

## ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji dinamika religiusitas jamaah Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain dalam lanskap sosial-budaya masyarakat urban dengan fokus pada proses adaptasi, negosiasi identitas, serta reproduksi tradisi sufistik di tengah modernitas, pluralitas, dan digitalisasi. Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain, yang berakar di Panguragan, Cirebon, pada pasca-kemerdekaan Indonesia, pada mulanya berkembang sebagai komunitas spiritual berbasis desa (*rural-based spiritual community*). Namun mobilitas sosial, pendidikan, dan migrasi ekonomi menyebabkan sebagian jamaah berpindah ke wilayah urban seperti Bandung dan Jakarta, memunculkan varian baru keberagamaan tarekat dalam ranah kota.

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain studi kasus dan perspektif teori interaksi simbolik, *social identity theory*, serta konsep *digital religion*. Data dikumpulkan melalui observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam, dan studi dokumen pada komunitas tarekat di Cirebon dan jaringan jamaah di perkotaan. Analisis data dilakukan secara tematik melalui penelusuran pola-pola praktik ritual, kohesi sosial, ekonomi moral, serta konstruksi identitas spiritual di ruang urban dan digital.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain mengalami transformasi signifikan tanpa kehilangan inti ajaran sufistiknya. Ritual seperti dzikir syahadatain, aurodan, nazhaman, tawasulan, dan haul tetap dipertahankan, tetapi mengalami adaptasi bentuk, ruang, dan media. Jamaah urban mengembangkan model *hybrid spirituality*, memadukan aktivitas majelis fisik dengan ruang digital melalui WhatsApp group, YouTube, dan *live streaming* dzikir. Identitas sufistik yang semula bersifat komunal-rural bertransformasi menjadi identitas spiritual-urban yang fleksibel, namun tetap berpijak pada sanad dan otoritas tarekat.

Penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa tarekat berfungsi sebagai *social capital* dan *moral economy* melalui praktik sedekah kolektif, dukungan sosial anggota, dan kegiatan ekonomi berbasis spiritualitas. Kohesi sosial jamaah terbangun melalui solidaritas lintas kelas dan generasi, yang dimediasi oleh hubungan guru-murid dan nilai-nilai sufistik seperti keikhlasan, tawadhu', dan ukhuwah. Meski demikian, tantangan kontemporer muncul berupa risiko fragmentasi identitas spiritual, komodifikasi praktik keagamaan, dan ketergantungan pada otoritas digital.

Secara teoretis, penelitian ini menegaskan bahwa tarekat tidak mengalami stagnasi dalam modernitas, tetapi justru bertransformasi menjadi komunitas spiritual adaptif yang mampu mengelola tekanan urban, pluralitas, dan teknologi. Temuan ini memperkaya kajian sufisme Nusantara kontemporer dan membuka ruang bagi pengembangan studi hubungan antara spiritualitas tradisional, teknologi digital, dan dinamika keberagamaan urban.

**Kata kunci:** Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain, sufisme urban, religiusitas kontemporer, digital religion, kohesi sosial, identitas keagamaan.

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the dynamics of religiosity among members of the Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain within the socio-cultural landscape of urban Indonesian society. It focuses on processes of adaptation, identity negotiation, and the reproduction of Sufi traditions amid modernity, pluralism, and digital transformation. Originating in Panguragan, Cirebon, in the post-independence period, the Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain initially grew as a rural-based spiritual community. However, social mobility, educational expansion, and economic migration have led its followers to urban centers such as Bandung and Jakarta, creating a contemporary manifestation of Sufi religiosity in urban settings.

Using a qualitative case-study design and drawing on symbolic interactionism, social identity theory, and the concept of digital religion, this research collects data through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. The data were thematically analyzed to explore patterns of ritual practice, social cohesion, moral economy, and spiritual identity construction within both physical and digital spaces.

The findings reveal that the Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain has undergone significant transformation while maintaining its core Sufi teachings. Rituals such as *dzikr al-syahadatain*, *aurodan*, *nazhaman*, *tawasul*, and *haul* remain central but have adapted in form, medium, and spatial setting. Urban adherents develop a model of hybrid spirituality, combining physical gatherings with digital platforms such as WhatsApp groups, YouTube, and live-streamed dhikr sessions. A formerly rural-communal Sufi identity has evolved into a flexible urban-spiritual identity anchored in lineage (*sanad*) and Sufi authority.

The study also finds that the tarekat functions as a form of social capital and moral economy through collective charity, mutual assistance, and community-based economic activities. Social cohesion is reinforced through cross-class and intergenerational solidarity mediated by spiritual mentorship and Sufi values such as humility, sincerity, and fraternity (*ukhuwah*). Nonetheless, contemporary challenges include the risk of fragmented spiritual experience, commodification of religious practices, and shifting authority due to digital platforms.

Theoretically, this research affirms that Sufi orders in Indonesia do not merely survive in modernity; they actively transform into adaptive spiritual communities capable of engaging with urban pressures, pluralistic environments, and digital technologies. These findings contribute to contemporary scholarship on Nusantara Sufism and expand the academic discussion on the intersection of traditional spirituality, digital culture, and urban religiosity.

**Keywords:** Tarekat Asy-Syahadatain, urban Sufism, contemporary religiosity, digital religion, social cohesion, Islamic identity.