

國立政治大學亞太研究英語碩士學位學程
International Master's Program in Asia-Pacific Studies
College of Social Sciences
National Chengchi University

碩士論文

Master's Thesis

媒體與宗教的投入:台灣印尼穆斯林移工的手機講道

The Media and Religious Engagement:
Indonesian Muslim Migrant Worker's Smartphone
pengajian in Taiwan

Student: Kholidah Zia (周坤輝)

Advisor: Dr. Syuan-yuan Chiou (邱炫元)

中華民國 110 年 1 月

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研究生：周坤輝

Student: Kholidah Zia

指導教授：邱炫元

Advisor: Dr. Syuan-yuan Chiou



A Thesis

Submitted to International Master's Program of Asia-Pacific Studies

National Chengchi University

中華民國 110 年 1 月

Acknowledgement

This thesis is a requirement to complete my degree for International Master of Asia Pacific Studies, College of Social Science, National Changchun University, Taipei. I am grateful to my supervisor Prof. Chiou's patience in assisting me to complete this task. This thesis is a part of result from the reserach project "Mobile Islamic Piety: Indonesian Muslim Domestic Helper's Religious and Labor Life in Taiwan" (106-2420-H-004-006-MY3), sponsored by Mistery of Scince and Technology, Taiwan. All shortcomings are mine.



Abstract

This thesis focuses on how and why Indonesian Muslim migrant workers use media technology (teleconference call) to attend religious activity through on-air auditory. The translocality circulation explains how local and global is narrated through Islamic lesson groups of the pengajian HP. The findings conclude in two points. First, a teleconference is utilized as a mediator for migrant workers to pursue their religious needs of learning Islam. Second, in view of translocality, it explores how the Javanese migrant Muslim community performs their traditions through the study lesson group (*pengajian HP*) activity in Taiwan.

Keyword: Indonesian Muslim migrant worker, religion and media, digital religion, migration, translocal circulation, Javanese Muslim

摘要

本論文聚焦於台灣的印尼移工穆斯林社群到底如何，以及為何會運用智慧型手機的電信科技(手機會議通訊)來參與手機讀經會這類的宗教性質的廣播節目。以宗教與文化訊息跨國性的流通觀點，解釋在地與全球的影響如何呈現在手機讀經會的敘事和討論。本研究有兩個重要發現：一、智慧型手機的電信科技對於這群移工穆斯林社群來說，是一種重要的技術網絡傳導了他們構築宗教社群網絡和進行空中讀經會的目的；第二，台灣的手機讀經會社群同時也展示出他們在台灣履踐爪哇伊斯蘭傳統的跨地文化現象。

關鍵字：印尼穆斯林移工，宗教和媒體，數位宗教，遷徙，跨地流通，
爪哇穆斯林

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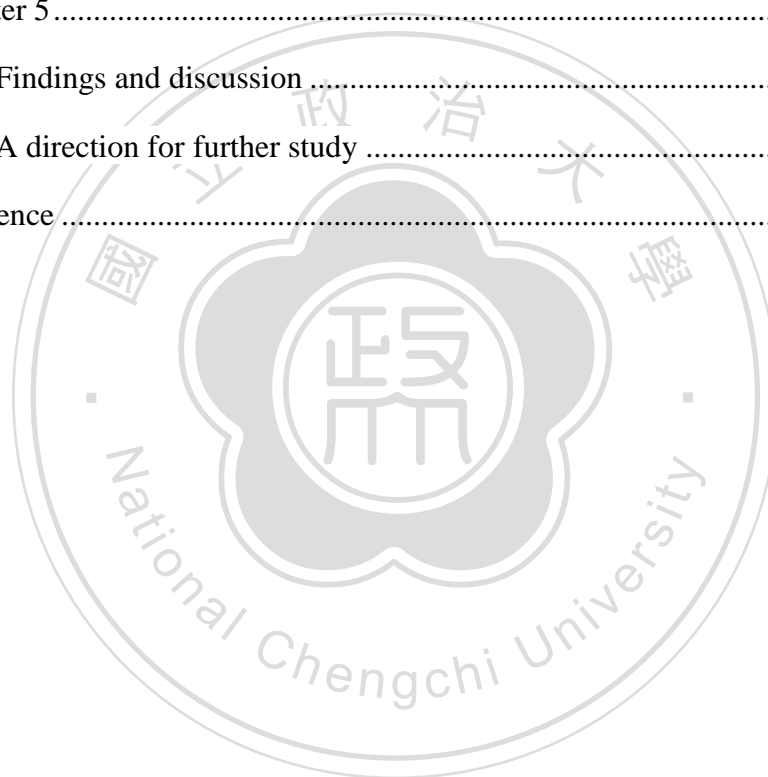


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Glossary

<i>Al-fatihah</i>	: The first chapter of Quran, contains of seven verses of prayer for guidance and mercy of God.
<i>Al-ma'thurat</i>	: The kitab (Islamic book) contains of variant verses of Quran and authentic hadith. Al-ma'thurat arranged by Hassan Al-Banna as guide for Muslim performing daily prayers and zikr.
<i>Asmaul Husna</i>	: 99 name God of Islam
<i>Bandongan</i>	: The popular teaching method in pesantren which is the opposite of sorogan. The bandongan is in activities involved in teacher-center method, while student are in passive receptive mode listening of teacher teachings.
<i>Bisyarah</i>	: Quarterly payment for the preacher
<i>Dawah</i>	: An invitation or spread the message of the Quran to mankind
<i>Dawah</i>	: means an invitation. Islamic theology dawah can be understood as an invitation to Muslim and non-Muslim to spread message of the Quran to mankind
<i>Do'a</i>	: Invocation
<i>Donga</i>	: Originated from Do'a or invocation
<i>Eid Adha</i>	: Islamic religious festival to commemorate the willingness of Ismail (Ibrahim's son) to follow God's command. It is also known as the festival of sacrifices when Muslims are suggested to commemorate Ibrahim's trial slaughtering an animal (sheep, lamb, cow, or camel) for faith purposes.
<i>Fatihah</i>	: The first chapter of Quran
<i>Fiqh</i>	: Islamic jurisprudence or known as a set of sharia law as a guidance and rules as revealed in the Quran and Hadith
<i>Gus</i>	: The honor tittle to call kyai's son from pesantren tradition. The term "Gus" in NU tradition also means as preacher or the descendant.
<i>Hadith</i>	: record words, acts or silent approval of Prophet Muhammad that received as the major of Islamic law or sharia.
<i>Haul</i>	: commemorate the anniversary of the death
<i>Hijrah</i>	: Arabic term referring to the activity of migration of prophet Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina) in 622. His movement marks as the Islamic year calendar Hijriyah. The term hijrah also refers to the Muslim's intention to be more pious or to be sainthood.
<i>HP</i>	: Hand Phone/ Mobile cell phone
<i>Ibadah</i>	: A religious activity that aim to get closer to Allah (God)
<i>Ijtihad</i>	: Collective interpretation of Islamic scholars. The main difference between ijtihad and both the Qur'an and the Sunnah (the traditions of the Prophet) is that ijtihad is a continuous process of development whereas the Qur'an and the Sunnah are fixed sources of authority and were not altered or added to after the death of the Prophet (Hosen 2004)
<i>IQRO book</i>	: A set of book to learn Arabic pronounce and the Quran's grammar. Iqro derived from Arabic language means read. Likewise, iqro also a book tittle used in Indonesia to learn reciting Quran tajwid
<i>Isha</i>	: An evening praying time

<i>Jannah</i>	: A paradise, the finest place for the infinity)
<i>Kafir</i>	: A term to define non-Muslim believer
<i>Kenduri</i>	: Also known as haul or commemorate a death. Which contain of pray to preceded spirit of the family
<i>Kitab kuning</i>	: pesantren classical book
<i>KOMIT</i>	: An abbreviation Komunitas On-air Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan. Komit leads sixteen
<i>Kultum</i>	: Kultum is derived from kuliah tujuh menit (in Bahasa) or seven minutes preaching duration. It mostly broadcast on Indonesian TV channel before afternoon and Morning Prayer time
<i>Kyai</i>	: Owner or founder of pesantren, recognized as religious leader and teacher, charismatic and has strong power to influence society
<i>Langgar</i>	: Indonesian term refers to small mosque to performing shalat and other religious activities
<i>Maghrib</i>	: afternoon prayer time
<i>Majelis taklim</i>	: Small group of pengajian
<i>Mazhab</i>	: School of thought of Islamic law. The major Sunni madhab are Hanafi, Syafi'i, Maliki and Hambali
<i>Mubaligh</i>	: Preacher, a term to figure a person who are able to deliver sermon.
<i>Nahdliyin</i>	: NU followers, NU people
<i>Na't</i>	: Sevotional hymns and poetry in praise of Prophet Muhammad. Na't is usually performed in Urdu and is very popular among Muslims in South Asia and its diasporas
<i>NU</i>	: NU is Indonesian Muslim social and religious organization originated from Indonesia. It established in 1926 in Surabaya, east Java. NU is one of the largest Muslim organization based on their number of member. NU proposed the ideology of ahl Sunnah waljamaah (ASWAJA) means practicing Islamic ritual accordance the practice and instruction Prophet Muhammad. Recently, NU also proposed the idea of Islam nusantara or moderate Indonesian Islam to promote tolerance and peace in Muslim societies (Arifianto 2016)
<i>PCINU</i>	: Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdlatul Ulama, Taipei is a Nahdlatul Ulama special branch located in Taipei.
<i>Pengajian</i>	: religious study activities
<i>Pesantren</i>	: Islamic boarding school that provides religious subjects to student. Pesantren offer specific teaching method to growth religious sensibility. Generally, there are two kinds of pesantren in Indonesia, traditional and modern. The traditional pesantren mostly only offer religious subjects and extracurricular. Most traditional pesantren lead by kyai and has several ustadz as teacher. Most pesantren consist of classrooms, student housing, and located nearby kyai's residential.
<i>Quran</i>	: The holy book and central of religious text of Islam
<i>Sadaqah</i>	: charity
<i>Salawat</i>	: Arabic sentence contains of salutation for Propeth Muhammad
<i>Sanad</i>	: According to Arabic language, sanad means support. In Islam traditions, sanad is a list of authorities who have transmitted a report hadist (statement, action, or approbation) of Prophet Muhammad
<i>Shahada</i>	: Shahada is the Islamic creed as the first of the fundamental Islam
<i>Shalat</i>	: The second pillar of Islam. Salah is physical, mental and spiritual worship as daily obligatory prayer for Muslim

<i>Shirk</i>	: Believes in more than one God
<i>Slametan</i>	: Communal feast in Javanese tradition, Most scholar explains that slametan is core of Javanese tradition which assimilated with animistic, Islam and local beliefs (Geertz 1976). Slametan ritual is a classic example of the cultural marriage between Islamic elements with the local culture that representing socio religious and liturgical aspects within the deep-rooted Sufism dissemination in the Javanese culture (Hilmy 1999, Woodward 1988). There are three components of slametan; a speech delivered by accommodator, Arabic prayer: donga, do prayers to God, and food for the guest (Woodward 1988).
<i>Sunnah</i>	: Traditional customs and practiced referred to acts, words, and approbations of Prophet Muhammad equates as major of source Islamic laws (sharia)
<i>Syaban</i>	: The 8th month of the Islamic calendar
<i>Syuhada</i>	: Person who defends Islam
<i>Tabligh Akbar</i>	: Islamic mass prayer, contains of prays, zikr, solawat leads by religious figure (kyai) in the specific area such as Mosque and large hall.
<i>Tafsir quran</i>	: The translation and context of the Quran
<i>Tahlil</i>	: Derived from Arabic term as form of reciting zikr <i>Laailaahailallah</i>
<i>Tahlilan</i>	: Zikr activity that repeating the Arabic word of <i>Laailaahailallah</i>
<i>Tajwid</i>	: Set of rules for the correct pronunciation and letter to recite the Quran.
<i>Tawasul</i>	: An invocation ritual popularly used by Javanese society. It is consist of acts naming of figure who are considered as mediator between supplicant and Allah. Originated from Arabic language: <i>waa-sii-laa</i> . It is defined as an invocation ritual popularly used by Javanese society. Simply, it consists of acts: the naming of figures who are considered as a mediator (<i>wasilah</i>) between a supplicant and Allah, and the making of an offering for the benefit mediator (Millie 2008)
<i>Ujub</i>	: An invocation delivered by the host expressing purpose and aim of the event
<i>Ulama</i>	: <i>ulama</i> is originated from Arabic word, “ <i>a’lim</i> ” means a knowledgeable people
<i>Ustadz</i>	: Popular title to define <i>ulama</i> , preacher and religious teacher
<i>Walisongo</i>	: The legendary folklore of Javanese society and history
<i>Wasilah</i>	: Originated from Arabic language: <i>waa-sii-laa</i> has meaning as mediator
<i>Wirid</i>	: The synonym of zikr
<i>Yaa-sin</i>	: The 36th chapter of the Quran
<i>Zakat</i>	: The third important pillar of Islam after <i>salah</i> . <i>Zakat</i> can be understand as alms-giving or obligatory religious taxes
<i>Zikr</i>	: An activity of repeated action on pronounced the name of God

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

Media have become always related to *dawah*¹. Drawing on both online and offline *dawah* research in Indonesia, this thesis examines the *pengajian HP* as part of *dawah* conducted by Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. It analyzes how religious message (in the *pengajian HP*) delivered through teleconference call and has a significant effect improving their religious knowledges and practices. This thesis argues mobile cell phone as new media technologies as tool to shape and encourage Indonesian migrant workers becoming pious person for their living in Taiwan. The thesis also emphasizes translocality issue which is related to how they perform local rituals in the host country. In details, joining the *pengajian HP* can be referred as attending *pengajian* in different experience through teleconference call of Indonesian migrants in Taiwan.

Pengajian originates from Indonesian word that has meaning as an activity conducts by Muslim to do religious group activities. The word derives from “*ngaji*” or “*kaji*” that means to seek or gain knowledge or experiences about Islam in perfect ways. The *pengajian* means as the activity doing in mosque or any places, sitting and gathering, listening to the sermon, obtaining new knowledge of Islam, learning how to recite Quran, performing *solawat*² and seeking the blessing from the God that sometimes can be done in Indonesian traditional Islamic ways. The *pengajian* is also known as Islamic study group that conducts everywhere with face-to-face audiences. The *pengajian* contains of preacher, a person who preaching or delivering religious messages to audiences. The activity of *pengajian* is normally set up accomodating audiences (participants) to meet and listen the preacher delivering religious messages and knowledges directly that can be done in a mosque, *pesantren* (Eng.: traditional Islamic boarding school), small or large hall, school, or the host’s house.

¹ In Arabic language, *dawah* means an invitation. Islamic theology *dawah* can be understood as an invitation to Muslim and non-Muslim to spread message of the Quran to mankind

² *Solawat* is Indonesian Muslim music genre which contains praise song for prophet Muhammad

The activity of *pengajian* can be held on variant events, such as offline and has fix schedule and or on special occasions such as celebrating anniversary, birthday, commemorating Islamic events or just regular schedule that usually sets up by particular groups or known as group *pengajian*. Although it is not a formal event, usually, the participants wear dress modestly. Women wear hijab, cover the whole body except the face, and palm and men can wear trouser and put the cap on their head. For Muslims, attending *pengajian* is an essential component for raising and maintaining the religious faith and worship. Some *pengajian* offers Islamic knowledge such as *sharia* law, Islamic histories, consulting session regarding the religious life's problem, also performing *zikr* and *solawat* phrases that can be relaxing mind. Thus, many of them tend to attend *pengajian HP* to listen sermon from unreliable ustadz to study Islamic subjects to reduce wrong interpretation of Islamic knowledge and law. This is related with *sanad*³, means the transmission of valid knowledge from the Prophet Muhammad.

In Indonesia, preachers is know as *ustadz* or *kyai* who has deep understanding of religious knowledge, positive attitude, charismatic, and able to preach. *Kyai* or *ustadz*, is an honor person who has amount of religious knowledge and serves their live as religious teacher. They are also known as *mubaligh* (Eng.: Islamic preacher), consultant of a religious, and religious leader (Solahudin 1996). In Indonesia, *kyai* also known as *ulama*⁴ or Islamic scholars, the owner and founder of *pesantren*, senior person, religious, and non-formal strategic leader (Alam 2020, Siregar 2013). *Kyai* recognizes as a charismatic religious leader that has an ability skill to influence society. The title of *kyai* is a social honor, granted from society pinned to a person with special education and dedicates their life to teach Islamic study to society. In the perception of common Indonesian society, *kyai* recognizes as an older and mature person or the founder of *pesantren* while *ustadz* recognizes to a younger person and has a profession as an Islamic teacher. Dhofier (1980) states three general steps to obtain a *kyai* position in Indonesia. First, there are mostly having a close relationship with *kyai*'s family. Second, there are had completing their studies in *pesantren* and working voluntarily to teach in

³ According to Arabic language, *sanad* means support. In Islam traditions, *sanad* is a list of authorities who have transmitted a report *hadist* (statement, action, or approbation) of Prophet Muhammad

⁴ The *ulama* derived from Arabic word “*‘alim*” means a knowledgeable person.

pesantren, then becomes a successor to establish a new *pengajian* group. Third, they are married to *kyai's* daughter and establish new *pesantren*. On the other hand, *ustadz* is a popular term that refers to the preacher (Arabic: *mubaligh*) and an Islamic teacher.

Normally, *pengajian* conducts in a fixed schedule where participants need to organize their timetable joining the activity. For instance, several Indonesian Muslim organizations such as PCINU⁵, MTYT⁶ and KMIT⁷ organizes regular *pengajian* on their home office in specific time (mostly it organizes on weekend day). However, the fixed schedule is not suitable for Indonesian migrant workers, especially for migrants who work as domestic workers or elderly care giver. Their responsibility requires them to stay at the employer's house 24 hours and work seven days in a row with no day off. Some of them even do not have a day off within a year take care of patient as the employers intensively and patiently.

This case study focuses on how Indonesian Muslim migrant workers utilizing media technology “mobile cell phone” to adjust their condition attending *pengajian* into new experience through on-air auditory. In details, joining the *pengajian HP* can be referred as attending *pengajian* through teleconference call of Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. This situation is conducted as their attempt to adapt the situation and condition that cannot attend the onsite *pengajian* as they did in Indonesia. Therefore, by joining the *pengajian HP* they can accomplish their religious and spiritual needs and develop their knowledge about Islam without leaving their main job as caregivers in Taiwan.

The religious and spiritual movement over expanding layers in human everyday lives, including through the media usages (Ammerman 2006). Campbell (2010) initiates the concept of media religion that explains how individual and communal can experiences, expresses and practice religious activity through media technology. Specifically, explaining the concept of “digital religion” which focuses on how digital technology becomes an essential platform in extending and altering religious practice

⁵ PCINU (*Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdlatul Ulama*) Taipei is a Nahdlatul Ulama special branch located in Taipei.

⁶ Majelis Ta'lim Yasin and Tahlil

⁷ Indonesian Muslim community in Taipei

for individual or community (Campbell 2012). This thesis proposes to explain the media study and religious engagement of the *pengajian HP*. This is because the main activity of the *pengajian HP* elaborates new media technology in mediating their religious practices. Specifically on how digital media utilized by Indonesian Muslim migrants to conducts *dawah*⁸ activity through digital media.

Recently, studies on the relation between religion and media have become frequent because of the massive growth of mobile phone usage. This thesis inspires from previous study related the use media for *dawah* activity of Indonesian Muslim that mostly focus on the use of social media platform, such as Twitter, YouTube, personal blog, website and Instagram. Such as, Nisa (2018a) explains the phenomenon of Instagram uses of Indonesian Youth Muslim activist to introduce hijab as trend modest fashion. Fakhruroji (2019) also discuss of how digital media utilizes to gain more audiences through mobile application to Indonesian youth Muslim community in Bandung, west Java, Indonesia.

To date, no scholarly work has focused on the migrant worker community and their religious performs on digital media. Especially how media technologies are mediated their religious practices adjusting with their work condition. This thesis consecrates on the intersection between religious media and translocality is performed by Indonesian migrant workers through the *pengajian HP*. The *pengajian HP* is a set of activity contains of Islamic study lessons and variant activities related religious and tradition performances of Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan through teleconference call for approximately 16 hours that would be main focus discussion in this thesis.

1.2 Historical background

The first argument of *pengajian HP* is a transmission of a new alternative approach of Indonesian migrants in practicing *da'wah* obtaining basic Islamic knowledge and performing Islamic traditional ritual through the auditory media. Before 2007, Islamic activity was not popular for Indonesian migrant workers and local Taiwan's people.

⁸ Dawah can be understood as an invitation or spread the message of the Quran to mankind

According to interviews, migrants was hard to perform *salat* (Eng.: obligation prayers in Islam) during their worktime. Migrants were hiding religious attributes, such as prayer set, hijab (scarf), and the Qur'an's belonging from the employer. In addition, the number of Indonesian Muslims organizations was till small and almost none *pengajian* held on pubic area. *Tabligh Akbar* (Eng.: *pengajian* that conducts in big scale) was not attractive event for migrants. Thus, many event organizers were preferr to arrange music concert rather than held *pengajian*. Female migrant workers was scare to wear *hijab* as a religious fashion signature. Furthermore, they also face discrimination, especially related rights and freedom to perform five daily prayers or visit mosque to attend onsite *pengajian* or communal gathering (Gusman 2012).

Generally, there are two Indonesian migrant workers' organizations based on their activities (Widyastuti 2015). The first is an on-site organization or land-based Indonesian Muslim organizations in Taiwan. Most of them based on socio-religious-cultural organization established in Taiwan, such as MTYT (Assembly Taklim Yasin Taipei), NU⁹ (Nahdlatul Ulama), Muhammadiyah, FOSMIT (Gathering Forum Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan), and IMIT (Indonesian Muslim Association in Taiwan) that organize the activities at the office or any place on the weekend to arrange the gathering to perform zikr *Yaasin tahlil*, reciting Quran, performing *solawat* and *slametan* on-site.

The second is Indonesian Muslim on-air organization that I will explore in this thesis. The *pengajian HP* organizes in 7 days in row through teleconference call. Currently, there are 15 on-air organization in Taiwan recognized by KOMIT¹⁰. Each group of the *pengajian HP* consist of 100-500 participants who are mostly women Indonesian workers in domestic sectors. KOMIT is Indonesian on-air Muslim community, the organization that leads and supervises all the *pengajian HP* groups in Taiwan. Practically, activities of *pengajian HP* has in line with KOMIT program and

⁹ Indonesian based socio-Muslim organization

¹⁰ KOMIT is an abbreviation Komunitas On-air Muslim Indonesia di Taiwan. Komit leads sixteen

NU¹¹ organization as their substitute activities to reach out domestic migrant workers that has no chance to attend regular *pengajian*.

Established in 2008, the *pengajian HP* were initiated by several male Indonesian workers. They are Javanese ethnic and had graduated from an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) in Indonesia. They aim to establish an Islamic environment for migrants, especially for women migrants learning Islamic subjects and performing religious rituals such as listening to religious sermons, learning and reciting Quran, *zikr* and *solawat* performance, consulting session regarding life and Islamic laws as Muslim in Taiwan. Each of the *pengajian HP* groups has its subgroups, organization committees, teachers and *ustadz* or *kyai* to assist participant's following the organization's rules. The sub-group has fewer members that intend for management and effectiveness of the study and community administration. The committee members and teachers are senior members of the *pengajian HP* that pointed out to assist new participants. The *kyai* or *ustadz* are from Indonesia, that living in Taiwan and Indonesia.

The *pengajian HP* organizes sermon session and traditional rituals of Javanese Indonesian Muslim such as *slametan*¹², *istighosah*¹³, *haul*¹⁴ and *zikr solawat*. In Indonesia, traditional rituals are done on-site in any place and conducted collectively. The traditional rituals are following *pesantren* tradition which is part of Javanese tradition, especially Nahdlatul Ulama tradition. Figure 1 shows general activity conducted on the "IWAMIT On-air" *pengajian HP* group. The IWAMIT On-air schedule adopts a "traditional Javanese" *pesantren* curriculum which contains religious study groups, sermon sessions, and rituals for strengthening the *iman* (faith). The ritual

¹¹ NU is Indonesian Muslim social and religious organization originated from Indonesia. It established in 1926 in Surabaya, east Java. NU is one of the largest Muslim organization based on their number of member. NU proposed the ideology of *ahl Sunnah waljamaah* (ASWAJA) means practicing Islamic ritual accordance the practice and instruction Prophet Muhammad. Recently, NU also proposes the idea of Islam *nusantara* or moderate Indonesian Islam to promote tolerance and peace in Muslim societies (Arifianto 2016).

¹² Most scholar explains that *slametan* is core of Javanese tradition which assimilated with animistic, Islam and local beliefs (Geertz 1976). *Slametan* ritual is a classic example of the cultural marriage between Islamic elements with the local culture that representing socio religious and liturgical aspects within the deep-rooted Sufism dissemination in the Javanese culture (Hilmy 1999, Woodward 1988). There are three components of *slametan*; a speech delivered by accommodator, Arabic prayer: *donga*, do prayers to God, and food for the guest (Woodward 1988).

¹³ Islamic mass prayer, contains of prays, *zikr*, *solawat* leads by religious figure (*kyai*) in the specific area such as Mosque and large hall.

¹⁴ commemorate the anniversary of the death

performance includes zikr and solawat that contain repeating specific phrases that mentioned the name of God and his prophet Allah.

The pengajian HP run through teleconference call and connects each participant to participate long-distance learning. Participants require to purchase the data plan service from Far Easton (IF) provider Company, join Line and WhatsApp group and call services to receive daily schedules, 5 daily times *shalat* (prayer), zikr and *salawat* instructions, and religious texts. Besides, by purchasing FET call service participants can receive an incoming call and inclusively set up to the “network” system. The pengajian HP broadcasts for 18 hours every day with several schedules as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The general schedule of pengajian HP

Time	Activity
4.00	Zikr <i>al-asmaul husna</i> ¹⁵ & <i>tawasul</i> ¹⁶
6.00-07.00	Sermon session with <i>ustadz</i>
7.00-7.30	Consulting with <i>ustadz</i>
7.30-9.00	Performing <i>solawat</i> and Zikr <i>al-ma'thurat</i> ¹⁷
9.00-11.00	The Quran Lesson
11.00-15.00	Break time
15.00-17.00	Islamic study group (classes)
17.00-19.00	Performing zikr <i>solawat</i>
19.00-20.30	Performing zikr <i>al- ma'thurat</i>
20.30-22.00	Islamic sermon session

¹⁵ zikr performance of 99 the most beautiful names attributes to Allah

¹⁶ Originated from Arabic language: *waa-sii-laa*. It is defined as an invocation ritual popularly used by Javanese society. Simply, it consists of acts: the naming of figures who are considered as a mediator (*wasilah*) between a supplicant and Allah, and the making of an offering for the benefit mediator (Millie 2008)

¹⁷ The kitab (Islamic book) contains of variant verses of Quran and authentic hadith. *Al-ma'thurat* arranged by Hassan Al-Banna as guide for Muslim performing daily prayers and zikr.

*The schedule attach is general effective daily schedule of the *pengajian HP*, may be change if there is a specific event or activities

As shown in figure 1, a schedule component of the *pengajian HP* contains of two sections, morning and afternoon schedule. The morning schedule starts at early morning around 4 AM. The activity began with *zikr al-asmaul husna* rehearsal and *tawasul* recitation until 6 AM. The next activity is listening to sermon by *ustadz* from Taiwan and Indonesia. Then, it continues to consulting session until 7.30 AM. After that, the participant performs the *solawat* and *zikr* session. Then, it continues to attend Quran lesson session from eight to 11 AM. Each participant splits to multiple class based on their ability to recite the Quran. The morning session ends about 11 AM, following the break times from 11 AM until 2.30 PM. The afternoon schedule starts at 3.00 PM; it starts from Islamic lessons from different subjects based on daily agenda. At 5 PM, the activity is *zikr solawat* performances until 7 PM following performing of *zikr al-matsurah* until 8.30 PM. The last sermon starts about 8.30 PM by the *ustadz* and the activity ends at about 11 PM.

Those list activities of the *pengajian HP* is show that media can take a role in mediating Indonesian migrant workers to learning Islamic subjects and performing religious rituals. By conducting the *pengajian* through a teleconference call, migrant workers can do both working and learning Islamic subject at the same time with no need to go outside from the employer house. Thus, this study is focused on how media shaping religious practices of Indonesian migrant worker in Taiwan by conducted the *pengajian HP* through teleconference call.

1.3 Literature review

The activity of the *pengajian HP* adopts *pesantren* tradition consistency within the Javanese tradition doctrine from Indonesia. In other words, the *pengajian HP* activities has great from Javanese traditions practiced on teleconference call. This section contains three parts. The first part outlines the previous studies related Indonesian Muslim community in Taiwan. The second part discusses Javanese Islam

practiced of Indonesian diaspora community and third shows the previous studies related media and religious engagement.

1.3.1 Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan

Only few Indonesian Muslim research conducts in Taiwan. Lan (2006) uses the “global Cinderella” as metaphor to convey the complexity experiences of domestic migrants in Taiwan. Indeed, migrant domestic workers venture abroad with variant motives, one of them is to escape poverty at home, regardless of the high wage incentive working abroad in developed countries. The Taiwan government invites migrants to work specific jobs such as factory, welfare, and elderly care sectors, particularly for the welfare sector that utilize migrants to hand multiple roles such as on domestic cores, child and elderly care. Anne Loveband (2004) generalizes that the global labor market in Taiwan positioned Indonesian and Filipina women workers as products where ethnicization plays as the basic foundation for job segmentation. For Indonesian migrants, they are well-known to work at the welfare sector such as elderly caregiver based on nationality characters of caring, loyal and patient.

However, there are some cases where the employer harasses domestic migrant workers includes physical, verbal and non-verbal actions at the workspace (Pan and Yang 2012). The lack access of legal protection for migrants impacts their ability for speake out and protected in Taiwan legally. Besides, Yuherina Gusman (2012) describes the spiritual experiences of Indonesian migrants in Taiwan around 2009-2011, especially how they get limited time express religious ritual during working hours.

In particular, Agus Suyono (2011) analyzes the everyday life of Javanese Muslim workers who organize religious performances in Taiwan. By proposing Javanese ethnicity as self-representation, they establish a community to organize performances as a cultural expression. The performances are held in any place, such as a public park, Indonesian grocery, and rent-space. For religious migrants organizations, Retno Widyastuti (2015) outlines five Islamic organizations established by Indonesian migrant workers from different categorization, such as land origin in Indonesia, operation in Taiwan, membership background, Indonesian branch, and media interaction. The land origin organization is based on the area in Indonesia which refer

to their region and ethnicity belonging. Currently, there are two Indonesian branch organizations in Taiwan. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah are the strongest and largest social-religious organization in Indonesia and expand their ideologies beyond the nations. Retno also emphasizes Indonesian's migrant challenges in Taiwan related religious and spiritual practices. The language barriers and culture dissimilarity between Indonesian and Taiwan's Muslim community are primary reason of its imparity. In final conclusion, she proposed some suggestions such as improving language skills for better communication, facilitating interpreters, and doing "multi" cultural interactions. Melchert (2017) explores general condition of Indonesian Muslim in Taiwan including students and migrant workers related their expectation and strategies to adjust the norm and believes from their home to society to the new homebased. The analysis includes the effect "short term" migration to host and home country through students and migrants experiences of adjusting different situation between lifestyle and new environment in Taiwan.

From previous studies about Indonesian Muslim communities and activities in Taiwan, I got a strong background of how Indonesian migrant workers faces and adapts their religious condition in Taiwan as a domestic migrant worker. However, in this thesis, I will add and explores more their religious activities through teleconference call using hand phone as a media device to mediating their religious practices with media engagement.

1.3.2 Javanese Muslim diaspora community

This section discusses of Javanese Islam practiced by Indonesian diaspora community over the world. It is important to represents Javanese Islam in this study to relating the *pengajian HP* and Javanese cultures. Javanese Islam has an inferior reputation of some quarter groups, mainly because it differs from what people may consider being a "genuine Islam" or so-called Middle-East Islam (Hilmy 1999). For some scholars, Javanese Islam considers as "unique" Islam because of its influence with the pre-Islamic period Hindu, Buddhist, and animist beliefs of the localhost in the process of acculturation since the 14th century (Susilo and Syato 2016).

However, Woodward (1988) argues pilgrimages to saints, graves, and *slametan* (the Javanese Muslim Hindu meal offered ritual) are seen as a Sufi element in Javanese

Muslim culture. The Sufi tradition is the first proselytizers of Islam in Java which popularly well-known through legendary nine saints (*wali songo*) or nine groups of *wali* Javanese historical tradition (Dhofier 1980, Woodward 1988, Johns 1995). Referred to the Oxford Encyclopedia of the modernist Islamic word, Sufism tradition defines as of the Islamic mystic or Islamic esotericism, it is exteriorization and intensification of Islamic faith and practices as Muslim spiritual enhancement with broader usage (Howell 2001a).

In this case, *pesantren* is an important place to introduce Sufism theological order to the society (Van Bruinessen 2016, Van Bruinessen and Howell 2007). The *pesantren* is an Islamic educational institution that consists of domicile of Muslim scholars (*ulama* or *kyai*) to give at least some knowledge of theology, classical interpretation of the law, and Sufi knowledge; a mosque; and residential facilities for Islamic students and teachers (Dhofier 1980). The *pesantren* is a primary place to perform Sufism ritual for adult and youth performing obligatory religious and traditional rituals, like *zikr* and *wirid* and most influential place to educate and provides accommodates for children and youths of religious activity (Geertz 1990). Scholars identifies that Sufism tradition developed at traditional *pesantren* while associated with NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) organization coordinating the body of traditionalist Muslim and continuing strength of Indonesian society. However, not all traditional *pesantren* teach Sufism tradition (Howell 2015, 2001a). Pesantren offers basic Islamic scholarship including Islamic law (*sharia*) and history. Although the Sufism traditions are not directly taught, collective performances (*zikr* and *tahlil*) are associated with the Sufism tradition.

The ritual traditions are formed in every everyday life and element of Javanese Muslim society. The performance of *zikr* and *tahlil*, *slametan*, *ziarah*, etc are stimulatory embodied as symbol identity of Javanese Muslim. In this section, I offers literatures of Javanese Indonesian diaspora practices the tradition rituals abroad. Dhofier (1980) argues that *kyai* has significant roles to maintain religiousity of traditionalist Muslim society in Java and Indonesia. The *kyai* is the title given to men who are elderly, wise, and respected. Indonesian refers the *kyai* as *ulama* (Muslim scholar) or someone who established the *pesantren*, teach Islamic subjects and lead the *umma*. In addition, the *ulama's* existence is needed to cultivate *iman*, teach religious subjects and lead the *umma*. The *pesantren* is Islamic education institute to teach

Islamic subjects for young student. Indeed, the student of *pesantren* (*santri*) is expected to continue the *kyai* and *pesantren* mission to teach Islamic knowledge to the society after graduating. In this case, *pesantren* is part of the tradition for Javanese society, and *kyai* is included as significant. Thus, particularly in Indonesia, each Muslim majority population are has at least one *pesantren* established as a center activity for Islamic education and *da'wah*. However, the question raised how if Javanese Muslim society moved abroad and has no *kyai* and *pesantren* on their residency.

Diana Wong and Arfan Aziz (2011) explains how javanese migrant worker in Malaysia perform the traditional rituals, establish temporary a mosque and select an wise person for *kyai* honour at their impermanent settlement. For them, establishing temporary *langgar*¹⁸ and honoring an elderly and wise person as *kyai*¹⁹ to strengthen their religious faith and identity as Javanese Muslim society. The temporary *langgar* is used for migrant's activity center such as performing communal worship (five times *shalat*), *slametan* and listening sermons from religious figure. The research points out that *kyai* is important values for Javanese society. *Kyai* is religious figure and Islamic teacher that respected person for Javanese society. *Kyai* also refers to the leader and owner of *pesantren* institution (Islamic school institution). They believed that *kyai* has own a bundle source of *barokah*²⁰ to leading the community to the way accordance with Qur'an and *hadist*.

Furthermore, Maftukhin (2016) highlights Javanese descents and migrants in Suriname reshaped their identity although they travels across the boundary. Maftukhin describes how Javanese Muslim descents and migrants are performing the tradition ritual such as *slametan*, *sajen*²¹, *jaran*²² performance, *mitoni*²³, and *wayang*²⁴

¹⁸ Langgar is *Indonesian* term refers to small mosque to performing *shalat* and other religious activities

¹⁹ The study about *kyai* and his role of preserving and maintaining javanese Islam ritual can be seen at Zamakhsari Dhofier dissertation A Study of the Role of the *Kyai* in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java (Dhofier 1980)

²⁰ Blessing

²¹ Offering meals and flowers for the spirit

²² Traditional dance with horse decorative

²³ Mitoni is Javanese celebration ritual during third trimester of pregnancy (mostly held on the seven months of pregnancy periode)

²⁴ *Javanese* traditional shadow puppet, used to dawah method of Islamic saint (*wali walisongo*) in Javanese society.

performance. The research concludes that Javanese Islam tradition in Netherlands can be seen as an example how the expression of tradition translated, manifested, maintained and even invented to follow the new homelands as their own identity. Meanwhile, the study about Javanese Muslim diaspora community shown at the level of acculturation wedding celebration in Selangor, Malaysia. Rohmanu (2016) explains both Javanese and Malay ethnics has strong cultural values including in wedding ceremony process. Thus, cultural syncretism of Javanese and Malay wedding of Javanese descents in Malaysia shows how Javanese descent tried to manifest and preserved the cultural values from the distances.

The previous studies above show that Javanese Muslim society has unique religious practices and strong cultural identities. It shows by how Javanese Muslim diaspora are keep maintaining their religious traditions in various way. However, from the studies above none study show how media placed in in process of maintaining its tradition among Javanese diaspora across countries.

1.3.3 Research related religious media engagement

This section provides the literature reviews related the media engagement with religious practices. Religion and new media studies is a new scholarly subfield that offers potential broader interdisciplinary investigation in the term of new media culture. The key word in this research is to identifying how the digital technologies are shaping religious communities and practices. This concept called as “digital religion” as seen as how digital media and spaces are shaping and being shaped by religious practices (Campbell 2012). The *pengajian* HP proposes the new alternative religious media device of Indonesian migrant worker in Taiwan using mobile phone to conduct *pengajian* by teleconference call. The *pengajian* HP is positioning participants to the auditory lecture hall to attend *pengajian*, conduct Islamic study group and perform traditional religious rituals while working in Taiwan.

The early study about religious and digital media uses begin by 1980s when the personal user, government, organization, researcher uses the early internet networking connection and brought their religious and spiritual subjectivity into online discussion

forum (Campbell 2012). Rheingold (1993) shows the online religious thread named “create your own religious” as a discussion forum to show human interaction through digital media, discussing spiritual and religious awareness. During the same time, Lochhead showed the online discussion board also uses for showing the spiritual and religious interest (Campbell 2012).

In the early to mid-1990s, the internet was heavily text-based, so the board of discussion mostly accommodated by bulletin board, newsgroup, and mailing list as the space to user can come together discuss the religious and spiritual interests (Campbell 2012). For instance, in the 1990s led the number of online website discussion to provide the space for user’s spiritual interest. It such as such as Ecunet.org of Christian board discussion forum, as the first online church that can be access through cyberspace. By the early 2000s, the usage of digital technology raised a debate and discussion of many religious figures about how digital user meet and engage the religious practice with media uses. Although, during the time several congregations held by several religious figures to discuss its media usages, such as to see the importance of digital technology to inform religious knowledge and extend their mission (Campbell 2012).

As mentioned above, Campbell (2012) explains four wave stage of religious and media research. The early research about religious and media uses begin by stressing digital media usage of individual and communal user as part of the intention of religious purpose. Then they move to focus on more realistic perspective such as how user generating the media as a new way to express religious and spiritual persistence. Next, the research turns towards to more theoretical and interpretative analysis, where scholars sought to identify methods and tools for analyzing data and assessing findings in light of larger theoretical framework. Following, the next wave of research turn to more focus on the typology of categorization and interpretation to seek the relationship between practicing religious in online with the social context such as the construction identity, community, authority in wider culture (Campbell 2012, 9)

Recently, the study about religious and media uses contributes to describe and analyze between how media technology is used to perform religious practice. In the era of digital and social media, we see how media contributes not only to facilitate religious participation but also mediating the board of discussion of religious interest. Several research has been conduct explained the position media and religious performances,

especially related with auditory media and religious experience. Charles Hirschkind (2006) though on his research during mid-1990s shows how the sermon-cassette has a vital role of the Islamic revival movement, social, and political situation in Cairo, Egypt. At that time, listening sermon was a popular trend for Egyptian society which can bring the feeling of tranquility or ethical therapy as well as influence the act and morality. So that, listening sermon is one of the most effective tools to activating the fear to God. In addition, Patrick Eisenlohr (2018) shows the sound repetition from *Na't*²⁵ recitation affect to activating the religious sensation of Mauritian Muslim community. He emphasized body can respond sound that we hear then simultaneously defined own and others. The sound production creates the experience and sensation through the repetition. Furthermore, by listening and performing the *Na't*, Mauritian Muslim experiences the certain "feeling" connected with the divine and provoked religious sensations across bodies and subjects.

Specifically, for Indonesian context, the recent study about religion and media engagement conducted by most scholars. Arifudin highlights the use of the internet as media for *da'wah* has brought either a positive or negative impact on society (Arifuddin 2016). However, in the face of globalization internet can be seen as a solution to help educate people about the genuine Islam, eradicating the negative perceptions about Islam itself. The recent phenomenon shows that people tend to use mobile cell phone as basic needs. Mobile cell phone is the perfect device to connecting with other and provides the variant mobile Application to make life easier. Moch Fachrurroji (2019) describes the Islamic mobile APP as a new form of media engagement in Bandung, Indonesia. The focused study exposes phenomenon of the use of 'Aa Gym'²⁶ app as a kind of religious engagement in contemporary Indonesian society, which involve students as a group of digital natives. He concludes three important points about the mobile AAP religious engagement; 1) this new media proposes an extension of religious engagement and interaction, 2) new variant a site of religious media to spread

²⁵ Na't is devotional hymns and poetry in praise of Prophet Muhammad. Na't is usually performed in Urdu and is very popular among Muslims in South Asia and its diasporas

²⁶ Aa Gym known as KH. Abdullah Gymnastiar is famous Indonesian religious figure, singer, entrepreneur, preacher and founder of Darut Tauhid Islamic Institute in Bandung, West Java.

religious values and 3) to accommodate religious figures perform accessible to the public.

Eva Nisa (2018a) explains the birth of Qur'anic movement (*dawah*) in the context of a wireless communication network through the WhatsApp messenger. One-Day One Juz, known as ODOJ, is one of the products of *dawah* encouraging their members to read one section (*juz*) of the Quran every day. The activity contains daily remind and report reading juz section every day and offline gathering activity in a small and large mass audience. This research concludes that ODOJ produces emotional mobilization and social movement to make the audience close to Qur'an as a possible way of being pious.

The internet and social media also presents as a new tools to show religious identity through online platform (Beta 2019, Hew 2018, Nisa 2018a). The field of studies on digital media technology uses of religious purpose of Indonesian users is growing in accordance with the growth of digital media users (Arifuddin 2016, Fakhruroji 2019, Hew 2018, Muslim 2017, Nisa 2018b, a, Slama 2018). For instance, Fakhruroji (2019) and Nisa (2018a) have contributed significantly to the analysis of the engagement between media technology and religious practice of Indonesian Muslim through mobile cell phone, including the development of mobile phone application and social media utilizing.

In relation to digital media usage as part of *dawah* method have been cited by Nurdin Rusli (2013). He explains the use of social media of religious figure as a new method of *dawah* in terms of efficiency, interactive and reachable strategy to deliver a “good message” for the younger generation. Several Indonesian preachers such as Aa Gym, Ustadz Yusuf Mansur, Gus Miftah, Ustadz Felix Siauw, Ustadz Salim A. Fillah and Buya Yahya²⁷, utilizes their Facebook page, YouTube channel and Instagram account to post a variant Islamic messages, recording video sermons and promotes Islamic discussion among their followers. Hew (2018) demonstrates the use of social media such as Instagram, YouTube, twitter Facebook seen as art of *dawah* of Felix Siauw's preaching style by proposing creativity and visual aesthetic. His creativity on online and offline activities creates an existence to attract more followers. Previous

²⁷ Those names above are popular preachers in Indonesia that utilizing social media to extend their *dawah* .

studies on media usage for improve their religious rituals purpose look at their subjective, self-expression, self-pious cultivation, the platform usage of how's media technology mediating in both religious needs and spiritual practices (Nisa 2018a, Fakhruroji 2019, Muslim 2017, Nisa 2018b)

The researches above shows how people utilizing media for religious purpose. The *pengajian HP* offers new paradigm of media use that bridging the religious and traditional ritual of Indonesian Javanese Muslim migrant worker in Taiwan to stimulating the emotional and spiritual aspect. Therefore, this research will give a contribution of media and religious engagement in the context of the contemporary study of Indonesian Muslim migrant communities.

1.4 Analytical frameworks

This section proposes theoretical concept of transnationalism and translocality literature reviews to explain an overview of Javanese Islam traditions in globalization concept. The central idea of transnationalism formed by the population, symbol, capital, commodity and ideas on the global spaces. Transnationality emerges from phenomenon of globalization, global flows, cross-border connection, disparity, contemporary migrant connectivity, citizenship, identity and the dispersion of ethnic group (Vertovec 2001). Scholars argue that transnationalism is overlaped globalization but has a more limited purview. For more detail, globalizatoin is tend to explain about global processes, such as decentered from specific national territories and global global space (Kearney 1995). In addition, transnationalism helps to conceptualize mass migration between countries as well as in various kinds of activities across border, such global trade of commodity, people migration, identity and ethnicity (Roudemetof in Roudemetof in Kytölä 2016, 88).

Kearney (1995) states transnationalism is a best term to explain the migration of nations across the border of one or more nation. Translocality and identity are concepts that are interently call for juxtaposition (Vertovec 2001). He explains that many peoples' transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic traits associated with it. Indeed, among certain sets of contemporary migrants, the identities of specific individuals and groups of people are negotiated within social

worlds that span more than one place (Vertovec 2001, 547). In other word, transnationalism is such networks are marked by patterns of communication or exchange of resources and information along with participation in socio-cultural and political activities

In this section, translocality is more applicable to define the *pengajian HP* of migrants in Taiwan. The translocality is term to explain the links between human or population mobility with their locality which based on the insight of transnational but shifting toward to more “grounded” transnationalism (Greiner and Sakdapolrak 2013).

There are two specific aspects for the foundation of translocality frameworks (Kytölä 2016, 33). First is connectivity of physical and cultural aspects on the society and area. The connectivity inspired from earlier study that based on cultural geography and paid attention on the relation between space and human. The connectivity can be seen from the aspect of migration, trade and digital media communication. The second is hybridization of culture, which is involved hybridity, flows, pluralism and multiculturalism. In migration context, translocality is used to explain global connection of circulation and flows in the area studies, including the material and non-material aspects, like cultures and information (McKay 2006).

Considering the translocality notion are from locally (geographical) and connectivity concept, the idea of this study is to explaining phenomena of the *pengajian HP* activity which is proposes the “connectivity” of religious engagement of Indonesian migrant workers of their local cultures through media cell phone. Thus, I proposed translocality framework to identifying process of admission of locality practice of Indonesian workers in Taiwan. Translocality explains the various phenomena related to the social spatial configuration, such as migration, identity formation, media-use and knowledge transfer as well as in global process. In addition, according to Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013, 380) translocality frameworks help to analyzing the social phenomena such as: helped to challenge geographical conception, discusses the process of time-space interconnection and socio-spatial dynamic, shifted from the primary concept of nation-state to historiographies of globalization, emphasizes the significance of spatial scales and highlights the importance of network place and facilitates research on mobility’s beyond human migration by addressing flows and circulations of ideas, symbols and

knowledge. Foremost, the explanation relates interconnection and social dynamic, including the flow and circulation from Indonesian migrant workers activity would be highlighted, such as the engagement of local norms and ideas from home land migrates to new environment that practiced through the *pengajian HP*.

The inspiration for investigating this topic is a response from the comparative reading written by Kytölä (2016) about the translocality in explaining the phenomenon of today's digital communication. The study was covered several points, emphasize shared opinions, interests, styles, and lifestyles. Translocality itself emerges by considering present cultural transformation which greatly contributes to the growth of technology and communication (Kytölä 2016, 4). Kytölä (2016) proposes two important aspects of translocality: cultural connectivity and hybridization. The idea of connectivity itself is inspired by the cultural geography and space, where human lives and responds the connection and disconnection between physical and cultural idea. In other opinion, people needs to transfer those two aspects to stay connected. For current situation, connectedness may denote not only through physical mobility such as transportation or human migration, but also mediates through digital telecommunication among people around the world.

The second significant aspect to define translocality is the hybridization of culture. The idea of hybrid emerges by the assumption of translocal culture, which is defined as the need for transferred and crossed the local value. Therefore it can be seen through the human migration and diasporas (Kytölä 2016). The case of cultural hybridization relates to explanation abt territorial and static place, spaces and localities of daily habitats (Kytölä 2016, 4). In this case, Bendixsen (2013) explains a place is as a set of geographical coordinates or the element of location, where people can gather physically. Bendixsen defines space as a “practical place” that operative oriented, functioned, or a place for particular purposes. The term space is utilized in explaining the relationship between place and cultural experience denote to a specific and meaningful place. Additionally, the locality is defined as selected facts or the extent of the cultural border that vary contextual (Hepp 2009). The locality is derived from the term “local” that normally uses to illustrate an identity or culture bounded. The term of

local also uses to express the everyday life of community in certain cultural context (Hepp 2009).

Translocality can be viewed as an extension of globalization (Kytölä 2016) and shifts toward of grounded transnationalism, where the subject analysis is focused on personal of group spaces (Brickell and Datta 2011). Roza (2006) describes the translocality as a historical situation of a person and groups that spread through migration. Translocality refers as cultural identity that processess and constructs through negotiation in new geographical spaces. The cultural movement might be seen as a significant aspect of translocality discourse that originated from the movement, transformation, and adaptation of culture. Eric Ma (2002) explains that the study of translocality is a combination of local and global logic (glocalizations), where it concentrates on global and local of spatial dynamics. The spatial refers to material subjects that help defining historical naration and social formation in urban space through a social process, while the spatial help for defining culture flow and movement. For more details, Ma gives examples of how migrants brings their locality to the new place and localizes it different practices by adjusting through variant expressions; such as music, language, and social politics aspects.

Several scholars utilizes translocality as a descriptive tool to denote the connectedness between local and global, flows and network. Translocality also uses to explain spatial mobility as a social transformation process which accommodates the cultural and political institution (Freitag and Von Oppen 2010b). Although some studies did not mention translocality *per se*, mostly they are approaching to similar phenomena from different perspective. A good example of translocality in Indonesian's case was explained by Maftukhin (2016) explains about how the first and second migrant generations of Indonesian in Suriname and the Netherland maintain to practice the Javanese Muslim traditional ritual in their new homeland. Kosnick (2007) with his study shows how Turkish migrants in Germany utilized the local broadcast media to speak their voice as a migrant community. Chib et al. (2014) investigates the role of remote mobile phone usage, voice, text message, and social networking among transnational mother of domestic Indonesian migrant in Singapore in maintain and balance the role as a worker and parent. Gupta (2020) study explaines minority blogger

in UK using internet platforms to raise the participation awareness in social engagement through online charity (fundraising) of social projects.

Furthermore, this thesis derives the interdisciplinary studies between media use and religious practices. Which elaborating about media uses and individual or communal religious practices of Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. To understanding media uses of religious practices, I propose the “religious-social shaping technology” (RSST) frameworks to examine how religious communities negotiated their uses of media, especially in an age of digital and networked technology. Campbell explains that RSST can use to explore the religious community practices based on domestication (relates everyday uses), configurations (the role of users in media design) and constructivism (focusing on how the community shaping the media technology based of their needs) (Campbell 2010). According to the RSST frameworks, there are four elements need to be explain to investigate religious communities and media engaging in case of religious practices (Campbell 2010) .

1. History and tradition

The history and tradition content helps to explores how the religious community set a certain standards in their contemporary media use and negotiation.

2. Core beliefs and patterns

This is important to identify religious values and how their integrated to the new pattern on media uses.

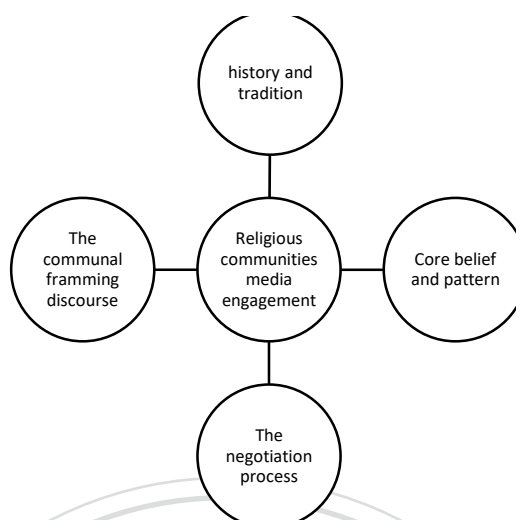
3. Negotiation process.

The key of this core is how the religious community faces the challenges and creates the innovation to responds the new media approaches.

4. Communal framing and discourse.

This final element is important to examine how the community framed the new media approach including the new form, tools, and language that dictate certain pattern of use.

Figure 3. The RSST frameworks



Source: Campbell, 2010

1.5 Research Question

Based on data from preliminary research and support from theoretical frameworks I mentioned above, I proposed three-research questions to be answered in this thesis.

1. How do and why Indonesian migrant workers establish the *pengajian HP*?
2. How to articulate translocality framework for the study of the *pengajian HP*?
3. How can people organize the sermon and ritual performances in mobile phone network?

1.6 Research Methodology

The thesis uses qualitative methodology and use secondary sources to construct the thesis overview. The primary data is based on intensive field research and observation both in off-air and on-air activities of Indonesian Muslim migrant workers in Taipei since 2017. The observation generally conducted by participating the *pengajian HP* activities, conducted some interviews directly or through conference call and attending several Muslim community's activity in Taipei. The research conducts with unstructured or depth interviews method with face to face and telephone interviews.

The aim of conducting unstructured interview is to build “relationship” and get detail information of the program. One informant is interviewed for two three times with 30 minutes to 1 hours duration. The telephone interviews conducts based on interviewee’s requirement, since they must stay at working area.

The interviews contains participants and preachers of certain educational, ethnic, gender, geographical background and their working area in Taiwan. The participant’s interviewees are choose from different variation of sub-smaller groups and time duration joining the *pengajian HP*. For preachers, the interviewees are from Indonesian and Taiwan lived-based. I do not claim that they are represent all Indonesian Muslim migrant workers or participants of *pengajian HP* since small samples, but they do offer important sights into the media discursive practice of migrant Muslim practices conducts they religious and rituals in Taiwan. I did interviews with students, the committee, and teachers (*ustadz*) from Indonesia and Taiwan. I did interviews with 30 people including the students and teachers and Tran scripting more than 20 preaching agenda. The data analysis was conducted by hand-coding notes, interview and preaching transcripts to discover the patterns.

As part of a larger study on *pengajian HP*, I made approximately more than 50 visits to join the *pengajian Hp* in variant times and groups during 2018-2019. I also made a brief visit to the Islamic organization in Taiwan that supports the *pengajian hp* as well. In the visits, I conducted participant observation during religious lessons, groups participating, preaching, prayers, competition, as well *zikr* and *tahlilan*. The observation was conducted on the conference though the teleconference call. I did not meet directly by physic but recorded it to help me remember the experiences and sound environment. Moreover, since the *pengajian Hp* group also have a regular meet for several times I did some visit to see the ‘real’ relationship, and activities between participants. I also arranged the meeting with my key informants that gave me more understanding related to the situation of the *pengajian HP*. Furthermore, I did record some preaching and the entire event of *pengajian HP*, hence I raised the several topics related with religion issues and migrant workers in Taiwan.

1.7 The Thesis Composition

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This chapter is an introduction chapter to introduce the thesis background, literature reviews, analytical frameworks and research questions.

Chapter 2 – Media and Religious engagement: the use of teleconference call for conducting pengajian of Indonesian Migrants in Taiwan

Chapter two explains how *pengajian HP* conducts by Indonesian migrant workers as part of their religious participation in Taiwan. The chapter contributes for exploring Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan as the digital user who's dwelling in a minority Muslim community attempts to establish religious study groups and perform traditional rituals on mobile cell phones. The chapter consist of two sections. First, an overview of Indonesian's migrant workers organization in Taiwan. The second section explains the idea of media uses for religious rituals of migrants in Taiwan.

Chapter 3 – Ritual Performances in the Network

The chapter three explains transnational situations through an activities conducts in the *pengajian HP*. This chapter divides into three parts. The first is introduction. The second part explains the *zikr*, *tawasul* and *slametan* ritual performances through on-air participations. The third section describes preaching and consultation session in the *pengajian HP*.

Chapter 4 – The community and self healing

The fourth chapter explains how the *pengajian HP* participation's creates the community, especially for women migrant workers in Taiwan. The chapter contains of two sections. The first section narates the general overview of women's role in Indonesia and explains how women migrant workers positioned their multiple roles. The second section narrates women's migrant's experiences joining and participating the *pengajian HP* in Taiwan.

Chapter 5 – CONCLUSION

The chapter offers the findings, discussion and direction for further study of Islamic organization in Taiwan.

Chapter 2

Media and Religious engagement: the use of teleconference call for conducting *pengajian* of Indonesian Migrants in Taiwan

2.1 Introduction

The *pengajian* derives from the Indonesian term, it is *kaji* that has meaning as study activities for seeking knowledge. The *pengajian* can be understood as Islamic study group which accommodate people gathering with to do listening to the sermon, obtaining new knowledge of Islam, learning how to recite Quran, performing *zikr* and *solawa* in mosques or any places. The *pengajian* is an important activity for the most of Indonesian Muslim, also known as religious Muslim study group to improve religious and knowledges rituals.

This part explains how *pengajian HP* conducts by Indonesian migrant workers as part of their religious participation in Taiwan. The thesis contributes Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan as the digital user who's dwelling in a minority Muslim community attempts to establish religious study groups and perform traditional rituals on mobile cell phones. In Indonesia, the *pengajian* conducts on-site which need an accommodation and time allocation which is rarely meet with Indonesian migrant's schedule time as workers as caretaker that requires to take care the employer and has no official day off.

This chapter covers two areas. The first section is the description about Indonesian Muslim migrant's organization in Taiwan. Second section explains the idea of media used of religious purposes aims to reduce the limitation of time and distance of migrant worker in Taiwan to attend the *pengajian*.

2.2 An overview of Indonesian's muslim migrant worker's organizations in Taiwan

There are five pillars contributes to explain religious activity as a Muslim (Eng.: people who are following and practiced Islam). The first is *shahadah* (Eng.: declaration belief and faith of oneness God and Muhammad as the messenger). *Shahadah* is the first commandment of Muslim, which relates *Aqidah* (Eng.: spiritual belief) of conviction that Allah is the only God and Muhammad is the last prophet. The second is *salat* (Eng.: Muslim Prayer) as a daily ritual and rite activity of Muslim five times a day with normal circumstance (Bowen 1989). *Salat* required for all Muslim which consists of several instructions. The ritual begins with ablutions, covering *aurat* (Eng.: parts of the body that must cover), after which is worshiper, either individual or collective — and performing the ritual cycles (depend on the time it performed) in the direction of Makah. Fourth is Zakat defined purification or required tax from amount income. The last is performing hajj (Eng.: a pilgrimage to Makkah) for who can able journey there.

Indonesian Muslims in Taiwan challenge a new environment that is completely different from the home country. The performing five times *salat* is a significant example of a daily basis routine of Muslims worldwide. In the majority Muslim population country, religious symbols and activities are easily be found in public spaces in Indonesia. For example, *azan* (Eng.: announcement for doing congregational five times prayer) recital from the mosque's loudspeaker sound allows calling people joining *salat* in congregation. The *azan* and *iqamah* (The second call to Islamic Prayer, given immediately before the prayer begins) announce five times a day. The mosque as a place to perform five times salah is quite easy to find in each area.

Many Indonesian Muslims staying abroad need to adapt and adjust to the new environment. Besides performing five times prayers, Muslim migrant workers must adapt with many different sections, such as finding “halal” food, managing *najis* (Eng.: unclean condition) while taking care of the pet, managing cleanses while taking care of

the elderly, covering *aurat* (Eng.: part of the human body that must be cover), and performing *ibadah*²⁸ to get *pahala* (Good reward).

In Taiwan, Indonesian Muslim migrant organization organizes several activities such as *tabligh Akbar* held at Taipei main station on weekend. Taipei Main Station is the central place of most Indonesian migrant worker every weekend, including the religious activities. It is kind of a strategic place that connected through underground passageways terminal station and Taipei bus station. Many Indonesian workers who are stay outside Taipei can easily reach the station. Many Indonesian stores and restaurants is located at underground shopping mall become an additional attractions. Thousand Indonesian workers gathers at central hall and through out of the station during the *takbligh akbar* as their effort participating on religious big event in Taiwan.

Almost once a month Indonesian Muslim organizations organize *tabligh akbar* at the Taipei main station outdoor hall. The *tabligh akbar* event invites Indonesian popular preachers (Ind.: *ustadz*) to deliver Islamic sermons to audiences. The event performs the mass prayer, the Quran recitation, and *solawat* performances. The event also invites Indonesian Muslim migrants all around Taipei with free-admission. All Muslims in Taiwan can participate and attend the entire event that might be effective to evoke a nostalgic experience of attending *pengajian*. For those who are staying out of Taipei, many of them travels by bus, train or event speed train in the early morning. Some of Indonesian migrant also seen came along with Taiwanese's employer while pushed the wheelchair to attend the show or meet with Indonesian friends. Once, I asked about the reason of their decision, they answered that they do not have any options since they must taking care of the patient. At that time, the show was invited *Gus*²⁹ Miftah to preach and greet to Indonesian migrants at Taipei Main station. *Gus* Miftah is famous preacher in Indonesia, especially for NU follower. Thus, it was no doubt seeing many Indonesian people crowed on the event.

Besides, the activity in Taipei main station during *tabligh akbar* accommodates Indonesian communities to sell their own products such Indonesian authentic foods,

²⁸ A religious activities that aim to get closer to Allah (God)

²⁹ Gus is honor tittle to call *kyai*'s son from *pesantren* tradition. The term "Gus" in NU tradition also means as *preacher* or the descendant.

hijab (Eng.: a veil to cover head and hair), *gamis* (Eng.: modest women dress that covering the whole part of body, a resembles Middle East women dress with its modifications) and Islamic books. Some of Indonesian company participates in the event, such as Indonesian microfinance company (Ind.: Bank Rakyat Indonesia), Indonesian multi-national telecommunication company (Telin), Southeast retail company (INDEX) and Indonesian Trade office in Taiwan.

In addition there are several Indonesian Muslim migrant worker organization on site in Taiwan. PCINU³⁰ Taiwan (Ind.: *Pengurus Cabang Istimewa Nahdlatul Ulama*, Eng.: exclusive branch district of Nahdlatul Ulama) is one of Indonesian Muslim organization in Taiwan. Their office located on Zhongshan district nearby MRT station (Green line) and Taipei Main station. PCINU office has dominated green color refers to a sign of prosperity and generous. The first floor is functioned for living room or multipurpose room. Most of organization activity is held on the first floor, for instance, prayer congregation, welcoming guests, meeting, Islamic sermon, Quran recitation, and *tahlil*. The basement is functioned for woman prayer room. The office opening hours are on weekend, every Saturday and Sunday, 6 AM to 9 PM and may close during weekdays, since it adjusts to Indonesian migrant day-off schedules. Indeed, the organization activity arranged following migrants schedule as well. For instance, every Saturday morning is schedule for Quran recitation from 6 to 9 PM. The noon and afternoon schedule is adjustable every week, depending on the facilitator available time³¹.

Every Sunday, NU office receives more guests than other days. Especially, when *tabligh akbar* event held at Taipei main station and invite Indonesian *ustadz* for preaching a sermon. Usually, Indonesian *ustadz* went to NU office and accompanied by wife or family and some personal assistants. Likewise, the preacher also accompanied by several NU male member (migrant workers) that serve as a security unit called BANSER (Eng.: The *ansor* multipurpose unit). Also, several women

³⁰ Currently there is some NU office spread around Taiwan. About 11 PCINU Taiwan branches established in Taiwan to reach out Indonesian migrant. The 11 branches are located on Kaohsiung, Taichung, Keelung, Yilan, Hualien, Pingtung and Penghu Island. However, mostly the active members of PCINU Taiwan are male, work as factory workers and sailor. While female members are mostly active and participating on on-air activity (participating on several the *pengajian HP* groups)

³¹ For instance, the first and third week is scheduled for art, sewing, and computer classes. While, the second and fourth week is for English classes and *qosidah* (Eng.: Islamic song with tambourine instrument).

migrant workers called *fatayat*³² and *muslimat*³³ wearing green batik as official uniform to accompany the *ustadz*'s wife. Indeed, NU office seems like an office base to receive Indonesian guests in Taipei. During the visiting time, mostly the *ustadz* asked the common question such as a recent condition of Indonesian Muslim migrant workers in Taiwan. Sometimes the unstructured discussion held during the session time. Likewise, several guests asked the advice about their problem to *ustadz*. After that, when the timing of *shalat zuhr* (Eng.: noon prayer time), all guests conducts *shalat berjamaah* (Eng.: congregational prayer) with *ustadz*. Male prays on the first floor, while women pray on the basemen. After prayer, the *ustadz* delivered a short time sermon to Indonesian workers, such as encourage migrants to keep practicing *da'wah* in host county

Taipei grand mosque is located at Daan District is important place for Muslim society in Taiwan. The mosques organizes regular and Friday prayers for Muslim. Every weekend days, several Muslim colleges gathers and organizes *pengajian* on the first and second floor. Other on-site organization such as MTYT (Majelis Taklim Yasin Tahlil Taiwan) center office is located in Da'an District, Taipei city. The location is on the second floor of building nearby the Taipei Grand Mosque as the largest mosque in Taipei. As one of oldest Indonesian Muslim organization in Taiwan, MTYT conducts its activities both at the base office or rent grand mosques' multifunction hall. Like PCINU Taiwan branch, most of the activities are conducted on weekend. About two times a month the organization held *yasin tahlil*, religious preaching and discussion. Furthermore, there is a special mosque located at Taoyuan city, Indonesian fellow named it Masjid At-Taqwa as Indonesian mosque (Widyastuti 2015). The mosque was inaugurated by Indonesian Muslim who residing around the area. The location is nearby the Indonesian local store operates by Indonesian Muslim women who marriage with local Taiwanese. Currently, At-Taqwa mosque is the center activity for Indonesian migrant in Taoyuan area.

The public area is seen as an important space for migrant workers to set up a gathering event with friends. The city Park, mosque, grocery store, or train station are

³² Young women division of NU organization

³³ Matured women division of NU organization

most places visited by migrants to catch up with friends or organize the event. Yeoh and Huang (1998) narrates women workers in Singapore navigating their position on public space as a marginal society. The study defines a different term between private and public space for migrant workers in the host Country. Women migrant workers are considered as an outsider working on domestic service. Most of them work and live in the “private space” of an employer house where they are subjects of control and surveillance for the number of wages. In the study, the employer house asserted as private space, although it is a temporary live-in ‘home’ for workers. The place away from the employer's house is such a private space for comforting and giving personal freedom. Although the public spaces like Taipei main station, mosque or based office Muslim organizations provides seat for migrants to express a religious practice, but not all migrants can afford to go there. According to the interview of Indonesian migrants in Taiwan, many of them still have no chance to go out during the weekend. Thus, they do not have chance to involved with a religious organization or attend religious activities, sspecially for migrants who are works in remote area or need to stay at employer’s house all the time.

2.3 The idea of media device for establishing the *pengajian HP*

As an Indonesian Muslim born and raised in a pesantren environment helps me to understand the concept of Islamic education. I was born and raised in Cirebon city, West Java province that has a strong Islamic environment. The city is famous as *kota santri* (Eng.: the city of *santri*, a city which has strong Islamic influence and has lots of pesantren). Thus, knowing the activity of the *pengajian HP* in Taiwan reminds me of the educational system of traditional pesantren. “Ngaji on-air” is a common phrase used by Indonesian migrants in Taiwan. The origin word of *ngaji* itself also has had a special meaning in Javanese society. *Ngaji* derives from the Indonesian word comes from “*kaji*” which means Islamic religious lesson activity and discussion.

Generally, *ngaji* is a religious activity of Indonesian Muslim activity with many variants of actions. Formerly, *ngaji* was the popular term used to the activity of religious lesson in Islamic education institution like *pesantren* and *madrasah* (Eng.: an Islamic school), mosque and *langgar* or *musolah* (Eng.: a small version of Mosque). The *pengajian* word is used to indicate religious activities, such as *ngaji*

Quran (the activity of learning how to recite the Quran following a set of rules with guidance) and *ngaji kitab*³⁴ (Eng.: pesantren book, *ngaji kitab* refers to an activity of learning how to read, understand and interpret the *kitab*). In some areas, *ngaji* refers to an activity of listening *ustadz* (Eng.: an Islamic teacher) recites, explains and interprets both the Quran and *kitab*. *Ustadz* and *kyai* are known as *mubaligh* (Islamic preacher). The preacher's role as charismatic figure, assisting Indonesian migrants to grow and develop the *iman* to become more pious person, deliver sermon and answer question for Indonesian migrant's in Taiwan.

Several scholars agree that *pengajian* is associated with *pesantren* which is connected to the Javanese local tradition (Dhofier 1980, Srimulyani 2007, van Bruinessen 1994, 2004, Zakaria 2010). The *pesantren* is a great tradition and contributes to Islam *da'wah*³⁵ in Indonesia (Dhofier 1980). The *pengajian* is known as extended *pesantren*'s mission to enrich society in learning of Islamic subjects and ideology, especially for villagers from the grassroots movement (Solahudin 1996). Generally, pesantren teach young pupils or students with variant ages between 6 to 18 years-old and provide residing for the student to learn Islamic subject and leadership. (Solahudin 1996). However, not every people has access to education, especially to study in pesantren. Many villagers require to work at a young age or help parents to work at the farm. Thus, the *pengajian* can be attended by various ages among young, middle age, and older adults (the age is between 18 to above 55 years old) to help people learning and receiving the knowledge of Islam.

Normally, *pengajian* event attracts Indonesian Muslims, especially the Javanese society. Many of Indonesian Muslim migrant's dwells abroad are still performing *pengajian* as part of cultural expression and religious rituals. In recent times, *pengajian* activity can be attended to anytime through online based platforms without the need to present real and inviting an *ustad* to disseminate Islamic knowledge. This section explains the preacher's role to answer the question of transnational circulation in *pengajian* HP. Sermon session is one of the substantial events on the *pengajian* HP. During that session, participants can listen to sermons from preachers in their own

³⁴ The majority of *kitab* written in an Arabic sentence that needs to translate carefully.

³⁵ Spreading of Islamic values/Islamic missionary

language (Indonesian and Javanese). The preachers are Indonesian residing in Taiwan and Indonesia invites through local/international calls to preach and lead prayers among participants. The language similarity makes participants enjoy listening and communicate with preachers.

Most Indonesian Muslim migrant workers believe that religion is an important part of life. Therefore, during the fieldwork, I put more attention on religious activities, including the preacher's roles at the *pengajian HP*. The preacher's role as charismatic figures assists the participants to develop a better version as a piously religious person. The preacher requires to cite religious quotes from the *Quran*, hadith, and *fiqh*³⁶ book in every preaching session. The Quran is the primary source of Islamic laws or sharia. The hadith follows as statement, tradition, or known practices of Muhammad. The *fiqh* is a human understanding of *sharia* revealed from Quran and hadith. In the *pengajian HP*, participants can ask questions to preachers, which make it different to listen sermon through online platforms.

The *kyai* and *ustadz* is term to define Islamic preachers. Even though those terms are different in wording, it has several similarities. In general, both of *kyai* and *ustadz* are known as *mubaligh* (Eng: Islamic preacher), consultant of a religious, and religious leader (Solahudin 1996). In Indonesia, *kyai* also known as *ulama*³⁷ or Islamic scholars, the owner and founder of *pesantren*, senior person, religious, and non-formal strategic leader (Alam 2020, Siregar 2013). *Kyai* is recognized as a charismatic religious leader that has an ability skill to influence society. Besides, *kyai* is a social honor, granted from society pinned to a person with special education. However, Dhofier (1980) states that there are three general steps to obtain a *kyai* position. First, there are mostly having a close relationship with *kyai*'s family. Second, there are had completing their studies in *pesantren* and working voluntarily to teach in *pesantren*, then becomes a successor to establish a new *pengajian* group. Third, they are married to *kyai*'s daughter and establish new *pesantren*. On the other hand, *ustadz* is a popular term that refers to the preacher (Arabic: *mubaligh*) and an Islamic teacher. Both *ustadz* and *kyai* have similarities in the deep understanding of religious knowledge, positive attitude,

³⁶Related to sharia law (Islamic law)

³⁷ The *ulama* derived from Arabic word -“*‘alim*” means a knowledgeable person.

charismatic, and able to preach. In the perception of common Indonesian society, *kyai* recognizes as an older and mature person or the founder of *pesantren* while *ustadz* recognizes to a younger person and has a profession as an Islamic teacher.

Millie (2017) explains listening to the sermon becoming a part of rhythm of daily life and very important among Indonesian Muslim society. It can be observed from every religious event or neutral agenda, such as general gathering, birthday party, life-cycle event, and *slametan* almost add the *sermon* session. The sermon session also broadcasts and airs on various media platforms such as TV and radio programs. On special religious month called Ramadhan (a month of fasting for Muslim worldwide) a short period time of preaching session named *kultum* (seven minutes of preaching) broadcasts on every TV channels and radio before the *iftar* time (break-fasting time around 6-7 PM). The preaching is delivered by a popular Indonesian *ustadz* which contains of rich religious messages that aims to increase audience's knowledge of Islam. For longer duration (half to one hour) of preaching sessions usually broadcasts after *subh* prayer time (early morning about 5 AM). For instance, famous TV preaching show entitled *mamah*³⁸ & *aa*³⁹ tv show broadcasts on every morning, leads by a women preacher called *mamah* Dede. Tthe show invites audiences, they are groups of women coming from several *majelis taklim* (small group of *pengajian*) around Indonesia. Mamah dede is one of the popular women preachers in Indonesia, especially for women's audiences. She is very well known through her straight statement of women empowerment and emancipation. Most of the sermon topics were about marriage life, parenting, social-neighborhood lives, and financial issue. The show also offers Q&A and discussion sessions from the audience to be answered by *mamah* dede directly on the studio site. The show of *mamah* & *Aa* program constructs the new paradigm to Indonesian audiences related to gender, equality, and society through religious and entertainment program (Sofjan 2012).

In addition, Widyastuti (2015) classifies five types of Indonesian Muslim organizations in Taiwan based on different classifications, such as based on region origin from Indonesia, Taiwan based operation, Indonesian branches, and membership

³⁸*Mamah* is a term to refer mother or an elderly women in Bahasa Indonesia

³⁹*Aa* is term referring to an elder male in Sundanese (local language from west part of Java).

background also media interaction. Like typical religious organization, the organizations have several activities relates to strengten muslim identity, enhance spirituality and social skill development, for instance, weekend regular meeting *pengajian* at their office location, English speaking classes, computer and art classes. The organization also have the member board that majority positionedby Indonesian migrant workers.

The *pengajian HP* established to overcome the time and distance limitation through teleconference call. According to interviews, there are several reason behind migrant's participating on the *pengajian HP*. First, the *pengajian HP* offers religious sermon contains of variant knowledges, such as *sharia* or Islamic law, the Qur'an interpretation and Islamic histories as a way to enhance their knowledge about Islam. Second, attending *pengajian* produces calm and peaceful feeling of participants. Various *zikr* and *salawat* session helps migrants eliminating an anxiety, depressed and stress of the workload and family separation. Third, the *pengajian HP* offers consulting session with *ustadz* who helping migrant's answering questions related religious rituals and laws while their working in Taiwan.

Related to the headline news from Taiwan news⁴⁰, 60 per cents of migrant workers do not receive a weekly day off. Indeed, Taiwan government does not give an official day off or weekly rest day for domestic migrant workers. For those who receive the once day off a week, most of them have a rest period no longer than six to 12 hours for the rest of the day. For instance, migrants only can go out during the weekend for half-day, morning to afternoon or afternoon to evening. Thus, their limited time is not as flexible as for them to attend both the event and religious organizations. As mentioned above, most of religious activities are usually arranged on the weekend. Some of migrant workers only get one day off on weekend for their short religious activities. Also, many of them said do not get official day off for years. Some of migrants are paid to work on weekend days, however there are some are work without get any extra payment. The work duty to take care of the patient is the major reason why they keep to stay at worksite. According to interview, Taiwan's government has allowed migrants to use mobile phones since 2009. Those privileges initiates Indonesian workers to run

⁴⁰ See, <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3453494>

and establish *pengajian* on phone. The *pengajian* is established to create an “imagined” communal community for being connected and involved with Indonesian migrant friends to attend religious activities at the same time without leaving the worksite. In the *pengajian* HP, members can join a variant of religious activities through a mobile cell far away from their workplace.

Currently, Islamic preaching shows are easily accessed from various digital and social media platforms. Many of Indonesian famous preacher utilizes YouTube platform broadcast the preaching recording sessions with various selected topics. Thus, I curious why do Indonesian migrants, especially *pengajian* HP participants does not utilize an easier platform since it is more convenient for them, especially related to time schedule. The initial question that I proposed to participants was what is the reason Indonesian migrants motivation joining and participating the *pengajian* HP since it requires a long durations. Earlier, I assumed that the *pengajian* HP only consists of a brief religious sermon, had short sessions per theme. Then, I started to join the activity and community in ealy 2018. I make a friend and build relationships with other participants. The communities were very open welcoming and helping me to learn the routine regulations and schedule. At the beginning of the participating and observing, I received several questions related to my intention of participation, since students were uncommon in joining the activity *pengajian* HP. I declared my honest intention of conducting research of Indonesian Muslim migrant workers *pengajian* on-air groups through teleconference calls in Taiwan. They accepted and appreciated my reason and pleased me to join and participate in the *pengajian* HP. Later, I gradually joined the activities and noticed how the community and activities were organized.

I joined the *mawar* group (smaller subgroup of the *pengajian* HP) on WhatsApp and Line messenger that concist of 18 active members. The messenger group receives a daily notification and updates information to group members, such as the weekly rotation scedules and preaching session. After joining for years, I notice that the *pengajian* HP is more than a listening sermon group but the community that organizing variant types of religious activities for Indonesian Muslim migrant workers in Taiwan. The community builds a relationship among members growing with the dawah mission. The community also aims to cultivate religious identity (as Muslim) and preserves their Javanese traditions in Taiwan. As one of the participants stated, the experience of being

connected with other participants through on-air communication is the most important moment in the entire activity. The participants believe in the barakah defined as blessing and grace which might be received while attending and being present at pengajian HP since the activity also consists of Islamic learning and practicing the congregation religious performances.

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is one of the largest Indonesian Muslim organizations in Taiwan that affiliated and supervised by a central office in Indonesia. The NU Taiwan branch established in 2008 and has 11 branches around the island. The organization provides and organizes Islamic dawah for religious assistance and leadership. Almost once a year, NU Taiwan organizes *tabligh akbar* event or large scale of on-site *pengajian* at the Taipei Main station. The event invites popular preachers from Indonesia to preach religious sermons. The event also organizes cultural performances such as *rebana* and *salawat* recitation.

According to the chairman Mr. Afri said that NU Taiwan aims to continue the spirit of *Ahl-Sunnah waa Al-Jama'ah (aswaja)*, an ancient *ulama* tradition doctrine (Burhani 2012) and preventing the radicalism of Indonesian migrant workers. One of the characteristics of NU scholars is "eclecticism", which focuses on tolerance and differentiation. Thus, the organization expands its existence by inaugurating the sub-branch in every district in Taiwan. NU Taiwan is one of the central activities of Indonesian Muslims in Taiwan that membership system is based on self-recognition. Mr. Afri said all Muslim migrants are naturally NU's members since most of them come from Indonesia's rural java area. NU Taiwan is a place to collect NU's members in Taiwan (migrant workers and students) to continue spreading the message of Islam in Taiwan (dawah). NU Taiwan organizes programs to assist man and female migrants in learning Islam and performing traditional rituals. NU also provides ustadz to teach Islam to migrants through the variant spectrum, such as on-air and on-site. The *ustadz* are mostly had trained at pesantren (in Indonesia) or affiliate with NU's network. Besides, to reach Indonesian migrants who are dominated of female, NU, and KOMIT (The community of Indonesian Muslim migrant on-air in Taiwan) mutually join and organizes the pengajian HP. According to Mr. Afri, NU Taiwan provides ustadz to deliver Islamic sermons in several groups of *pengajian HP* and arrange regular meetings among members and committee members.

Currently, there are approximately six regular preachers at the iwamit on-air pengajian HP group. The preachers have a task to deliver the religious sermons and give spiritual advice to the participants. They are based in Indonesia and Taiwan. The preacher comes from different backgrounds, such as former migrants based in Indonesia, migrant workers, and students lives in Taiwan. Most of the preachers are NU's members, however, there is one preacher affiliated with the Muhammadiyah organization in Taiwan. The whole activities are broadcasted through teleconference call, where members can participate to listen sermon through their mobile cell phone.

Generally, attending in *pengajian HP* is voluntary, where both preachers and participants are not compulsory to follow the round schedules since migrants must prioritize the job responsibility. In this case, preachers always advises participants to finish their primary job as workers. However, there is concern of stabilizing the binary network structure (as mentioned in chapter 2), where several participants on duty are responsible and require to carry other participants and establish the teleconference network. These participants on duty have to make an invitation call to other members and they may choose to mute. It is optional for the participant on duty to continue for work or listen to the teleconference call mutually at the same time.

Back to the case, as Millie (2017) explains that preaching style is part of a communication strategy to lead the collective attention of an audience. The strategy includes a variety of preaching techniques, interval voice, body movement, and gestures. Normally, during real on-site *pengajian* sessions, the preacher accommodates in front of the audience, where the preacher's fashion style, gesture, and expressions can be seen directly. However, in the *pengajian HP*, the audience's experiences learning from a distance through teleconference call. Thus, audience's focus is cannot measured since due to limitation supported aspects.

According to the interview, most of the preachers mentioned there is no differentiation between the on-site and on-air preaching. The preachers believe that the purpose of delivering a sermon was to transfer the good messages to another people (*da'wah*). The differences is related to the use of media since it utilize the teleconference call. Although several preachers adapts to new preaching methods, but they can guarantee the audience's attention. "It was weird in the beginning to speak directly to audiences through the phone. I couldn't recognize whether they are paying

attention or just pass the event. Indeed, I must personally organize to articulate the important messages and reemphasizing to audiences since it's only spelled by the voice. Sometimes, the signal was terrible, we cannot establish the connection. It is common to hear the noise from the participant since they cannot pay attention and respond with their patient (the employer)".

Because preaching is conducted via teleconference call, so I did not know the audience's response. For example, I made jokes to recall the attention of participants, but I could not know their attendance, some participant's phone must be in a muted mode. The situation is different when I preached facing the audiences, where I can see the direct audience's response to my lecture. Thus, I can build engagement between audiences and preachers. When I do preaching in the pengajian HP, I cannot expect more, rather than being grateful if the audience heard my preaching.
(Ustadz MS, 2020)

The interactive communication between preacher and audiences becomes another essential aspect of creating the enjoyable and engaging learning experiences. Thus, most of preachers on the pengajian HP have their regular sessions. Ustadz MS is one of the regular preachers and former active member on the *iwamit* on-air group. He is Javanese born, a former Taiwan migrant worker from 2007 - 2009. He is currently working as a farmer and teaching Islamic subjects to kids and lecturing a regular sermon. He grew up along with NU's tradition and completed his education at NU's *pesantren* in Indonesia. Although he had retired from migrant workers, he still wants to contribute to the *da'wa* activity in Taiwan. Currently, he lives with his wife and children in Tulung Agung city, East Java province, Indonesia.

Ustadz MS's preaching style is noticeable during observation. Ustadz MS's stated that his preaching style is impersonating NU's senior *kyai* such as Gusdur and Gusmus's⁴¹ styles who are able to make audiences enjoy their vocal performance which blended with dialect and local jokes. His preaching style is not exposed the audience to

⁴¹ KH. Abdurahman Wahid known as Gusdur is served as the fourth president in Indonesia. He was an Indonesian religious and political figure, NU chairman and grandson of NU's founder KH. Hasyim Asy'ari. Gusmus is a respected religious figure in Indonesia. He is the chief adviser of *Pondok Pesantren Raudhatul Thalibin* in Rembang county, Central Java province. Both Gusdur and Gusmus are respected figures for most NU followers. Indeed, their preaching style highlighted by adding local jokes and using Javanese accents to attract audiences' focus.

such a depth and detail explanation but tried use the jokes, local folklore, and songs to attract the audience's attention and convenience. As he said, preaching is more practical rather than theoretical explanations. He tried to narrate the preaching statement following migrant work situation. As he also experienced as a former migrant worker, he realized the *pengajian HP* activity aims not only to encourage them to do religious performance but to give a solution to general life's problem as well. Besides, adding a sense of humor makes the preaching situation more dynamic, although he cannot maintain the audience's focus constantly. He set his preaching as an entertain performance, while the audience is working.

Ustadz MS dominantly delivers the sermon in a combination of Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese dialect. The language selection is based on his preference to make the audience enjoying his sermon. He believes most of the audiences are Javanese ethnic and understand the local dialect ascent. Besides, the *ustadz MS*'s said there are some statements, jokes, and explanations that are not easy to translate in Bahasa. During the observation on *ustadz MS*'s sermon, I noticed the emphasis of cultural value-added almost in every preaching sessions. Throughout his working experiences in Taiwan, he knows the common problems and confusion on adjusting spiritual believe and practical issues among Indonesian Muslim migrants worker in Taiwan. For example, he experienced performing the Taiwanese's ritual tradition on Chinese New Year, where all workers are collected in the factory's hall, hold a joss stick in front of the prayer set altar and ordered to perform the congregational prayers. Some scholars convinced that Muslims are prohibited to imitate any *kafir* (non-Muslim believer) religious ritual or acts of worship. However, he said that the action was just a traditional ritual. He also insisted no verses in the Quran prohibited the burning of joss stick. The Quran only stated that Muslims were forbidden to performs *shirk* (believes in more than one God). He also mentioned a *hadith* (a Prophet Muhammad state, act, and intentions) that "*Every action is by intention, and for every person will get what is intended*". Assumed on his statement, *ustadz MS* preaching style is persuading listeners to do the best according on each personal ability especially in terms of religious practices. He was aware that as a minority in Taiwan, a Muslim who works in domestic sector makes inflexible steps of spiritual worship.

I also had a chance to interview *Ustadz SA* as a former Taiwan migrant worker too. Currently, he lives in Indonesia, running a transportation business and still actively do preaching in several *pengajian HP* groups in Taiwan. *Ustadz SA* is graduated from *pesantren* (with a degree certificate) without pursuing any formal education, his family background close to the *pesantren* community. Before, he was experience to teach Quran recitation and translation learning in Indonesia. Currently, *ustadz SA* preaches on every Wednesday night to teach the Islamic classical book (Ind.: *Kitabkuning*) with a title *ta'limmutaalim* (a guide for students to learn Islamic subject). *Ustadz SA* is originated from Brebes county, part of central Java province. He starts to preach when he was 18 years old, assigned by his uncle to deliver sermon on *pengajian* group to villages around Brebes County for one year. He moved to another city to teach *tafsir Quran* (Eng.: learning the translation of Quran). Furthermore, the journey made him coming to Taiwan as fabric material factory workers located in Zhongli District, Taoyuan city for six years.

Ustadz SA preaching journey started while he attend the *ustadz MS*'s farewell session at Taipei Grand Cultural Mosque. He participated in Q&A session and asked one question about the Quran interpretation. He asked to *ustadz MZ* "Is it true that evil's rebelliousness is God's scenario?, and how it became happened?. He said, the Quran translation on Surah Al-Baqarah (the second chapter of the Quran) written that *jailun fil ardikholifah* is located after the sentence of *fasajaduilaaiblis* (Eng.: "I will make upon the earth a successive authority" after the sentences "and they prostrated except *Iblis (Satan)*"). He said, people were very surprised by his questions since it contained a deep understanding of the Quran's translation on exclamation contrast with his casual appearance. The discussion was going smoothly and participant started consider his ability lecturing sermon to *iwamit* on-air group.

After return back to Indonesia, he maintains the regular sermon preach session on several *pengajian HP* groups in Taiwan. He realizes being a preacher to the Indonesian Muslims migrant workers in Taiwan becomes a new challenge. Indeed, the preacher must figure out what's the listener's need. For instance, he mentions about the daily obligatory prayers of Muslim with congregation in the mosque is much better and bring much reward than perform at home. He said, the statement is impracticable for Indonesian Muslim migrant workers in Taiwan. Though, they live in a minority within

the limited time to go public access. Thus, he stated that each preacher must know the condition of audiences and choose a proper subject to audiences.

“The knowledge is divided into 3 categorization, there are ulama, siyasatul mulk and hikmatul hukam. If the explanation of Islamic knowledge only referred to ulama, then I am sure that my audiences (the Indonesian migrants) will reject my explanation. For instance, we know the tradition of nisfu syaaban (a celebration to welcome Ramadhan month). If we refer to the ulama (eng.: Islamic scholar), those activities referred to a bid’ah (a ritual practice that not mentioned in Quran and Hadith). However, since we (migrants) has been regularly performing the nisfu syaaban prayer, then we can refer to siyasatul mulk reference (no.2) which means that all prayer activities are good even though, no Quran verses and hadith mentioned about nifsu syabaan prayer. All prayers are good since it contain of prayers to God despites it is not performed during three categorized times; (1) the time when dawn rises (2) when the sun is directly overhead and (3) at the sunset. As long as the prayer is not performed on these 3 times above, then performing prayer is allowed. It mentioned on shahih (reliable) hadith on Bukhori Muslim”

The narrated above was *ustadz* SA's explanation about the source of knowledge (Islamic reference) on three categorizations of sources when dealing related to religious rituals and laws. For more detail, he gave an example by highlighting one of the NU's traditions performs by participants of *pengajian HP* that called *nisfusyaaban* as a celebration to welcome Ramadhan. It is exactly held in mid of syaban month (on the 15th day of the 8th month of the Islamic calendar, *Syaban* month is a month before Ramadhan). At that time, people will hold a small of family gathering for reciting surah of *Yaa-sin*, and perform the prayer in congregation. Muslims believe, during *nisfu syaaban* night, Allah widely open the door of forgiveness. This ritual is not mentioned in the Quran and Hadith, and controversial among some Islamic scholars.

Ustadz SA illustrated how Islam has various narrations and explanations related to Islam and culture. In this case, most of the *pengajian HP* groups that are supervised by KOMIT and NU Taiwan branch. In this case, the preacher's selection has essentially related the understanding of basic Islam knowledge. *Ustadz* SA highlights the ritual of the religious tradition performed by the NU followers was based on right ideology and

adjustable to the working environment. *Ustadz* SA admits that he grows up with the NU traditions, but very open with other *madzhab* (school of thought of Islamic law). His explanation is related to the NU traditional practices. Correspond to his statement, the director of the NU Taiwan branch also explains that the organization of NU exists to protect and cultivate the Indonesian Muslim *aqidah* (the discourse of believe and faith in islam) in Taiwan. NU promotes the direction of Islam Nusantara⁴², in which the practices and rituals are influenced by Sufism tradition (Woodward 2017). The participants of the *pengajian HP* can learn and perform similar religious rituals in Indonesia even they are lived abroad in Taiwan.

Ustadz SA realizes that lived as Muslims in minority community is totally different compared to home country. Especially, while migrant muslim dealing with the job responsibilities and priority. The belief in spreading and learning Islamic knowledge becomes priority for preacher and each Muslim, therefore each preacher must select suitable topics for audiences. Moreover, as *ustadz* SA stated, each person lives in different life's problem and the quantity of religious practice could not be compared. The Islamic knowledge from *pengajian HP* groups and Muslim community in Taiwan provides the lesson learning during their working and stay in Taiwan. Evenmore, by inviting Indonesian preachers for lecturing the sermon, the quality of lessons and knowledge might be similar with learning in Indonesia and in line with NU's mission.

⁴² Islam *nusantara*: The concept of Islamic ideology, based on *Salafi-Wahabi* ideology, which is evokes the spirit and emotion to counter extremist and violent transnational movements including al-Qaeda and ISIS (Woodward 2017)

Chapter 3

Ritual Performances in the Network

3.1 Introduction

Currently, *ngaji* has a broader definition along with many chances to access the Islamic lesson through the media. This chapter explains the detail of *pengajian HP* in Taiwan as a demonstration of how media takes an important role to improve religious faith of Indonesian migrants in Taiwan. Nevertheless, the activity of *ngaji* on-air (the *pengajian HP*) demonstrates the transition of traditional style *pengajian* to the new type utilizing mobile cell phone. According to interviews, joining the *pengajian HP* is more accessible for migrant workers to access religious preaching and learn Islamic subjects while working at Taiwan

This chapter turns to explore the transnational flow from the insight phenomenon of *pengajian HP* which was conducted by Indonesian Muslim migrant workers in Taiwan. The *pengajian* refers to the activity of learning and discussing the Islamic subject in a certain place, leads by a religious figure for better comprehension and understanding of the lesson. For more details, the *pengajian HP* refers to an actual traditional Islamic learning activity or rituals by a certain group of people that switches from an outdated way to mobile teleconference call. The *pengajian HP* was established by a group of Indonesian Muslim migrant workers in Taiwan named KOMIT⁴³. This chapter will explain the whole *pengajian HP* activity and the environment through a translocality discourses perspective. This chapter uses an ethnography research methodology which aims to understand and address the community key issue and flows (Freitag and Von Oppen 2010a)

The discussion consists into two areas; first, rituals performance performs at the *pengajian HP*, such as *zikr tahlil*, *slametan* and *tawasul* recitation. The ritual

⁴³ Indonesian Muslim on-air community

performances shows and reemphasizes migrant's cultural identity as a Javanese Muslim. The explanation of tradition ritual covers a brief explanation of *zikr* rituals, *slametan* (communal feast in Javanese tradition but it is conducted through on-air broadcast by framing the imaginary situation) and *haul* (commemorate of the death). The third is community and self healing. The second section describe the Q&A session. For making more descriptive, I draws several narrations related to the preacher speech and regular prayer during the *pengajian HP* activities. Several phrases will be narrated in Bahasa and Arabic with translation.

There are many *pengajian HP* groups conducted by Indonesian migrants in Taiwan through Line messenger, Facebook, or WhatsApp group messenger. In this section I focus on the group that is supervised by KOMIT. Currently, there are 14 the *pengajian HP* groups under the supervision of KOMIT association, such as Al-Bashor, Albarokah, Al-mugist, darul hikmah, demak beramal, dzikir sholawat, hasanah on-air, imdat, nur Muhammad, permupota, sda and iwamit on-air. Likewise, mostly those groups are using teleconference call sermon network to conduct the activity.

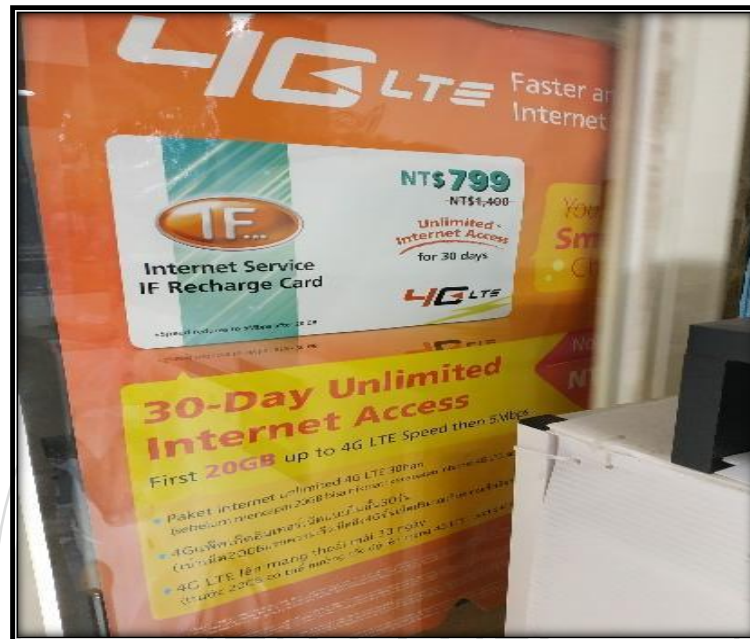
The content of *pengajian HP* (IWAMIT ON-AIR GROUP) arranges to involve migrant workers in religious and ritual traditions activities in Taiwan. The activities includes religious sermon session (morning and evening) for 30 minutes each session, Q&A session with preachers, religious lesson group through *kitab kuning* (the *pesantren* textbook) session, *slametan* and *haul* session every Saturday night and Qur'an with *tajwid* classes taught by senior members. The activity of the *pengajian HP* requires consistency of participants to follow all the activities from 4 AM to 11 PM and the responsibility to organize the network stability.

My first time was very confused about how the *pengajian HP* network established. Then, gradually I followed and participated on *iwamit* on-air⁴⁴ group activities. The senior member suggest me to purchase Far Easton sim card provider (FET) at Indonesian grocery store and register to the unlimited "monthly" service package. As mentioned on the chapter 1, Far Easton (FET) Telecommunication Company offers prepaid unlimited service call every day with the service charges around 799 NTD each month. The service confers an unlimited text, call and data every day for a month. By

⁴⁴ A name of the *pengajian HP* group in Taiwan

purchasing this prepaid service, Indonesian migrant workers established the *pengajian* HP work to reach out all the participant through teleconference call network. I prefer bought the regular service package which cheaper but has limited hour service call. The regular card price is about 200 ntd that I bough twice to third times each month.

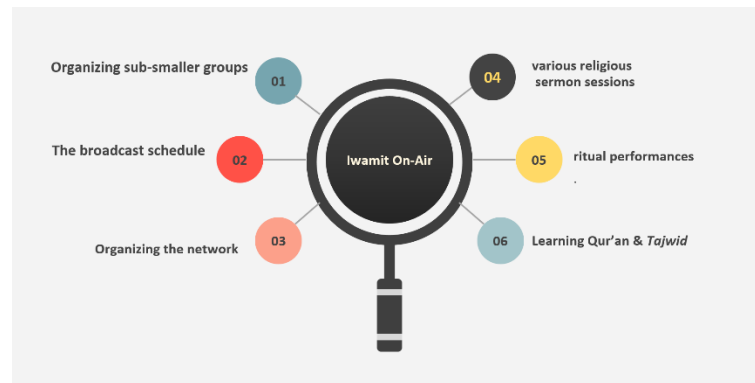
Figure 4. The advertise of FET providers



The example of how advertisement of Far East telecommunication data provider inform about the unlimited internet and call services package posted on Indonesian grocery store's

To provide more comprehensive for understanding the *the* pengajian HP, I draws six important notes related how the community established. The notes covers the system, structures, and agendas which includes religious sermons, tradition ritual performances and religious study groups.

Figure 5. The pengajian HP's contents



The first is organizing sub-smaller groups. The *pengajian HP* group has its small group that aims to effectiveness and organizes the number of people. For more details, each *pengajian hp* group consist of 100-300 members that divided into 5-10 sub-smaller groups. Those sub-smaller group consist of 10-15 members and select a group leader. The smaller group organizes through phone App messenger to communicate and organize the members. Indeed, the group also use to arrange a rotating schedule to manage the event as well as to organize the network connection. For instance, on the *pengajian HP* iwamit on-air group, there are 10 smaller group named *pelangi* (an abbreviation form *pemersatu langkah illahi*) or work together to gain God's blessing. Those group name is based on the name of Indonesian flower such as *mawar* (rose), *melati* (jasmine), *lavender* (lavender), *anggrek* (orchid), etc. Literally, the name of flower aims to simply grouping and organizing the members and activities as well.

Secondly is the related broadcast schedule, including daily, weekly, and monthly schedule activities. The general schedule has been mentioned in the first chapter but the detail is also essential to be explained. As mentioned above, the activity of *pengajian HP* provides a full richness of activities to escalate their religious faith and knowledge. Nevertheless, there is a specific time categorization to arrange the scheduled activity. For instance, early morning from 4 to 6 AM is time for *zikr al-asmaul Husna*⁴⁵ rehearsal. Following 6 to 7 AM to sermon and Q&A session. Otherwise, 8-9 AM is the

⁴⁵Zikr al-asmaul husna is a kind of devotional ritual, containing the repeating the 99 names of Allah.

scheduled time for zikr *al-ma'sturah* and 9 to 11 AM is a block time for reciting Quran lessons. Indeed, those schedules are not fixed since a variant of daily schedules.

Normally, the daily schedule activities of *pengajian HP* is announced once a week after morning sermon session through Line chat messenger. The schedule arranged by committee and senior member. Indeed, all the *pengajian HP* participant requires to actively joining each schedule activities. In particular, broadcast schedule aims to publish each activity held on the resemble hall of the *pengajian HP*. Thus, each participant can gather to attend the activity through teleconference call network.

The third is the network system between participants and preachers. Although there are many variants of online call group App, mostly the *pengajian HP* group are choosing to use an old-fashioned method. The network call is established like a binary structure, where there is a leader chosen to be responsible for maintaining the network tree. As I mentioned in the previous part, each group consists of 5-10 small groups and each small group has a responsible member as “network holder” to maintain its line. Due to the regulation of FET Telecommunication Company, the binary tree network is must renew every two hours. The network call is limited for the FET customer, and the network leader (from a big and small group) must purchased the unlimited service package. Please check the chart below to see how the network is organized.

Figure 6. The illustration of binary network of the *pengajian HP*



Currently, some *pengajian HP* group uses the Line App (messenger App) to broadcast the program but only for a short time. Some of participant told me that by using Line App messenger can saving an expense for buying the international voucher call services. However, the App use also makes the cell phone battery run out quickly,

unclear sound voice, unstable network line and inflexible to organize the member. So, many *pengajian hp* groups still use a traditional way to conduct the activity. Though, the binary network call is also interested to be explored as strategy adaptation of how Indonesian migrant in Taiwan maintain their community.

Fourth, is related *ustadz* (Eng: popular title for Indonesian Islamic preacher) and teachers. In the *pengajian HP*, *ustadz* is responsible to preach Islamic lecture or sermon session. The *ustadz* also sometime give their personal opinion and solution based on Islamic law or *fiqh*⁴⁶ to answer migrant worker's question related religious ritual and law during they working in Taiwan. Some of *ustadz* in *pengajian HP* are from Indonesia and Taiwan. Indeed, for *ustadz* from Taiwan are Indonesian migrant workers that experienced studying in *pesantren*. Most of them associated with PCINU or Nahdlatul Ulama Taiwan branch organization as the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia. However, there is also some Indonesian student invited as preacher to preach on *pengajian HP*.

By inviting Indonesian *ustadz* to preach in the *pengajian HP*, the sermon conducts through international conference call. Interestingly, the sounds on the phone are likes an actual situation as normal *pengajian* in Indonesia. All participant are situated attend and have a casual conversation as on the on-site *pengajian*. For instance, the environment on the *pengajian HP* put the *ustadz* as like as they preaching on real *pengajian*. When *ustadz* are willing to attend the resemble hall, all participant are welcoming them, recites the *solawat* and *salam* (Eng.: salutation) collectively. Furthermore, when *ustadz* are going to leave the on-air forum, all participant are praised too. Indeed, during the sermon session, participant requires to keep silent for the effectiveness. No one are able to speak or during the time. However, when the sharing session starts, they switches to turn off the mute mode and asked the questions. Indeed, this activity is kindly performs on real *pengajian* then adjusted on the *pengajian HP*.

In the *pengajian HP* case, *ustadz* is described as a person to strengthen Islamic ideology, faith, Islamic law and life counsellor. However, the teacher is focused to teach basic Islamic subjects. In *pengajian HP*, a teacher is mostly a senior member that had

⁴⁶ Fiqh is Islamic jurisprudence or known as a set of sharia law as a guidance and rules as revealed in the Quran and Hadith

learned Islamic subject or had a study at *pesantren* in Indonesia. The subject taught is *fasalatan*⁴⁷, *salawatan*, the Quran lesson, *Zikr* and *tahlil*. Each *pengajian HP* group has regular *ustadz* to give a sermon according to the broadcast schedule. The *ustadz* sermon session schedule is released weekly every Monday morning on group chat line messenger. Mostly, the sermon session held twice a day, a morning session for SIMPONI PAGI (An abbreviation for *Siraman Menata Posisi Hati Nurani*, Eng.: sermon session for strengthening a faith) and an evening session for *pengajian kitab* (Eng.: Islamic book review session). The duration of the sermon event is about one to two hours every session. Furthermore, each *pengajian HP* group must provide the international service call with every session and the payment fee for the lectures as the *bisjarah* (Eng.: Payment for *ustadz*). The payment always paid every three months through remittance on Indonesian grocery shop. Thus, every member must pay a monthly fee for 200 NTD to pay the *bisjarah* and monthly expenses.

The sermons are taught mixed between Bahasa and Javanese languages and use the *bandongan*⁴⁸ teaching method. The *bandongan* is applied by accommodating students/participants and *ustadz* at the class or large room. The *ustadz* sit in the front of the audience to give the sermon. The sermon usually contains a study lesson from the *Kitab kuning* (Eng.: *pesantren* text book) which consists of Arabic phrases. *Bandongan* teaching style allows the *ustadz* to translate each word to Javanese and sometimes conclude it with Bahasa. The use of mixed languages is an expression of how they comfort and pleased performing local dialect on their local community.

During *kitab kuning* teaching session, teacher applies word by word translation to in Javanese, then finally translates to the complete sentences in Javanese and Bahasa. The session aims to give basic knowledge about Islamic subjects for participants. The activities conducted about 30 to 60 minutes, with around five times a week scheduled. Table 3 how the *pengajian kitab* schedule lectured through teleconference regularly.

⁴⁷ A subject contains of guidelines to learn how to pray salat

⁴⁸ *Bandongan* is popular teaching method in *pesantren* which is the opposite of *sorogan*. The *bandongan* is in activities involved in teacher-center method, while student are in passive receptive mode listening of teacher teachings.

Figure 7. The pengajian Kitab schedules

Date/Time	Sermon schedule
Monday/13.00	<i>Lubabul Hadis</i>
Thursday/19.00	<i>Tasirul Kholaq fil ilmi and Ta'limul Muta'alim</i>
Wednesday/ 06.00	<i>Washoya Al Abaa' lil Abnaa'</i>
Tuesday/14.30	Fiqh wanita or Fiqh for female
Saturday/ 08.30	<i>Fathul Qorib</i>

Fifth is about religious performance like *zikr*, *solawat*, *tahlil* and *slametan*. *Zikr* is Islamic religious activity which consists of pronounced the names of God (Allah) repeatedly to stimulate enjoyment (Hamsyah and Subandi 2016). Linguistically, *zikr* means remembering. By definition, *zikr* is an awareness of a creature on the relation which unite his entire life with the Creator (Michon in Hamsyah and Subandi 2016). *Zikr* also part of meditation ritual in Islam that affected to individual cognition and stimulating the positive effects, relaxing and peacefulness. Devotional practice of repeating that aims to enhance spiritual awareness and faith. *Zikr* as influence from the combination of Sufism and traditionalist Javanese Muslim society. Referring to Howell (2011) neo-Sufism raised alongside of the growth neo Islamic revival in Indonesia on the period of the KH. Abdurahman Wahid was elected as the 4th president of Indonesia. Sufi knowledge known as *tasawuf* is predominantly practiced on *pesantren* institution and *nahdlyin* (NU followers) which predominantly live in township area of java.

There are many variants of *zikr* in pengajian HP such as *dzikir al-matsurat*, *dzikir nadhom al-asmaul husna*, *dzikir yasin* and *tahlil*, *dzikir kautsaran*, *dzikir tasbih*, and *dzikir istighosah*. *Zikr al-matsurat* is a collection of *dhikr* and prayers collected by Imam Hasan Al Banna taken from the traditions of the Prophet to be read by every Muslim so that he always remembers Allah and is in obedience to Him. *Zikr nadhom al asmaul husna* is a series of Asmaul Husna (99 Names of Allah) which are chanted in rhythm. *Zikr yasin* and *tahlil*, *kautsaran*, *tasbih* and *istighosah* is considered as an Islamic tradition of Nahdlatul Ulama society which contains of praised to Allah, prophet, his family and relatives, the saints and *ulama* (Eng.: Islamic scholar). Indeed,

all zikr activities aims to make all participant of the *pengajian HP* remember Allah in any condition. Additionally, the *ustadz* stated during morning sermon session, he said *one of seven people group will be shaded by Allah (God) under his shade on the day when there will be no shade except His is a person who remember Allah in seclusion and his eyes get flooded with tears* (Hadith Bukhari, number1423).

During zikr session, one person is in charge to lead the zikr recital, then all participants follow the instruction to recite along with the leader. Mostly, participants prefers turn on the speaking mode to enliven the teleconference 'hall'. One participant said, the performing zikr with friends is better than alone. Although, turning on the speaker mode is not required since some participants prefers switching to silent mode for make it more quite. Indeed, they do listening the zikr and choose to practice by humming noiselessly. During the zikr session, participants are expected to hand and read the zikr guide book. The book arranges by organization as a guide book for participant and available for selling.

Sixth is the activity of learning Quran *Tajwid*⁴⁹. This part is essential since most of my informant realized that Quran recitation lesson improves their quality of life. For Muslim, Quran is a significance, especially for life guidance. Thus, all Muslim must know how to recite and reflect over the Quran. However, reciting Qur'an needs a special skill because it is written in the Arabic language and suppose to have a special knowledge that known as *tajwid*. Some of participants explained that joining the *pengajian HP* helps them to recite the Quran properly.

The *pengajian HP* provides learning Quran *tajwid* activity to the participant. The activity divides to four classes, such as *iqro*⁵⁰ class beginner, intermediate, advance level and *tartil* Quran. Some of participant started from beginner stage but some other begin from advance to intermediate class. Otherwise, for student who has pass the *iqro* classes can go straight to *tartil* Quran. The Quran *tajwid* teachers are from senior member of the *pengajian HP* who had been joining the activity longer and can recite Qur'an properly. Some of them also graduated from *pesantren* so that they can recite

⁴⁹ *Tajwid* a set of rules for the correct pronunciation and letter to recite the Quran.

⁵⁰ *Iqro* derived from Arabic language means read. Likewise, *iqro* also a book tittle used in Indonesia to learn reciting Quran *tajwid*

Al-Qur'an very well. Furthermore, the teaching method is similar with the sermon activity "bandongan" style. The teacher teaches by pronouncing the correct Arabic words or sentence refers to *iqro* and Quran book directly through the phone and the student will follow afterwards. In this session, mostly member own a guide book provided by the community. Thus, it makes it easier to follow the lesson through the voices.

3.2 Understanding *Zikr*, *tawasul* and *slametan* in the *pengajian HP* activity

3.2.1 The *slametan* rituals

Javanese Islam has an inferior reputation of some quarter groups because it differs from what people may consider authentic Islam or so-called middle-eastern Islam (Hilmy 1999). For some scholars, Javanese Islam recognizes as a Unique Islam since it had influenced by pre-Islamic traditions and rituals, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, animist, and local host beliefs. Geertz (1976) study about Javanese Islam at Mojokuto, a small town in east-central Java, Indonesia. He categorizes three groups of people in Javanese society. The *abangan* is people who are mix Islam and local traditions, such as *slametan* – the core ritual of Javanese tradition that combines religious invocation and traditions rituals. The *santri* is originally referred to as a religious student (in *pesantren*), considered as a pious Muslim who performs religion in the right way. The last is *priyayi*, an elite politic, as civil services, 'white collars' during the Dutch period, perform mix traditional and Islam rituals.

Geertz emphasizes that *slametan* is a core tradition ritual of Javanese people and is positioned as an important feature in explaining the religion of Java. According to textual analysis, *slametan* derives from Javanese word, *selamat* (equal to happy and secure). It also derives from Arabic word, *salaam* refers to the condition of condition of peacefulness in both life and hence forward. To sum up, *slametan* is the product of scriptural interpretation from Islamic text but does not seem to be exaggerated practically (Hilmy 1999). The *slametan* is example of assimilation between Islamic

elements and local-belief tradition (Hilmy 1999). Despite the three categories Geertz mentioned above, *slametan* rituals propose the harmony between spiritual notion and social integrity for Javanese society. Three components of *slametan*, an invocation (opening speech delivered by accommodator), Arabic prayer (*donga*, *do'a*, or a prayer to God), and the meal (including preparing food for the guest) that represents socio-religious and liturgical aspect that rooted by Sufism dissemination in Javanese culture (Woodward 1988). Several important features noticed from *slametan* ritual are *sadaqah* (meal offering to guests) is relates to Islamic principle to give charity for poor people and *do'a* (prayer) recitation the name of Allah (God) or known as *zikr*.

The *on-air* session of *pengajian HP* also offers indirect transnational migrant support groups through sending prayers for family back home. It is called with *slametan* and *haul/tahlil/kenduri* (send prayers for the passed away family's spirit). The actual of *slametan* normally performed every Saturday night and Thursday night. As well the performances of *slametan* in *pengajian HP* activities, the session has a similar sequence with the on-site ritual in Indonesia, excluded the meal festivity. As also stated before, the *zikr* activities identified by Woodward (1988) as a manifestation of a Sufism tradition in performing of cultural faith. It contains the *zikr* repetition to achieve the spiritual purification by added to several sections of the traditional occasion, such as *slametan*, *tahlil*, *tawasul*, *pilgrimage to the nine saints cemetery*, etc (in Howell 2001b, 3).

The ritual of *slametan* includes three principal components, an invocation (Javanese. *ujub*), an Arabic prayer (Javanese. *donga*), and the meal festivity. Inviting guests and meal festivity were also becoming integral components of this ritual. In most cases, the *slametan* symbolize the modes of action and constitute to the instrumental use of textual also mystical Islamic concepts. These ritual also illustrate the penetration of Sufism in the Javanese culture (Woodward 1988, 70-73)

Woodward (1988) defines *slametan* as Javanese formulation of the Sufism mystical path. In his study, the *slametan* is assumed to be linked with the mystical state of *mutma'innah* (Eng.: a tranquil soul) that associated with an intuitive knowledge of Allah to attain the highest human intimate relationship with God. The mystical union

here may also defined as the imminent relationship between a person and their God (Woodward 1988). The concept is also recognized in the component of *slametan* called *donga* (*do'a*), which consists of performing prayer and *zikr* to become *mutma'innah* (soul purification). The sensation of soul purification does not always be felt by conducting *slametan*, however, it relates to the definition of *slametan* in Bahasa Indonesia: *slamet* means blessing, the sequence of prayers, *zikr* and meal festivity performed during *slametan* blend a concept of social expression with religious traditional ritual.

Figure 8 Slametan in Indonesia



Source: nusantaranews.com

During an on-site *slametan*, around 3 to 5 participants are gather and sit together, send the *prayers* every Saturday night. A special celebration or a certain wish such as children's birthday, anniversary day, personal intentions, or an event like family's wedding ceremony also categorized as the type of *slametan*. The guest of *slametan* will send a personal message to the host (a person leading the activity) and the committee will announce their prayer during the event. Furthermore, the guests were also expected to pay the *sodaqoh*⁵¹ as the preacher fee during the event. It is also common during the event, the host or master of the ceremony announce each guest's prayers and leads *Al-Fatihah* recitation as an affirmation word.

⁵¹ A kind of charity for humanity

Another *slametan* aims were believed to strengthen the bonding between migrants with their family. Clarified again by the statement of *pengajian HP* participants, they believed prayers will gather their emotional and spiritual spirits to the family back home. As the I mentioned before, a huge power of communal prayer during *slametan event*, will send a huge *blessing* for the participant's children, husband, and family. Most of the *pengajian HP* participants believe that their presence during *slametan* sessions may ease their family condition. It also convinced by the participants that sending prayers to family or ancestor's spirit through *slametan* becoming one of the regular session during *pengajian HP* which help the participant to release a guilty emotion as a minority and migrant worker in Taiwan, who have a rare chance to meet with family back home. Moreover, to fulfil a desire to keep connected with the ancestor spirit.

During the *haul* session, the *pengajian HP* participants were allowed to send their prayers for the ancestor family's spirit. This activity aims to help them for granted the benefits. Referred to the Prophet Muhammad said, "when someone dies, all of his deeds may come to an end, except *three types of deeds: sadaqah jariyah* (ongoing charity), meaningful knowledge, and sainthood children that frequently send prayers for the ancestor". The NU followers also referred the *haul* activity as *tahlilan* (repeating the Arabic word of *laailaahaillaallah*, English: there is no God but Allah, for several times). Similar to the *slametan*, the host or master of ceremony will invite the family, relatives, and close neighbors to participate and the meal will be served to guests after the main prayers are done.

Howell (2001b) in her article "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic revival" portrays how tradition "Sufism" survived and take a part in Islamic revival in Indonesia before 20 century. Sufism also indicates the first proselytizer of Islam in Java (Dhofier 1980, Woodward 1988, Johns 1995). The legendary folklore of nine saints (*walisongo*) emphasizes the use of Sufism tradition in introducing Islam to Javanese local people. The spreading of Sufism tradition centered on local *pesantren* that consist of domicile of *kyai/shaikh* (Islamic scholars) and *santri* who taught and learn Islamic ideological knowledge (Van Bruinessen and Howell 2007). The *pesantren* is defined as an Islamic center study for student and Muslim society to perform five times obligatory prayer and accommodates (an optional) *zikr* recitations in a congregation (Dhofier 1980).

Refer to the Oxford encyclopedia of modern Islamic terms, Western scholars defines Sufism as Islamic mysticism or internalization and intensification of Islamic faith and practice. Sufism is often associated with devotional practices as daily everyday routines to enhance the divine experiences (Howell 2001b) and provides a spiritual discourse that emphasizes the goal of gear in achieving the highest rank of the vertical God-man relationship (Hasan 2009). The practices of Sufism (*tariqa*) contain devotion of repeated special sentences and words that aim to escalate a personal faith and pious as a sense of being close to God.

The term of “Sufism” has been to diverse Islamic reformers in the twelve century such as Turkey, Iran, and Southeast Asia Muslim dominated nations. The Sufi order an obligation on practices the five fundamental of Islam (spelling *shahada*, performing five times of *salah*, *zakat* - giving treated in Islam as a religious obligation or tax, fasting in the month of Ramadhan and performing Hajj annual pilgrimage to Mecca), following *sunnah*⁵² and additional ritual practices guided by *shaikh*, a pious person that mastered in religious teaching and has a lineage (*silsila*) to the prophet Muhammad (Van Bruinessen and Howell 2007).

Participating religious community complements most Indonesian migrant worker social life since many of them was rarely to take a day off. Besides the religious support and assistances, mostly the participant of the *pengajian hp* realize that by joining the community improves their emotional wellness.

3.2.1 The *zikr* performances

The *zikr* consist of repeated action on pronounced the name of God (Allah) to stimulate spiritual pleasure and enjoyment (Hamsyah and subandi, 2006). Typically, the *zikr* has progressive shortened and rapid rhythm repetition of the final syllable (Van Bruinessen and Howell 2007). This activity are also recognized as spiritual practices that are influenced by Sufism – Sunni tradition (Rubaidi 2019, Ryan 2003, Van Bruinessen 1998). The recitation of *zikr* has a specific number of repetitions and sentences (*wirid*) which are also inspired by Sufism tradition to increase the pilgrim’s

⁵² Sunnah is constituted of traditional customs and practiced referred to acts, words, and approbations of Prophet Muhammad equates as major of source Islamic laws (sharia)

spiritual belief. Usually, the *wirid* performed in special occasions like birth and marriage celebration, commemorate death anniversary, harvest festival, invoke the specific need to the God, as a healing therapy, or seek protection from any disturbance of mystical spirit. Indeed, the Sufism tradition comes to organize and cultivate the Muslim's religious experience in the real of direct perception of unity with God or increase the spiritual awareness to achieve a higher divine experience of personal unity with Allah (*tasawuf*) (Ryan 2003). In other sources, Sufism has also mentioned to define a spiritual discourse that emphasizes the human goal in achieving the highest intimate relations between their God (Hasan 2009). In general, Sufism is associated with devotional daily practices to enhance the divine experiences (Howell 2001b)

The Java island Islamization process in the 16th century was strongly influenced by Sufism traditions (Van Bruinessen 2016) and the influence widely-spread along the Southeast Asia region (Johns 1995). The Islamization process defines as a process of accepting and receiving the individual choice of Muslim as convict religion based on some considerations. The Sufism tradition combines the Islamic teaching style which consists of traditional and cultural performances that emphasize the value of ethnic identity between Islamic mysticism and Javanese culture (Rubaidi 2019). The Sufism tradition *combines* the Islamic teaching style which consists of traditional and cultural performances that emphasize the value of ethnic identity between Islamic mysticism and Javanese culture (Rubaidi 2019).

As stated above, the *zikr* is one of the religious rituals that refer to an activity of repeated action on pronouncing and remembering the name of Allah or Arabic word which is influenced by Sufism tradition ritual (Dhofier 1980). The *zikr* derived from the Arabic language originated from *dzikrullah* means remember or remembrance of God. In this term, *zikr* can be defined as a ritual that contains repeated phrases and prayers to remind God and get the blessing (Anies 2009). During a communal or on-site *zikr* performances, the *kyai* will lead the activity to repeat and pronounce various words (*bismillah*, *tahlil*, *tahmid*, *takbir*, *istigfar*, certain verses in Quran, etc.) then the participants will follow the rhythm and repetition under the *kyai* guidance (Dhofier 1980). The general idea of *zikr* was to remember Allah and granted for religious reward (Ind: *Pahala*) including culture on *pesantren's* tradition (Anies 2009). The specific words is includes

- 1) *Shahadah*, the Islamic confession of faith.
- 2) *Tahlil* (*Laailaahaillallah*; Eng: There's no God but Allah)
- 3) *Tasbih* (*Subhanallah*, Eng.: Glory to God)
- 4) *Takbir* (*Allahu Akbar*; Eng.: God is most great)
- 5) *Tahmid* (*Alhamdulillah*: Eng: praise be to God)
- 6) *Istighfar* (*Astaghfirullahaladzim*; Eng: I ask Allah forgiveness)
- 7) *Salawat* (*Allahummashalli ala sayyidina Muhammad*; Eng: O Allah's sending His blessings upon His Prophet Muhammad and the family of Prophet Muhammad), and certain verses in Qur'an often used when *zikr* rehearsal.

The *zikr* session performed by participant *pengajian HP* is adapting from old tradition to the new circumstances, through teleconference call. The absence of gathering, the meal invitation, and direct on-site conversation encompass the new strategy to build protection for the Muslim community through a teleconference call. This section will present the form of *zikr* performance and subject perspective among several *pengajian HP* participants. In common cases, the *zikr* recitation which influenced by Sufism is practiced by NU's (*Nahdlatul Ulama*) followers and "Javanese⁵³" Muslim society. *Among NU's members, performing the zikr activities is part of additional rituals-related to spiritual awareness and a way to become closer to God. Aside, those rituals are part of the culture that had been embodied for a long time ago.*

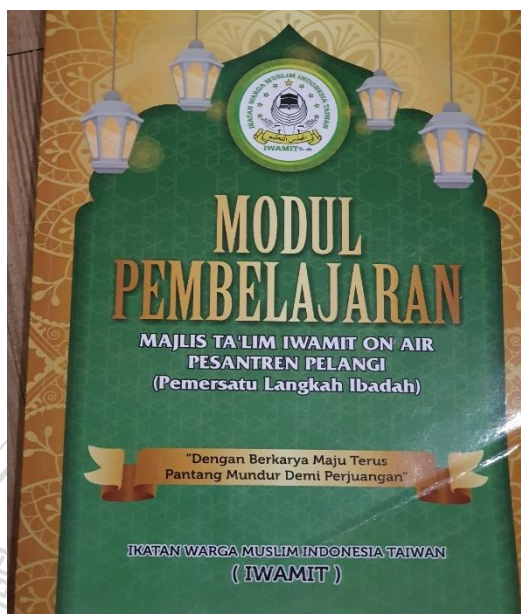
The *zikr* performances in *Pengajian HP* also frequently lead by senior members or trained participants and supported by *zikr* book guidance with listed instructions. According to *ustadz MS* statement, *iwamit* on-air uses the same *zikr* book guidance as the on-site *pengajian* in Kaohsiung. Most of the initiators of *Pengajian HP* were *Nahdlatul Ulama's* people (*nahdlyin pilgrims*) that performing regular on-site religious-cultural traditions such *assalawat*, *barzanzi*, and *yaasin tahlil* recitation⁵⁴ on weekend. The activity was performed when the participant has a chance to take a day

⁵³ The terms of Javanese Muslim society refer to Javanese ethnic that follows Islam NU as religious preference. The NU is nationwide presence but was established and centralized in rural Java.

⁵⁴ *Salawat*, *barzanzi* and *diba'i* recitation is an activity of praising and commemorating Prophet Muhammad's simple sentences in Arabic. Normally, recitation is conducted by several people on specific events and days. The recitation is pronounced a certain rhythms in congregations.

off and to attract more Indonesian migrants to participate. However, since the number of participants is inconsistent due to different working times, the activity then switched to on-air activity and not required participants to physically attend.

Figure 9. The zikr book of IWAMIT on-air



According to my observation by joining the activity for months, there are five main agenda of *zikr* sessions in the *pengajian HP* and each of *zikr* sessions in the *Pengajian HP* is estimated to have a half to one hour's duration. In total, the participants almost spend about two to three hours for several *zikr* sessions. Since the aim of this activity was to remembrance of God (Allah), the participants only require to repeat a specific sentence silently. The detailed of each *zikr* session described as follows:

1. *Al-asmaul Husna zikr* (99 names of Allah) – the early morning session

The early morning session of *zikr* recitation starts before the sunrises between 5 to 6 AM after *tawasul*⁵⁵. According to the participant, *al-asmaul Husna zikr* rehearsal was derived from a *hadith* by Abu Hurairah narrated about 99 Names of Allah: Rasulullah saw said “Whoever believes in their meanings and acts accordingly, will enter the

⁵⁵Originated from Arabic language: waa-sii-laa. It is defined as an invocation ritual popularly used by Javanese society. Simply, it consists of acts: the naming of figures who are considered as a mediator (*wasilah*) between a supplicant and Allah, and the making of an offering for the benefit mediator (Millie 2008)

Jannah (Eng: paradise, the finest place for infinity) (Hadith Sahih Bukhari Vol. 8, Book 75, no. 419) and “Whoever memorized them all by heart will enter the Jannah as well (Hadith Sahih Bukhari, Vol. 9, Book 93, no 489).

2. The morning session

The morning zikr session was performed after an Islamic lecture or sermon session, around 7.15 to 8 AM

3. The late-afternoon session

The late afternoon session was performs before *magrib* (evening prayer time) between 5 to 5.30 PM. The leader will read aloud the morning and afternoon *zikror* also known as *zikr pagi dan petang* which consists of several Quran verses, Arabic words, and prayers. The type of *zikr* is arranged based on a verse in the Quran which stated “So be patient, (O Muhammad), over what they say and exalt (Allah) with praise of your Lord before the rising of the sun and before its setting” (Surah Qaf: verses 36).

4. The yaa-sin tahlil (tahlilan) zikr

Among *nahdliyin*, the *yaa-sin tahlil zikr* recitation aims was to remember and achieve the spiritual alignment among the readers. These type of *zikr* very often to be implemented every Thursday evening after evening prayer (*isha*) using the general hall of mosque, *pesantren*, or take turns from a house to house. The *zikr* start with the recitation of the entire Quran verse of *yaa-sin* and *tahlil* recites afterward. Anies (2009) in his study stated that *tahlilis* generally known as *kenduri* or haul which contains a granted to pray for the preceded spirit of the families who passed away (Ind: *ruh, arwah*). It can be noticed by several sections in the *tahlil* phrases contain Arabic sentence *tsummak hushu sonila aruuhi ... Al-fatihah* which means “especially, this prayer we were sent to the spirit of ... (a passed away family’s names) by reciting Quran verse of *Al-Fatihah*”.

5. The special occasions zikr session (salawat 500 ambalan and zikr kautsaran).

According to the interview, the last type of *zikr* is conducted only at a specific scheduled time and event. The session performed only on special occasions. In example, the *zikr salawat of 500 ambalan* conducts every Sunday around 5 PM, once a week. This *zikr* activity contains a repetition of Arabic sentences (a phrase of *salawat*) that available on the *zikr* guide book of the *iwamit* on-air¹⁵. The *zikr salawat of 500*

ambalan means participants have to conduct the 500 times of *salawat* repetition in around. About *zikr kautsaran*, this type of *zikr* contains of seven times rehearsal and repeated *Al-Kautsar*, verse 108, as the shortest verse in the Quran. The *zikr kautsaran* conducts regularly at 5 PM every Friday.

3.2.2 The performance of *tawasul*

This section will explain more about *tawasul*, a pre-ritual invocation before the early morning *zikr* session. The *tawasul* is defined as a ritual to offering a granted prayer for various Muslims who are considered to occupy a position of favor and have closer proximity to God (Allah) (Millie 2008b, 107). This ritual is consists of verbalizing the names of some important figures of Muslims, followed by the recitation of the first verse in the Quran, (*Al-Fatihah*) in Arabic sentences. The significant or important figures of Muslims here believed as a mediator (*wasilah*) between the participant and God. By sending the recitation of *Al-Fatihah*, a benefit will send for the mediators and the participant as supplicants will get an accelerate accepted access for their prayers to God. It is a kind of exchanged benefit both for mediator and supplicant. It is normal to have a long recitation of *tawasul* since many “spirits” would be gifted for the prayer (Millie 2008a, Millie 2008b). In performing the *tawasul*, all participants must cover their *aurat* (body part that requires to cover), facing the *Qibla* (direction toward Ka’ba), and has to purify their body by performing *wudu* (ablution). The women worshipers during the menstrual period are prohibited to perform this ritual, and may only listen to the leader.

The sequence on *tawasul* begins with *istighfar* recitation *astaghfirullahaladzim* (I seek forgiveness from Allah). Continue with *syahadah* or *confession of faith* recitation: *ashadu 'anlaa 'ilaaha 'illallaahu, wa a'ashadu'anna muhammadan rasuulullaah*. (I testify that there is no God but Allah and I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of God). The *tawasul* recitation afterward: *Ilaa khadrotin nabiyyil mushtofaa Muhammad shallallahu'alaihiwasallam, wa'ala aalihii waashkhaabihii, waazwaajihii, waawlaadihii, wadhurriyaatihii, Syaiulillaahilahum Al-Fatihah* (to the presents of the Prophet Muhammad peace and blessing of Allah are upon him, and upon

his kin, wives, descendants, and the people of his distinguished household, may Allah's with them al-Fatihah⁵⁶).

After that, the participant will start to read aloud the *Al-Fatihah* together. The sequence continues with followed a similar sentence and send prayers to other spirits: *Wailaakhadrotijamii 'I AlhilQur'aan, waahlilhadist, waahlilfiqh, waahlitashowwuf, wailaakhadrotisulthoonil Auliyaa-isyaiikhi A'bdil Qodir jiilaani rodhiyalalloohu 'anhu, wajamii 'Iauliyaaaita 'aalamimasyaaqirilardliilaamaghooriba, walu'lamaail'aamiliin, wasyuhadaa I wassholichin. Syaiulillaahilahum Al-Fatihah* (Then, for the presence of Quran's scholars, Hadith scholars, *fiqh* scholars, for imam A'bdilQodirjaeilaani, may Allah be pleased with him, and every saint from the east to the west, and for our *syuhada*⁵⁷ and sainthood (Ind: *wali*) may Allah with them *Al-Fatihah*). After that, the participants will be guided to perform several *zikr* scheduled. For instance, in the morning session, the following activity is performing *zikr al-asmaul Husna*. Similar to the other previous activity, the leader leads the *zikr* by allowing participants to recite the 99 names of Allah passionately. Afterward, the leader will translate the 99 names of Allah into Bahasa Indonesia. I heard the leader's voice was trembling like a crying. *It creates a calming moment and full of emotions.*

Although it is actually can be solo performed, most of the *pengajian HP* participants preferred to conduct communally. Different from the sermon session, during the *zikr* session, participants are encouraged to speak up and let the voice be heard to make the intangible hall become full of audience's voices. It is expected to participants be able to experience a passion and emotion, gain a self-purification, and escalate the divine sensation. In oftentimes, the I heard sobbing and trembling voices of participants, portray the participants feeling and desire to be better Muslims (Eng.: pious human).

"For some reason, we do not know whose prayers would be accepted by God. Some people might be kept on silent during the event, but they might have the purest heart among us."

⁵⁶Al-fatihah is the first chapter of Quran, contains of seven verses of prayer for guidance and mercy of God.

⁵⁷Syuhada refer to a person who defends Islam

“Our teacher (Ind.: ustadz) said, 40 people, pray together are equivalent as a saint’ (Ind.: wali) prayers. The saint has wasilah to make our prayers go to Allah easily.”

“Performing zikr in congregation is delightful. I am not sure, whether I am able to feel the pleasure of zikr when conducting the recitation alone.”

“Before joined the community, I was very stubborn, but after participate I can always remember Allah by performing zikr. I felt peace inside.”

The remarks above reveal the participants motivation while practicing *zikr* through teleconference call. Although during the event, not everyone set on the microphone to speak up and keep quiet to adjust their primary activity as workers. Some participants also stated that performing *zikr* makes their life easier and their needs are filled unpredictable. The participant additionally stated there is a huge power during the *do'a* (the prayer), especially when the *zikr* was performed communally. While the interview session with Mrs. S performed, she strongly persuades me to regularly participate in the *zikr* session and claimed the benefit as stated above. Mrs. S also received a lot of personal benefits by conducting *zikr* in the congregation. Several other participants also revealed by performing the *zikr* regularly, it creates happiness and a feeling of peace. “It was an unexplainable feeling and difficult to explain to another person who never participated”. Even though I did not experience a similar feeling, the honest and purest motive among the participants.

The *zikr* session continue with after morning sermon session which conducts around 7 to 8 AM every morning using *al-matsurat* *zikr* refers to the *zikr* guide book by iwamit on-air group. As cited from Ustadz SA's statement during his preaching session “Why we should remembrance and recite Allah’s name? Performs the *zikr* each morning and evening will make your heart crying because remembering of Allah. Whoever always remember Allah from morning till evening, Allah will give a new chance to perform any good deeds and forgive all of the sins moreover to avoid inappropriate deeds in every day (Ind.: *Maksiat*)”.

3.3 Islamic preaching and consulting session

The community of the pengajian HP provides religious support systems through Islamic sermons and consulting sessions by inviting Indonesian preachers from

different backgrounds home-based. During the sermon session, the preacher delivers Islamic messages related to ritual practices and performances based on the Quran, Hadith, including the *ijtihad*⁵⁸ for 30 minutes each session. The consultation is conducting after a sermon session allowing participants to ask a question related to their religious life in Taiwan. Mostly the questions concern the marriage relationship, performing religious rituals, and financial issues. The consulting session is a value-added benefit for migrants that joining *pengajian HP* to figure out their problem and find a solution in a short period of time. In addition, questioning a life-problem to a preacher is part of a tradition for Javanese society. Some Indonesian, especially Javanese regularly visit to visit preacher's house or *pesantren* if they have a very serious problem and need to have an advance discussion. The preachers are willing to a piece of advice to the society based religious and perspective (Slama 2017)

The preachers in the *pengajian HP* are taking roles as religious teacher and consultant. Most of the preachers are Indonesian *kyai* and *ustadz* who live in Indonesia and Taiwan. The preachers are mostly migrant's workers, former migrant workers, students and *kyai* who invited preaching to community. Generally, the preacher is person who conduct *dakwah*, distribute, articulate, and broaden the good of Islamic messages for each Muslim and non-Muslim colleagues. The preaching is known as *dakwah bil lisan* (Eng: *dakwah* conducts by oral speech) as popular form of *dakwah*, easily to accept and set in variant occasion for Indonesian muslim (Fealy and White 2008, Millie 2017).

In the *pengajian HP*, there are several preaching sessions; as morning and evening preaching, and *slametan* preaching sessions that held every Saturday morning and evening. Mostly, the preaching materials contains religious sermon, prayer, *pesantren* book lecture (Ind.: *pengajian kitab kuning*), structured, and unstructured oration. Most of Indonesian believe that listening religious preaching as a kind of "spiritual meal" (Millie 2008a). They consider that soul is like a body. They are required to feed through listening the sermon. By doing that, the faith will grow and increase to be close to God.

⁵⁸ Ijtihad can be defined as collective interpretation of Islamic scholars. The main difference between *ijtihad* and both the Qur'an and the Sunnah (the traditions of the Prophet) is that *ijtihad* is a continuous process of development whereas the Qur'an and the Sunnah are fixed sources of authority and were not altered or added to after the death of the Prophet (Hosen 2004)

The *pengajian HP* aims to feed the migrant's soul by listening religious sermons, conducting prays and performing traditional rituals during their work-life in Taiwan.

To see the evidence of a transition between “traditional” forms of *pengajian* into a new form through the *pengajian HP*, I add the conversations of participants and ustadz on the on-air session. They place the “normal rituals” to the on-air session of the *pengajian HP*, for instance, the tradition to assist preacher arriving the lecture hall. The participants are rehearsal salawat recitation, as a manifestation of figuring love to the Prophet Muhammad. According to them by showing love to Prophet Muhammad help them to be recognized as his *ummah* (Eng.: follower) and received the *syafaat* (Eng.: a help) in the day in the afterlife.

Moderator: “Let us welcoming the arrival of ustadz by reciting salawat together”

Participant : (while awaiting the arrival of the preacher) rehearsal, “*Yaa nabi salam alayka, Yaa rasul salam alayka, Yaa Habeeb salam alayka, Salawatullah alayka*” (salawat sentence with a specific rhythm on the final syllable) as translated “Oh Prophet, peace be upon you; Oh Messenger, peace be upon you; Oh beloved, peace be upon you; The prayers of Allah be upon you”.

Moderator: “For all participant, our ustadz has arrived, please send your greeting to the preacher today”

Participant: “*Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarakatuh* (May the peace and blessings of God be upon you), *Iwamit Hijrah Yu!!* (It stated within a special tone, Eng.: let us do hijrah⁵⁹”).

The morning preaching session has 30 minutes of religious sermon enclosed by the Q&A session and arranged by two preachers on duty. Morning sermon is scheduled every Monday and Thursday (6-7 AM), divided into two sessions for *ustadz MS*'s on Sunday and *ustadz TN*'s on Wednesday to Tuesday (6-7 AM). Normally, the session

⁵⁹ *Hijrah* is an Arabic term referring to the activity of migration of prophet Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Yathrib (Medina) in 622. His movement marks as the Islamic year calendar *Hijriyah*. The term *hijrah* also refers to the Muslim's intention to be more pious or to be sainthood.

started by allowing participants duty to practice the sermon oration. The sermon subjects are selected on the night before the day. This sermon practice aims to encourage participants to practice *dakwah bil lisan* (delivering oral good messages) and inspired them to be able to deliver the dakwah for family and children after back for good to the home country. After the practical sermon oration is done, the *ustadz* will complete and clarify their preaching precisely and comprehensively. The other participant as audiences may offer any questions to the participant on duty and may be answered by the senior members or whoever's intending to answer.

The evening preaching session is *pengajian kitab kuning*⁶⁰ through the *bandongan* lesson method. The book titles are chosen and selected by the *ustadz's* preference referred to participant's needs, such as the topic related to Muslim migrant workers situation to perform better quality of religious performances. For instance, every Wednesday at 9.30 PM *ustadz* SA conducts the sermon lecture of the classical yellow book with the title *ta'lim muta'alim* (Eng.: the instruction of student: the methodology of learning) to increase migrant's enthusiasm for studying Islamic subjects in Taiwan.

The special occasion preaching session is held every Saturday night. The event is named *slameta*⁶¹ and explained briefly in section 3.2.1. This type of *pengajian* complement and imitate the on-site *slametan* ritual. The topics sermon delivers normally based on audience's preference and request that related to event session like wedding anniversary or birthday celebration.

The morning session provides the Q&A session to accommodate discussion between the preacher and participant. The Q&A session aims were to let the preacher answering participant's questions related to their aims *fiqh* laws (Eng.: Islam jurisprudence), as well as personal or individual problems. The two ways communication through discussion figures out participants problems and seek solutions. The frequent questions were about the family or relative's problem and advice to solve the migrant's internal family problems. This program adopting how

60 The corpus of classical texts that mostly uses in *pesantren*

61 The *slametan* event contains of communal praying and *salawat* recitation within 30-60 minutes duration on various purposes or special occasions. In the middle of the event, people are making a *doa* (prayer) for specific purposes, such as asking for better solution of life's problem, birthday, and marriage celebration, or celebration for finished working contract and will be leaving Taiwan for good

traditionalist visiting *kyai*'s house or *pesantren* for advance solution and advice based on the Islamic perspective, especially for a very serious problem (Slama 2017).

The Q&A session adopts the Indonesian television or radio Muslim program where preacher and moderator lead the session. Participants can join via offering questions by shouting the tagline "*iwamit hijrah yuk, dengan berkarya maju terus demi perjuangan*"⁶². Then, the moderator will allow them to disseminate their questions to the *ustadz* or *preacher*. Yet, this program is an entertaining show for participants speaking directly and uttering their questions or opinions related to their life situation in Taiwan. These Q&A sessions during pengajian HP remind me to the mid of 2000s when the television program (TV) becoming the most trusted and reliable information among other media programs before the era of the internet and online media. At that time, each of the TV stations developed programs to offer a spiritual broadcast show to gain more audiences across the nation. At the same time, the famous preacher was introduced as a celebrity in line with their joint religious TV show. Aa Gym, ustadz Arifin Ilham, mamah⁶³ Dede were the famous preacher in Indonesia very well known with their show and programs on television as known as a celebrity (Fealy and White 2008, Hoesterey 2008, Heaton and Cammack 2011).

The Q&A's session was organized to promote and encourage the participants in discover their problem as Muslims in Taiwan. During observation, the most frequently ask-questions are based on the participant personal's experiences or problems. For example, how the participant can maintain the religious ritual and Islamic jurisprudence based on their current situation as a Muslim and minority in Taiwan. The questions-related to married couple (husband or wife's) life problem also frequently asks by the participant. After a person offering questions through the teleconference call, the preacher answer directly and other participants may hear the discussion. It is also permitted for the participants to ask the question in personal through or direct personal message and call, especially for participant with more complicated problem. In this

⁶² Iwamit, let us hijrah, through working, never surrender for sake of struggle.

⁶³ Mother, mom in Bahasa Indonesia

online-based community the preacher was not set up any consultation cost, the participant will share and give the *bisjarah*⁶⁴ from the monthly cash.

In detail, the several question from the participant of the *pengajian HP* iwamit on-air group will present below and divided into three classifications: (1) Questions related to the family and marriage relationship; (2) financial problem; and (3) questions on religious or rituals matters. The topic of family and relationship problem become the mostly asking questions especially mostly asking on the ritual practices, role as long-distance mother and wife, divorces, and how to nurture kids.

a) Questions about family and marriage relationship

1. There is a married couple case, a man and women who tied up in marriage and living together in a house in Indonesia. The husband and wife collaborate to finish the house construction. The wife works abroad as migrant workers in Taiwan to fund the land payment and construction costs, while the husband stays and helps by managing the labor construction workers. However, after the house construction finished, the husband and wife decided to divorce because of several problems. The questions then “who’s the owner of the new house? If the house belongs to both husband and wife how to divide it equally? How if the husband does not want to leave the house in a quarrel?”

2. “During my work in Taiwan, my husband never asked how I was doing here. He will contact me only when I formerly contact him. Even though I haven't called or texted for a month, my husband just kept quiet and never worried about my condition here. How to deal with this condition?”

3. Another question”does the husband who said the intention to divorce is countered to “talak” (Eng: a husband expression to discontinue a marriage under Islam rule)?

b. Questions about belief and ritual practice

1. “How to deal with the condition when we are ready to practice the prayer (salat), however, the employer asked us to focus on work and ordered a quick finish the job?”

64 Quarterly payment for the preacher

2. “Is there any solution to accommodate my prayers during my responsibility to accompany my boss in the hospital around 5 to 7 pm and missed to performing the afternoon and evening prayers (Ind: salat isha)?”

3. “My boss was sick at that time and asked me to put some joystick on his prayer altar on the fourth floor. Does Islam allowed those practices?”

4. “I bought Vietnamese coffee and sipped it yesterday. However, I have just realized it contains lard or “pig-fat” ingredients. What should I do?”

c. Questions about financial problem

1. “Does Islam allowed the Muslims to save with the “*arisan*” method (Eng: regular saving in the social gathering) for buying the animal for qurban⁶⁵ on Eid Adha?”

2. “My relative ruined my money when I asked him to deliver the money to my family. What should I do?”

3. “Which is more sinful, eating the haram food or making money through haram’s way (Eng.: forbidden)?”

In this section, I would not describe exact answers and explanations from the preachers since the questions are related to the Islamic rules and principles. However, I highlights several important points to explore the subjectivity and experience among Indonesian Muslim migrant workers. Analyzing from the questions lists, gender issues are emeringe since the majority of pengajian HP participants are also dominated by women. In other words, as women and domestic migrant workers in Taiwan, they will face multilevel difficulties to be workers, mothers, and wives related to the long-distance condition.

As I followed, the majority of pengajian HP preachers are male, including the preacher who responsible to answer every question in the Q&A session (ustadz AD and TN). The women preacher (ustadzah) is limited except for Quran reciting and practice for *salat* session which are handled by the woman preachers. The woman preachers are former senior participants of pengajian HP who capable to teach the new members. Yet,

⁶⁵ Eid Adha is an Islamic religious festival to commemorate the willingness of Ismail (Ibrahim’s son) to follow God’s command. It is also known as the festival of sacrifices when Muslims are suggested to commemorate Ibrahim’s trial slaughtering an animal (sheep, lamb, cow, or camel) for faith purposes.

this is one of an exception referring to a previous explanation about *pengajian HP* which resembling a *pengajian* or Islamic learning and teaching in pesantren. The on-site *pengajian* at pesantren will always lead by a *kyai* as the male leader.

Each Q&A session is held for 30 minutes. The questions will be answered exactly referred to the Quran verses and/or Hadith as the main source of solutions for every Muslim including the *ijtihad*. In some cases, the different answer statement is explained between ustadz AD and TN based on a different point of view. Ustadz AD comprehends the problems through the lens of local view as a traditionalist and answering through Islamic cultural opinion and sources to engage with the audience as Javanese society. However, oppositely, Ustadz Tn comprehends the problem through the lens of modernist has an exactly confirmed answer based on the Quran and Hadith (the Islamic main and basic sources for problem of life).

I noticed the answer are unilateral and based only on the male point of view. An example question related to family and marriage relationship point number two, there is a woman asked about her husband who did not frequently call her up during her stay in Taiwan. She considered his husband is avoiding and less cares about her condition. The question then answered by ustadz TN, he stated that the condition happen was not a big problem. It was just a lack of communication between the husband and wife. Good communication will improve the ties of relationship in marriage. However, to the woman, ustadz TN suggests to aware of the common problem in long distance marriage. Moreover, to the woman, Ustadz TN suggests to be aware with the other common problems in long distance marriage. It is better for the women to listen the husband's instructions and immediately going back to the family in Indonesia after completing the contract agreements.

The issue of gender also presents question point three. There is a women asked about her friend's condition (who is not a member of *pengajian HP*). The question is contains a story where the wife was caught in cheating and having an affair through a chat messenger. The problem was raised when the husband realized and asked his wife for going back to Indonesia immediately. The husband was angry and mentioned if the wife did not return to home as soon as possible, he will offer a divorce. The women confused and asked the ustadz about the husband's statement. Whether the husband statement

considered of *talak* or only warning statement? The answer from *Ustadz* to the women was to ask apologizes from the husband and immediately return back to Indonesia.

Muslim agree on the concept of a mother as primary education for children, especially related to the children's religious and spiritual knowledge. Women in Muslims are prospected to be a good wife and raising a good quality of children. Women are also often generating as the secondary human in society and in the several history of world. Back to the history of Indonesia around the new order (orde baru) era of Suharto presidential regime, placed the inequality for women. It was noticed by addressed "bapak pembangunan" as a symbol of the process of development and movement wheels (Anwar 2006). Additionally, under the Suharto leadership, every woman is required to be a good partner of the husband, a housewife, and a mother at home. There is also raised a religious statement to framed and produce dominance of the male. Srimulyani (2012) identifies a religious institution such as *pengajian* and *pesantren* are the place to invent a qualified mother and wife related to the maternal duties and very popular for every Muslim woman in Indonesia. Then responsibility for being a mother who raised and migrant workers are questioned while living apart with their children, such as how to take care of children and family relationship maintain a long-distance marriage life under restricted communication? And how to dealing with anxiety and stress during working time.

Questions related to religious practices are also repeatedly mentioned in several sessions. Similar questions raised by a different participant constantly create an enthusiast between participants and preacher to discover each topic. Ustadz AD ever mentions to the discussion about the important to develop religious community and create more participative between the members in *pengajian* session. It is also expected to another participant who less knowledge of the topics will be learning and upgrade the knowledge as well. Meanwhile, the preachers also frequently encourage and support every participant to improve their quality of spiritual practices. Even though, I notices there was an imbalance of gender's solution from the Q&A session since that most participant's questions answered from the male perspective.

Chapter 4

The community and self healing

4.1 Introduction

This section aims to complement the use of technology media as a tool of Indonesian women migrant workers reassembling religious community support systems. To understand the process, the chapter begins with a review of Indonesian women migrant workers roles as worker and remote control mother and (mostly) wife in Taiwan. The next chapter is explaining the religious network system creates as religious support system community among Indonesian women migrant workers in Taiwan.

The number of women domestic migrant workers in Taiwan has been rapidly growing in the last two decades. Recently, a total of Indonesian workers are estimated about 276,181 migrants working in Taiwan⁶⁶ accounted for 74,522 working in productive industry and 201,609 workings in domestic sectors. Driven by poverty and lack of opportunity in search of a better life in the home country, women domestic migrant workers perform various household duties such as family or institutional nursing and home maid for taking care of children and the elderly.

Parreñas (2009) introduces the term transnational mothering, which is a household strategy when the mother accommodates the temporal and spatial separation forced by migration. Of course, transnational mothering encompasses an agreement gender from the general traditional concept of mother for being close to family and nurturing children. The studies have noted that transnational mother primarily challenges of raising, caring, and replacing the 'intensive mothering' with a financial contribution to the family (Parreñas 2009). The study about transnational mothers in Indonesia are mostly directes and focuses on long-distance mothering in the role of gender and hierarchy status. Silvey (2006) narrates Indonesian women domestic migrant workers in Saudi Arabia by exploring the contemporary relationship between women and gender roles by pointing out the multi-faceted relationship of the contemporary relationship between women and Islam. Society frames the ideal family is slotted man and women

⁶⁶ <http://statdb.mol.gov.tw/html/mon/c12050.htm>

set up in a specific role. Women are placing as secondary social status of social structure. This concept has been manifested since the new order (Ind.: *Orde Baru*) of Suharto's presidency promoting gender roles and an ideal family construction across the Indonesian archipelago (Adamson 2007, Silvey 2006)

Recently, media communication technology is seen as a tool to bridge the gap between physical separation and connecting with family in supervision. Wilding (2006) states mobile phone calls and messenger makes is a new model of communication and strategy bonding to make people who live abroad connect with the family in the home country. The uses of mobile phone usage, voice and text message, and social networking also help mothers to nurture their children abroad to balance as a worker and remote control parent (Chib et al. 2014).

4.2 The participant of the *pengajian HP* – women dominantly

In Indonesia, on-site *pengajian* is grouping by gender classification. Women and males are groping by their gender, mostly in the *pengajian HP* grouping on set. However, the number of Indonesian male migrant workers is significantly lower than women migrant workers in Taiwan. Likewise, male participation is counted only 4 to 5% of the total participant of *pengajian HP* users. Among 150 Iwamit on-air participants, five of them are a man. Women migrant workers are mostly working in a domestic job such as helper or caregiver. They responsible to stay at the house as taking care of the employer. The daily activity mostly is done at the house and hospital for the treatment. Although, some of them also have done multiple jobs such as working at an employer's business or help to take care of children too. Most of women domestic worker is demanded by the employer. Some women participants told me that they do not have an official day off. It means, the responsibility to make sure the employers condition without leaving them even on the weekend and holiday day. Although it depends on the household condition of the employer, such as some of the migrant's works on large family members with the employer's children and grandkids, or some of them also stay only with employers. Indeed, they have stayed with no excuse for leaving. The hardest part is when the migrants want to participate in joining the community, event, or go to the mosque for congregational prayer.

On the other hand, male workers are mostly factory workers. They schedule working time is mostly Monday to Friday with different daily shifts working time. Thus, most of the male workers can attend and visit onsite Muslim organizations in Taiwan. To break up the limitation of women migrants attending and participating in religious organizations in Taiwan, the pengajian HP provides migrants to experience religious activity from their workplace. The activity aims to upgrade the participant's knowledge about Islam and give an ability to participate as part of a social actor in a certain community. In harmony with Millie (2011) statement that by joining the pengajian on-site activity, the Indonesian women in west Java escalate their sensibility, knowledge, and organizing a such of the community as a break the stigma freedom and patriarchal sense of gender role.

One of the characteristics of transnational mothering of domestic migrant workers has been obvious is struggling to maintain the balance between professional carriers to provide financial empowerment for their kids and family back home and nurturing kids from the distances. A distance separation makes the mother miss out on the children's development stages and time quantity to build an emotional bond. They are absent in nurturing and taking care of the family. In this case, most the participant of *pengajian HP* is women that leave family back home for a long period to accomplish the agreement. Indeed, the contract agreement noted that their minimum stay in Taiwan is generally three years contract. It means migrants can back home after they finished the contract. Interestingly, the *pengajian HP* community offers indirectly transnational migrant support groups through sending prayers (Ind.: *kirim do'a*) for family back home.

In agreement with the literature, the religious organization plays an important role in the creation of community as a major source of social and economic assistance for those in need (Hirschman 2004). Most participant's stated about an opportunity to join pengajian HP, such as assisting them to better people as pious Muslims. According to interviews, working as a domestic migrant worker in a non-Muslim country needs spiritual assistance to help grow spiritual awareness. The reason for Indonesian women migrant workers joining pengajian HP is varied: seeking the inner-peace, learning Islamic knowledge, and looking for community assistance related to religious faith.

Several studies since 2000 have shown that the religious community often contribute to the happiness of older people (Sulandari, Wijayanti, and Sari 2017).

Mobile phone communication enabled the respondents to meditate on their needs. They can access all activities while working at the same time as domestic migrant workers. Some participants stated did not have a chance to get formal and Islamic education (*pesantren*) when they were back in the home country. The average age of participants is 40 years old. They said women have limited access to get an education during the back time. They also realize that working in Taiwan only for a temporary time. Once the working contract is finished and completed the needs, they will return to Indonesia. Working abroad is a better opportunity to earn money and joining *pengajian HP* helps them to increase religious knowledge. They said, participating in the religious community is their preparation before return to the homeland. One day, they will be taking a turn to take care of the family member and responsible for their kids. They want to have an improvement become a pious Muslim, especially become better mothers and wives. They want to teach Quran to their children.

4.2 Subjectivities and religious experiences of Indonesian migrant participants of *pengajian HP*

The *pengajian HP* is process adaptation of migrants conducts religious participation in host country. The media used is mediating migrants to arrange and establish community practicing religious ritual. Indeed, it also use for increase the religious sense and awareness through listening the sermon. Many informants told me about they experienced joining the *pengajian HP*. For some participants, joining this activity is not big deal as long as they can manage time schedule. Sometimes, the participant turn on the speaker loudly or use the Bluetooth headset to listen the sound from their phone, so their employer does not recognized that they are attending the *pengajian* through cell phone. Otherwise, some employer requires migrant workers to focus on their job, thus some of them just listen the *pengajian* and keep silent until the situation better. This part explores several the experiences of the *pengajian HP* participants as self-proclaimed subjectivity.

INA

Ina is migrant worker from Blitar, east java province. She was former director of iwamit on-air organization in 2017. She is one of the pengajian HP member that has some Islamic basic knowledge since she had graduated from Madrasah Aliyah (Islamic junior high school) and *pesantren* institution. Ina joined the *iwamit on-air* group in 2012 and had charged as committee member to teach new participant in Quran learning.

She was invited by her friend to join the *pengajian HP* activity after two years working in Taiwan. During her initial arrival in Taiwan, she did not know that there are many Muslim organizations in Taiwan. Indeed, she was busy take care of her employer and adapts to new environment. Nonetheless, she had a desires attending and participating an Islamic activity like she did at home country. After two years, she was introduced the *pengajian HP* with friend and was very grateful can joining community she likes. Before that, she told me that she received the permit from employee to join the *pegajian* activity. As she said,

“I am very grateful when I know there is a pengajian HP that can be accessed through mobile phone. So I do not need to asked the day off for attending pengajian. Besides, while joining pengajian HP, I can still do work. I just plugged the headset to the ears while I am cleaning, cooking and washing”

Ina emphasized that joining pengajian HP does not disturb her work performance as caretakers. She has several free times during work time but still requires to standby to take care of the employer. She said joining pengajian HP only requires listening the “sound” from the phone. She obviously can work without any difficulty while participating in the pengajian HP. She mostly joins by using the Bluetooth headphone for listening to the sermon. Thus, she can enjoy the sermon without making any noises. Sometimes, she also uses the speaker mode after using the headphones for long hours. She totally realizes her responsibility in Taiwan is for work as caretakers. Thus, joining pengajian HP is only part of the entertainment and she spends her free time wisely. Although, the *pengajian HP* requires participant actively spoke out during the event, but she said it just depends on the condition of each jamaah (participant). She said every participant has different situations. Some of them can speak ‘loudly’ but some also only can listing without speaking and participating in the ‘event’.

“Migrant workers must have an ability to read the situation on the worksite. It is such as knowing the timing whether they must focus or rest during the working time. For instance, we (migrants) can use the headphones for listening to sermons as well as doing the duty task. However, we also must give attention to the employer if they need us. In other words, we must take responsibility as workers and as participants of pengajian HP”

Tika

Tika is Indonesian migrant worker from Lampung Province of Sumatra Island. She is the second generation of the trans-migrant family since during period of President Suharto in 1970s a million Javanese population relocate to occupy the land from Java to other islands in Indonesia. Oma has been working in Taiwan for 12 years. She decided to work in Taiwan when she was on the lowest position. Her husband went bankrupt because of being cheated by his business partner. Then she fled to Saudi Arabia to pay her husband debt and support her family back home. She worked in Saudi Arabia for four years before went to Taiwan and decided to resign after her mother's sake response of the vulnerability of Indonesian migrant worker there.

Her life changed since she came to Taiwan and was employed by a very nice boss. She works as a caretaker to take care of elderly patients. However, the patient's excessive daytime sleepiness that makes her work is reduced. Thus, she initiates to help the employer serve the building material stores. The store is located in a suburb, near to the factory area with no Indonesian workers live-in there. Besides, she got a chance to improve her Chinese language speaking by working at the store.

However, she realized that she felt lonely and missed communicating with Indonesian friends. Then, she received a phone call from a friend who is trained at the same worker agency. She was happy to talk about working-life and family. After a while, the friend invites her to join the HP recitation. She was confused and clueless about the activity. She said that she lived in the suburbs and took time to the city. The friend said that joining the recitation HP is conducted through a teleconference call and no requirements to visit the specific place.

Tika realized joining pengajian HP charges her income. She must pay 800 NTD for one month for telecommunication service and an additional monthly fee of 200 NTD as the participant. The monthly fee distributes for cast payment organizations, such as for the preacher's fee, and gives charity to the Indonesian families. Indeed, the exchange rate of 1000 NTD to rupiah is 462.000, which is quite a high amount of money for daily use at home country. She told me that not all migrants have similar vision as study Islam and spend money to pay the regular call services and some additional fee. Some of them prefer to send the money family abroad. However, she said that money is not everything, but learn and study Islam during her staying in Taiwan is priceless. Prophet Muhammad says “seeks the knowledge if even you go as far as China”. Then it really happened to me. I am working as a maid and study Islam by joining pengajian HP at the same time in Taiwan (which is a republic of China)

“We can get the knowledge anywhere, such as when I joined pengajian HP. Since I joining pengajian, I realized that I was lack of study Islam. I am not a young anymore, 40 years old lady, but who cares with age?. You never too old to study anything, including study Islam. I believe by learning Islam God will exalts people who learn Islam, both in dunia (in life) and akhirat (life after)”

“Prophet Muhammad says “seeks the knowledge if even you go as far as China”. Then it really happened to me. I am working as a maid and study Islam by joining pengajian HP at the same time in Taiwan (which is a republic of China)”

Ina

Other respondents gave me a similar reason behind participating *pengajian HP* is Ina she is a single mother from Subang County, as part of west java Province. Her husband passed away when her kid was young. She had worked at Saudi Arabia for two years and back home at 2009. Then, she applied to the company agency to work in Taiwan. She arrived in Taiwan on 2010. In 2012 she invited by her friends to join *pengajian HP*. Her job is responsible taking care of 80 years old elderly. Her duty is preparing the meal, helping patient to hospital and cleaning duties.

Ina said that her schedule is flexible. The employer gave her authority as long as she kept working well. Her employer likes to stay at home rather than going outside. Thus, she has much time at home and can join the pengajian HP while taking care of the boss. Like other participants, she put the Bluetooth headset on her ear and covered it through the hijab (Eng.: head cover). Thus, her boss did not recognize she's on the phone all day and still can work at the same time. She stated that by joining pengajian HP, she can utilize her "free" time. Her favorite activity is humming zikr and the Quran lesson. She prefers to listen to the sermon through pengajian HP rather than an optional sermon offered on YouTube or Facebook (a variant type of social media). She realized that by listening to sermons and joining pengajian HP, she can recognize the preacher and teacher. Either she does not understand the subject lesson or has a question related to Islamic law, she can ask directly to the teacher. Furthermore, she believed that ustadz and teachers are trusted and credible.

For Ina, the reason was she join the *pengajian HP* is because she can learn how to recite Quran, listening Islamic sermon and making friends. Additionally, she also get a peaceful experiences during the zikr session. She realized that by remember and devoted the God name frequently, she can experience the sensation of being close with God. Every morning and evening is the time for zikr session. Ami was involve too. Besides, she can talk with her Indonesian friends on the phone. All participant can talk out of the topic when the lesson session was over. Though, most of them discuss the future performance and "homework" lesson of Islamic subjects related with the *pengajian hp* activities.

"I feel very grateful joining pengajian HP Because I get a lot of knowledge, especially Islamic knowledge. The study learning includes learning solawat and tajwid. They also provides a good ustadz,so we can easily understand the subject."

Dena

Some of participant stated that by joining the *pengajian HP* can protect her *iman* (a faith, religious believe). Dena, Indonesian migrant from Banyuwangi city, part of East java province work in Hualien as caregiver. She has been work in Taiwan for 9 years. She realized environment creates the individual and communal personality. Although,

she is working far away from home country and recognized as *kafir* (Eng.: non Muslim believer). She can kept her *iman* (Eng.: faith) as Muslim. Whenever she want to do bad things, she always remember the *ustadz's* message on sermon session. She realized, joining the *pengajian HP* is part of her way to be a nice person.

In addition, joining the *pengajian HP* also improves her Quran recitation. "My Quran recital is getting better" she said. She finished the IQRO⁶⁷ book from grade 1 to 6 and continued to learn reciting Quran. Those opportunity is privilege for Indonesian migrant to join Islamic study group while working as domestic worker. Unfortunately, she was born from the substandard family and had no chance to get both formal and Islamic education. She realize that working as domestic migrant worker and joining religious community at the same time is precious opportunity. No everybody can get the ch She can receive salary to support family at home country and get benefit learn Islamic subject.

She realized that she came here (in Taiwan) to work as caregiver, although her boss supports to participate the *pengajian HP*, working is her priority. Joining the *pengajian HP* is secondary activity to complement her lacking time schedule. Thus, joining the *pengajian HP* is an opportunity to learn the Quran recitation, zikr, Islamic lesson like *fiqh*⁶⁸ and *hadist*⁶⁹. Especially, she feel joining this community involve her as a *santri* in *pesantren* that she never had before.

When I was back home, there is no activities like the pengajian HP in Taiwan. I mean, there is a regular pengajian like reciting Surah Yaasin on Friday night and general lecture from kiai on pesantren, but not similar like we did in Taiwan. We learn like how santri (eng.: student) study in pesantren but we do it through phone.

⁶⁷ A set of book to learn Arabic pronounce and the Quran's grammar.

⁶⁸ Islamic jurisprudence

⁶⁹ Refers to words, actions, and silent approval of Prophet Muhammad

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Findings and discussion

In general, this study describes media uses for religious purposes of Indonesian Muslim workers in Taiwan that focuses on the use of teleconference call to conduct *pengajian HP*. This study shows the media used as a tool or device to help the migrant workers broaden religious awareness and knowledge, including helping them for performing and practicing religious rituals through on-air experiences. The *pengajian HP* shows that the teleconference call method is a new strategy to do long-distance study learning and creates the Islamic community among Indonesian migrants in Taiwan. Indeed, it also creates the invisible, yet intangible space of migrants expressing and sharing the religious ritual experiences.

This chapter summarizes and addresses the findings from chapter's two to fourth and answer the research questions as cited in the introduction chapter. The findings show that the *pengajian HP* facilitates Indonesian Muslim migrant workers to attend *pengajian*, listen to sermons, attend the class for Islamic studies, and practices traditional rituals communally. The prior activities as mentioned above are generally provided to help participants' gain and increase religious knowledge. This is a way to eliminate the barrier of time and distance of women migrant workers attending religious classes while working as a domestic caregiver in Taiwan.

Besides, the finding shows that the *pengajian HP* creates a new experience of religious performance through teleconference calls. In Indonesia, the *pengajian* is usually on the site accommodation, while people gather to listen to sermons or attend the religious study groups. Participants are accommodated at any place, for instance, the listening sermon sessions are arranging in the mosque or hall for a larger group or the routine *pengajian* for performing rituals like *slametan* and *zikr yaasin*, and *tahlil* are hosted at the organizer house. However, Indonesian Muslim migrants, especially

women domestic workers must settle at the work place to accomplish the job. The teleconference call substitutes the physical attendances to attend the *pengajian* through long distance communication.

The strong and enthusiastic's participant attending the *pengajian* HP creates solidarity among members. As mentioned above, the *pengajian* HP organizes variant activities for 14 hours per day in a row and raise strong memberships through the organization. The *pengajian* HP establishes the community and network of Indonesian migrants in Taiwan to increase their value as a good pious person and achieve a close position of connection to God by performing rituals communally. They believe creating the community to do religious rituals is better than performing alone with lack of motivation.

The discussion on how translocality exchanges narrate on the *pengajian* HP showed by the ritual performances activities such as *zikr*, *salawat*, *tawasul*, and *slametan* are performed by Javanese Muslim and *nahdliyin* community in Taiwan. The *pengajian* organizes the exchanges of Indonesian home-based *ustadz* to preach, pray and teach Islamic subjects in an on-air community. The *zikr* congregation and mass prayer are conducted in aiming to receive the *barakah* (a grand of grace or blessing from God). The statement from participant about performing pray in the congregation (40 people, pray together are equivalent as a saint (Ind: *wali*) prayers) is strengthening their motivation to attend the communal on-air prayers, they believe creating the community to do religious rituals is better than performing alone with lack of motivation. The transnational exchanges also show at the *haul* and *slametan* ritual conducts every Thursday and Saturday night for sending the prayers to the ancestor and family at the home country that can be assisted by *ustadz*.

In addition, participants have a chance attending Informal Islamic study grup as provided on various session of the *pengajian* HP, such as joining the *kitab kuning* lectures and the Qur'an reading sessions. The lectures, sermons and study sessions are taught by *ustadz* and *kyai* from Indonesian and Taiwan. They use the similar book and methods to participants through on-air session. For most of them, those are a momentous experiences to study while working abroad as migrant workers at the aged since many of them are not a had an opportunity to attend formal and Islamic education experiences.

The *kyai* and *ustadz* are presented to deliver Islamic sermon to assist the participant in learning process. The most significant aspect of participating in the on-air sermon is the chance to have direct communicate and offer any questions to the preacher. The interactive discussion session offers in between each session of the *pengajian HP* activity to collect participant's questions related their life experience as a Muslim migrant worker and minority in Taiwan, and the *ustadz* figures by offering advices and recommendations to the participant. The general idea of this activity refers to what normally religious figure roles as a social and spiritual consultant in Indonesia.

Looking into the research question outlined in the introductory chapter, how does the *pengajian HP* offer religious experience though media uses? Based on the findings, the religious experience is formed through an intense activity that duplicates the learning process at *pesantren* in general. Indeed, the entire aspect of activities raises the participant's awareness for become a pious Muslim to become closer to the God. Additionally, each message and doctrine delivers through the on-air session arises participant's religious awareness to do good deeds for acquiring *pahala* in *dunya* (the religious reward). By regular practice of remembrance God through *zikr* rehearsal, listening to the wise words from the Islamic sermon, gaining mutual support, and assistance from other participants.

5.2 A direction for further study

In general, the drafts of this thesis offers narrative and descriptive study-related religious activity among Indonesian Muslim migrant workers in Taiwan through utilizing the teleconference call. The finding of this study may be used as primary research to lead a further discussion on digital media uses for religious purpose among Indonesian Muslim migrant worker. The finding will also contribute to presents new insight about how media were able to bridge spiritual assistance among its user. Additionally, in terms of perspectives on translocality the study findings given a new sight of how religious-traditional customs and practices circulate through the picture of local-global migrant narration.

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