirit. Punk Muslim is the new identity of the urban Muslim subculture. By introducing the term Muslim Punk, they have tried to redefine and reinterpret punk culture based on the Islamic worldview they believe in.

In addition, Muaz & Ahmad (2020) researched how the applied of psycho-Sufistic therapy to Punk community. The results

showed that the teachings of Sufi science were used as a model to solve problems that emerged in the Punk community as a marginalized group.

According to the researcher, the *Tasawuf Underground* community is unique and completes the sequence of hijrah phenomena, especially in big cities. In contrast to previous studies, the researcher's focus is to investigate how the communication strategies used by *Tasawuf Underground* volunteers influence punk communities. The communication strategy in this study will be integrated into da'wah's concept between volunteers from the *Tasawuf Underground* community and the Punk community.

In this study, we analyze the communication strategy to mark the construction process of *Tasawuf Underground* da'wah in influencing the Punk community. A strategy must be arranged systematically to change the audience's knowledge, attitudes, and behavior or target. According to Arifin (1994), so that messages can be conveyed effectively, the audience needs to determine the steps of a communication strategy, including knowing the audience, determining goals, compiling messages, determining methods and choosing the media used.

## Method

This research is qualitative. The method of collecting data in this study was through in-depth interviews with several key informants. Using qualitative methods allows researchers to research using several methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observation, content analysis, visual methods, and biographies.

This research uses a case study method approach to the communication strategy of the *Tasawuf Underground* community members. Within the scope of Communication and Da'wah, this research was conducted to understand the communication strategy of the *Tasawuf Underground* community in their da'wah activities in the punk community.

Researchers explore communication strategies in the da'wah process, identify the credibility of communicators, da'wah messages, and the media used by Da'i from the *Tasawuf Underground* Community. This communication strategy aims to influence and change the Punk community's habits, so they are willing to learn and participate in *Tasawuf Underground* activities.

In this research, researchers conducted in-depth interviews with three preachers' community informants and two punk children informants. Researchers also conducted observations for more than ten months, from January 2020 to November 2020.

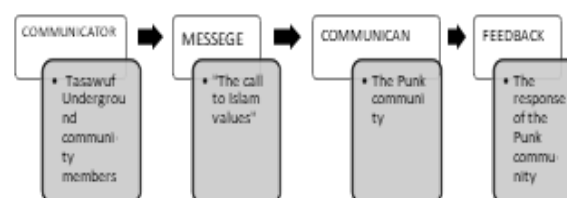
## Result

The communication strategy in this study explains the interaction process between the *Tasawuf Underground* community and the Punk community. The primary purpose of the *Tasawuf Underground* community is to invite the punk community to return to Islam values and family.

This study analyzes the steps that need to be considered in the communication strategy. Strategies that need to be regarded include the media used, audience segmentation, goals setting, compiling messages, the credibility of the communicator and feedback or the results of the communication strategies.

## Tasawuf Underground Community Media Platform

Da'wah is a communication process when a communicator conveys a message to the audience. In the context of da'wah, volunteers are the communicators, while "the call to Islam Values" is the message, the punk community is the audience, and the response of the punk community is the feedback. The communication process carried out by the *Tasawuf Underground* community towards punk children is presented in Figure 2 below:



**Figure 2.** The Communication Process of the *Tasawuf Underground* Community towards the Punk Community

Figure 2 explains that *Tasawuf Underground* volunteers communicate in several media in carrying out their da'wah activities. The media utilized include interpersonal communication, public communication, mass communication, and social media. The description is as follows:

Interpersonal communication media. In this context, a personal approach is taken by *Tasawuf Underground* volunteers to familiarize and identify themselves during the Punk community. Messages are delivered personally according to the necessities of each individual. If it runs effectively, interpersonal communication can create ukhuwah (brotherhood) (Perdana & Kusuma, 2019). This type of interpersonal communication is also caught in the da'wah process of the *Tasawuf Underground* community.

Interpersonal communication between the da'i and the audience (*mad'u*) will construct *ukhuwah* (brotherhood) and personal closeness.

*"I take a personal approach, which means I want to know what the children are like, not just meet and chat, so I come to their house or their dormitory and so on. For example, I came to "D" his place; he has a husband, right? There are usually many conflicts, but I am trying to understand their situation, so I am not easy to judge. Indeed, we have to be patient, do not judge them like our family, who is already organized and used to living systematically. Some lost their parents, and some are abandoned, get stigmatized from their social life" (Interview with Zaenal, 27 April 2020).*

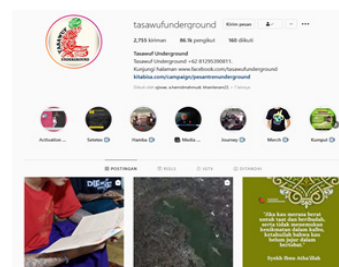
*Tasawuf Underground* conducts regular studies filled by preachers who are competent in conveying material in public communication media. Multifarious materials from the Da'i are used as teaching materials for the punk community willing to join the underground Sufism program. Based on research results (Irhamdi, 2017), public communication will influence the audience if the message conveyed follows the conditions and circumstances of the community. An illustration of public communication in the form of regular recitations is shown in Figure 3 below:



**Figure 3.** Routine Recitations (Public Communication) of *Tasawuf Underground* at Under the Tebet Bridge, February 2020

Figure 3 illustrates the routine recitation activities carried out by the *Tasawuf Underground* community for the Punk community, held under the bridge in the Tebet area. In the aspect of mass communication media, the *Tasawuf Underground* community tries to reconstruct the negative image of Punk by conveying the message that Punk is not a criminal. The messages were conveyed through various mass media such as television and online media. For example, Ustadz Halim Ambiya was invited to the *Hitam Putih* television program on Trans 7 in 2019. Ustadz Halim Ambiya revealed a positive narrative about Punk children's recitation activities in *Tasawuf Underground* (See: <https://youtu.be/MzdY9FaNI00>). Image construction through mass media is a suitable method because the construction process can take place very quickly and spread evenly (Karman, 2015).

Image reconstruction is also carried out with social media through Fanpage and Instagram. *Tasawuf Underground* initially uploaded Sufism materials and other da'wah materials. The da'wah materials are presented in quotes, wisdom reflections, short videos, and in-depth reviews. However, in the coaching process, their activities are often uploaded on social media, either presented in informative or persuasive messages. An example of an Instagram upload for a *Tasawuf Underground* account is illustrated in Figure 4: below:



**Figure 4.** The *Tasawuf Underground* Instagram Posts

Figure 4 shows the Tasawuf Underground community's endeavors to reconstruct the Punk community. The image reconstructing of the punk community is also uploaded on social media. The positive activities of the Punk community who have changed have been posted on their social media accounts, such as recitation activities, their job, and social activities. Apart from Instagram, the *Tasawuf Underground* community also has a Fan Page on their Facebook account, as shown in Figure 5



**Figure 5.** The Tasawuf Underground Fan Page Post

Figure 5 shows one of the Tasawuf Underground Community Facebook Fan Page posts. It is indicated that *Tasawuf Underground* community has operated various social media as their da'wah media.

### Target Audience Segmentation (Communicant)

Whether in da'wah or communication strategies, a communicator must identify and pay attention to the audience. An effective communication strategy must include everything the audience needs. The target audience determines how the message is packaged and the communication approach utilized. Different audiences, different communication strategies. (Muzakkir, 2019)

Based on the exposure of Ustadz Halim Ambiya (Interview with Halim Ambiya, April 27, 2020), the targets of communication and proselytizing on *Tasawuf Underground* on Social Media are urban circles, millennials, and urban communities as social media users. In comparison, the target of communication and da'wah in real action is the Punk community and guttersnipes.

Understanding the audience is one essential factor that impacts the communication and da'wah process. Understanding the audience is one of the essential abilities that communicators should have. By understanding the audience, the communication process can be established effectively (Hariyanto, 2018).

The process of introduction and approach is not only for regular Friday and Saturday recitations that have been running since 2018. Apart from that, volunteers of *Tasawuf Underground* da'i also often share stories about life or religious experiences to establish a process of mutual understanding.

*"First, the story is about their life, about their journey. I did not immediately talk about religious issues, or whether this issue will be recited later or not, I told them to tell them about their journey first." (Interview with Zaki, April 27, 2020).*

Moreover, delivering messages is more intense for children willing to live in *Tasawuf Underground* boarding in Ciputat. They attend weekly recitations, but their activities are monitored at the lodge every day to have a continuous communication process. One example of the activities carried out in the *Tasawuf Underground* boarding is congregational prayer, as presented in Figure 6 below:



**Figure. 6** Prayers in congregation at the Tasawuf Underground Boarding

Figure 6 above shows the process of delivering messages both in communication and da'wah in the *Tasawuf Underground* community towards the Punk community running effectively. The effectiveness of communication transpires because the communicator comprehends the audience's characteristics. Based on the researcher's findings, in general, the context of understanding the condition of the punk community in the process of proselytizing *Tasawuf Underground* can be noticed in 2 contexts, the context of psychological understanding and sociological understanding.

First, understand the psychology of The Punk. After a reasonably intense introduction process for one year, *Tasawuf Underground* da'i are generally capable of understanding the psychology of punk children. The agendas of the Tasawuf Underground community are often adapted to the psychological needs of Punk children. The selection of Sufism materials used by the *Tasawuf Underground* community is an arrangement of adjustment to the conditions of mad'u because the Punk community requires thoughts that touch their hearts and souls.

*"I see that Sufism is spiritual psychology, to improve mentality, which stresses people with high levels of anxiety, oscillation, extraordinary spiritual anxiety, can merely be treated with Sufism, with spiritual*

*psychology." (Interview with Halim Ambiya, 27 March, 2020)*

Second, understand the sociological conditions of punk children. *Tasawuf Underground* Da'i understands the sociological position of punk children who are underestimated by society. Therefore, they sympathize, open hands, provide opportunities, and defend the behavior of punk children in various opportunities and forms of communication. The critical output of understanding the understanding between them is reflected in adjustment.

The continuous interaction between the *Tasawuf Underground* Da'i and the Punk community can facilitate the adjustment process between the two. Several studies have shown a significant influence between self-adjustment and social support in the psychological context. (Clarabella et al., 2015), (Ekanita & Putri, 2019). Meanwhile, self-adjustment affects communication (Fathunnisa, 2017) (Zain, 2020). Therefore, it can be concluded that understanding the audience, generating sympathy, and providing support impacts the success of the adjustment process. In this case, *Tasawuf Underground* Da'i as communicators and The Punk members as communicants can be conducted effectively.

### **The Purpose of Tasawuf Underground Community Communication: An Introduction to "The Road Map to Return"**

According to Onong Uchjana Effendy (in Rahim SM & Chandra, 2020), the purpose of the communication process is a change in attitudes, changes in opinion, changes in behavior, and social changes that transpire

during or after the communication process take place. In addition, the general purpose of communication is to create a shared understanding between communicators and communicants. The communication success will depend on whether or not the communication goals are achieved.

The purpose of communication and interaction carried out by *Tasawuf Underground* to the Punk community is "introduction to the road map to return," which is meant by the introduction of the road map to returning home according to the *Tasawuf Underground* community. Specifically: first, the introduction of the road map to return to Allah (God), actualized by providing religious education and counseling. At this point, the communicator tries to change Punk members' attitudes, opinions, and behavior previously outlying from religious behavior and is invited to return to God's way.

Second, introduce the road map to return to the family. Most of the causes of community members preferring to evolve Punk community are broken home factors (Mahdi. NK, 2018). By becoming Punk, they can live free until they fall into bizarre things (Musyarafah & Lukmawati, 2019). *Tasawuf Underground* Da'i realizes this reality. Therefore, returning them to their families is their coaching goal. Those young, unmarried, and still have families as much as possible, return to their families by following the recitation process. Apart from being equipped with religious knowledge, those who already have families are also given some economic skills to provide for their families in a better way.

"*Tasawuf Underground* has a program called "introducing a road map to return." So that means we want to introduce students

to know the way home, first the road map to return to God. So instilling spiritual awareness that we will one day return to Allah, then we will provide spiritual education of religious education in the form of "*alif-ba-ta*" learning, learning prayer, learning *taharah*, learning fiqh, learning interpretation from a fundamental level so that there is an awareness that he has returned will return to Allah. The second is a road map to return to the family.

*They have been stranded on the streets, some are ten years and five-ten years old, some are born and live on the streets, they do not know their parents, but they are on the streets, they do not know their families, do they?" (Interview with Halim Ambiya, April 27, 2020).*

The first purpose of da'wah activities to the Punk community is almost the same as Rahmat Hidayatullah's research (2014): to restore faith and righteousness in the urban punk subculture environment. However, there is a different value from the *Tasawuf Underground* community, trying to invite punk members to get out of the street life, either to become entrepreneurs or to become private employees (second goal). Therefore, apart from conducting recitations, they also hold job-oriented training programs. However, the main focus remains with showing the way home, explicitly returning to God and returning to family.

The *Tasawuf Underground* community implements these two goals in several programs. They hold programs that are socially, economically or culturally oriented. In the end, these two goals can be achieved by changing attitudes, opinions, behavior and social changes in the punk community.



## Communicator Credibility

In the process of proselytizing the *Tasawuf Underground* community to members of the Punk community, volunteers are communicators. They play a role in conveying da'wah messages to members of the Punk community as objects of da'wah or communicants.

Credibility is crucial for communicators because the target of the da'wah or communicant will consider compliance with the message of the da'i based on his Credibility (Naqqiyah & Nurdin, 2019). The effectiveness of a communicator's da'wah can be noticed from how credible he is in conveying his da'wah. The higher the credibility of a preacher, the easier it is for him to trust his communicant (mad'u). There are three kinds of credibility that communicators generally have to effectively influence the audience: Source Credibility, Extrinsic Credibility, and Intrinsic Credibility. (See Paramita, 2018: 574).

First, source credibility relates to the communicator's expertise in conveying the message. In this point, the communicator is judged by his intelligence, character and activeness in conveying messages. Second, extrinsic credibility is what the communicator already has before he conveys his message, including skills, status, intelligence, which are already attached to the communicator. Third, intrinsic credibility is often given to the image created by a direct result of his speech. The chosen topic forms intrinsic ethos, delivery method, subject development techniques, and the language used, as well as the organization or systematics used (Rackmat in Paramita, 2018: 574).

Underground Sufism volunteers as communicators who have all three credibilities. The source's credibility can be seen from the expertise of volunteers in conveying their da'wah messages and mastery of the da'wah materials delivered. Extrinsic credibility can be seen from the academic status of underground Sufism volunteers. Intrinsic credibility is the ability to communicate and display when delivering messages.

Communicator skills and mastery of da'wah material are generally centered on Ustaz Halim Ambiya's material in routine forums or daily da'wah activities. In terms of background, Ustaz Halim has sufficient ability to become a preacher. He graduated from Islamic boarding school, S1 Aqidah Philosophy UIN Syarif Hidayatullah and S2 ISTAC Malaysia. He has also worked as a lecturer, journalist, translator, editor, or Islamic book.

Not only Ustaz Halim Ambiya, other performers in systematic studies in Tasawuf Underground generally follow their scientific background. The Schedule for Regular Study of the Underground Sufism Islamic Boarding School includes:

1. Al-Hikam Recite (Study of the Book of Al-Hikam by Sheikh Ibn Atha'llah As-Sakandari by Ustaz Halim Ambiya). Every Thursday Night, 19.30-21.00 WIB
2. Fiqh Recite (Book of Safinatun-Najah by Sheikh Al-Hadrami and Book of Fathul Qarib by Al-Qadhi Abu Syuja' by Ustaz Ibn Sina, MA) Every Friday Night, 19.30-21.00 WIB. Ustaz Ibn Sina is a graduate of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah and Darusunnah
3. Tauhid Recite (Book of Aqidatul Awam by Shaykh Ahmad Marzuqi Al-Maliki by Ustaz Halim Ambiya). Every Sunday

- Night, 19.30-21.00 WIB
4. Wisdom Recite(Book of Nasha'ihul 'Ibad by Sheikh Nawawi Al-Bantani by Ustaz Halim Ambiya). Every Monday Night, 19.30-21.00 WIB
  5. Hadith Recite (Review of the Book of Riyadh Ash-Salihin by Imam Nawawi Ad-Dimasqi by Ustaz Yusni Amru Ghazali, MA). Every Tuesday night, 19.30-21.00 WIB. Ustaz Yusni Amru Ghazali is a graduate of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah and Darusunnah
  6. Islamic History Recite(Review of the Book of Nurul Yaqin fi Sirati Sayyidil Mursalin, by Sheikh Muhammad Al-Khudhari Bek by Ustaz Tata Septa Yudha, MSi) Every Wednesday night, 19.30-21.00 WIB. Ustaz Tata Septa Yudha is a graduate of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, lecturer and author of the History of Islamic Culture.
  7. The Holly Qur'an Recite(Every day after Maghrib until Isha. Read and write the Qur'an and Tajweed by Ustaz Halim Ambiya and Ustaz Aan Sujana) 18.00-19.30 WIB.

From the list of the regular study of the *Tasawuf Underground* Islamic Boarding School above, it can be seen that the Da'i have an education and scientific background that follows the material being taught. The list of recitations shows that the da'i have at least some extrinsic credibility. With such a scientific background, they will be trusted to have the ability to convey their da'wah materials.

In addition, the Da'i also can communicate and display when conveying messages (Intrinsic Credibility). Based on the observations, *Tasawuf Underground* communicators have good interpersonal and public communication skills when filling out

the recitation. The messages conveyed can touch the hearts of Punk children. As stated by TNP:

*"Actually, I doubt that the ustadz is slang; what is the name of the ustadz, what is the name of the clothes, you wear Muslim wear, how is this different? This is real Ustadz, isn't it? It turns out that when he spoke, he opened the book, and my heart seemed to prickle with words. he." (Interview with TNP, 7 September 2020)*

From the research discussion, it can be concluded that communicators have the source, extrinsic and intrinsic credibility to influence the audience. The communication process can run effectively with the complete credibility of communicators like those of the *Tasawuf Underground* volunteers.

### **Informative and Persuasive Da'wah Messages**

The message format includes three things: informative, persuasive and coercive. Informative messages are precisely intended to provide facts and data to the audience. *Persuasive messages* are conveyed to change the attitude of the recipient of the message without coercion. *Coercive messages* are conveyed message by force and involve sanctions. Coercive messages are in the form of orders or instructions for delivering a target (Suryanto in Barthelemy, 2019: 162).

Informative and persuasive messages can be found in every systematic study of *Tasawuf Underground* and interpersonal communication. *Tasawuf Underground* volunteers use a choice of messages in the mad'u language. This type of message can emotionally impact the hearts of punk children as the object of the da'wah of the underground Sufism community.

For example, "Punk is not a crime" is one of the messages that have deep meaning for the punk community. If explained in more detail, communicators use several messages in interacting with punk members. The messages are:

The message of recognition, this symbol is shown by various messages that Halim and the volunteers often speak up. For example, the use of taglines such as "Punk is not a crime" and "Even with tattoos, worship is still authorized."

In Social Media, a negative image reconstruction about Punk and Tatto was also expressed by Halim. In a video entitled Chat: Tattoos are halal or forbidden? Which aired on May 15, 2020, at 00:12 show a simple explanation but full of wisdom, as characteristic of Tasawuf Underground. There are two constructions discussed including:

First, the construction of the Islamic law of worship for people with tattoos. This discussion started with whether the prayer is valid for people with tattoos? In this topic, Ustaz Halim Ambiya explained clearly that people with tattoos are still valid:

*"People with tattoos who have ablution are still valid; their prayers are still valid, there is no reason why you are now tattooed (not worshipping) because their ablution is valid, their prayers are valid, because the water still washes away, not like it has covered in plastic or paint" (Halim Ambiya, underground Sufism fan page video entitled Chat: Tattoos Kosher or Haram, 2020).*

This delivery model can calm mad'u amid negative construction circulating in the community about punk and tattoos. Many stigmas in society think that tattoos can make someone's prayer invalid. The explaining Ustaz Halim in the video relaxes punk members who want to learn religion.

Second, the construction of tattooed law, kosher or forbidden. In this case, Ustadz Halim agrees with the views of the majority of scholars regarding the prohibition of tattoos. But the way to explain it is still intelligent and wise.

This image reconstruction, according to Halim, makes Punk members "engrossed" with the Da'wah approach of Tasawuf to Underground Sufism. Without leaving the corridors of religious law (kosher and forbidden), Tasawuf Underground managed to melt the hearts of punk children to participate in religious studies without symbolic barriers.

Third, the message of friendship. This message is shown by how *Tasawuf Underground* da'i becomes a place to recreate or share the complaints of punk members.

Fourth, family messages. This symbol is shown in concern for how the Tasawuf Underground community undergoes mutual care for personal problems ranging from religion, education, daily life, work to legal issues. Most of whom live on the street because of a broken home problem. The punk community is like getting a new family in the *Tasawuf Underground* community.

TNP, for example, said that in Tasawuf Underground, it was like he had a new family that he did not even get from his real family.

*"The figure whom TNP did not get from his father was in him (Ustadz Halim), the figure who did not get TNP from his brother was in him, sometimes he became like my brother, sometimes he became a friend, without lacking Ustadz Halim or what, no, still he is my teacher." (Interview with TNP, September 7, 2020).*

The researcher's observations show that Punk members and *Tasawuf Underground* community volunteers look like families. Punk members are provided education, job, and

even home to live in this community. They are also given access to health care, legal aid and other social assistance. Tasawuf Underground programs with a form of concern for Punk members can be seen in several programs as presented in Table 1 below:

**Table .1** Tasawuf Underground's Program

NO	PROGRAM	PARTNER	LOCATION
1	Health Counseling	Indonesian Doctors Association (IDI)	Under the Tebet Bridge
2	HIV/Aids Screening	Tebet Health Center	Under the Tebet Bridge
3	Free Tattoo Removal Program	Islamic Medical Service (IMS)	Under the Tebet Bridge
4	Legal Counseling	Legal aid "Pasti"	Under the Tebet Bridge
5	Study Program Package A, B or C	Related Institutions	Tentative
6	Helping the birth of a child	Volunteer	Tentative
7	Help with medical expenses and care	Volunteer	Tentative
8	Help find work and venture capital	Volunteer	Tentative
9	Provide shelter and study space	Volunteer	Ciputat
10	Providing food, basic necessities and clothing for those who consistently follow the Punk Islamic Boarding School	Volunteer	Ciputat

Table 1 shows that Tasawuf Underground communicators rarely use coercive messages, messages that are conveyed by force and involve sanctions. Communicators prioritize informative and

persuasive messages. This type of message was chosen because the communicator understands that a communicant is a person who has self-awareness who wants to repent. There is no need for coercion or mujadalah in communicating with Punk members. We conclude that in the communication process in the Tasawuf Underground community, the selection of informative and persuasive messages is the right strategy to reach effective communication results.

### **Feedback: Changes in the Punk Community After Receiving Da'wah From the Tasawuf Underground Community**

Changes in the da'wah process are a hallmark of the success of da'wah. In communication, the transformation can result from exposure to persuasive information received by the communicator. Changes to be achieved in affective, cognitive and behavioral aspects. Affective attitude is related to preferences and feelings, cognitive is related to beliefs about objects, while behavior is related to actions towards objects (Minan, 2016)

In line with the above opinion, in the context of da'wah, there are two characteristics of da'wah's success: first, there is a change in perceptions, attitudes and actions of mad'u as the object of da'wah according to the purpose of da'wah. Second, there is an increase in the quality and quantity of life in terms of social, economic and cultural aspects. (Hamlan, 2017)

Thus, affective, cognitive, and behavioral changes are feedback from the communication process between the *Tasawuf Underground Da'i* and members of Punk as *mad'u*.

Based on the feedback and the characteristics of the da'wah's success, in this study, we explain how communication and da'wah of Sufism can change the Punk community members.

First Feature. Changes in the perception of attitudes and actions of members of the Punk community became the object of *Tasawuf Underground* da'wah. Based on researchers' findings and data from the *Tasawuf Underground* community, it is clear that there has been an apparent change in the mad'u who have participated in the series of *Tasawuf Underground* designs, as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Changes in Perception and Action

No	Changes in Perception and Action	
	Before	After
1	Consuming Drugs	Abandoning drugs and psychotropic drugs that they can consume.
2	Never Pray	Start performing the five daily prayers
3	Never Dhikr	Actively participate in dhikr and prayer events
4	Do not want to go to school	The spirit of learning and reciting to catch up with their education
5	Reluctant to study religion	Decided to join the "Punk Islamic Boarding School" (Mondok) at the office provided by Underground Sufism
6	Leaving Family	Back to Family

(Source: Tasawuf Underground Data)

Table 2 compares changes in perceptions of attitudes and actions between before and after participating in underground Sufism activities. Second feature. Improvements in the quality and quantity of life from a social, economic and cultural perspective as shown in table 3.

**Tabel. 3** Changes in Quality & Quantity of life

No	Improvement of the Quality & Quantity of life	
	Before	After
1	Living on the streets	Leave the streets and stop busking and find new jobs;
2	Looking for income from busking	Open their own business by building a workshop, establishing a coffee shop, becoming a barista, opening screen printing, etc.;
3	Dropout	The spirit of learning and reading the Quran to catch up with their education;
4	-	Help recruit Punk and guttersnipes to join the Tasawuf Underground community

(Source: Tasawuf Underground Data)

The data in Table 3 above is confirmed from the information of the Punk members who have changed. TNP, for example, is now starting to learn to pray and is starting to return to his family.

*"Yes, I pray, sometimes at dawn I miss the pray times, maybe it is still a process, what I have to fix for now is my prayer first. (About the family) Mr. Ustadz suggested that I should forgive my father; yes, no matter how bad it is still my father, I forgive him, now I regularly meet him, this is an expression of accepting him as my father." (Interview with TNP, 7 September 2020)*

Likewise with WNE, after two years joining the *Tasawuf Underground* community, now WNE is no longer consuming drugs:

*"No, it has been almost 1-2 years that I have not consumed drugs or alcohol anymore. (Now with dhikr) it becomes more peaceful, and if we used to think of drugs, alcohol is a way to find peace. But now, with prayer, we can manage our hearts" (Interview with WNE, 7 September 2020).*

The positive feedback shown by changes in perception, action, quality and quantity of life for Punk members shows the fulfillment of the indicators of the success of da'wah and evidence of the success of the communication

strategy carried out by the *Tasawuf Underground* communicators in their da'wah to Punk members. This change also shows the fulfillment of the communication objectives of the Tasawuf Underground community as an "Introduction to the Road Map to Return." Tasawuf Underground volunteers as Da'i and Communicators managed to show the road map back to Allah and their families.

The success of *Tasawuf Underground* Da'wah to Punk communities can be identified from an effective communication strategy. Starting from the communicator's credibility, understanding the audience, setting goals, using da'wah messages, and selecting media. All elements in the communication strategy have a role in achieving communication goals and the success of underground tasawuf da'wah. In addition, some exciting findings became the findings of this study.

The purpose of communication and da'wah of the *Tasawuf Underground* community is to synergize the goals of returning to God and returning to the family. This da'wah is implemented to improve living standards by getting punk communities to leave the street life, become entrepreneurs or private employees.

In this case, underground tasawuf da'wah can be categorized as ummah empowerment da'wah (Zaeni et al., 2020). Underground tasawuf da'wah activities aim to improve the community's standard of living and welfare. In addition, it also increases awareness of lousy behavior towards better behavior.

The *Tasawuf Underground* community is a preacher with credible, extrinsic and intrinsic sources. The existence of these three credibilities proves that the *Da'i tasawuf underground* can manage self-presentation so

that it is proven to give a positive impression on the audience. In da'wah's context, impression management is essential and influences da'wah's success. (see (Fatoni & Rais, 2018)

In addition to interpersonal communication media, public communication media, and mass communication media, Da'i Sufism underground uses social media as a medium of da'wah. The study results show that Tasawuf Underground has used digital media as its da'wah innovation. The usage of digital media as part of the da'wah process is referred to as a renewable da'wah method. In this method, Da'i must-have soft skills in mastering technology, modern and practical da'wah materials (Budiantoro, 2017).

Da'i Tasawuf Underground uses a renewable method by uploading da'wah material through social media Facebook. This style of da'wah method is essential in this digital era. Moreover, several previous studies have found that social media can influence people's attitudes and lifestyles. (Nugraha & Akbar, 2018). We conclude that the use of social media is an essential part of the success of the Tasawuf Underground da'wah method.

In the context of messages, *Tasawuf Underground* da'wah activities do not involve many coercive messages, meaning that *Tasawuf Underground* communicators do not force punk communities to follow their will. However, punk children joined Tasawuf Underground studies because of their own will.

Coercive messages can have a psychologically unpleasant effect on the message's recipient. In comparison, persuasive messages can positively affect the audience because they can change the

audience's attitudes, opinions, and behavior without coercion (Ilyas, 2010). With persuasive messages, they subconsciously follow the wishes of underground tasawuf da'i voluntarily.

Punk communities generally have an ideology synonymous with freedom in life and thought. However, deep in their soul, they yearn for an education that is difficult for them to achieve due to economic limitations (Siti Nurul Hidayah & Bela Fariza, 2020), meaning that with the ideology of freedom, they do not want to be forced to do something and do what they like. On the other hand, they still desire to change their standard of living, including in terms of hijrah.

What underground tasawuf da'i accomplishes by using persuasive messages is a form of syncretization. Syncretization is the process of harmonization, adjustment, and balancing between two different streams or cultures (Pongpindan, 2019). The existence of a striking ideological difference between the Tasawuf Underground community and Punk requires adjustments in da'wah methods, including messages. Not using a coercive message is entirely appropriate against the punk community because they do not like oppression or restraint. (Fitria & Putra, 2021)

Although the communication strategy of Tasawuf Underground towards Punk communities is dominated by informative and persuasive messages, the communication process can still run effectively. The Tasawuf Underground community provides information and persuasion about the way to God and so that punk communities can get recognition, return to their families, and improve the better live standard.

## Conclusion

Da'wah can be delivered to anyone, including marginalized communities such as the punk community. The da'wah strategy using the Sufism approach can be an alternative for similar communities. The communication strategy of the Tasawuf Underground community da'wah to members of the punk community uses the following four strategies:

First, the credibility of the communicator. Da'i as communicators has source credibility, extrinsic and intrinsic, to influence the audience. Da'i is also able to understand the Punk community both psychologically and sociologically. Therefore the communication process and the messages conveyed adjust to the conditions of the audience so that an effective communication process occurs.

The second introduction of "the road map home." The purpose of communication and interaction carried out by Tasawuf Underground to Punk children is "Introduction to the Road Map Home" through education and religious counseling.

Third, effective communication of Tasawuf Underground by using media sharing. The media used by underground da'i tasawuf in communicating with Punk members are social media, mass communication media, public communication media and interpersonal communication media.

Fourth, the da'wah messages conveyed by Tasawuf Underground volunteers to the Punk community are generally informative and persuasive. Informative and persuasive messages are found in every systematic study of Tasawuf Underground and interpersonal communication. In a persuasive context, Da'i Sufism uses Confession Messages, Friendship

Messages and Family Messages to influence Punk children. In this study, communicators rarely use coercive messages that force the audience.

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