Cosmopolitan Da'wah as a Social Response to the Phenomenon of *Ṭarīqah Gairu Mu'tabarah* in Indonesia

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Abstract

This article examines the concept of cosmopolitan da'wah as a social response to the phenomenon of *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* 'ṣūfī orders' in Indonesia through a qualitative library research approach. Data were collected systematically from official documents of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, fatwas of the Indonesian Ulama Council, academic works on sufism, and international journal articles, and were analyzed using content and thematic analysis. Employing Vertovec and Cohen's theory of cosmopolitanism, the study argues that the existence of *gairu mu'tabarah* orders cannot be reduced merely to questions of *sanad* legitimacy but should also be understood as expressions of spiritual plurality within contemporary muslim society. The findings demonstrate that the six dimensions of cosmopolitanism. Sociocultural conditions, worldview, transnational political projects, identity recognition, dispositional orientations, and practices, provide an analytical framework that positions cosmopolitan da'wah as a means of accommodating ṣūfī diversity, strengthening social cohesion, and fostering an inclusive, moderate, and peaceful spiritual space.

INTRODUCTION

The debate on the legitimacy of *ṭarīqah* 'ṣūfī orders' basically revolves around the issue of religious authority in determining the validity of a school of sufism. Scholars such as Martin Van Bruinessen and Azyumardi Azra underline that the process of *ṭarīqah* classification by religious institutions is often based on normative standards that are not necessarily objective and neutral. In many cases, the labeling of *ṭarīqah* as *mu'tabarah* and *gairu mu'tabarah* is inseparable from the dynamics of certain political, social, and ideological interests. For example, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) once issued a fatwa on a school of sufism that was considered deviant, but the decision drew criticism for ignoring the local context and spiritual practices of certain communities (Azra, 2013).

In the socio-cultural context, a number of *ṭarīqah* classifield as *gairu mu'tabarah* actually show a close connection with local traditions and play a significant role in shaping the spiritual life of the community, especially in peripheral areas. These *ṭarīqah* often integrate elements of culture into their spiritual practices, so they are often seen as incompatible with the more traditional forms of sufism that refers to classical literature and formal scholarly traditions (Zulkifli, 2002).

As a form of religious expression that flourishes especially in peripheral areas, sufism is often considered to have a high degree of receptivity to influences from outside Islam. However, this tendency does not necessarily encourage an open attitude towards plurality, but rather creates a disturbing awareness of the diversity of Islamic practice. In many cases, only local variants of Islamic practice are supported to flourish, while traditions with pre-Islamic roots tend to be marginalized (Peacock, 2018).

A number of contemporary researchers have attempted to examine the dynamics of competition in Islamic interpretation as a manifestation of competition between forms of cosmopolitanism. In this context, cosmopolitanism is understood as a challenge to realize inclusive unity amid the complexity of social diversity. Thus, cosmopolitanism does not merely represent an

attitude of intellectual openness, but can also be interpreted as a religious, even political, project in an effort to formulate a common identity amid differences (Hanley, 2008).

During the revolutionary period in Indonesia, *ṭarīqah* played a strategic role in awakening the spirit of struggle among the younger generation, among others through the teaching of internal energy as a form of spiritual and physical training. Recognizing this influence, Bruinessen considers that *ṭarīqah* has significant political potential in the social structure of society. This potential is reflected, among others, in the establishment of *Jam'iyyah Ahl Ṭarīqah al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdliyyah* (JATMAN), a federative organization that accommodates recognized *ṭarīqah*. However, the existence of JATMAN is also not free from controversy, as seen in the polemics surrounding *Ṭarīqah* Siddiqiyah and Khalidiyah. In fact, these two *ṭarīqah* are similar in terms of lineage as part of the *uwasiyah ṭarīqah*, but only Khalidiyah is recognized as *mu'tabarah*, while Siddiqiyah is categorized as *gairu mu'tabarah*, reflecting the dynamics of non-uniform standards of legitimacy within the mainstream *taṣawwuf* authority (Bruinesssen, 1992).

Based on this, Esposito argues that the emergence of various conflicts in the Islamic world is due to the many interpretations of the teachings of Islam itself. Although Islam is understood by Muslims as a single and authoritative divine revelation, in social reality it experiences a variety of interpretations influenced by historical and cultural contexts. This diversity of interpretation has become increasingly complex along with the emergence of various contemporary Islamic social movements that provide new colors in religious and proselytizing activities. One form is the transnational Islamic movement, which tends to abandon the *nation-state* orientation and emphasizes universal ideology for the benefit of the people. This movement is generally based on a normative, scriptualist and fundamentalist style of thought, and sometimes selectively adopts elements of modernity as an instrument of their da'wah struggle (Aksa, 2017).

Concerns about the widespread influence of transnational Islamic movements are evident in local cases, such as the one in Lumajang. In this region, the hidden circulation of leaflets promoting Wahabiism was discovered. The six leaflets were distributed secretly to people's homes and even attached to trees in public spaces. The contents of the leaflets contain calls for the prohibition of religious practices such as the recitation of *basmallah, qunut* prayers, and *tahlil* traditions that are commonly practiced by traditional Muslim communities practiced by traditional Muslim communities. In addition, radical religious bulletins were also found scattered in a number of mosques and student neighborhoods. The bulletins present textual interpretations of Qur'anic verses without providing space for contextual understanding that is relevant to the social life of the local community (*Buletin Radikal Beredar di Lumajang*, n.d.).

Various conflicts are also experienced by the followers of *ṭarīqah* in Indonesia. Not limited to *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah,* even those that have been recognized as *mu'tabarah* have not escaped the spotlight and criticism of some community groups. The criticism stems from the assumption that the practice of *ṭarīqah* does not have a direct basis from the example of the Prophet Muhammad, so that its adherents are often labeled as part of the "*bid'ah* experts" or innovators who are considered deviant in religion (Jamaluddin et al., 2023). The accusations of heresy directed at *ṭarīqah* religious practices in Indonesia are inseparable from the characteristics of *ṭarīqah* that tend to be inclusive and accommodating to elements of local culture. As it develops, some *ṭarīqah* show an integration between Islamic spiritual teachings and local traditions, which is seen by some as a form of improper mixing of religion and culture. This view then raises objections from certain groups who want a strict separation between normative Islamic teachings and local cultural expressions (Rosyid, 2018b).

In the perspective of contemporary da'wah and the discourse of Islamic cosmopolitanism, the dichotomy of *mu'tabarah* and *gairu mu'tabarah* is often seen as an obstacle to the diversity of spiritual expression in Islam. A number of scholars offer a more inclusive approach by positioning *ṭarīqah* as a dynamic forum for spiritual creativity, instead of limiting *ṭarīqah* within a purely structural and normative framework. This approach becomes relevant in order to encourage acceptance of the plurality of sufism traditions, especially in facing the challenges of modernity and

globalization, including in the digital da'wah field and in the midst of a multicultural cosmopolitan society.

Previously, the study of *ṭarīqah* has been analyzed by many *ṭarīqah* scholars. For example, research by Zamhari. The study concludes that *majlis dhikr* in East Java functions not only as a ritual of remembrance of God but also as a medium of spiritual formation, social cohesion, and cultural expression. The ritual practice embodies both theological depth and communal identity, demonstrating the dynamic role of ṣūfī spirituality in contemporary Indonesian Islam (Zamhari, 2010).

Mawardi in his research concludes that the *ṭarīqah* Rinjani in Banyumas reflects a synthesis of Javanese spiritual traditions and Islamic nationalism, illustrating how local ṣūfī practices construct religious identity while simultaneously shaping socio-political consciousness in contemporary Indonesia. The Tarekat Rinjani of Banyumas, classified as *gairu mu'tabarah*, represents a localized form of sufism that synthesizes Javanese spirituality with Islamic nationalism. While it emphasizes cultural identity and communal cohesion, its legitimacy is questioned due to the absence of a recognized spiritual chain (*sanad*) and its detachment from established ṣūfī networks (Mawardi, 2025).

Smith in her study demonstrates that within the Nahdlatul Wathan tradition in Lombok, sufism integrates the veneration of Dewi Anjani and female saints as symbolic manifestations of the sacred feminine, thereby articulating a localized spiritual cosmology. Such integration reflects the ways in which Islamic mysticism engages with indigenous belief systems, simultaneously enhancing the spiritual significance of women and strengthening cultural identity. Ultimately, the research underscores the complex interrelation between sufism, gendered notions of sanctity, and local traditions in shaping the religious landscape of Lombok (Smith, 2021).

Meanwhile, Damanhuri, Noffiyanti, and Putra in their research concludes that the rise of social media has significantly transformed the landscape of Islamic authority in Indonesia, shifting the locus of da'wah from traditional institutions and religious scholars to new actors who utilize digital platforms. This transformation illustrates the emergence of a more decentralized and contested religious public sphere, where authority is negotiated through popularity, accessibility, and media presence. In the context of post-secular Indonesia, social media not only diversifies the modes of religious communication but also reconfigures the dynamics of power and legitimacy in contemporary da'wah (Damanhuri et al., 2025).

In line with this study, Nasruddin's research reveals that interfaith families in Pancasila Village, Lamongan, have successfully fostered harmony and peaceful coexistence through the practice of tolerance grounded in mutual respect, dialogue, and a commitment to Pancasila values. Tolerance within the family not only preserves internal harmony but also contributes to the creation of social cohesion and interreligious concord within the broader community (Nasruddin, 2022).

These writings present diverse perspectives. Some highlight the practices of *gairu mu'tabarah* ṣūfī orders that remain active in Indonesia, others address the challenges of cosmopolitan da'wah, and some examine how interreligious tolerance can foster a peaceful and secure society. However, none of these studies have attempted to explore the application of cosmopolitan concepts to the practice of da'wah in understanding *gairu mu'tabarah* ṣūfī orders. Therefore, the theme of this article remains highly relevant for serious scholarly investigation.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach with the type of library research (Creswell & Poth, 2018) combined with discourse analysis. The choice of this method is based on the nature of the research problem, namely the interpretation of cosmopolitan da'wah in responding to the phenomenon of *gairu mu'tabarah* ṣūfī orders in Indonesia. Since the focus of this research is not on numerical measurement or statistical analysis but rather on understanding meanings, values, and the construction of religious discourse, the qualitative approach is considered the most appropriate.

Specifically, this study applies an interpretative method, utilizing content analysis and

thematic analysis. Through content analysis, the researcher examines various documents related to ṣūfī orders in Indonesia, including the Direktori Tarekat Muktabarah published by the Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia (Kemenag), fatwas issued by the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), as well as academic publications concerning *gairu muʿtabarah* orders. Thematic analysis is then employed to identify recurring patterns associated with cosmopolitanism in the context of daʿwah, such as narratives of openness, tolerance, identity recognition, and inter-traditional practices.

Data collection is carried out through an extensive literature review using relevant and credible sources. Primary data are drawn from scholarly works that directly address *gairu muʿtabarah* orders and organizational publications related to ṣūfī authority. Secondary data include international journal articles, theoretical books on cosmopolitanism, and studies on contemporary sufism, religious authority, and digital daʿwah practices. The selection of sources is conducted systematically by considering their credibility, scholarly reputation, and relevance to the research theme.

Data analysis proceeds in three stages. First, data reduction, which involves selecting and focusing on core issues related to the legitimacy of ṣūfī orders and their relation to cosmopolitan daʿwah. Second, data presentation, in which the information is organized according to the framework of cosmopolitanism formulated by Vertovec and Cohen, encompassing sociocultural, philosophical, political, identity-recognition, dispositional, and practical dimensions. Third, conclusion drawing, where the empirical data are interpreted within the theoretical framework of cosmopolitanism in order to construct a coherent analytical narrative.

The primary theoretical framework employed is cosmopolitanism as articulated by Vertovec and Cohen. Their conceptualization outlines six dimensions of cosmopolitanism: sociocultural conditions, philosophical worldview, political projects toward transnational institutions, political projects of identity recognition, dispositional orientations, and practices or competences. This framework is applied to examine the phenomenon of ṣūfī daʿwah in relation to *gairu muʿtabarah* orders, demonstrating that cosmopolitan daʿwah offers a relevant response to the diversity of ṣūfī practices in Indonesia. As such, cosmopolitanism functions as an analytical lens that enables this study to interpret the dynamics of ṣūfī orders within broader social, cultural, and religious contexts (Vertovec & Cohen, 2011, pp. 18–22).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Ṭarīqah Mu'tabarah and *Gairu Mu'tabarah* in Indonesia

In Indonesia, various local and transnational *ṭarīqah* continue to experience growth and development. However, not a few of the *ṭarīqah* and the teachings developed are considered to deviate from the basic principles of Islamic teachings. This phenomenon has become more prominent since the 19th century AD, when the emergence and expansion of *ṭarīqah* was also accompanied by the emergence of syncretic mystical sects, later known as kebatinan schools. To respond to this situation, a number of institutions were established with the aim of maintaining the purity of *ṭarīqah* teachings and preventing deviations from the principles of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*. Some important institutions that emerged in this context include the Persatuan Pengamal Thareqat Islam (PPTI), Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah Indonesia (JATMI), and Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdliyyah (JATMAN) (Aly Mashar, 2021). *Ṭarīqah* that receive religious legitimacy from these institutions are categorized as *mu'tabarah,* which generally come from transnational *ṭarīqah* networks, while those that are not recognized are referred to as *gairu mu'tabarah* (Rosyid, 2018a).

According to Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdliyyah (JATMAN), a *ṭarīqah* can be categorized as *mu'tabarah* if it meets four main criteria: (1) it is in accordance with the teachings of Islamic law, (2) it follows one of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence, namely Hanafiyah, Malikiyah, Shafi'iyyah, or Hanbaliyah, (3) it is based on *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*, and (4) it has a spiritual lineage *(sanad)* that is authentically connected to the Prophet Muhammad (Rosyid, 2018a). To maintain the purity of sufism teachings from potential deviations from the

principles of classical sufism, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a socio-religious organization committed to the preservation of traditional Islamic values sets the foundation of sufism based on the Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah paradigm. In this construction, NU combines Imam al-Ghazali's sufism with Asy'ariyyah and Māturidiyyah theology, as well as fiqh law from one of the recognized Sunni madhhabs. Based on this ideological framework, JATMAN was established to provide clear guidance to the community in distinguishing between legitimate (*mu'tabarah*) and unrecognized (*ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah*) (Rosyid, 2018b).

While the *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* is a *ṭarīqah* that does not have a *sanad* or chain of spiritual transmission that is authentically connected to the Prophet Muhammad, it is considered not to have shar'i legitimacy. This means that its religious practices are considered normatively unaccountable within the framework of Islamic law. Generally, this type of *ṭarīqah* develops locally and is pioneered by certain figures based on their personal spiritual experiences. They are often rooted in mystical traditions that are intuitively felt by their leaders, so their teachings are often believed to come from transcendent experiences such as dreams or spiritual inspiration, without the basis of a scientifically verified sanad in the mainstream sufism tradition

The practices of *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* that are considered deviant often make people uneasy about their existence. For example, the practice of *Ṭarīqah* Wahidiyyah in Golokan Village, Gresik Regency, which received discrimination from local residents because of its dhikr activities that were considered too excessive such as crying screaming. *Ṭarīqah* Wahidiyyah was born from a dream felt by the leader of *ṭarīqah* in the village (Jamaluddin et al., 2023). In addition, the center of *Ṭarīqah* Shiddiqiyyah activities in Jombang is also claimed to be a heretical *ṭarīqah*. Apart from having a disconnected scientific sanad from the Prophet Muhammad, *Ṭarīqah* Shiddiqiyyah also has an unclear kemursyidan so that the teachings of *Ṭarīqah* Shiddiqiyyah are not valid to be practiced. However, when compared to the *Ṭarīqah* Wahidiyyah, the *Ṭarīqah* Shiddiqiyyah has a different history. *Ṭarīqah* Shiddiqiyyah was developed by Kiai Moch. Muchtar ibn Abdul Mu'thi who used to be a member of *Ṭarīqah* Naqshabandiyah, Khalidiyah, Anfasiyah, Akmaliyah and *Ṭarīqah* Nuriyah. He received a diploma to teach the Khalwatiyah Order, but he replaced it with the name Shiddiqiyyah which is now also an organization (Aly Mashar, 2021).

The Existence of JATMAN and Social Conflict between Communities in Viewing *Ṭarīqah Gairu Mu'tabarah*

The development of *ṭarīqah* in Indonesia shows a diversity of forms and characteristics, which includes *ṭarīqah* that have historical and theological connections with centers of Islamic spirituality in the Middle East, as well as local *ṭarīqah* that grow and develop within the cultural framework of the archipelago. One example of this acculturation can be found in the *Ṭarīqah* Naqsyabandiyah, which in the implementation of its rituals integrates elements of local traditions, including the adaptation of forms of practice and an emphasis on achieving supernatural powers through spiritual practices. In addition, there are also local *ṭarīqah* that show syncretic tendencies, namely the merging of sufism teachings with elements of traditional belief or spiritual systems inherited from ancestors, both in terms of doctrine and religious practice (M. van Bruinessen, 1996).

The religious practices developed by certain spiritual leaders, which integrate elements of local beliefs or ancestral traditions, often lead to ambiguity in distinguishing between ṣūfī orders and mystical traditions. This phenomenon can be found, for example, in the *Ṭarīqah* Wahidiyah and Shiddiqiyah in East Java and the *Ṭarīqah* Syahadatain in Central Java. In contrast to the major *ṭarīqah* that usually have such formal legitimacy systems, scholars categorize them as part of the *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah.* For example, *Ṭarīqah* Wahidiyah is often classified as a representation of non-*ṭarīqah* sufism, because the basis of its spiritual legitimacy rests more on spiritual experiences in the form of the founder's dreams, rather than through the authoritative channels of *ṭarīqah* certificates (Wahid, 1983).

The background to the establishment of Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah on October 10, 1957, which later changed its name to Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdliyyah (JATMAN), is closely related to the need to organize and foster the development of *ṭarīqah* in Indonesia within the framework of valid Islamic teachings. The organization is directly affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and was established on the basis of two main considerations by the ulama. First, as an effort to guide *ṭarīqah* that have not consistently taught Islamic practices derived from the Qur'an and Hadith. Second, as a step preventive against potential abuse institution *ṭarīqah* for non-religious interests that are contrary to the principles of Islamic teachings.

According to the *ṭarīqah* federation body affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama, a *ṭarīqah* is categorized as *gairu mu'tabarah* if it does not have a lineage or scientific sanad that is connected continuously to the Prophet Muhammad. In addition, the teachings and practices in the *ṭarīqah* must be in line with the principles espoused by the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* ideology. If a *ṭarīqah* deviates from these two criteria, namely the validity of the sanad and doctrinal conformity, then the *ṭarīqah* is considered invalid or not recognized as religiously valid (Muslih, 1962).

Although the various *ṭarīqah* have different methods of dhikr in form and practice, the ultimate goal of the entire practice remains essentially the same, namely the the achievement of *ma'rifat* or spiritual recognition of Allah. Variations in the form of dhikr and ritual procedures are one of the markers of differences between *ṭarīqah*, which are generally determined by the formulation of dhikr formulated by each *ṭarīqah* founder. Thus, although there is a diversity of schools within the *ṭarīqah* body, all of them lead to the same spiritual achievement (Mufid, 1992).

Therefore, the assessment of the validity of a *ṭarīqah*, especially those categorized as *gairu mu'tabarah*, should not be solely based on the existence of a lineage or diploma that is connected to the Prophet Muhammad. If a local *ṭarīqah*, even though it does not have a directly connected *sanad*, still carries out teachings that do not contradict the Qur'an and sunnah, then it deserves to be recognized as a *ṭarīqah mu'tabarah*.

However, it needs to be recognized that in practice, there are local *ṭarīqah* that deviate from the principles of normative sufism and are more rooted in mystical traditions or local mystical practices that are claimed to be part of the *ṭarīqah* movement. For example, in the Lombok region there is a *ṭarīqah* that was originally affiliated with the *Ṭarīqah* Naqsyabandiyah which refers to Sheikh Muhammad Shalih Al-Zawawi in Mecca. But in its development, under the leadership of the next generation, this *ṭarīqah* underwent a transformation into a "shield" martial arts group and is no longer known as a spiritual *ṭarīqah*. In fact, the leader is seen more as a teacher of immune science than as a guide of the *ṭarīqah* (M. V. Bruinessen, 2015).

The categories of *mu'tabarah* and *gairu mu'tabarah* in the classification of *ṭarīqah* often generate debate and controversy. The term *gairu mu'tabarah* itself became widely known after the establishment of Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyyah (JATMAN). The determination of a *ṭarīqah* as *mu'tabarah* is generally based on several criteria, including the existence of a scientific lineage that is connected to the Prophet Muhammad, attachment to one of the four schools of fiqh, the practice of Islamic law, and the implementation of worship in accordance with the practices of pious salaf (Dhofier, 2011).

Apart from JATMAN, there are several institutions that affirm the legitimacy of ṣūfī practices in Indonesia. Among them is the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Through the Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Islam, Kemenag has long been involved in the supervision of ṣūfī orders, particularly those with a large following. In 2013, Kemenag published the Direktori Tarekat Muktabarah, which was based on the list acknowledged by JATMAN, but its issuance was carried out formally by the state. In addition, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) also serves as a reference for issuing fatwas related to certain ṣūfī practices, although it does not formally provide an official list of legitimate ṣūfī orders. Rather, MUI functions more as a normative authority.

In practice, however, the dominant criteria used in the field tend to be limited to the genealogical aspect alone. In this regard, K.H. Shiddiq distinguishes two types of lineage: first, the *zahabiyyah* lineage, which is the transmission of knowledge through a direct relationship between teacher and student up to the Prophet; second, the *uwaiṣiyyah* lineage, which is a lineage obtained through spiritual experiences such as dreams, without a direct physical encounter with the previous teacher (Mufid, 1992).

From this description, it appears that the boundary between *mu'tabarah* and *gairu ṭarīqah mu'tabarah* is not entirely clear and is relative. This ambiguity eventually triggers various controversies, including mutual blame among followers of different *ṭarīqah*. In this context, an institution like JATMAN should play an active role as a mediator in responding to and resolving the tensions that occur between the *ṭarīqah* communities.

There are several internal factors such as individualism and personal fanaticism that are often the main triggers (Halim & Mubarak, 2020). In addition, leadership styles that are not accepted by some community members can also cause tension. In addition to personal aspects, organizational structural factors also play a role, such as differences in goals between groups and mutual dependence between organizations. For example, the birth of Jam'iyyah Ahl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah an-Nahdliyyah (JATMAN) was inseparable from differences in views with other *ṭarīqah* organizations, such as JATMI. Barriers in communication, both in the planning and monitoring stages, are also a significant cause of conflict. Therefore, communication effectiveness plays a very important role in preventing and resolving potential conflicts in an organization (Jamaluddin et al., 2023).

In this case, a society (*mad'u*) that fails to be tolerant cannot simply be the main factor in a conflict. If we reflect on the early period of the spread of Islam in Indonesia, a tolerant and peaceful attitude was the attitude of the early da'i in spreading Islam, so that Islam was easily accepted by the community. This attitude, on the one hand, was unable to present Islam in its original form and face, but on the other hand it was also unable to eliminate the beliefs of their ancestors (Aly Mashar, 2021).

There are several factors that triggered the growth and development of syncretic practices, among others: The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Chapter XI Article 29 Paragraphs 1 and 2. Paragraph 1 states that the state is based on the One True God. The state guarantees the freedom of each citizen to embrace his religion and to worship according to his religion and belief. The 1945 Constitution, Chapter XI Article 29 Paragraphs 1 and 2, has not only caused many disputes but also various interpretations (Yudianita et al., 2015). The disputes have occurred since the drafting process until now.

Some argue that the word 'belief' should revert to 'religious' belief. This group argues that the cult of belief and *kebatinan* does not have the right to live in Indonesia. Another group is of the view that the word "belief" has an independent meaning and is not returned to religion, so it has the meaning of belief other than religion. This opinion is the same as what is stated in the 1978, 1988 and 1993 GBHN, which contain the meaning of the religion of certain religious people and the beliefs of followers of certain cults. If understood like that, then the flow of belief and *kebatinan* officially has a strong basis to live in Indonesia legally (Arroisi, 2015).

Politicization and polarization based on religious sentiment in Indonesia is also a major enemy of democracy that threatens the integration that has long been built. This phenomenon has always occurred even since the beginning of elections in Indonesia. Even though freedom of opinion and expression are inseparable things in democracy, in fact, democracy for these individuals is only used as legitimacy to spread information that can divide people. They also try to gain votes by using religious arguments, and interpreted according to their political inclinations and choices (Rosyid, 2018b).

The number of conflicts in the community for different reasons groups or organizations, initially formed groups or organizations to provide solutions to social conflicts that occur, and ended up becoming a race that makes the group as the majority as well as the winner. In addition,

tensions also exist between groups of Muslims who hold liberal and secular views on issues surrounding the relationship between religion and politics. However, the personal turn of sufism is inseparable from the development and expansion of sufism itself. The wider the influence of sufism, the more people wanted to learn about it. In order to do so, they go to someone who has knowledge of sufism who can guide them. This is because learning from a teacher with teaching methods that are organized based on the experience of a practical science is a must (Rosyid, 2018b). This concept is held by adherents of *ṭarīqah* in Indonesia, so that if there is a *ṭarīqah* that appears without clear sanad, then it is considered heretical and must be abolished.

However, the conflicts that occur are not only triggered by the practices of *ṭarīqah* in Indonesia. The classification of *mu'tabarah* and *gairu mu'tabarah* also often intersects with politics so that some *ṭarīqah* that are still pure are sometimes grouped as deviant *ṭarīqah* (*gairu mu'tabarah*), and vice versa. JATMAN is certainly in the spotlight as the determinant of the purity of *ṭarīqah* practice in Indonesia. This happened to the mufarridiyah *ṭarīqah* in Tanjung Pura, North Sumatra. In addition, the journey of *ṭarīqah* tijaniyah to be considered a *mu'tabarah ṭarīqah* is also considered a political interest (Zamhari, 2010, pp. 19–20).

Application of the Concept of Cosmopolitanism Da'wah

Cosmopolitanism does not have a standardized definition, but there is an understanding that cosmopolitanism means 'World City'. Furthermore, exploring this definition, researchers consider that cosmopolitanism is an alternative to ethno-centric/nationalism, which is an understanding of love for the homeland from which the individual comes. Cosmopolitanism has been revived after the emergence of awareness of transnational realities that bring broad global values such as political agendas like human rights, global crime, environmental values, and so on. Then at the individual level, cosmopolitanism is seen in complex connections with other people, issues, places, and traditions that cross national boundaries. Some researchers say that cosmopolitanism is a possibility that encompasses global democracy, global citizenship, and the emergence of new frameworks of cooperation at the level of transnational social movements. Others argue that cosmopolitans are a defense of political overreach, challenging traditional values of sense of community, identity and citizenship (Griffith & O'Challaghan, 2002).

Cosmopolitanism has a strong connection with identity, because the goal of cosmopolitanism itself is the struggle for the identity of "world citizenship". There are three ways of building identity, *including legitimizing* identity, which is an identity built by institutions and the state, based on the constitution, and multicultural and ethnic. Then, there is *resistance-based identity* which describes the basis of a resistance identity. In this way, marginalized and minority groups build an identity that rejects cultural fusion/assimilation. Third, the *project-based identity* method, which builds *identity through self-identification*, using the identity through self-identification, using cultural, geographical and historical components.

The skeptics' view of the state's power to stem the influence of globalization is linked to the rejection of cosmopolitanism. This is because cosmopolitanism is a product of globalization, which seeks to integrate states into the world government and the identity of the world community. However, if the state rejects democratic values, it will result in failure in achieving this goal (Khairi, 2021). In another sense, it can be said that globalization has a role in creating religious views, especially in Indonesia.

Indicators in determining success or failure in the creation of cosmopolitanism can be known after examining the concept of cosmopolitanism itself. There are many models of cosmopolitanism, there are cultural, ethical, political and methodological dimensions. The first thing that must be known is the achievement of the goal of cosmopolitanism, which is the unity of humanity into one identity and the creation of lasting peace. Therefore, if a country is able to overcome differences in identity and bring peace within it, it will succeed in creating cosmopolitanism. Vice versa, if a country cannot overcome the problem of different identities and does not achieve peace because of it, then the country has failed to create cosmopolitanism.

In Islam, it is necessary to understand how Islam defends people who are discriminated against, defends the weak both physically and economically, it is more relevant in the current context. So that Islam is able to provide ways and solutions to problems and problems of the people that occur. There is a concept of cosmopolitan Islam that was born from the manifestation of the teachings of Islam itself (*Islamic universalism*) including religious law (*fiqh*), faith (*tawḥīd*), and ethics (morals). These elements actually display great concern for the principle of humanity (*al-insāniyyah*) (Wahid, 2007).

To be able to realize the universality of Islam, a new agenda is needed that can be developed at the present time. The development of this new agenda is needed considering that many Muslims are narrow-minded and exclusive, so that they are no longer able to take part in the building of human civilization that will emerge post-industrial. Today, Muslims are even a burden to the future rise of humanity. Under these circumstances, Muslims will only become objects of history, not actors with dignity and full rights like other communities (Siswanto & Fakhruddin, 2022).

The goals of sufism and *Ṭarīqah*, which previously wanted to create a public good *(maṣlaḥah ummah),* were simply dissolved because of the conflict that occurred. sufism as a dimension of Islamic spirituality will gain its strategic position in the 21st century (Salleh et al., 2014). This position is supported by several studies; first, Azyumardi Azra's research which explains that practitioners of sufism and *ṭarīqah* tend to have networks and ties that are autonomous, self-regulating, self-financing, and strive to achieve public good. This tendency is not unique to the practitioners of sufism and *ṭarīqah*, because this tendency has emerged and existed among Muslim communities since the early days of Islamic history (M. van; H. Bruinessen, 2008). Secondly, Vincent J. Cornell's research in North Africa concluded that there is some potential for civil society in the network of sufism and even *ṭarīqah*. This can be seen from the strong ties between the practitioners of sufism to achieve *maṣlaḥah ummah* (public good) by developing education and the application of civilizational values that emphasize mutual trust and respect (O'Fahey, 1990).

JATMAN as an organization that regulates all the dynamics of *ṭarīqah* in Indonesia calls for "defending the country" with the jargon "NKRI harga mati" (doctrine of love for the homeland) and *handarbeni* (pride in locality) if seen from reality, the problem of distinguishing between *mu'tabarah* and *gairu mu'tabarah ṭarīqah* often intersects with politics so that the call for "defending the country" which is the handle of JATMAN is certainly questionable. Martin further emphasizes that in Indonesia there is a tendency to see splinter movements primarily as threats to stability and security and to ban them immediately. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between religious movements that are banned because they are deviant or because of political attitudes and interests (Bruinesssen, 1992).

Therefore, it is better not to rely on an institution to determine the purity of a *ṭarīqah*, but rather on the criteria set by that institution. If examined, the *mu'tabarah* criteria set by JATMAN is an agreement of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* scholars throughout the world. In other words, *mu'tabarah* can be determined from the conditions that have been agreed upon by the scholars of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* worldwide. These requirements certainly serve as a barrier and differentiator for *ṭarīqah* practices that have the goal of *ma'rifatullah* and kebatinan flow (DUTI NTB, 2022).

Returning to the ultimate goal of the concept of cosmopolitanism, namely the unity of humanity into one identity and the creation of lasting peace. With the focus on determining the purity of *ṭarīqah* to the requirements of the scholars of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* without looking at the institution that oversees it, the controversies regarding political interests in the world of *ṭarīqah* will be resolved. Basically, *ṭarīqah* as a form of ṣūfī life and sufism is a pure activity that has nothing to do with politics. Because the purpose of practicing *ṭarīqah* is closeness to Allah. Thus, *ṭarīqah* is sacred and ukhrawi. Although conceptually *ṭarīqah* and politics are two different areas, historically and empirically there has been interaction between *ṭarīqah* and politics since long ago (Surbakti, 1992).

The application of this cosmopolitanism da'wah concept is not impossible in Indonesia, especially in rural communities. Upholding culture is important, humans must also learn from past traditions. This is aimed at how we know our origins, maintain previous thoughts, and do not force ourselves to assimilate to new cultures. Humans also have physical differences with each other. But a cosmopolitan says that global identity is more important than individual or national identity to maintain peace. The universal morality that flows is not based on anything including identity. In fact, if there is an identity attached to differences, we will have a sentiment towards others with the phrase that "we are different from them" (Irawan, 2019).

This is also related to the textual approach used in Islamic proselytization. In general, the textual approach does not face significant obstacles when applied to assess the *qaṭ'ī* dimensions of Islamic teachings, such as the aspects of *'ibādah maḥdah* and *tawḥīd*. However, this approach begins to face challenges when it is used to assess forms of religious rituals that are not explicitly mentioned in the Qur'an or hadith, but have been widely accepted and practiced by certain Muslim communities as part of hereditary traditions. The textual approach suffers from a Dilemma epistemologically when it comes to legitimizing these practices as part of Islamic teachings. In the context of scientific studies, the main orientation is not to decide whether a ritual is included in Islamic teachings or not. This kind of discourse is considered to be using and irrelevant to continue to be maintained in the contemporary academic realm. Instead, the focus of scientific studies is how to place the ritual in a proportional position, without being trapped in truth claims or one-sided truth claims. In this case, the delivery of religious values through the approach of *ḥikmah* (wisdom) and *maw'izah ḥasanah* (good advice) is considered more effective for building an inclusive and dialogical understanding (Jailani, 2014).

In Islamic teachings, every individual is given the freedom to choose the spiritual path they want to take. However, every religion basically has its own commitment in maintaining its existence through da'wah activities. Ideally, the da'wah carried out by each religion, school, or religious sect should be based on the principle of peace. Although in reality there is often a clash between group and individual interests, the spirit of cosmopolitanism is present as a response to this complexity. Cosmopolitans seek to bridge and harmonize differences by upholding the value of inclusiveness. Therefore, the cosmopolitan approach characterized by an open attitude and high ability to establish intercultural interactions as described by Vertovec and Cohen needs to be used as a foundation in building a tolerant and civilized national life. The attitude of tolerance and respect for differences is a crucial aspect that must continue to be developed in da'wah in a multicultural society (Mustofa, 2015).

One approach that is often missing in the discourse on *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* is the aspect of social capital and inclusive spirituality that they practice. Although often positioned as marginal or unofficial *ṭarīqah*, many of these groups have a strong vitality in forming social and spiritual networks for their followers. They provide spaces for contemplation, spiritual therapy, and social healing that are rarely found in formal institutions.

In practice, these *ṭarīqah* carry out various activities such as congregational dhikr, energy-based alternative medicine, moral counseling, and spiritual guidance for the marginalized. However, some of these practices also cause controversy if they are not accompanied by adequate shar'i understanding. For example, in some cases there is an extreme understanding of spiritual connection (*ittihad*) that is misunderstood and leads to excessive worship of the murshid, the practice of *khalwat* without guidance, or the recognition of *karāmah* that is not scientifically and shar'i verified. This can open the door to denial of the limits of sharia and obscure the principle of *tawḥīd*. such as dhikr in congregation, energy-based alternative medicine, moral counseling, and spiritual guidance for marginalized people such as ex-cons, addicts, or victims of domestic violence. All these activities often take place in informal spaces, but have a real transformational impact. *ṭarīqah* in this case functions as a social healer that reaches out to the layers of society that are not touched by formal religious services.

The concept of spirituality offered tends to be transformative and empathic. However, this

approach still needs to be guarded by the principles of sharia so as not to slip into a form of free spiritualism. This shows that spirituality innovation must still refer to the authentic sources of Islamic teachings. They do not emphasize the legal-formal aspects of religion, but on inner experience, purification of the heart, and the search for peace. This pattern reflects a key feature of what Anthony Giddens calls "*post-traditional religion*", i.e. spiritual practices that no longer rely on traditional authorities, but on the search for personal meaning and autonomous spiritual relations.

Moreover, the *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* also builds inclusive communities. It is not uncommon to find participants from different religious backgrounds or beliefs in one dhikr gathering. In field observations, some *ṭarīqah* even adopt a dialogical and universalistic approach in the delivery of teachings, emphasizing the values of love, compassion, and spiritual awareness rather than doctrine.

Ṭarīqah Gairu Mu'tabarah's Response to Stigma and Marginalization

The *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* often face stigma and marginalization, both from official religious institutions and the public who consider them to deviate from the standards of Islamic orthodoxy. In many cases, these groups are labeled as heretical, syncretic, or even pseudo-sufistic because they do not fall within the legal-formal scope of the *ṭarīqah mu'tabarah*. However, the response shown by many *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* is not aggressively reactive or defensive, but constructive and communicative.

One form of their response is through the rebranding of da'wah using digital media. Many *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* have established YouTube channels, Instagram accounts and community WhatsApp groups to convey their teachings. In these social media, they emphasize the value of love, tolerance, and a soothing spiritual approach. Instead of counterattacking, they build positive, experiential da'wah narratives. This shows that these groups understand the importance of narratives in shaping public opinion, while recognizing that their existence is in a competitive religious landscape.

Ṭarīqah like Idrisiyyah, for example, respond to stigma by building formal education networks, managing *taḥfīẓ* houses, and being active in community social activities. This strategy reverses negative perceptions by showing a real contribution to the socio-religious life of the surrounding community (Munir, 2021). Meanwhile, other groups hold open assemblies in public spaces such as parks, campuses, or cafes to show that Islamic spirituality does not have to be confined within the walls of *pesantren*. Responses to marginalization are also made through moderate discursive approaches. Some *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* murshids choose not to respond to verbal attacks or slander with confrontation, but rather by displaying polite morals. This shows that their spirituality is rooted in the values of love and self-control.

Furthermore, these groups build strong internal systems through murshid training, guided *ḥalaqah* and open digital literature. This establishes a responsible scholarly narrative, which aims to show that although they are not within the *mu'tabarah* structure, they still uphold shari'a*, adab* 'ethic' and scholarly *sanad*. However, it is also important to note that not all *gairu mu'tabarah* groups provide a healthy response to stigma. A small number are caught up in claims of spiritual exclusivity, *anti-ulema,* or rejection of *fiqh*. Therefore, the urgency is to distinguish between the *gairu mu'tabarah* who deviate, and the *gairu mu'tabarah* who practice *taṣawwuf* in a valid but non-conventional manner. As Ibn Taymiyyah stated: *"Sufism that is in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah is part of the religion, while that which deviates from it must be rejected"* (Majmu' al-Fatawa) (Taimiyah, n.d.,).

Therefore, in the perspective of cosmopolitan da'wah, the response to this stigma must be read not only as a form of self-defense, but also as an effort to expand an inclusive spiritual space. Da'wah does not only mean conveying the truth, but also opening space for empathy, building dialogue, and embracing those who are excluded from the center of religious authority. As in the concept of cosmopolitanism proposed by Kwame Anthony Appiah, a healthy religious identity is one that can recognize differences without losing its roots (Appiah, 2007).

Thus, the *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* response to marginalization is not a form of rejection of authority, but a form of cultured resistance to exclusivism. In this context, cosmopolitan da'wah comes as an approach that does not judge, but affirms: that every spiritual expression that remains based on sharia and divine love deserves space to grow and develop.

The phenomenon of *gairu mu'tabarah* ṣūfī orders in Indonesia is often placed in a problematic position, particularly because they are considered to lack a legitimate *sanad* that can be formally accounted for. Within the framework of mainstream sufism, *sanad* serves as the standard for the validity of a ṣūfī order, and the absence of such authority renders these groups vulnerable to criticism. However, when this phenomenon is examined through the lens of cosmopolitanism as articulated by Vertovec and Cohen, the existence of *gairu mu'tabarah* orders can be understood not merely as a deviation, but rather as an expression of spiritual pluralism embedded within contemporary Muslim society.

Cosmopolitanism, according to Vertovec and Cohen (Vertovec & Cohen, 2011), is not simply an abstract idea about global openness, but a framework that encompasses sociocultural, philosophical, political, dispositional, and practical dimensions. When these six dimensions are applied to the study of cosmopolitan da'wah in the context of *gairu mu'tabarah* orders, da'wah is no longer seen merely as a formal authority that enforces boundaries of orthodoxy, but as a dynamic process that embraces spiritual diversity and channels it into a peaceful social order.

In the sociocultural dimension, ṣūfī practice in Indonesian urban contexts shows how *majlis dhikr* provide a shared space for followers of different orders, even without rigid *sanad* ties. The heterogeneous composition of participants creates an atmosphere of fluid diversity in which spiritual experience is not confined by exclusivist identities. This demonstrates that the sociocultural condition of Muslim communities in the contemporary era tends toward pluralism and openness, a condition deeply resonant with cosmopolitan ideals. This phenomenon as superdiversity, a layered complexity that can no longer be understood through singular categories. From the perspective of philosophy or worldview, *gairu mu'tabarah* orders emphasize universal ṣūfī values such as love, serenity, and the pursuit of inner meaning rather than the formal legitimacy of *sanad*. In this regard, cosmopolitan da'wah underscores that such universal values align with the principles of inclusivity and openness inherent in cosmopolitanism. Thus, these orders should not be perceived as threats to orthodoxy, but as part of the broader religious dynamics that expand the horizons of Muslim spirituality.

The political dimension of cosmopolitanism is also highly relevant. *Gairu mu'tabarah* orders often build networks that transcend territorial boundaries. Through social media and online forums, they interact with global ṣūfī communities, thereby creating informal transnational institutions operating beyond traditional authority structures. This shows that cosmopolitan da'wah facilitates cross-border connectedness, situating local ṣūfī practices within global networks and constructing new discursive spaces. At the same time, these orders also embody a political project of identity recognition. They provide avenues for groups excluded from mainstream *mu'tabarah* orders to articulate their spiritual identities openly. Cosmopolitan da'wah here functions as a vehicle of recognition, legitimizing diverse religious expressions and enabling marginalized groups to claim their space within the religious landscape. Da'wah, therefore, is not only a medium for transmitting religious messages but also a mechanism for affirming plural identities.

The dispositional orientation of cosmopolitanism is likewise evident. Practices of inter-order *dhikr* and digital da'wah emphasizing moderation, compassion, and respect for difference cultivate openness and tolerance among practitioners. This corresponds to the cosmopolitan disposition of receptiveness toward the Other. In da'wah, such a dispositional orientation demonstrates that religiosity is no longer built upon exclusivity but rather upon emotional and spiritual connectedness that transcends formal identity markers. Finally, cosmopolitanism as practice or competence becomes apparent in the tangible forms of cosmopolitan da'wah. Activities such as joint *dhikr*, the dissemination of spiritual content on social media, and the establishment of online communities open to diverse ṣūfī backgrounds all reflect competencies to engage with diversity. These practices

articulate universal values in local contexts and negotiate spiritual identities across traditions. Thus, cosmopolitan da'wah emerges not as an abstract framework but as a concrete reality shaping religious life.

A concrete example can be found in urban *majlis dhikr* in Jakarta, which welcome participants from a range of ṣūfī backgrounds, including Muslims unaffiliated with any order. Attendees join not to pledge allegiance to a particular murshid, but to experience collective spiritual serenity. This demonstrates that cosmopolitan dimensions exist not merely in academic discourse but also in everyday religious practice. Similarly, in digital spaces, contemporary *da'i* employ social media to deliver messages of moderation and love while accommodating diverse ṣūfī practices. Such engagement reflects cosmopolitan competence in communicating across traditions and fostering inclusive narratives.

Reading *gairu mu'tabarah* orders through the lens of cosmopolitanism thus offers new insights: these phenomena are not deviations but alternative expressions of ṣūfī dynamics that reflect contemporary spiritual needs. Cosmopolitan da'wah emerges as a medium to embrace rather than exclude, to recognize rather than negate. It is precisely this feature that makes cosmopolitan da'wah an effective response to the complex socio-religious realities of Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The application of the concept of cosmopolitan da'wah in responding to the existence of *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* in Indonesia is an important step to build a more inclusive and contextual da'wah approach. This study demonstrates that cosmopolitan da'wah is a relevant approach to understanding the phenomenon of *ṭarīqah gairu mu'tabarah* 'ṣūfī orders' in Indonesia. Drawing on Vertovec and Cohen's theory of cosmopolitanism, the research reveals that the existence of these orders should not be viewed merely through the lens of *sanad* legitimacy, but also as an expression of spiritual plurality within contemporary Muslim society. Through the six dimensions of cosmopolitanism, sociocultural conditions, worldview, transnational political projects, identity recognition, dispositional orientations, and practices, cosmopolitan da'wah proves capable of accommodating ṣūfī diversity, strengthening social cohesion, and fostering an inclusive, moderate, and peaceful religious sphere. Nonetheless, this study is limited by its exclusive reliance on library research, which emphasizes textual interpretation over empirical fieldwork, leaving the lived social dynamics of *gairu mu'tabarah* communities underexplored, while the application of cosmopolitanism theory still requires interdisciplinary enrichment. Future research is therefore recommended to adopt field-based approaches such as direct observation and in-depth interviews, expand the scope by comparing *mu'tabarah* and *gairu mu'tabarah* orders, and integrate cosmopolitanism with perspectives from media studies, religious anthropology, and transnational studies to produce a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between da'wah, sufism, and cosmopolitanism in contemporary Indonesia.

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