

# BEYOND MUSLIMS PANIC: AN EXPLORATION UPON INSTAGRAM MATCHMAKER IN INDONESIA

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Artikel diterima 11 September 2018, diseleksi 10 Oktober 2018, dan disetujui 28 Desember 2018

## Abstract

*Nowadays, many Indonesian Moslems youth wielded social media, including instagram, not simply to express their piety or reach life goal, rather also for practical benefit just like marriage. This article focuses upon how they were stunned to gain bride or bridegroom through instagram. It tries to examine why they don't choose merely their spouse over offline. I particularly discuss a single popular account regarding matchmaker taaruf\_nikah (dating marriage) as deemed successful enough to arrange marriages amongst Indonesian Moslems. The account operationally provided service for its followers to post their picture after paying IDR100.000. Still, it opens an advertising services too and often posts pictures/videos portraying how proper Moslem is one who avoid dating and take an immediacy wedding because of god. Standing on thesis that instagram was the ultimate platform to shape public opinion, the article therefore argues that the main factor why it is triumph in taking many Indonesian Moslems youth's heart lay onto its dissemination of anxieties amongst Moslem youth society through religion commodification notably in respect of who is the pious one and vice versa.*

**Keywords:** Instagram Matchmaker, Anxiety, Indonesia, Pious Moslem.

## Abstrak

Belakangan ini, banyak pemuda-pemudi Muslim Indonesia bermain aktif di media social, termasuk Instagram, tidak hanya untuk mengekspresikan kesalehan atau meraih tujuan hidup mereka, tetapi juga untuk keuntungan praktis seperti perkawinan. Paper ini mengkaji bagaimana mereka mencari dan mendapatkan pasangan (pengantin laki-laki atau perempuan) melalui Instagram. Paper ini mencoba mengkaji mengapa mereka tidak mencari jodoh secara langsung (offline). Penulis secara khusus mengkaji sebuah akun populer tentang biro jodoh Taaruf Nikah yang sangat sukses menjodohkan Muslim Indonesia. Akun ini menyediakan layanan bagi follower untuk memasang fotonya setelah membayar Rp. 100,000. Akun ini juga mengiklankan layanan lain dan sering memasang foto atau video yang menggambarkan kemestian seorang Muslim menghindari pacaran, dan segera menikah karena Allah. Berdasarkan sebuah tesis bahwa Instagram adalah aplikasi mutakhir untuk membentuk opini public, paper ini kemudian berargumen bahwa faktor utama mengapa akun ini sangat berhasil menggaet pemuda Muslim Indonesia adalah penyebaran kegelisahan di kalangan pemuda Muslim melalui komodifikasi agama, khususnya yang berkenaan dengan saleh tidaknya seseorang.

**Kata kunci:** Biro jodoh Instagram, kegelisahan, Indonesia, Muslim saleh.

## INTRODUCTION

In the field of religion today usage of media such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook, Youtube, and Instagram do not simply spin in the range of Islamic proselytization (*da'wa*) adhered with system of belief (Campbell 2005: 5, Nisa 2018: 24, Bunt 2003: 124), yet undergo to the more practical field like matchmaking as well. Knowing that many users of the media notably the last come from youth, it is unsophisticated why the issue was being saleable, even popular. One of them was *taaruf\_nikah*. As the matchmaker account of Instagram, it owns about 111.000 followers and 2651 uploaded post. Portrayed from its description, the account was made to serve Muslims whose hope to marry straightway.

For one who wants to find mate, she/he is allowed to call the administrator through direct message (*dm*), fulfilling the requirements, paying off the disbursement, and the account will immediately post her/his picture. After being uploaded, she/he need easily wait someone outside there to sends her/him a message either by *dm* or WhatsApp. They are going meet a suitable mate fast and then marry when they are lucky and if not of course they should wait. Usually, when they have found the fitted one, they send a message to the administrator, and he shall take screenshot of the message then upload on wall either as good news or such support for other customers.

By way of article, I interest to see further regarding how—except as many users of Instagram were from youth—does *taaruf\_nikah* triumph to grab various customers. The account has posted several videos and memes indeed nuanced with *da'wa* ranging from date proscription

to eyes maintenance but is it enough to say that it was the real excuse inducing *taaruf\_nikah* to find its triumph. Still, why don't they discover a mate by offline or even search by themselves. What actually happens inside *taaruf\_nikah* however is scathe enough to be as such dismissed.

Studies on relation between religion and media have become frequent. Eva F. Nisa is the apparent one. In her study, "Creative and Lucrative Da'wa", Eva mentions that Instagram was the best lea for who wants to worship while working. *Da'wa* while getting business (2015: 1-32). Different with Eva whose economic point of view, Fatimah Husein and Slama feel more pleasant to unveil an online Qur'an reading (ODOJ, one day one juz) through WhatsApp with theological window (2018: 80-93). Thus, they argued that what actually they do is nothing except "the discontent of online piety". Outside them, people could see Farwell's study. He tries to analyze how Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter were being wielded by ISIS to disseminate its radical concept, surely with each strategy (2014: 49-55).

To date, no scholarly work has focused on Instagram and matchmaker's account, so that here is my position. Standing on an assumption that many of Instagram users were grumpy, easy to be panic, hard to admit their fear, the article argues that what basically *taaruf\_nikah* has done with its triumph is instilling anxiety amid Instagram users by wielding Quranic verse, Hadith, and even scholar's quote as additional spices, particularly a single users those fear their solitude night and day. There are three points in general, I will discuss herein: matchmaking and Muslim youth in Indonesia, account of *taaruf\_nikah*, and the agents.

## METHODOLOGY

According to Larsson, an entity triggering the birth of matchmaking was a Muslim youth's fear of proscription of interaction with the opposite sex. When a couple—boy and girl—Larsson cited, has made a date and searched a desolate place, the third entity shall be demon. When it occurs then, nothing is going to happen except disaster (2011: 158). People can grab similar pattern on messaging between male and female Muslim since media Internet has become trend in 1983 (Hui 2010: 171, Nurdin 2017: 31). That new pattern amidst Indonesian Muslim youth could not be avoided. New media triggers new possibilities and subsequently new attitudes, tendencies, trend, etc. (Miller and Horst 2012: 3-4), including the challenges that enables a man and women to date each other beyond parent control. The last issue probably is what actually a few scholars Larsson noticed are fear of. It gets us to face such dilemma between better or worse condition. Larsson wrote:

“For most ‘ulama’, a separation of the sexes is essential and a prerequisite for the preservation of Islamic ethics. From this point of view, the Internet, especially the possibility to chat anonymously online, represents a serious problem. Irrespective of Dr Siddiqi's recommendations, however, it is evident that practising Muslims too are using the Internet to talk to the opposite sex. Judging from the large number of fatwas that discuss this issue, it seems that both Muslim parents and the ‘ulama’ are concerned and troubled by the fact that the Internet has created new possibilities and ways of

communication, especially between the sexes. This form of interaction is often beyond the control of parents and the ‘ulama’ and the rules and regulations they have laid down.”

Several scholars thus feel important to formulate rules with regard to online messaging. One of them is Hamid Ali, an instructor of Islamic tradition in education faculty, Kuwait (Larsson 2011: 160-161). He raps female Muslims who easily post their best photo in Internet: Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, and others. Attachment of female picture in the cyberspace randomly, Hamid said, is the concrete evidence how people support the spread of evil and improper acts for Muslim. The ban covers not only photos, yet email, number phone, and similar account: female Muslims are proscribed to attach their picture. All of them are banned except when it is created especially for the bride or bride groom as a sure applicant whose blessing from both parents.

What Hamid Ali has conveyed is not the new issue of course. He reconstructs a discourse which was triggered long time ago by scholars concerning the relation between male and female (*al-ikhtilath baina al-rijal wa al-nisa'*). Because of the absence of Internet in their time, so that what Hamid Ali did is purely reinterpretation of tradition. Syekh Bajuri was one of them. Through *Hasiyah al-Syaikh Ibrahim al-Bajuri*, Syekh Bajuri mentioned that though one wants to propose his beloved, he could not see anything except face and palms (2011: 184).<sup>1</sup> For the blind one, he is required to ask help from his sister as

<sup>1</sup> For Syekh Baijuri, both parts have represented all of things of someone, notably women. Face for the beauty, even though palm for the perfection of body.

substitute for discerning his beloved. In this kind of context, seeing other (different sex) without any needed is absolutely banned.

Understanding the issue, Hamid Ali's work was solely for preserving marriage in order not to lose its sacredness and clinging upon Islamic tradition, *fiqh*. A male Muslim who wants to propose his beloved and sees her picture should for the first step permit to her parents and take some deal. Without the step, he will never get access to enjoy her photos. As they have not legal relation according to Islamic view. Indeed, marriage is not obligated as such praying five times a day (*salat*) or other (Nawawi 2006: 294), but for several scholars it is still an attractive issue to be renewed. And a concrete shape of their renewal is the emergence of matchmaking discourse.

A used language is not certainly "matchmaking". Yet, it is alike how one asks others whom he believed to help him find an appropriate wife. Dr. Muzammil H. Siddiqi, a former President of the Islamic Society of North America for example, assesses that a pious Muslim should continue his relation with the beloved one to the next step through consulting with someone more adult he believed when he was feeling comfortable in messaging each other. What I mean with "continue" here connotes "marriage". In other words, a proper Muslim shall not open a chat with opposite sex, though online, as long as he has no intention to marry her as the forever wife (Larsson 2011: 159).

But then, observed from different point of view—even less knowing that many Muslim youth today could not life without gadget, smart phone—it is a serious grief for Muslims youth to follow what Dr. Siddiqi mentioned above even

less people know, as Duggan and Brenner said, that Instagram is the ultimate platform attacking immediately onto human weakness, picture. Picture, they continued, is an attractive, very attractive, thing to be always seen, notably for they those are searching their identity. It is not solely yell rather dazed. Youth position surely stands upon vortex of the hunt and subsequently a dark of process of becoming could not be evaded. Borrowing Giddens phrase, people those are in pursuit of self-identity often get anxiety between who are they and who are not they (*not-me syndrome*): they are firmly trapped under much anxieties (1991: 44, 55).<sup>2</sup> Giddens said:

"Anxiety has to be understood in relation to the overall security system the individual develops, rather than only as a situationally specific phenomenon connected to particular risks or dangers. Anxiety, virtually all students of the subject agree, has to be distinguished from fear. Fear is a response to a specific threat and therefore has a definite object. As Freud says, anxiety, in contrast to fear, 'disregards the object': in other words, anxiety is a generalised state of the emotions of the individual. How far anxiety will be felt in any given situation, Freud goes on to point out, depends to a large degree on a person's 'knowledge and sense of power vis-à-vis the external world'... The existential question of self-identity is bound up with the fragile nature of the biography which the individual 'supplies' about herself. A person's identity is not to be

<sup>2</sup> Giddens differs hardly between "anxiety" and "fear". What actually happens upon youth is the first.

found in behaviour, nor -- important though this is -- in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly Active. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self. As Charles Taylor puts it, 'In order to have a sense of who we are, we have to have a notion of how we have become, and of where we are going.' There is surely an unconscious aspect to this chronic 'work', perhaps organised in a basic way through dreams. Dreaming may very well represent an unconscious selection and discarding of memories, which proceeds at the end of every day."

In general, what they do next is nothing except being blind followers: anything can make them pleasant, they rashly try it. Anyone offers them a medicine they will follow and then disseminate it through Instagram story, WhatsApp, or Twitter. In time, upon the nuance it can be guessed that the winner is who regularly makes its movement with an update-youth style up. No matter how the content of the style is, but an important one, as Saba Mahmood and Charles Hirschkind stated, is how they—customer I mean—could be a pious Muslim instantly who has nothing except fidelity (2005: 3, 2006: 8). Chapters below will exhibit four elucidations of topic that covers mechanism the account of *taaruf\_nikah* employs, model of posted picture, framing towards moral panic, and the indirectly impact. To make it easier, I owe

very much to Goode and Ben-Yehuda due to their concept of hostility on one hand to delineate panic dissemination and Grand Narrative of Lyotard to decipher what actually happen amid Indonesian youth Muslim's thought—related with solitude and marriage—on other hand.

## THE EXPLANATION

In this part, the discussion spins in the range of the adherence between Instagram matchmaker, *da'wa*, business. Concerning Islam and business, like what Hoesterey and Slama said (2017: 98, 2008: 96),<sup>3</sup> it is related sometime with a popular lay preacher which promotes either his own product or other's commodity. Unfortunately, that pattern could not be applied in matchmaker because it owns no product but service. There are no distinct goods such as veil, prayer rug, or cloak. Owner of *taaruf\_nikah* account had simultaneously realized this situation, so that no product endorsement people will meet here.

For that, *taaruf\_nikah* and the creative team focuses onto what is actually needed to be uploaded. Wall or porch *taaruf\_nikah account* has covers four models of post uploaded regularly by the creative team, those are users picture or someone could say clients picture, motivational meme post, open paid promo post for everyone whose product, and a messaging screenshot post between a successful client—one who works out to obtain suitable mate—and the administrator. From all the genres, the first and last were the most important part of *taaruf\_nikah*.

<sup>3</sup> Hoesterey focuses on how between *da'wa* and business links each other within personality of Abdullah Gymnas-tiar.

### Taaruf\_Nikah: Da'wa And Matchmaker

When the first model of picture is deleted, it means *taaruf\_nikah* account has no fundamental income anymore. Its biggest revenue comes from the client who was required to pay off before their photos being posted. As Salwa Faeha Hanim (@salwafaehahanim) told, the owner of @faehastyle account, she firstly interested to try the service, but when she sent a message and obligated to pay Rp100.000,<sup>4</sup> she cancelled the deal due to the absence of her serious intention to obtain husband online. In a similar facet, without the last model—screenshot post—perhaps Agselle Surya Putri (@agsellelvan) was not going to be the client of *taaruf\_nikah*. She feels comfortable and secure with *taaruf\_nikah* after reading the post of messaging screenshot of other client which was successful in getting mate including its comments.<sup>5</sup>

The design prevailed here indeed resembles online shop that the situation always demands a seller—*taaruf\_nikah* I mean—to be as honest as possible in front of client or customer. What has been situating as such is cyberspace, virtual world. In the world anything become surprisingly anonymous an only one key to be known as trusted account is what users usually call as testimony. An above screenshot post goes to this border, so that @agsellelvan when I asked about her reliance on the account braves to say that she believe in *taaruf\_nikah* due to the testimony.

Further, if Salwa wants to continue her deal, a few days later, her most beautiful photo—sent to the admin before—shall

4 Personal communication with Salwa in Basabasi café Yogyakarta, June 2, 2018.

5 Personal communication through direct message in Instagram, June 5, 2018.

be uploaded with her number and special code from *taaruf\_nikah* account. There are three points then the administrator will coincidentally attach with the clients picture: city, code, and logo of *taaruf\_nikah* account. Client name does not appear upon picture rather on caption covering name, birth of date, work, last education, its own address, parents address, status, clan, high/ weight, appearance look, smoking or not, with tattoo or not, Qur'an memorization, number of brother/sister, record of disease, followed Islamic studies, mate criteria, marriage goal, marriage date, Instagram account, number phone or WhatsApp, and anything else. This is seemingly planned to dig customer's curiosity in order to make them surf deeper on the specification of client picture because when we are talking about interest, an ideal mate, or other, it means we just discussed toward diversity. On other word, by making them read the specification, this enables customer to choose not only for the sake of physic yet also heart—in which they can skim through the specification. Who wants to be client should completely fulfill them at all.

Another one people cannot forget is hashtag. In all clients picture, besides caption, a hashtag can be regularly found such as #jomblo sampai halal, #nokhalwat, #nopacaran, #jodoh dunia akhirat, #ikatansah, #segera Menikah, #siap menikah, and their kinds. Whoever read the hashtags, they will feel that they are in deep pressure to do marriage soon. No significant thing besides marriage without dating due to the sin of it.<sup>6</sup> With

6 Taken from one of memes uploaded in June, 2018. There are many comments appear. One states that he is going to end his relation dating as it is damned. Other says as well if dating is not always nearby sin and evil, "Many people have a date and it runs until marriage," he said. One argues that between to-

regard to comments, *taaruf\_nikah* account indeed deletes the column deliberately—this means that the account has no comment column. It is to guard clients safe and pleasant. It fears when the column is not deleted, a thousand comments will emerge, particularly a comments whose vague content, and subsequently could disturb its various users. Thus if it fails to create a calm nuance how could the Instagram users its followers be pleased to be client, so that the requirements emerge. It is related too actually to the buzzer of Instagram that anyone can employ them to attack any account including *taaruf\_nikah*, therefore to be safe from all those challenges the account prevails that rule.

Beside client photo, an identical hashtag can be grabbed under messaging

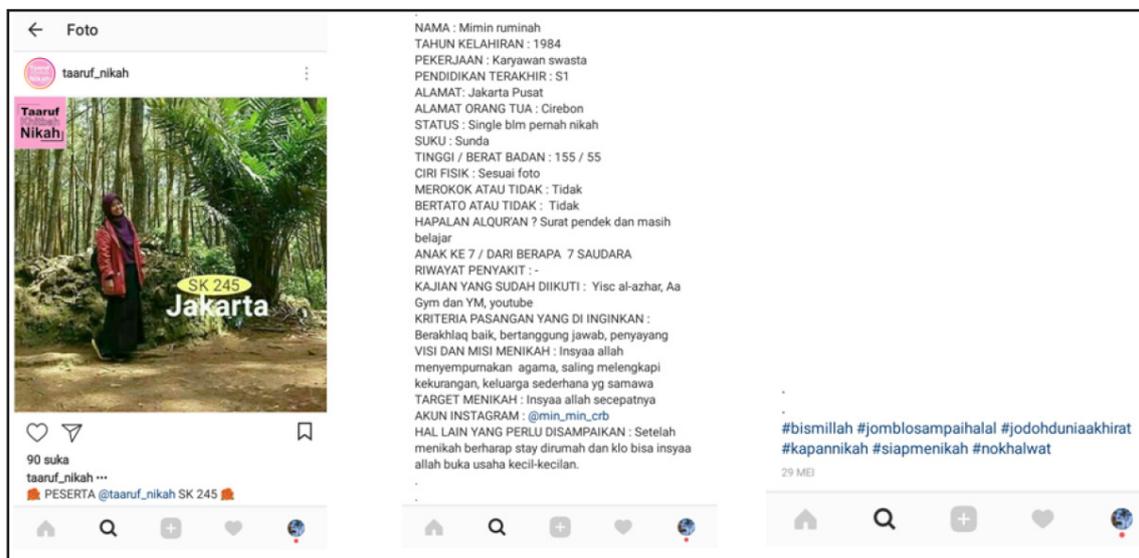


Figure 1: @min\_min\_crbs photo and description of bio-data and hashtags the creative team gives

screenshot post. An uploaded post in June 4, 2018 for example, people are capable to detect a caption such, “God

day and the old era should be differed. Even, there is girl writes, “Unfortunately, there are still several covered women feeling pride when they own a boyfriend, *Astagfirullah* (Sygnya adaaa aja org berhijab yang malah bangga krn sdh punya pacar, *ast-agfirullah*).”

decides our mate. The decision runs either slowly or fast. All of them depend on our endeavor, our invocation... This was one of members whose old post, almost a year ago, and Allah solely decide today to give her a mate. They will marry soon, Insha Allah.”<sup>7</sup> This caption is coincidentally posted with messaging screenshot sent to the administrator. The picture sounds, “Assalamu’alaikum, Brother. Would you like to remove my picture here, I’m a member number ... I will hold a marriage after Eid al-Fitr with one who follows this account, Insha Allah. Alhamdulillah, though I had to wait about a year, it works. Thanks very much, Brother. Assalamualaikum.”<sup>8</sup>

7 In native, it sounds, “*Jodoh Allah yang mengatur, ada yang cepat datang, ada yang sdah lama menunggu. Semua itu jawaban atas ikhtiar, memohon sama Allah ... Ini salah satu member yang di posting di @taaruf\_nikah hampir setahun Alhamdulillah Allah mempertemukan dngan seseorang yang Insyaa’Allah akan khitbah!!*”

8 People will catch a sentence such, “*kak saya minta tolong hapusin foto saya di akun ini saya SK ... Kak. In shaa Allah abis lebaran saya dikhitbah sama seorang lkhwan yg juga ikut akun ta’aruf dsni , Alhamdulillah ada hasil setelah hampir setahun akun saya diposting dsni.. terima kasih kak. Assalamu’alaikum,*” in Indonesian.

On my sensitivity, there is a design the team creative tries to simultaneously maintain on messaging screenshot post—and a few other models of post—when people try to compare them each other. Using Wittgenstein’s term, this is a language game (1958: 38, Grayling 1996: 71). A small game actually, but has a giant impact upon human psychology and social. That is the usage of *khitbah* term and how the team creative always make visible the marriage time of successful couple. Excluding whether the posted

screenshot has been selected or not, the clearest one is when both terms being regularly emerged, it could potentially affect Indonesian Muslim Youth to obtain what the successful clients or couple got, that is marriage as fast as possible, even less if we understand that dominant followers of *taaruf\_nikah* account come from single youth. Still, on different side, the regular memes dominating in the wall stow motivational marriage content and its untold happiness.

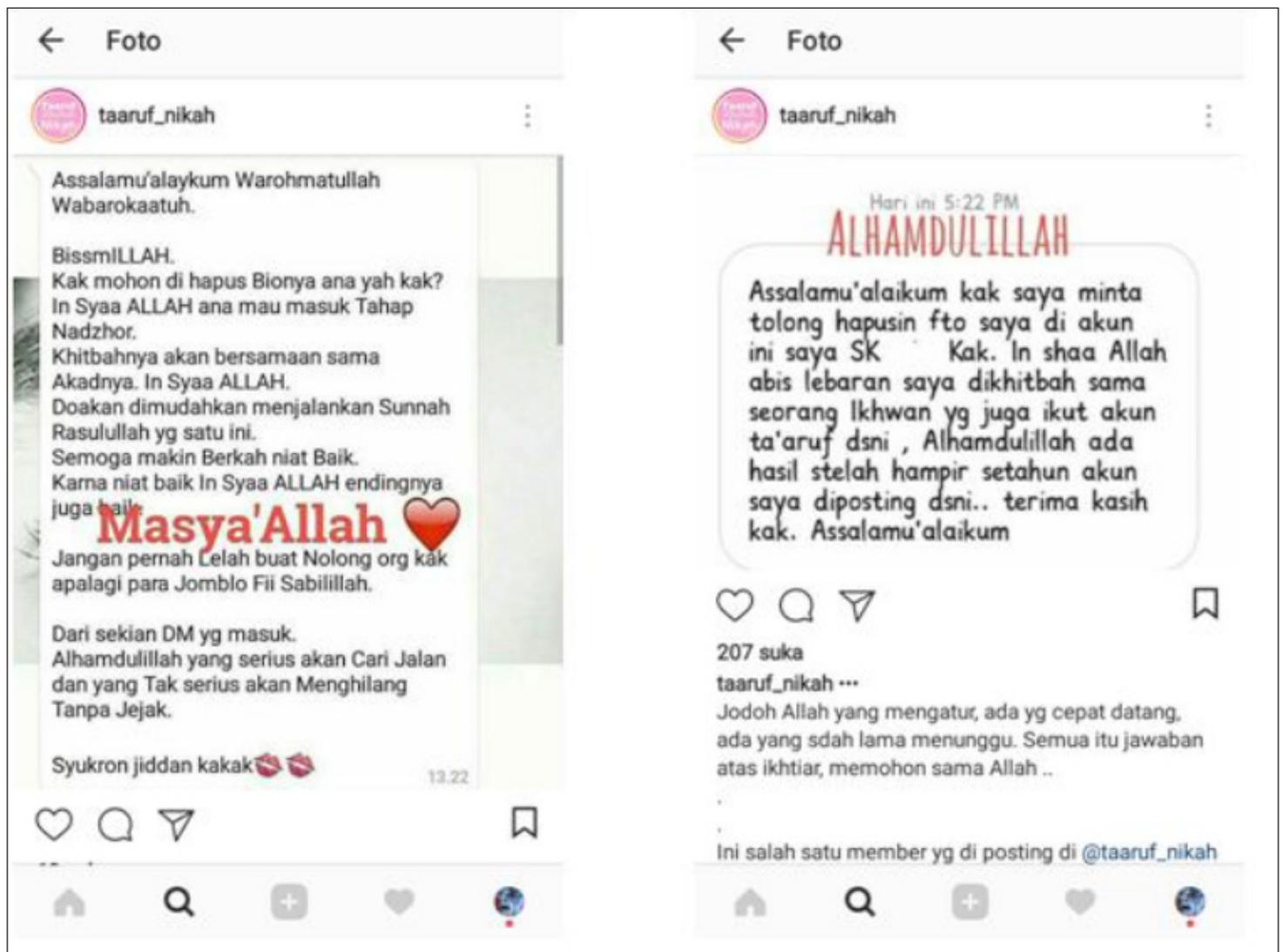


Figure 2: Messaging screenshot that was sent by client to administrator

### Hijrah Cinta and Jomlo Fi Sabilillah

Analyzing a mode of posted memes—toward second model of post—it is difficult to get suitable term for saying their content except one word: motivation. A few keywords that often the team creative exhibits were *hijrah cinta* (love migration) and *jomlo fi sabilillah* (single for the sake of God). First is made especially for youth whose girl or boy friend to end their relation soon. The migration (*hijra*) can be found definitely on a soft proscription obligating them to move from engaged status to single. What the account gives a pressure is on the issue of Islamic norms related closely to piety, so that when a human being whose vulnerability situation such as youth read the memes, it is really easy for them to be suddenly fear of their engagement. Second is appropriated for single youth to maintain their context for the sake of God. When *hijra cinta* implies to end engagement, this model bans us to engage anyone: what the account principally wishes through the dichotomy is how people should marry as soon as possible without making a date. A meme I intend here seems like below, posed in June 6, 2018:

“Why do singles in the name of god always seem cheerful? Because Allah lives in their heart, when you confess that you are sole and your sole due to Allah but you still feel uncomfortable because of your loneliness, so that you do not really choose single for the sake of Allah. If it is made truly for Allah, your sole will be pleasant absolutely due to your hope is solely towards Allah. Why do they seem pleasure? As they know that by obeying Allah’s rule, it is the real happiness, therefore they

survive with their solitude, for the real happiness come from Allah, waiting mate Allah gives without any effort to move toward wrong path.”

*(Mengapa jomblo fisabilillah selalu bahagia? Karena hatinya selalu ada Allah, dan apabila kau mengaku jomblo, dan jomblomu karena Allah tetapi tetap saja merasa gelisah karena merasa kesepian, maka artinya kau tidak benar-benar jomblo karena Allah. Sebab bilamana sendirimu adalah karena Allah, sudah pasti masa sendirimu akan selalu bahagia, karena pengharapan yang selalu tertuju pada Allah. Sebab apa dia bahagia? Karena dia tahu bahwa dengan mentaati aturan Allah adalah kebahagiaan hakikinya, maka dari itu ia bertahan dengan kesendiriannya, hanya untuk mengharap kebahagiaan hakiki yang datang dari Allah. Menanti jodoh yang memang terbaik dari Allah, tanpa harus melangkah pada jalan yang salah)*

If one stands on Umberto Eco’s text classification, the sentences are far from the effective text because it does not wield a simple wording and multi-meaning (1984: 3). Nevertheless, it obtains more than 1049 likes. One of them is @ratnaks07 who writes, “It is right, because of our pleasure, we grow fat, Masya Allah.” There is @nurfi\_ who simply calls @mutizizy.<sup>9</sup> Then, why is the ineffective text such above successful to seduce a thousand users for giving their like? There are several possibilities—buzzer

<sup>9</sup> In the cyberspace there is such oral deal that when people call or pinch their friends, it means he suggest them to see the post as well. Usually this pattern emerges due to the context between them and content of meme is suitable: in order to make them be conscious or even contrary.

for example—yet the obvious one is as the sentences have a conspicuous keyword or phrase, it is “*jomlo fi sabilillah*”.

If we try to relate the issue with Gidden’s inference about identity shaping, the phrase certainly will meet their momentum easily. Single is a part of identity. The sentences imply that single was the frightened situation, the saddest context, etc. so that everyone needs particular step to manage, and subsequently cannot avoid an emergence of the phrase that is who always try to deny their sadness, their solitude, through making God as the only one which is appropriated to love. They cannot stop whispering invocation in order to get mate immediately. If I have an occasion, I will say that the main point herein is, “marry please, then you will be pleasant absolutely.” What the account hopes is not only pleasant rather absolute pleasant, narrative of happiness exaggerating.

One could prove through other memes too such as meme taken from

Ustaz Muhammad Abduh Tuasikal and from the Quran, al-Isra (17): 32. First talks around how wasteful a male whose stable condition but does not wish to marry. Second discusses about the criteria of pious male Muslim. Obedient male Muslims, meme said, are those invite their beloved to get marriage directly, not dating, as the Quran verse explained—as far as the team creative consider. Attractively in the first meme, there are some responses from its followers which feel heavy as much after reading the memes, those are @eko\_wahyono\_88, @yoyogiefebrian, and @ismiirizka. Eko writes, “I’m in searching for it in order not to be useless.”<sup>10</sup> Yoyo added, “May the endeavor runs well,”<sup>11</sup> with sad emoticon and Ismi just said, “Bismillah, I’m trying to arrest a mate.”<sup>12</sup> The meme gains 2754 likes and 112 comments due to its citation probably on Quranic verse and the owner, Ustaz Abduh Tuasikal—by knowing that netizen, users, prefer to consume something comes from popular preacher.

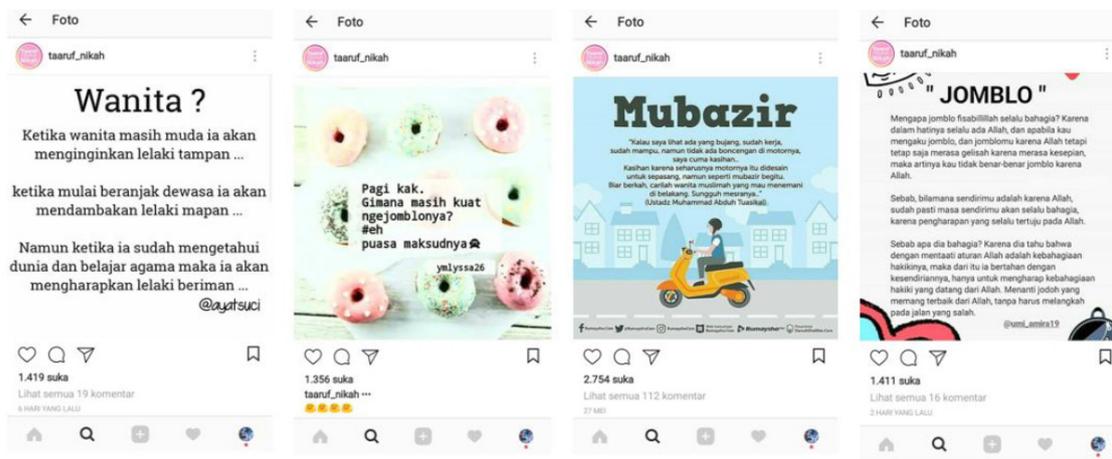


Figure 3: Motivational memes post about solitude single and marriage in small age

10 “*Sedang berusaha mencari. Biar g mubadzir.*”

11 “*Semoga tidak lama mubadzirnya*”

12 “*Bismillah, saya sedang mencari jodoh.*”

I can therefore capture a salient line amongst youths isolating them become two sides, those are the pious and those are not. First consists of youths sticking on their hard intentional to avoid dating until marriage (*jomlo sampai halal*). Second covers those are still in dating relation including single who do not require marriage straightway. As Muslim youth, what they wish is being the pious one, so that they begin to think for fastening their marriage. Goode and Ben-Yehuda call this nuance as “hostility”: the presence of hot line between two groups (2009: 35). When an atmosphere of circle or such level of generation, either broad or tight, they said, has embraces the line, people could find an invisible interest inside. The most palpable is how it links intimately with business, not just *da’wa* and account to help. They noticed:

“At times, societies, or sectors of them, are gripped by moral panics. During such times, the behavior of some of the members of a society is thought by others to be so problematic, the evil they do, or are thought to do, is felt to be so wounding to the substance and fabric of the body social that serious steps must be taken to control the behavior, punish the perpetrators, and repair the damage. The threat this evil presumably poses is felt to represent a crisis for that society: something must be done about it, and that something must be done now; if steps are not taken immediately, or soon, we will suffer even graver consequences. The sentiment generated or stirred up by this threat or supposed threat is much like a fever: heightened emotion, fear, dread, anxiety, hostility, and a strong feeling of

righteousness. In a moral panic, a group or category engages, or is said to engage in unacceptable, immoral behavior, presumably causes or is responsible for serious harmful consequences, and is therefore seen as a threat to the well-being, basic values, and interests of the society, or sectors of the society. These perpetrators or supposed perpetrators come to be regarded as the enemy – or an enemy – of society, “folk devils” (Cohen, 1972; 2002), deviants, outsiders, the “Other,” legitimate and deserving targets of self-righteous anger, hostility, and punishment.”

The discourse is supported by other memes obligating Muslim to marry, even we can intercept a meme situating marriage as religious duty. It is posted in June 5, 2018 with content: “A trust fades away and so does love. Why do we still survive? Marriage resembles *salat* where in any condition people are required to do.”<sup>13</sup> Yet, observed from the response, this meme merely got a few comments rather than other deeper memes.<sup>14</sup> It got 520 likes with only three comments. In time, I myself do not totally believe if the users generally agree with its content. Mimin (@min\_min\_crb) for instance, she mentions how *taaruf\_nikah*'s content is less than attractive—this is dissimilar

13 “Rasa kepercayaan mulai hilang, begitu pula rasa cinta mulai pudar. Kenapa masih bertahan? Menikah ibarat sholat, dimana dalam kondisi apapun tetap wajib melaksanakannya.”

14 Such a meme whose content like, “Good morning, do you still survive to be single? #Ups, it means fasting.” or, “Admin wants to ask. When will you marry?” For the second works out to get 929 comments with 2319 like. In some extent, this proves how memes is a very effective tool to enter immediately into the deepest part of human.

with Agselle's comment (@Agsellelvan) who feels more pleasant even sad when reading the memes.<sup>15</sup>

### Perfect Combination

Toward the third model of post, from this point of view, an intended goal of *taaruf\_nikah* is business. This could be seen through its description of the account instilling some words such as "post service (*jasa posting*)", "enlist of *taaruf* promo paid (*daftar paid promo taaruf*)", and "product paid promo (*paid promo produk*)". Nothing could be found there regarding *da'wa*. Nevertheless, there is a word loaded of terms, citing Charles Stevenson phrase that is "*taaruf*" (Stevenson 1944: 87).<sup>16</sup> When people hear "*taaruf*", they will not imagine something neutral but conversely. It is being identified usually with lay preacher by some scholars like Larsson for example (2011).

Because of the loaded term *taaruf* people could promptly catch a sort of harmony on the account uploading several photos, memes, and videos whose *da'wa* content to avoid dating and being married right way. Accordingly, it has surely touched the deepest part, heart, of single Muslims. An issue of "single" in recent days becomes popular in Indonesia indeed—at least one is able to prove it through the dominant posted meme in social media. On other hand, after guiding Indonesian youth Muslims toward the frightened issue, *taaruf\_nikah* appears with an effective solution, that is help to obtain mate easily—with merely Rp100.000—and then they shortly say

goodbye to "single". I intend thus to say that this is a perfect combination of panic dissemination, timing, and the solution—beyond creative. *Taaruf\_nikah* embraces the most popular and frightened issue amid Indonesian youth Muslims, disperses with a narration that single is not the end and dating is always a devils compartment, and subsequently gives also its solution. Just like medicine, *taaruf\_nikah* throws the virus then sells the cure themselves. This pattern Cohen (2002) perceives it as how society is being escorted smoothly to an intended issue they fear whereas it is nothing except illusion. They are obligated to fear with something whose nothing including its presence as if.

### Fragmented Video, Death of Single, and A Party of Capitalist

One other thing why youths enjoy scrolling the account is a fragmented video consisting of dating issue, single, pleasant, marriage, and its sort. For youth whose vulnerability of anxiety, the circumstance surely seduces even less people know that the posted videos are from stylist and popular lay preacher such as Khalid Bassalamah, Abdus Somad, Buya Yahya, Salim A. Fillah, and Firanda—to note a few. Sometime the videos are taken from Yufid and Ahsan TV as well. And as mentioned before, the cited contents of video resemble each other, those are concerning how fast marriage is more logic, a wife should be ready however to be guided—not to say dominated—by husband, solitude is very heavy, girl or boy friend is not absolutely mate, dating makes humans time wasteful, never wait steady to marry, etc.

<sup>15</sup> Personal communication through Instagram ini June 4, 2018.

<sup>16</sup> On other phrase, he also calls it as emotive meaning.

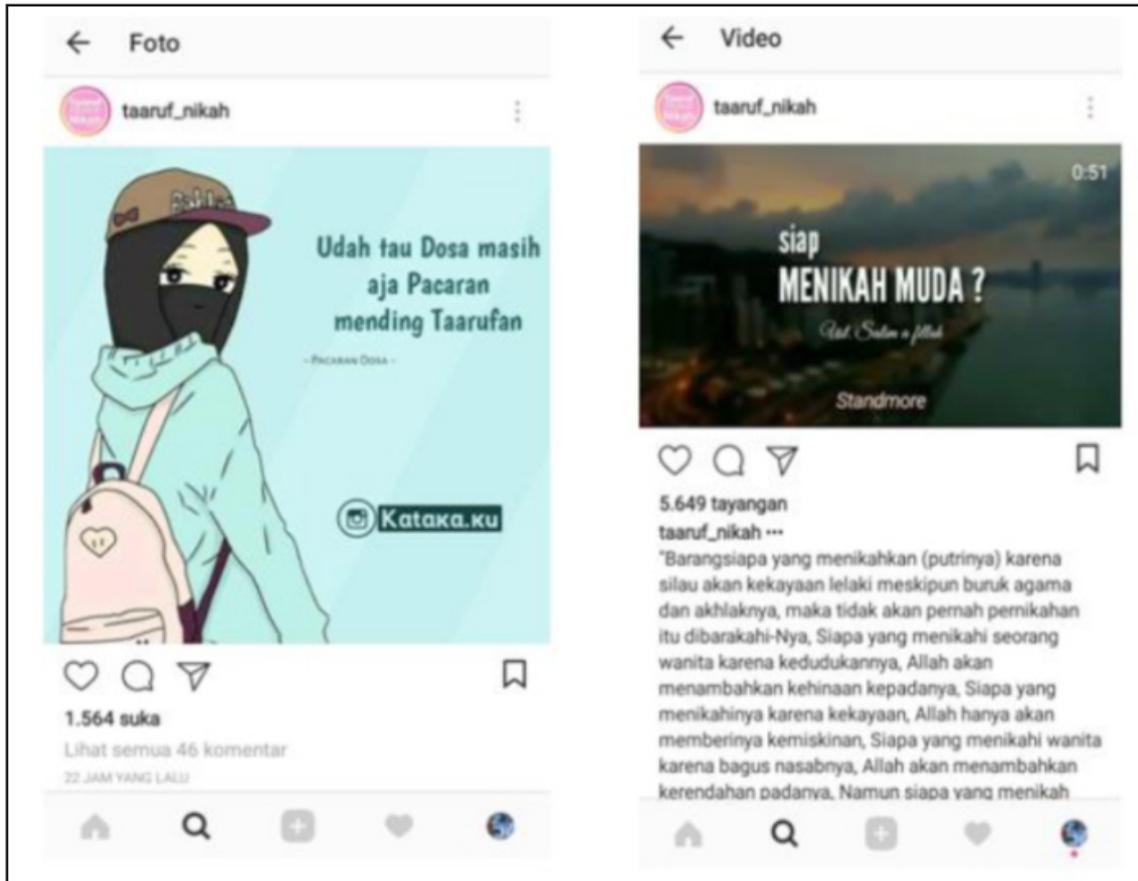


Figure 4: Memes post with regard to the damned dating and video concerning how pleasant being married in small age

Khalid Bassalamah for instances, in his video he explains how pious husband is one who never reveals the past of his wife. He should receive his wife as is with one notion: she is ready to be guided.<sup>17</sup> Focusing upon the last sentences, “wife must ready to be guided (*Istri harus siap untuk dibimbing*)”, I feel a deviated fragrance notably concerning relation between female and male, wife and husband. Thus, is the phenomenon purely intended? I mean whether the lay preachers have an intended goal to maintain their domination over wife knowing that they themselves were husband? I don’t think so. Analyzed from a way he conveys *da’wa*, what is happened outside there is innocently

17 Video is uploaded in Mei 26, 2018.

“tacit knowledge”, borrowing Michael Polanyi classification of knowledge (1966: 3-4). It is one of such knowledge absorbing in the thick of every sentence of human unconsciously. We may call it as an invisible climax manifestation of overall experience, residue of memories, and its sort in which ever been undergone by human. Polanyi noticed:

“I shall reconsider human knowledge by starting from the fact that we can know more than we can tell. This fact seems obvious enough; but it is not easy to say exactly what it means. Take an example. We know a person’s face, and can recognize it among a thousand, indeed among a million. Yet we usually cannot tell how we recognize a face we know.

So most of this knowledge cannot be put into words. But the police have recently introduced a method by which we can communicate much of this knowledge. They have made a large collection of pictures showing a variety of noses, mouths, and other features.”

In short, seeing the video of *taaruf\_nikah*, one can signal a hidden soft ideology inside there that tries regularly to maintain the status quo upon household or family, it is the domination of husband over wife. Still, all of them are spinning unconsciously and being consumed as well. But however this is not an intended purpose of *taaruf\_nikah*. This issue is exhibited due to their relation to the main theme of account, these are marriage, happiness, and how difficult to be single. When the users open an above video that listen what Bassalamah conveyed hopefully they'll pay attention on arranging marriage straightway.

It resembles what Salim A. Fillah delivers in his posted video.<sup>18</sup> He says that for recent context marriage in small ages is more logic. With the choice, a couple can enjoy to be old together, but if marriage in twilight ages, they are not able to be young together. In the caption, further, *taaruf\_nikah's* creative team sows hadith told by al-Tabarani concerning how the blessed marriage is nothing beside when it is undergone innocently for guarding sight and lust. In core, again, this is talking about hard suggestion to marry as fast as possible. No post will be uploaded by the administrator until its content covers instigation to marry soon. Its movement, being analyzed from

Lyotard point of view, belongs to category of “grand narrative”. It is about an effort to trigger an issue excessively and make it up as real as possible. Usually, Lyotard said, when a movement has instilled “grand narrative”, it means there is other party riding on it with multiply tendencies (1979). In principle, moral panic that the account have tried to prevail within its project is a part of grand narrative. Both converge on the absence of the issue itself: it is just frightened for instance within voice, thought, discourse, symbol, and news, not in the real world itself.

The party I mean is a few Industrialists, either from premium or advanced company. An emergence track is simple: when youths have married faster, their necessity upon revenue will be more rapid. Because of the need, finally they apply for work to the company in large number. Anything they will do, and as the impact a sum of labor in Indonesia is going to enhance. The Industrialists will give a salary as enjoyable as they like knowing the increasing of a number of labors. On other level, perhaps a part of them wish for better work which is higher than labor, nonetheless the problem is it needs particular certificate, at least graduate or even doctoral. Still, people could see in what extent they—who have been married—are enthusiasm to proceeded study as well due to the situation between pre- and post-marriage are diverse.

## CONCLUSION

Overall, I dare to state that popularity of *taaruf\_nikah* amongst Indonesian youth Muslims is caused by its meme and video content they post regularly. From all the memes, people could seize easily such

<sup>18</sup> Uploaded in Mei 27, 2018.

line that has divided youth into two distinct groups these are pious-pleasant and disobedient-glum youth. First is who accepts not to date, single for the sake of God, and marry soon his/her beloved, even though the second is who undergoes on the contrary track. Still, holding on fact that almost all users of *taaruf\_nikah* are coming from solitude single youth whose bustle to stable their identity, so that people cannot be confound if they use *taaruf\_nikah* as the Islamic proselytization, *da'wa*, matchmaker either for reaching an identity or embracing an intended mate. In short, just like medicine, to obtain customer, *taaruf\_nikah* disseminate such a virus so-called "dating is the only act of sinful people" amid Indonesian Muslim youth and subsequently create a cure by itself, that is matchmaking Instagram company. The account seems say, "just leave dating, and come here, choose a mate anyway and be a pious Muslim youth".

What happened on fragmented video resemble the picture, even though, for this time the loaded content—with its *da'wa* coat—is more obvious and

interesting. The most distinct one is how Indonesian Muslims youth are required to marry soon, never wait steady, and the volition of wife to be managed by husband. When the videos are consumed by youth, two impacts appear. First is about youth who will trust more that marriage in small age is more beautiful and pious. Second implies toward husband domination over wife that is more fertile and the necessity of youth to get a work as fast as possible that is intimately linked with an orgy of a few Industrialists. Thus talking about matchmaking, people could not shortly simplify the issue solely belongs religion: it is involved surprisingly with Moslem politic within Indonesia.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank my lecturer in the range of Islam and Media issue for his lovely references, my friends for their warm feedbacks, and two anonymous reviewers of *Harmoni* for their helpful, hard, and inspiring comments. I thank also all informants for their time and great story.

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