
Mafia sholawat: The shift of Sufism proselytization in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This research explains the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia with the phenomenon of mafia sholawat in the current era. This research analyzes the shift in Sufism da'wah in Indonesia with the emergence of the mafia sholawat phenomenon, the factors that influence it, and its impact on Muslim society in Indonesia. The author uses a qualitative method with a netnography approach and literature review. By observing videos on social media and also articles related to the shift in Sufism da'wah and mafia sholawat. The results of this study show that the sholawat mafia packages Sufism da'wah with a different approach. This approach attracts young people and marginalized groups such as street children and punk communities to engage in religious activities. The findings reveal a polarized community response split into two groups. Some support it as an innovative da'wah strategy and a strategy that is easily accepted by the younger generation, while others criticize it as an activity that violates adab and can damage the image of Islam itself.

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INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, Islam has been an integral part of people's lives for centuries. One of the most influential Islamic sects in Indonesia is Sufism. Sufism is a school of Islam that emphasizes spiritual aspects and a direct relationship with God.

In Indonesia, the falsafi style of Sufism was popularized by Hamzah Fanzuri and Syams Al-Din Al- Sumatrani in the 17th century, highlighting its adherence to wahdatul wujud which tends to pantheistic interpretations. (Taufani, 2016)

However, in this modern era, Sufism in Indonesia has experienced a significant shift. The emergence of the "Mafia Shalawat" phenomenon is one example of this shift. In a small town in Java, there is a community known as "mafia shalawat". They are a group of people who have something in common in spreading Sufism through shalawat and dancing. In the beginning, the mafia shalawat only numbered a few people who gathered in a small mosque

to perform shalawat and dance together. However, over time, their community grew and attracted the attention of many people.

Mafia shalawat has a unique way of spreading Sufism. They not only perform shalawat and joget, but also combine their joget movements with the beautiful and entertaining lyrics of shalawat. Their dynamic and entertaining joget movements make many people interested in joining their community. In addition, the lyrics of shalawat that they sing also make many people feel inspired and get calm.

However, the shift of Sufism proselytization in Indonesia made the shalawat mafia have to adapt to the new situation. Many people began to question the validity of Sufism preaching and considered it as something that was not in accordance with Islamic teachings. Mafia shalawat must struggle to prove that the Sufism preaching they do is something positive and in accordance with Islamic teachings. They must try to change people's perceptions about Sufism and joget da'wah can be a means to get closer to God.

In their struggle, the shalawat mafia not only rely on the power of their joget and shalawat, but also rely on the power of unity among them. They believe that by uniting and fighting together, they can change people's perception of Sufism and prove that shalawat and joget can be a means to get closer to God.

The movement has become popular among the youth and has led to debates about whether it is in line with Islamic teachings and Sufism. This shift in Sufism in Indonesia raises questions about how this shift occurs, what are the factors that influence it, and how it impacts on society and Islam. Therefore, this study aims to examine the shift in Sufism in Indonesia with the emergence of the "mafia sholawat" phenomenon and to understand its impact on society and Islam.

Research studies relevant to this topic reveal the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia with the emergence of the "mafia sholawat" phenomenon. First, the research of Hanifah Hikmawati, Andrik Purwasito, and Titis Srimuda Pitana with the title "Metal style mafia shalawat as a method of da'wah and its influence in ngawi society" examines message studies of the mafia shalawat group led by Drs. KH. Muhammad Ali Shadiqin or commonly called Gus Ali Gondrong. The purpose of the research is to find out the ability of the shalawat mafia in attracting worshipers to join it, secondly, to find out the metal style can be applied by the shalawat mafia as a method of da'wah to gain power. Message studies theory and communication semiology are used as critical theories and message interpretation methods as the basis for descriptive analysis. (Hikmawati et al., 2017)

Second, Mambaul Ngadhimah's research with the title "Dance spin mafia shalawat: NU youth identity". This paper is an antithesis of Bayat and Harrera's statements, assuming that Nahdlatul Ulama youth in Ponorogo Regency, East Java, with a sufficient level of knowledge, a lower middle class economic level, a harmonious level of social relations, they will not be dragged into radical Islamic propaganda if they have a clear and strong identity. Through the whirling dance of mafia shalawat, nahdliyin youth are able to explore their identity, establish their identity and fortify themselves from the deception of the transnational Islamic Movement. This research aims to answer the problem of the whirling dance mafia shalawat's relations with social media and popular culture and the patterns of the whirling dance of mafia shalawat in constructing the identity of Indonesian nahdliyin youth. (Ngadhimah, 2019)

Third, Maianna Restu Handayani's research on "The study of living sufism in the sholawat mafia assembly". This research aims to find out the meaning of Sufism so that it is used as a tool to get closer to God, and to find out the principles of Sufism in the sholawat mafia assembly. In this research, the author uses field data sources in the form of sholawat mafia assemblies with qualitative methods similar to description as the analysis. With the results obtained, Sufism is a self-purification and spiritual path used to get closer to God with various practices such as dhikr, prayer, mujahaddah, and other practices. Then the principle of Sufism in this assembly is that there is the principle of repentance, the principle of tawakal, and also the principle of mahabbah in the mafia sholawat assembly program. (Maianna Restu Handayani, 2024)

This research has three focus problems that become the main focus, namely: 1) how is the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia with the emergence of the phenomenon of "mafia sholawat" ?. 2) what are the factors that influence the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia ?. 3) how is the impact of the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia on society and Islam?

And this research aims to identify the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia with the emergence of the phenomenon of "mafia sholawat", analyze the factors that influence the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia, examine the impact of the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia on society and Islam

THEORETICAL REVIEW

Some books of Sufism attribute the origin of the word Sufi to shafa, which means purity. If it is attributed to one person, it is called sufi and if it is attributed to a group, it is

called *sufiyah*. This name was originally given to the saints and spiritual experts in Islam. People who want to reach this stage are called *mutashawwif*, that is, by subduing lust. The opposite of *mutashawwif* is *mustashwif* or those who pretend to be Sufis.

The habits of this early generation of Sufis were not the same as those of the later generation of Sufis. The early Sufis preferred to live alone by isolating themselves from the crowd. They felt that they had found peace for themselves. No special rules of discipline were imposed on them. All they had to do was live a simple life, live in poverty, and increase their meditation and worship. In contrast, later Sufis chose to live in a hut, known in Sufi teachings as *khanqah*, *ribat* or *zawiyah*. In the hut, they live under the teachings of a teacher, *murshid*, or *pir* who disciplines a special rule for practicing the teachings of Sufism. The most important teaching is that they prioritize good deeds rather than being busy studying theosophical theories. (Mahendra, 2024)

By some circles, especially orientalist as mentioned above, they equate Sufism with mysticism. The mystical things in question are those that developed outside of Islam such as Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

In various observations about the birth and emergence of Sufism, it can be seen from various situations and conditions at the time it appeared. Initially, they were practitioners of asceticism or *zuhud*, then in the next few centuries transformed into Sufis. The asceticists emerged as a response to the condition of Muslims who he saw had been far from religious values, too pursuing the world and ignoring the hereafter.

There were several events that led to their birth. Generally, scholars or researchers attribute some of the political events after the death of the prophet Muhammad, issues of leadership, politics, and conquest have led to various responses from early asceticism or *zuhud* practitioners.

The assassination of the third caliph, *usman bin affan*, is considered by some to be the starting point for the emergence of various sects or schools in Islam. This was followed by the emergence of various civil wars that engulfed the Muslims at that time. The culmination was the assassination of Caliph *Ali ibn Abi Talib*, which marked the internal conflicts within Islam.

After the *khulafaur rasyidin* era ended, Muslims entered a new era whose leadership was then continued by dynastic or family rule. It began with the Umayyad dynasty and continued with the Abbasid dynasty, which marked a new era in the history of Islam. In these dynasties, there were great men who conquered and explored, so that the territory of Islam

spread even to Africa and India, and the sciences gained a firm foothold among the Muslims.

Later on, some people began to see that what the Muslims had achieved had led them away from religion. There were many intrigues in building the splendor of the great dynasties. For example, political conflicts between families resulted in the sacrifice of their relatives and even their children. Some caliphs were considered to have gone too far such as playing with women, drinking nabiz, and conflicts between caliphs. Then there was the taking of rights from citizens whose territories had been conquered by the early Islamic rulers. This was then seen by some of the early asceticism actors that Muslims only focused on the worldly to forget the hereafter. These things then get a response and response from some of the perpetrators of early asceticism. They finally stepped aside from the glittering glory of Islam that had been achieved by several Islamic caliphs. Some of them even directly criticized the behavior of the caliphs who were considered far from Islamic values.

It was this that triggered al-hasan al-basri to embark on a life of early asceticism. In the tradition of Sufism, he is usually referred to as an ascetic or early Sufi. He lived during the Umayyad dynasty, and was even known as their loyalist. In addition, he was also a critic of the Umayyad dynasty. He preferred to avoid and do *zubud* on what happened in the Umayyad dynasty. (Prof. Dr. M. Syafiq Mughni, MA. et al., 2015)

These early asceticists also saw the Abbasid dynasty as the Umayyad dynasty. Many of them saw that the Abbasid dynasty also committed several actions that distanced them from Islamic values. In addition, the early Abbasid reign (750-900 CE) was the peak of Islamic glory, when many scientists, scholars, and several scientific traditions were born during this period. One of them was caliph al-manshur who bequeathed his wealth to al-mahdi who was his successor.

He bequeathed 14 million dirhams and 600 million dinars to al-mahdi. By al-mahdi, he used the money to start a life of luxury, immorality and a daily phenomenon. Al-mahdi often held music parties, which was his favorite. He also enjoyed chatting with women and drinking nabiz with his ministers. This continued with his successor, Muhammad al-amin. (H. Brilly El-Rasheed, 2024).

This then prompted some of the asceticism perpetrators during the Abbasid period to withdraw from such things. They no longer sought positions or wealth, they only focused on worshiping Allah. They preferred to contemplate, *dhikr*, and occasionally criticize the Abbasid rulers. With the vast area of Abbasid rule stretching from North Africa to India, it is not surprising that this ascetic way of life also spread to various Islamic regions. From Baghdad,

Basra, Iraq, Africa, to Central Asia or Khurasan, people were born who chose this asceticism.

During this period, there was a remarkable development of asceticism. Because whatever they did was solely to escape from mainstream social life, some of them began to direct or focus on the development of inner life. The manifestation of their discourse also began to give rise to new orientations such as spiritual states, various stages of spiritual development, closeness to god, and love or what is usually referred to as inner knowledge (*ilm al-batin*) which can be achieved with diligence in the training of the human soul.

For Sufis, the ways to achieve this are by conducting psychological exploration, such as repentance or returning to God (*tawba*), having faith in God (*tawakkul*), being careful (*wara*), and it must all be done with a serious soul and heart to achieve true repentance. For asceticism practitioners, this is done to avoid the world (*dunya*, which literally means the lower, closer realm) in order to develop or achieve the other (*akhirat*, the "ultimate realm").

RESEARCH METHODS

This research uses qualitative methods. Qualitative research is research that gets results without statistical or quantification techniques (Agustini, Aully Grashinta, et al., 2023). Qualitative research is also called interpretative research, naturalistic research, or phenomenological research. The qualitative approach emphasizes meaning, reasoning, definition of a particular situation (in a particular context), and examines more things related to everyday life. The qualitative approach is also more concerned with the process than the end result. (Dr. Rukin, 2019)

Research results obtained through the collection and analysis of non-numerical data to understand the circumstances and social phenomena being studied. In the form of in-depth narrative descriptions including the results of observations, as well as the development of theories or concepts used.

There are 3 objectives of qualitative research, namely: describing the object of research (describing object), revealing the meaning behind the phenomenon (exploring meaning behind the phenomena) and explaining the phenomenon that occurs (explaining object) (Dr. Drs. I Wayan Suwendra, S.Pd.M.Pd., 2018). Qualitative research now utilizes various types of multimedia data, such as video, images, and audio, to enrich understanding of the phenomenon under study. This allows researchers to combine various data formats that have not previously been widely utilized (Hasan et al., 2025)

This method is carried out with a netnography approach, Netnography is an

anthropological research technique on the internet, utilizing information that exists in general where everyone is free to get it on social media (Bakry, 2017).

The data collection technique uses the random sampling method. The random sampling method is a method in which all samples are selected with equal chances because the sampling is done randomly without regard to population levels or groups (Susanti, 2019).

To understand this topic in depth, this research also uses a literature review approach. literature is used as a direction in answering research questions and hypotheses. Further, the position of literature is as a summary of previous studies that have been conducted, as a theoretical review where researchers focus on existing theories to answer research questions, and as a methodological review that focuses on methods and definitions that have been summarized from various studies. (Manzilati et al., 2017)

Literature reviewers read each study carefully to evaluate the purpose of the study, determine the feasibility and quality of the scientific method, check the analysis of questions and answers posed by the author, summarize the findings of the entire study, and write an objective synthesis of the findings. (Mahwati, 2024)

Researchers collect information from various literature sources such as scientific journals, books, articles, and papers that discuss relevant topics. This information was then analyzed and synthesized using the narrative method, where data was grouped and connected to form a coherent and easy-to-understand narrative.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Majlis Mafia Sholawat is a shalawat group founded by KH. Muhammad Ali Shadiqin or commonly called Gus Ali Gondrong with the assistance of Gus Muwafiq, established in the city of Ponorogo, East Java on November 9, 2013 with worshipers from various countries. (Lulu Salsabila Mu'izzah, 2024)

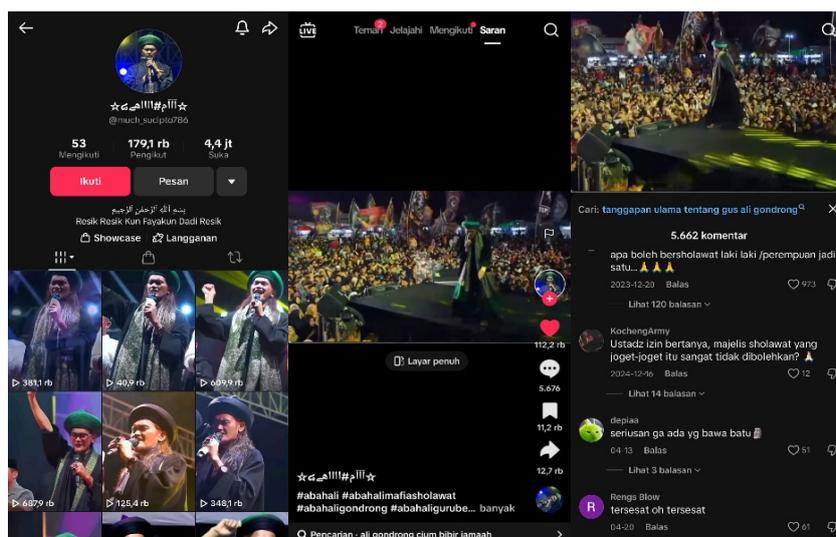
Quoting from Muhammad Syaifuddin's research in 2017 with the title "KH. Muhammad Ali Shadiqin's Da'wah Material (Case study of Mafia Shalawat in Ponorogo) Gus Ali adopted a well-known meaning to be used as the identity of the congregation by presenting a new meaning, namely the acronym of Manunggaling Ati lan Fikiran ing Dalem Shalawat, which means 'Uniting the mind and heart in prayer. (Syaifuddin, 2017)

The term "Mafia Shalawat" comes from a combination of two words: "Mafia" which lexically means a secret society that deals in crime, and "Shalawat" which refers to prayer or praise to the Prophet Muhammad. Simply put, "Mafia Shalawat" describes a group or

community that conducts religious activities (shalawat) in a secret or perhaps unconventional way. The naming of Mafia as a new meaning construction indicates that the public is invited to understand a thought and idea conveyed by Gus Ali in his eccentric style.

The representation carried out by Gus Ali is power to show social, cultural, political, and economic positions both latently and manifestly. This is a renewal of the human religiosity system against the existing da'wah establishment. Moreover, this understanding in the midst of the latest pace of globalization, the existence of a slang-based, contemporary religious group is considered important for actualizing spiritual thirst with a new model that follows people's tastes. This phenomenon of shalawat practice is representative of the postmodern situation that afflicts humanity today. In contrast to the modern paradigm that favors rationality, postmodern is a condition to represent a shift in discourse in various fields, one of which is religious practice (Hikmawati et al., 2017)

Sholawat Concert



Gambar 1. Left (tiktok account @much_sucipto786), center (sholawat concert video), right (Comment column). Source: Screenshot on tiktok account @much_sucipto786

In a video uploaded on October 28, 2023 by Tik Tok user @much_sucipto786 (with 179.1 thousand followers), a moment of sholawat led by Gus Ali Gondrong, founder of Majelis Mafia Sholawat, is shared. The 1-minute and 1-second video shows sholawat activities on stage with an atmosphere full of enthusiasm and joy. Gus Ali delivers sholawat with energy in the middle of the night, followed enthusiastically by the congregation.

However, in the video, the sholawat activity resembles a song concert rather than a sholawat assembly that should take place more solemnly. Many participants are seen dancing

and doing movements that are considered inappropriate for a sholawat event. In addition, there was no barrier between male and female worshipers, so the two mixed in one crowd without a partition, which in Islamic tradition is usually avoided in order to maintain the adab and sanctity of the assembly.

The video has reached 6.9 million views, received 112.2 thousand likes, and 5,677 comments from netizens. Its popularity has led to a variety of reactions, both from those who support the passionate atmosphere of sholawat and from those who criticize it for violating the values of modesty in worship.

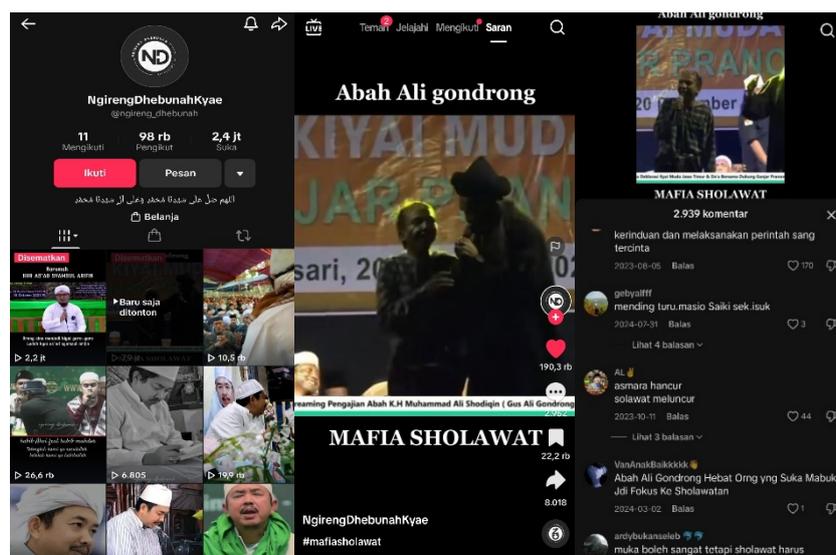
Netizens' responses to the Sholawat Concert video

This video has been flooded with comments up to 5677 comments from netizens in this section researchers will take a few samples of these comments to provide an overview of the pro and con responses of the audience or the public to the shared video.

A user named K4K4NG PR4BU 1 commented, "*sesuatu butuh proses untuk hijrah dari yg buruk berangkat ke yg baik, setidaknya semua ikut bersholawat yg penting bacaan nya gak salah malah seneng dengernya*". This comment shows a positive or pro attitude towards it. It sees that this is the first step towards goodness even though the conditions are not ideal. Then MaulidaAini commented, "*sedih bgt liat begini, yg katanya cinta Nabi tapi menurut ku bukan begini caranya, yg namanya cinta seseorang atau mengagumi itu ikuti hal2 baiknya, apalagi Nabi Muhammad Nabi suri tauladan semua umat. menurutku dgn kita mengikuti ajaran islam sesuai dgn quran dan hadist yg shabih InshaAllah itu sudah menjadi umat yg cinta sama Nabi nya.*" Another comment from nindy, "*konser berkedok sholawat, astaghfirulloh....cewek cowok gak adabatas.*" and a comment from a user with the name boboy boyyy stated. "*sholawatan sambil joget2 ? ga ada pembatas laki dan perempuan ? haha sekte apa ini*" These comments illustrate the strong criticism of the sholawat atmosphere which is considered not in accordance with the adab of Islamic law, especially regarding the mixing of men and women, and the dancing behavior in the sholawat event.

Anak Punk Sholawat

Furthermore, researchers chose a video uploaded on March 17, 2023 by Tik tok user @ngireng_dhebunah (with 98 thousand followers). This account shares a video of shalawat assembly activities carried out on stage by inviting a punk child to accompany sholawat.



Gambar 2. Left (tiktok account @ngireng_dhebunah), center (video of punk children praying, right (Comment column). Source: Screenshot on tiktok account @ngireng_dhebunah

In a video that lasts 2 minutes and 7 seconds, it shows shalawat activities with street children which are carried out happily. The congregation consisting of street children and punk children enthusiastically followed the shalawat activities. However, the activity is still accompanied by movements that do not need to be done when chanting shalawat.

This video has been played up to 7.9 million views, and received 190.3 thousand likes, and 2,939 comments, with such a large number of views that will trigger reactions from netizens.

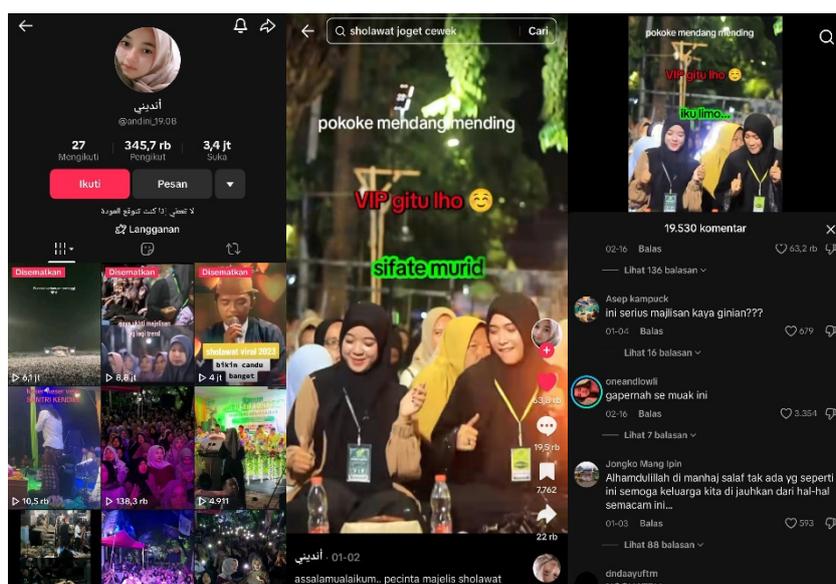
Public response to the video Anak Punk Sholawat

This video was flooded with comments up to 2939 comments, so of course this will illustrate how the reactions and responses of netizens to the video. A user named Bakul gedank stated, "*Sebat2 gus ali gondrong. Beliau punya cara tersendiri untuk ajak orang-orang bersholawat..*". Then qomar al hilal stated, "*yang penting orang mau ikut sholawatan dulu nanti klo udah senang sama majelis akan berubah sendiri dirinya*". And Beem added to the comments by stating, "*Punten izin kaum suci menurut sy Itu langkah awal untuk memperkenalkan lantunan shalawat kpd org yg blm suka atau belum mengikuti anjuran islam,awal yang bagus,tgl mngembangkan agar lbh kebusyuk*". Comments like this support the approach of the community, especially street kids and punks, to love shalawat. They think that this is a good first step.

On the other hand, tothebone stated, "*mreka bukan menikmati sholawatnya karena memuji*

rasul, namun iringan musiknya dan alunannya". And Fatir stated, "malah ntar yang kaya di normalisasikan sama penontonnya bro, ntar mikir lagi mabok juga ga di marabhin jadi gapapa sambil mabok juga". And RO-RI-RO-RI thinks that, "solawatan kok joget mending tidur ". These comments express disapproval of the method of implementation of the assembly because it is considered to reduce the sacred values of selawat and even create a negative perception of Islamic Shariat itself.

Sholawat dance



Gambar 3. Left (tiktok account @andini_19.08), center (sholawat dance video, right (Comment column). Source: Screenshot on tiktok account @andini_19.08

Next, researchers selected a video uploaded on February 1, 2025 by Tik tok user @andini_19.08 (with 3,457 thousand followers). Andini shared a video of two teenage girls who were in the middle of a sholawat assembly. The 32-second video shows two teenage girls who are swaying and doing movements that are considered unnecessary when they are in the middle of the prayer assembly.

This video has been watched up to 5.6 million times, getting 63.8 thousand likes and 19.5 thousand comments from Tik tok users. With such a large bridge of popularity it will cause various kinds of reactions from each user.

Netizen responses to sholawat dance

This video has been commented on by 19.5 thousand comments from netizens. From several netizen comments on this video, the researcher will take several samples which

will then describe how netizens respond to the video.

One user by the name of Erzart stated, "*siapa sih yang pertama kali ngide sholawatan sambil joget-jogetan kayak gitu*". Then another comment from user derarifaldi12, "*inimah seolah² melachuurr diruang tuban*". The user with the name AR stated, "*mmg benar,ekspresi dr wajahnya bs menggugah syahwat bagi laki2 yg melihatnya.wlpun pakaian tertutup pun..hmm kok bs ya*". Eltiarasiregar added in his comment, "ISTIGHFAR KALIAN WOI". And the user with the name chia also stated, "*ngapain mbak,ekspresiny jg sampe bgtu*".

All of the comments used in this sample show conflicting responses to the shared video. Most netizens generally think that swaying activities in sholawat assemblies are inappropriate, and can even cause slander and ruin the atmosphere of the assembly.

The Positive Impact of the shift in Sufism da'wah in Indonesia.

Increasing the Interest of the Young Generation in Shalawat

Based on the videos that researchers have previously conveyed, it can be seen that the younger generation today tends to prefer things about entertainment. This can be seen from the video that there are many worshipers in the sholawat activities. With the mafia sholawat movement using a creative approach, it is able to increase the interest of the younger generation in sholawat.

Majlis Mafia Sholawat is very instrumental in influencing mad'u and has considerable benefits and influences on marginalized communities, for example like these street children, because with the existence of the Mafia Sholawat assembly teenagers whose lives are not clear in their direction can slowly follow the directions shown by Gus Ali Gondrong to get to know more about their god, and this Majlis aims to convey da'wah to marginalized communities and ordinary people through sholawat which is modified according to the wishes and interests of the congregation. His message to his congregation is, keep praying to the Prophet Muhammad SAW even though with a heart that is not sincere, God willing, you will still get a reward, let alone praying with a sincere heart. Because by praying to the Prophet Muhammad, as his followers must expect his intercession in the final yaumul. (Lulu Salsabila Mu'izzah, 2024)

Negative impact of the shift of Sufism da'wah in Indonesia.

Violation of Adab

Gender mixing and dancing are considered contrary to the ethics of knowledge assemblies in Islam. The video shows that there is no barrier between men and women in

the shalawat assembly. This is contrary to Islamic values.

Sholawat as Entertainment

Shalawat delivered in this form actually poses a huge risk, one of which is that the congregation is immersed in the euphoric pleasure of music rather than understanding the meaning of sholawat itself. Based on the videos that have previously been seen by the congregation. In fact, it is cool to listen to shalawat while dancing, thus obscuring the meaning of the sholawat.

As a counterattack.

With the crowd of worshipers in sholawat activities carried out in a frenzied manner, dancing, mixing men and women. And many movements that are inappropriate in these activities actually damage the image of Islam itself. This can be seen from the comments coming from the video that netizens think do not recognize their Islamic religion because it does not reflect Islam itself.

Long-term Impact

The long-term impact that may arise is that the younger generation thinks that shalawat is just entertainment so that they think that prayer is just a moment of fun.

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

This research discusses the shift in Sufism da'wah in Indonesia through the phenomenon of mafia sholawat and similar things with a focus on changes in da'wah methods, driving factors and their impact on society and Islam itself. Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that traditional Sufism which began as zuhud (asceticism) has regenerated into the present, this can be seen in the da'wah method used by the sholawat mafia (shalawat with dance music and contemporary style). This happens not without reason, the shifts that are present arise because of the needs of today's modern society so that the method used must be a more attractive and relevant way to the present. Although these phenomena resulted in an increased interest of the younger generation in sholawat, it turned out to have a very significant negative impact including violation of rights in worship, obscuring the meaning of the plane, and the potential to damage the image of Islam in the eyes of the general public.

Then based on the findings of this study, the researcher provides several suggestions that can be useful in the future. Researchers advise that it is important to balance between creativity and syar'i adab. So that the activities of this activity do not obscure the main intention, namely bersholawat to the prophet Muhammad sallallahu alaihi wassallam. Then suggestions for future researchers are needed to explore the long-term impact of this passing mafia phenomenon on the religious behavior of the younger generation and examine how other communities respond to this phenomenon so as to provide greater insight into future research.

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