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From Islamism To Radicalism; Shifting of Religious Understanding Movement Post-Reformation in Indonesia

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Keywords

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Kata Kunci

Islam Indonesia, gerakan sosial Muslim, Islamisme

Abstrack

The history of Islam in Indonesia is often referred to as peaceful, friendly, and tolerant Islam. However, after the reformation in Indonesia, the Muslim community in this country experienced a shift in religious understanding that was quite serious to understand. Therefore, the important purpose of this article is to map the movement of religious understanding in Indonesia. This article is the result of library research, with a qualitative and philosophical approach. Data was obtained through reading various books, journals, and others related to the shift in religious understanding of Muslims in Indonesia. The data analysis technique in this study uses a three-step analysis procedure, namely: Data Reduction, Data Presentation, and Conclusion Drawing. The results of the study indicate that there has been a shift in the religious movement of Muslims in Indonesia towards Islamism, which is characterized by a strong desire to establish an Islamic caliphate or Islamic dawlah; enforcement of Islamic law; and jihad by fighting against infidels. This issue was then driven by the Islamic social movement both in society and in the world of education

Abstrak

Sejarah Islam di Indonesia sering disebut sebagai Islam yang damai, ramah, dan toleran. Namun, pasca reformasi di Indonesia, komunitas Muslim di negeri ini mengalami pergeseran pemahaman keagamaan yang cukup serius untuk dipahami. Oleh karena itu, tujuan penting dari artikel ini adalah untuk memetakan pergerakan pemahaman keagamaan di Indonesia. Artikel ini merupakan hasil penelitian kepustakaan (library research), dengan

pendekatan kualitatif dan filosofis. Data diperoleh melalui pembacaan berbagai buku, jurnal, dan lainnya yang berkaitan dengan pergeseran pemahaman keagamaan umat Islam di Indonesia. Teknik analisis data dalam penelitian ini menggunakan prosedur analisis tiga langkah, yaitu: Reduksi Data, Penyajian Data, dan Penarikan Kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa telah terjadi pergeseran gerakan keagamaan umat Islam di Indonesia ke arah Islamisme, yang ditandai dengan adanya keinginan yang kuat untuk mendirikan khilafah Islamiyah atau daulah Islamiyah; penegakan syariat Islam; dan jihad dengan memerangi orang kafir. Isu ini kemudian didorong oleh gerakan sosial Islam baik di masyarakat maupun di dunia pendidikan

Introduction

In recent years, especially after the reformation, many research reports have shown that social movements The religious beliefs of Muslims have experienced quite a serious shift.¹ There is an Islamic spirit emerging among Muslims in Indonesia.² This condition, on the one hand, is very encouraging because there is an awakening of awareness in the Islamic religion. This awakening, of course, is a positive side for the confirmation of one's faith and Islam by the command of his God. The implication is the birth of social stability and economic progress of the people because of the encouragement of Islamic teachings on justice, egalitarianism, individual sovereignty, hard work, and others.³

¹According to Kailani (2010) and Salim (2011), there is a shift in understanding about Islam that should be watched out for. This is due to the shift in identity in everyday life at school, namely in the form of dominant and discriminatory practices against students of different religions or khilafat (differences in understanding Islam). For example, in several public schools, this group tries to dominate public space by standardizing the way of practicing religion as with their group. Even worse is when they try to force other students to follow the concept of Islam at school. See Najib Kailani, "Vocational School for All?," Inside Indonesia, November 2010.

²Hairus Salim HS, Najib Kailani, and Nikmal Azekiyah, *"Politics of Public Space in Schools: Negotiation and Resistance at SMUN in Yogyakarta"* (Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS) UGM, 2011).

³According to Denny JA, Islam has a clear concept compared to other religions in building and teaching progressiveness for democracy, justice, and economic

However, on the other hand, the above conditions lead to the symbolization and idealization (dogmatization) of Islam. ⁴For example, the emergence of a shift in understanding among young professionals, who state that to be a good Muslim is to switch from using conventional banks to sharia banks. This "hijrah" phenomenon ⁵Is also followed by the younger generation who have a well-established educational background. Not infrequently, among this group then switch professions from established jobs in government institutions or private institutions, switch or choose a path of life trading or in several sectors based on sharia.⁶

This wave of enthusiasm is also shown by the growth of Umrah and Hajj travel companies. The Hajj and Umrah travel business has found its momentum, because of the many Muslim

progress. Because the principles of justice, equality, individual and group sovereignty, hard work, and piety, are scattered in the holy book of the Qur'an. See Denny JA, "Hoping for Liberal Islam," in *The Face of Liberant Islam in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Jaringan Islam Liberal, 2002).

⁴Haidar Nasir, *Islamic Sharia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2013), p. 40

⁵Among the explanations regarding the term hijrah, one can see, for example, the views of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, and Ibn Arabi. According to them, hijrah means moving from an infidel country, or a country that is in a state of danger or emergency (Dar akl-Kufir Wa al-Harb) to a Muslim country (Dar al-Islam). Another meaning of an infidel country or Dar Al Kufir is a country controlled by infidels and the laws that apply to that country are based on the laws of the infidels. Ahzami Samiun Jazuli, *Hijrah in View of the Qur'an* (Jakarta: Gema Insani, 2006), p. 15

⁶Bustomi Ibrohim, "Meaning the Momentum of Hijrah," *Studia Didaktika* 10, no. 2 (2016).

enthusiasts. Although there was the biggest scandal in the history of this business, namely the *First Travel* and Abu Tour cases,⁷ However, this incident did not affect the interest of Muslims to develop this business. Many travel agents have emerged and competed to attract the people. For example, by offering cheap ticket prices, or using the names of artists or celebrity clerics.⁸

The above confirmation confirms the deep longing of Muslims in Indonesia to appear and assert themselves in public spaces. This means that the spirit of Islam does not only appear, both individually and privately such as in mosques or the use of Islamic clothing, but also down to earth in public spaces, such as TV programs, Islamic banks, Islamic hotels, Islamic schools, Islamic hospitals, halal certification in foreign *fast food outlets*, Islamic tourism and others.⁹ In the next process, this group then began to voice certain issues to gain its existence, such as the discourse of Islamic sharia, the establishment of the caliphate, to the proliferation of sharia regulations in various regions.

The above symptoms, mentioned by Martin van Bruinessen,¹⁰ As a revival of the conservative group in Indonesia. According to Martin, the meaning of this conservative is " *various school of thought that rejects reinterpretation of teachings*

Islam is liberal and progressive, and tends to maintain standard interpretation and social system ".¹¹ This means that this movement wants to reject the existence of other Islamic movements, which are called liberal Islam or progressive Islam, an Islamic movement that tries to understand Islam contextually and not literally.¹²

In the context of social movements, individual awareness will form collective consciousness *and* collective behavior, which¹³ Will give birth to the Islamist movement. Namely, a movement as mentioned by Hilmy as " *a movement or organization that aims to change the social life of Muslims through several programs and ideologies formed from the basic texts of Islamic teachings* ",¹⁴ As stated by Martin and Barzegar, namely " *refers to those Muslim social movements and attitudes that advocate the search for more purely Islamic solutions (however ambiguous this may be) to the political, economic, and cultural stresses of contemporary life* ".¹⁵

The problem then is when the Islamization process is colored by the complete acceptance that Islam as a religion was revealed in a complete and perfect state.¹⁶ This means that Islam has collected various complete concepts in every aspect of human life. The consequence of this view is that Islam requires its people to make it the basis of the

⁷A. Muchaddam Fahham, "Organization of Umrah Pilgrimage: Roots of the Problem and How to Handle It," *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah* 12, no. 1 (2018).

⁸The term celebrity ustadz can have various meanings. It could be that celebrity ustadz means ustadz who have good public communication skills, have a large congregation and often appear on electronic media or social media. He could have a good religious education background, for example from a pesantren, having studied religion intensively in a certain place, but he could also not have a good Islamic religious education background. Compare with Ariel Heryanto, *Identity, and Enjoyment: Politics of Indonesian Screen Culture* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2015), p. 55

⁹Greg Fealy, "Consuming Islam: Religion for Sale and Desired Piety," in *Ustadz Celeb: Online Moral Business & Fatwa: Various Expressions of Contemporary Indonesian Islam*, ed. Greg Fealy and Shally White (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2012).

¹⁰Martin Van Bruinessen, *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the "Conservative Turn," Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the "Conservative Turn,"* 2013.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Din Wahid, "The Return of Indonesian Islamic Conservatism," *Studia Islamika* 21, no. 2 (2014).

¹³"...social movement approach is the theoretical foundation for numerous so-called new social movements, movements which, as well as new social movement theory, also stand for critique of conventional politics and the existing structures, and therefore focus on the importance of the formation and creation of the individual personal-, collective-, and public identity and interest...". Mikael Weissmann, "The Missing Link - Bridging between Social Movement Theory and Conflict Resolution," Garnet Working Paper, 2008.

¹⁴Masdar Hilmy, *Islamism and Democracy in Indonesia: Piety and Pragmatism, Islamism and Democracy in Indonesia: Piety and Pragmatism*, 2010.

¹⁵Richard C. Martin and Abbas Barzegar, "Introduction: The Debate About Islamism In The Public Sphere," in *Islamism*, 2021.

¹⁶According to Gus Dur, the perfection of Islam means "...it is in its openness to receive input from other systems, as long as it does not conflict with the creed. The potential of Islam then lies in its openness to the continuous development of new insights in responding to the challenges of the times. In this case, it is the substantiveness in Islam that opens up space for this openness, not its formal detailed formulations..." See Abdurrahman Wahid, *Universalisme Islam dan Kosmopolitanisme Peradaban Islam* (Surabaya: Pelita, 1988), p. 8

state; that Islamic sharia must be accepted and implemented in a state system. Islam thus rejects the concept of a nation-state, because this concept is contrary to the concept of *the ummah* (Islamic community) which has no territorial and political boundaries.¹⁷

This exclusive attitude will lead someone to a radical religious order. This, as stated by Muhammad Ali, that radicalism¹⁸ Arises from adherents of Islam who expect the realization of Islamic sharia law in socio-political life, and nation-state, and to achieve this ideal, violent and drastic actions are carried out. Violence to achieve the ideal of upholding Sharia is sometimes considered jihad. Jihad is thus interpreted by this group literally *or* textually. This literal model of religious understanding leads to a rigid and extreme understanding.¹⁹ They consider religious texts, the Qur'an and Hadith, as a closed *corpus*, meaning that truth only exists in the results of their reading, so that the results of other people's readings are considered a mistake and not infrequently they do not acknowledge the results of other people's readings.²⁰

¹⁷Qamaruddin Khan, *Ibn Taymiyah's Political Thought* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1995).

¹⁸Muhammad Ali, *Religion and Social Conflict* (Bandung: Marja, 2013).

¹⁹Operationally, the model of understanding or reasoning that upholds this text can be seen in six modes; first, there is a belief that any logos or knowledge (reason) will not be capable enough to understand worldly problems; second, they will always actively promote myths in religion; Third, make certain characters charismatic, figures who are considered ideal types. This figure is then considered to be a representation of the prophet Muhammad. Fourth, things that are considered sacred are usually considered a high level of obligation. Fifth, closing the meeting on critical attitudes, religious people are not allowed to ask questions, are not allowed to criticize, and so on. Worldly things are considered profane. Sixth, always make ukhrawi life the most ideal life. (See: Yudhie Haryono, *Fighting with Text* (Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2005), p. 80. What is even more dangerous is when they force themselves to make a disconnection between text and context. According to Gus Dur, this has an impact on the loss of communication. Effective between the context and its adherents. Islam, which was originally very appreciative and full of feeling, has instead become indifferent, harsh, and heartless. See Abdurrahman Wahid, *The Illusion of an Islamic State: Expansion of the Transnational Islamic Movement in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gerakan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, The Wahid Institute, and Maarif Institute, 2009), p. 63

²⁰Some Islamic thinkers say that this kind of thinking model often refers to the Wahhabi model, and this can lead to radicalism. For example, the Wahabi Group, in 1159

Such a way of thinking will trap someone in *binary opposition*; right-wrong, win-lose, Muslim-infidel, halal-haram, and so on. The implication is the closure of the third space that can provide a solution in the frozen paradigm of thinking.²¹ In this context, fundamentalism in religion emerges, as an exclusive model of religion.²²

This exclusive model of understanding is the embryo for the birth of radicalism. This is Witdarmono's view below;

“Radicalism is also inseparable from the emergence of religious fundamentalism. Historically, the term fundamentalism was initially known among Christians, the term is a religious and intellectual system that is based on *inerrancy* and *infallibility* in understanding the Bible. While in Islam, fundamentalism is primarily a social movement that takes a religious form. Generally, Islamic fundamentalism refers to four things: first, renewal. Second, a reaction to modernists. Third, a reaction to

H/1746 AD, formally proclaimed itself to wage jihad against groups that had different views from theirs. In terms of faith, Muslims who do not have the same theology as them are considered as infidels, polytheists, and apostates. See Hamid Algar, *Wahhabism; A Critical Review* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2008), p. 53; Ahmad Shihabuddin, *Unloading Jemudan* (Bandung: Mizan, 2013), p. 2-3

²¹According to Amin Abdullah, all of us need to refresh our way of thinking by considering cognitive flexibility, namely using the complex problem-solving and fearless approach in solving problems. In understanding sociological problems in society, it is necessary to prioritize multiple perspectives. See M. Amin Abdullah, *Fresh Ijtihad; Manhaj of Muhammadiyah Islamic Thought* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2019), pp. 31-35

²²The word exclusive means separate and special. See the Department of Education and Culture, Indonesian Language Dictionary, (Jakarta: Language Center, 2008), p. 379. The opposite of exclusive is inclusive, which means open. That is, exclusive means closed. In Nurcholish Madjid's view, among the characteristics of an exclusive attitude in viewing other religions or other groups is when considering other religions or other groups as groups that have the wrong and misguided path., GB Grose et al., *Three Religions One God*, (Bandung: Mizan 1999), p. xix. Meanwhile, for Alwi Shihab, exclusivism is an attitude that does not contradict the spirit of the Qur'an, because the Qur'an does not differentiate between one religious group and another. Alwi Shihab, *Islam Inklusif: Menuju Sikap Terbuka dalam Beragama*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), pp. 108 – 109.

westernization. Fourth, a belief in Islam as an alternative ideology.”²³

From the description, it is not surprising that the National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT) in 2018, gave a statement that there were seven State Universities (PTN) that had been exposed to radicalism. The same thing was also stated by the State Intelligence Agency (BIN) that 39% of students in 15 Provinces had been exposed to radicalism. The results of a study conducted by *the Maarif Institute* in 2001 showed that there had been a transmission of the seeds of radicalism in schools. The existence of schools and educational institutions which are "open spaces" for all religious organizations, has become fertile ground for the process of indoctrination of various religious ideologies. ²⁴Along with the birth of various Islamic mass organizations after the reformation, the education process (*tarbiyah*) is considered to be an effective door for the spread of Islamic preaching. In the name of this preaching, educational institutions are often used as a medium by some people to introduce their religious ideologies, ranging from moderate to radical religious ideologies.²⁵

Method

This study attempts to make in-depth observations related to the dynamics of shifting religious patterns in Indonesian society. This research is a qualitative study. ²⁶Qualitative research methods are research methods based on post-positivism philosophy, used for researchers in natural object conditions, where researchers are key instruments.²⁷ Data was obtained through reading

various books, journals, and others related to the shift in religious understanding of Muslims in Indonesia. In addition, this study also uses a qualitative approach. Philosophical, namely an approach that seeks to give meaning to something that appears in the field, capturing wisdom, essence, or growing substance in social reality. Amin Abdullah gave notes to the pattern Work approach philosophical, namely ;²⁸ *First*, Study, review that leads to the search or formulation of basic ideas or fundamental ideas (*fundamental ideas*) towards the object of the problem being studied. *Second*, Introduction, deepening fundamental problems and issues can form a critical way of thinking (*critical thought*). *Third*, forming a mentality, way of thinking, and personality that prioritizes intellectual freedom (*intellectual freedom*) and is free from dogmatism and fanaticism.²⁹ The data analysis technique in this study uses a three-step analysis procedure, namely: Data Reduction, Data Presentation, and Drawing Conclusions.

Discussion Becoming Islamism; *The Process of Ideologization of Religion*

Islam when it becomes some form of Islamic activism, then it is often called Islamism. Almost all Islamic movements in the Muslim world have made ideology something very important. Islamic movements such as *the Muslim Brotherhood* in Egypt, *Jama'at Islam* in Pakistan, and Islamic movements in Indonesia such as *Syarikat Islam* and *Masyumi*, were born and cannot be separated from ideology.³⁰

²³H. Witdarmono, "Religious Discourse in Radicalism", in Kompas, Monday edition, December 2, 2002

²⁴This research was conducted about mapping the problem of radicalism among public high schools (SMU) in four areas, namely Pandeglang, Cianjur, Yogyakarta, and Solo. The results of this study show how schools can become a place for the entry of radicalism. Munawir Sjadzali et al., "Islam, State & Civil Society: Contemporary Islamic Movements and Thoughts," Islam, State, and Civil Society, 2005.

²⁵According to Abu Rokhmad, several Islamic mass organizations that have certain religious characteristics, that are 'different' from others, usually have the following characteristics: (1) Typical Middle Eastern Islam; (2) Literal and literal in understanding Islam; (3) Introducing new terms with Arabic nuances such as *halaqah*, *dawrah*, *mabit* and so on. See Abu Rokhmad, "Islamic Radicalism And Efforts To Deradicalise Radical Understanding," Walisongo: Journal of Social Religious Research 20, no. 1 (2012).

²⁶Robert C Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction and Theory and Methods* (Boston: Allyn a Bacon Inc, 1982).

²⁷Sugiyono, *Educational Research Methods: Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2016).

²⁸M. Amin Abdullah, *Anthology of Islamic Studies; Theory & Methodology*, 1st ed. (Yogyakarta: Sunan Kalijaga Press, 2000).

²⁹Mark B. Woodhouse, *A Preface to Philosophy* (Belmont California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1984).

³⁰Syahrir Karim and Samsu Adabi Mamat, "Activism And Islamic Political Behavior: Theory, Thought and Movement," *Journal of Islamic Discourse* 1, no. 1 (2013); Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Cyberspace, Internet, And New Public Space: Online Political Activism Of The Indonesian Middle Class," *Journal of Sociological Thought* 3, no. 1 (2016).

The emergence of the organizational movement, ³¹Departed from the statement that *inna al-Islâm al-ddîn wa al-dauwlah*, that Islam is truly a religion and a state. ³²At this level, Islam appears not only as a teaching but as an ideology. Although in reality, this proposition is still debated among Islamic scholars, ³³However, in Muslim society, there are still some who use Islam as an ideology.³⁴

Strengthening the ideologization of Islam as a social movement presents a variety of expressions in translating each ideology that is believed. This expression becomes different between one movement and another. It will crystallize into a new identity in religion. And

³¹In general, the transformation of the social movement of Islamic organizations in its history is divided into three waves, each of which has no connection or relationship at all. First, the national Islamic movement became a political movement. In this period, almost all cultural organizations transformed into political organizations. For example, NU to the NU Party; Perti became Perti; Muhammadiyah joined Masyumi. In the years of this period, many Islamic parties then proposed the Jakarta Charter as the basis of the state. So this period is better known as political radicalism; Second, the transformation of the Islamic social movement from practical politics to da'wah. The NU Party returned to NU, Muhammadiyah returned to Muhammadiyah, and so on. The seeds of radicalism began to emerge when Muslims began to be marginalized politically by the New Order, giving birth to the Third, from radical organizations to jihadists/terrorists. This was marked by the events of September 11, 2011. See Ismail Hasani and Bonar Tigor Naipospos, *From Radicalism to Terrorism: A Study of the Relations and Transformation of Radical Islamic Organizations* (Jakarta: Setara Institute, 2012).

³²Bachtiar Effendi, *New Theology of Islamic Politics; The Linkage of Religion, State, and Democracy* (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2001).

³³For example, Husein Fauzi al-Najjar once proposed a theory of the need for community development. By al-Najjar, this theory was intended to counter the proposition that "Islam is both a religion and a state" (al-Islam Din wa Dawlah). The alternative view used is that "Islam is both a religion and a world" (al-Islam Din wa Dunya). Al-Najjar's thoughts seem to refer to the work of Ali Abdul Razik, *al-Islam wa Usul al-Hukm*, which states that there is no comprehensive and absolute political theory about the form of state in Islam (caliphate), let alone the obligation to uphold it. Al-Najjar himself thinks that Islam does not combine religion and state. This is because Muhammad SAW did not come to build a kingdom and state, but came as a prophet bringing a message from heaven, namely Islamic Sharia. This Sharia does not establish a particular system of power (nizham al-Hukm) but only establishes its principles (mabadi' al-hukm). See Adang Kuswaya, "Chiefdom of Medina: Unraveling the Misinterpretation of the Islamic

indeed, among the important roles of religion is the effort to maintain identity and solidarity between groups within it. This can be seen from several studies on the important role of religion in maintaining group identity and solidarity, for example, the results of research conducted by Ebaugh and Chafetz,³⁵ then Gibson,³⁶ and Haddad and Lummis.³⁷ They believe that ethnic or group traditions and cultures can be preserved through the role of religion. In line with this conclusion, that the diversity of identities within an ethnic group can be united with religion and the preservation of cultural traditions and ethnic boundaries, is among the findings of the studies of Bankston and Zhou,³⁸ Chong,³⁹ and Williams.⁴⁰

State," *Ijtihad: Journal of Islamic Law and Humanitarian Discourse* 11, no. 1 (2011).

³⁴John B. Thompson notes that the term ideology is usually used about two things; First, an ideology that is used as a neutral concept (neutral conception). This means that ideology is usually used as nothing more than a system of thinking, a system of beliefs, and symbolic practices related to social and political actions. Second, ideology is used as a form of critical conception of ideology, so ideology is associated with the practice of asymmetrical power relations and class domination. John B. Thomson, *Ideological Analysis: Critical Discourse on World Ideologies* (Yogyakarta: IRCiSOD, 2003), p. 17; Karl Max, for example, uses the meaning of ideology at this second stage. According to him, "Ideology is used as a tool of deception (by the dominant/ruling class) to distort people's understanding of social reality". See Lyman Tower Sargent, *Contemporary Political Ideologies: A Comparative Analysis* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 1987), p. 7.

³⁵Michael Wilkinson, Helen Rose Ebaugh, and Janet Saltzman Chafetz, "Religion and the New Immigrants: Continuities and Adaptations in Immigrant Congregations," *Sociology of Religion* 63, no. 3 (2002).

³⁶Arthur W. Helweg and Margaret A. Gibson, "Accommodation without Assimilation: Sikh Immigrants in an American High School.," *International Migration Review* 23, no. 1 (1989).

³⁷Joseph B. Tamney, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, and Adair T. Lummis, "Islamic Values in the United States. A Comparative Study," *Review of Religious Research* 30, no. 1 (1988).

³⁸Carl L. Bankston and Min Zhou, "The Ethnic Church, Ethnic Identification, and the Social Adjustment of Vietnamese Adolescents," *Review of Religious Research* 38, no. 1 (1996).

³⁹Kelly H. Chong, "What It Means to Be Christian: The Role of Religion in the Construction of Ethnic Identity and Boundaries among Secondgeneration Korean Americans," *Sociology of Religion: A Quarterly Review* 59, no. 3 (1998).

⁴⁰Robert J. Fornaro and Raymond Brady Williams, "Religions of Immigrants from India and Pakistan: New Threads in the American Tapestry.," *Contemporary Sociology* 18, no. 5 (1989).

The demographic and ethnic plurality conditions, such as in Indonesia today, make religion increasingly strong in its influence on its adherents. As stated by Smith, the existence of *ethnic-religious* (ethnicity and religion) will lead groups of individuals to identify themselves with each other and make them feel different from each other. In this case, the dividing lines between cultures (*cultural fault lines*) become very fundamental lines of conflict. In this tense cultural relationship, religion becomes one of the differentiating elements.⁴¹

Another problem that emerged later was when the movement to understand Islamic religion was accompanied by a way of understanding and interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith in a textual-literal way, namely understanding both as they are.⁴² Groups that have such an understanding are very sensitive to formal Islamic matters, such as gambling, prostitution, apostasy, and other Islamic symbols. However, they are not sensitive to issues of humanity, poverty, the environment, education, corruption, and others.⁴³

Islam must therefore synergize between religion, the world, and the state (*din, dunya, dawlah*). The implication is the need for a system or model of state that can realize the unification of these three things, namely an Islamic state led by a *caliph* so that religion can run purely and *completely*.⁴⁴ Another impact is the emergence of

polarization between states that implement the laws of Allah (*al-hakimiyyah lillāh*), Islamic states, and states that do not implement the laws of Allah, namely non-Islamic states.⁴⁵ Fatally again is the permissibility of waging war against infidel governments including expelling infidels from Islamic lands because they are the cause of the destruction of Islam.⁴⁶ The view put forward by Abdullah Azzam, a Jordanian cleric of Palestinian descent, later influenced the jihad in Afghanistan to fight the Soviet Union and the trauma of the Palestinian war with Israel. According to Azzam, jihad is the only way to fight and is a permanent obligation that is *fardhu 'ain* because Islam is upheld by the sword and is more important than the obligation of prayer, fasting, or pilgrimage.⁴⁷

Sociologically, the role and progress of this group in community life can be seen in several forms; *First*, they consider Islam to be a *complete religion*,⁴⁸ Comprehensive, perfect, which has provided strict rules with all aspects of human life; be it politics, economy, society, law, culture, and so forth. *Second*, rejecting and opposing everything that has a connection or smells of secular and materialistic Western ideology, because it is contrary to Islam.⁴⁹ *Third*, "return to Islam" or return to the Qur'an and Sunnah is among the slogans and invitations in every campaign or preaching to make social change.⁵⁰ The main basis for the change is the Qur'an and

⁴¹Huston Smith, *The Religions of Man* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1995).

⁴²Nurullah Nurullah and Taqwiya Taqwiya, "The Concept of Deradicalization of Understanding the Qur'an by Nasaruddin Umar," *TAFSE: Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2021); Nasaruddin Umar, *Deradicalization of Understanding the Qur'an and Hadith* (Jakarta: PT. Elex Media Komputindo, 2014).

⁴³Among the important arguments of Islamic groups that raise humanitarian issues include that religion is indeed from God, but is intended for humans (Jalaluddin Rahmat, *Islam and Pluralism; The Qur'anic Morals of Wealing Differences*, (Jakarta: Serambi, 2006), pp. 118-138). Religion is present because it wants to save and defend humans, not to defend God. So, "All problems faced by humans are actually defended by God, represented by Islam. God certainly does not sacrifice humans for Himself, in fact He is present for humans". See Aksin Wijaya, *From Defending God to Defending Humans; Critique of the Reasoning of Violent Organizations* (Bandung: Mizan, 2018), p. 159

⁴⁴Taqiyuddin an-Nabhānī, *Islamic Daulah* (South Jakarta: HTI Press, 2009).

⁴⁵As'ad Said Ali, *Al-Qaeda: A Socio-Political Review, Ideology and Its Actions* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2014).

⁴⁶Abdullah Azzam, *The Collapse of the Caliphate and Efforts to Establish It* (Solo: Pustaka AL-Haq, 2002).

⁴⁷Muh. Khamdan, "Developing Religious Nationalism As A Strategy To Handl The Potential Of Transnational Islamic Radicalism," *Addin* 10, No. 1 (2016).

⁴⁸In the Koran, the word *kāffah* is mentioned and repeated four times, namely in QS. al-Baqarah 208, QS. at-Taubah verses 36 and 122, and finally QS. Saba verse 28. See Wahbah Zuhaili, *Al-Maulalul Qur'aniyyatul Muyassarah* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 2007).

⁴⁹Johan D. Van der Vyver, "Religious Fundamentalism and Human Rights," *Journal of International Affairs* 50, no. 1 (1996).

⁵⁰Muhammadiyah at the beginning of its movement had an agenda of "purifying Islam" or purification with the jargon "returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah" and eradicating TBC (Superstition, Bid'ah, and Superstition) and Shirk. However, many research results have been found related to Muhammadiyah it has a diverse face of thought. For example, Deliar Noer's research states that Muhammadiyah is a modernist Islamic movement in Indonesia, which is greatly influenced by Muhammad Abduh. See Deliar Noer, *Modern Islamic Movement 1900 – 1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES,

Hadith. *Fourth*, replacing the Western system and ideology with the enforcement of Islamic law. *Fifth*, trying to implement the social system and law as implemented by the Prophet Muhammad in the past, and *Sixth*, mobilizing and organizing through the process of "Islamization" in various areas of life.⁵¹

Kholid Thohiri also put forward a similar pattern, that Islamic movements that lead to radical attitudes have the following indications;⁵² *First*, they want the implementation of Islamic law and its norms comprehensively in life, according to what was modeled by the Prophet Muhammad, so that they have a fanatical religious attitude. According to Masdar Hilmy, radical Islamic understanding emphasizes the vision of Islam as a religious doctrine and as a social practice at the same time, integrating *din*, *dunya*, and *daulah* based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. The peak of this belief is the establishment of an Islamic state.⁵³

Second, interpreting the verses of the Qur'an related to social relations, religious behavior, and punishment of crimes literally-textually. Rational-contextual interpretation is not necessary as long as the Qur'an has stated it explicitly. This understanding considers everything that is not in the Qur'an to be heretical, including Western concepts such as democracy and others. Here, the use of Islamic symbols becomes a determinant of the character of this understanding, at the same time purifying Islam into a theology that is maintained.⁵⁴

Third, the impact of the literal-textual interpretation model will give rise to an intolerant attitude towards all beliefs or understandings that contradict it, while simultaneously being exclusive by differentiating oneself from the majority. The intolerant attitude is based on a Manichean approach to reality. In this approach, the world only contains two things, namely good-bad, halal-haram, iman-kufr, and so on, ignoring other legal provisions, such as sunnah, makruh and mubah. The exclusive attitude arises because it closes itself off from external influences that it declares as untruth.

Fourth, the above interpretation produces a revolutionary view, namely wanting to change continuously, thus making it possible to carry out violent actions, as long as the desired goal has not been achieved.

The ideologization of Islam in these movements is a serious effort from them to make Islam a universal religion, as a religion that projects Islam directly or integrally with political or state life. The general issues raised by this movement include wanting to revive the formal label of Islam and the implementation of Islamic law. This group is then classified as ideological Islam or in terms that have recently become popular, called Islamism.

Islamism itself contains several basic meanings. The term refers to various forms of political and social action that want public and political life to be guided by Islamic principles.

1980); Achmad Jainuri said that the Muhammadiyah movement had a reformist ideology, and in certain matters tended to be open and liberal. See Achmad Jainuri, *Ideologi Kaum Reformis: Melajari Perspectives of Muhammadiyah's Religious Views in the Early Period* (Surabaya: LPAM, 2002); Even in Alwi Shihab's view, Muhammadiyah is a reformist Islamic movement that has a mission to stem "Christianization". See Alwi Sihab, *Membendung Arus: Muhammadiyah's Response to Christian Mission Penetration in Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1999); According to Mulkhan, there is a periodization that drives these changes; The First Period, referred to as the creative-inclusive phase. This period is the period of KH Ahmad Dahlan, which is marked by the existence of a social and cultural awareness movement that is oriented towards solving everyday problems. The Second Period is referred to as the ideological period. This is the eradication of TB. The influential figure during this period was KH Mas Mansur. The Third Period was the period of sharia spiritualization. During this period, Muhammadiyah began to understand

Sharia spiritually or Sufistically. During this period, Muhammadiyah reformulated the *ijtihad* methodology in a more open and plural way. The figures in this period, for example, M. Amin Abdullah, Munir Mulkhan, Moeslim Abdurrahman, and others. The last is the Fourth Period, this phase is the phase of puritanism romanticism with Wahhabism after the congress in Malang in 2005. See Munir Abdul Mulkhan, "Introduction," in Api Pembaharuan Kiai Ahmad Dahlan, ed. Robert W Hefner et al. (Yogyakarta: Multi Pressindo, 2008)

⁵¹Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, *Radical Salafi Movement in Indonesia*, Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2004.

⁵²M Kholid Thohiri, "Islamic Radicalism and Deradicalization in Schools (Multi Case Study in SMA Negeri 1 Kedungwaru and SMK Negeri 1 Bandung, Tulungagung Regency)," Dissertation, 2019, pp. 19-22

⁵³Masdar Hilmy, "The Politics of Retaliation: The Backlash of Radical Islamists to Deradicalization Project in Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah* 51, no. 1 (2014).

⁵⁴Ibid.

The term also refers to socio-political movements that fight for the full implementation of Sharia. In this sense, Islamism is roughly the same as the term political Islam.⁵⁵ In the Western media, the use of the term refers to groups that aim to establish an Islamic state based on Sharia. In more detail, Tibbi said there were several indications of this Islamic ideological movement, namely:

“ *First* , Islam is intended for ordinary Muslims and is not a state order, but is a system of worship and culture that determines their worldview and way of life. It is already clear that the Islamist formula of *din wadaulah* (the unity of religion and state) is not a characteristic of Islam itself but a primary boundary marker between Islam and Islamism. It is an invented tradition, created in response to the globalization of modernity, produced by the “crisis of modern Islam” common to all Islamic civilizations. Without the crisis of the Weimar Republic in Germany, there would have been no national socialism, and without the crisis in the Islamic world, there would probably have been no Islamism. *Second* , as a variant of religious fundamentalism, Islamism is not just another form of modernity, as some scholars have called the “double modernity ” distinction. It is a totalitarian ideology, with the existence of the movement representing it. The instrumental use of democratic forms of civil society does not transform a totalitarian movement into a democratic one. *Third* , the Islamization of democracy that is supposed to be achieved in the context of sharia is merely a camouflage for the agenda of a totalitarian order. The Islamist concept of divine order not only rejects popular sovereignty, but also rejects any democratic pluralism that recognizes a place for other politics. Islamists think in binary terms of true believers and infidels. Islamism is intrinsically incompatible with a liberal form

of “open Islam.” Islamism lacks all the ethical foundations for embracing democratic pluralism.”⁵⁶

Islamism demands a homogeneous or "singular" society, the goal being to facilitate the establishment of Islamic law and/or the Islamic caliphate, as mandated in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet that they believe in. Therefore, plurality or diversity is considered an obstacle to the realization of the ideals of Islamism. Thus, wherever this group appears, it always rejects the existence of various types of understanding and practice of Islam. This rejection is attempted by continuing to campaign and conduct propaganda that other groups that have different interpretations and understandings from them are considered deviant, apostate, and so on.

Islamism on its next journey, often uses violence in realizing its ideals. The results of research conducted by Nur Kafid, show that the issue of the Islamist movement which was originally in the religious realm, then shifted to "thuggery" namely the control of economic resources by violent means.⁵⁷ It is not surprising that then a fairly provocative book appeared, entitled *Islamism: A New Totalitarianism*, which explains that Islamism has become more similar to the concept of "religion-politics" than "religion-civil." This causes Islamism to be on par with the concept of communism or Nazism.⁵⁸ This book constructs a narrative that aims to explain why some Islamic sects have developed into Islamism, " *an expression of decline and an imaginary cure for (Islamic) stagnation* ." For Mozaffari, Islamism is first and foremost an ideology, and as such must be treated like other ideologies such as fascism, Nazism, or liberalism.⁵⁹ According to him, "Islamism is nothing more than an ideology based on a totalitarian interpretation of Islam, the ultimate goal of which is to conquer the world, by any means".⁶⁰ This totalitarian interpretation, for example, believes in a holistic interpretation, which is comprehensive or total and single, of the

⁵⁵A. E Priyono, *The Future of Political Islam and Islamism in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Embun Kalimasad Cultural Institute, 2019).

⁵⁶Bassam Tibbi, *The Threat of Fundamentalism; The Knitting of Political Islam and the Chaos of the New World* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2000).

⁵⁷Nur Kafid, "From Islamism to 'Thugs': Shifting Orientation of Radical Islamic Group Movements in the Era

of Democratic Decentralization," *Society: Journal of Sociology* 21, no. 1 (November 4, 2016).

⁵⁸Tomás Dodds, "Islamism: A New Totalitarianism, by Mehdi Mozaffari," *Democratization* 25, no. 8 (2018).

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

text, so that it is easy to blame or reject differences of opinion.

Islamic Movements in Indonesia; A Mapping

In the history of the movement or struggle of the Indonesian State, the term Islamism is not new. Islamism has existed since Soekarno at the beginning of independence. At that time, this term then became a hot topic and became a debate between Soekarno and Muhammad Natsir, and also Haji Agus Salim. Soekarno at that time, used the term Islamism as a connotation of Islam for political ideology and political practice aimed at realizing an Islamic state.

Some scientists have different perceptions and meanings in understanding Islamism, especially after September 11, 2001. Initially, Islamism was used to refer to Muslim activists, both liberal and radical, in fighting for their interests using the name of religion. In this realm, the Islamism movement is aimed at organizations that want social change for Muslims, based on Islamic ideology, which is sourced from holy texts, both politically and culturally.⁶¹ In this sense, Islamism then has the same meaning as the term fundamentalism, an Islamic activity that aims to fight against the power or regime in power in a country in the name of Islam.⁶²

According to Syafii Maarif,⁶³ Islamic fundamentalism emerged because it was driven by the failure or stuttering of Muslims in responding to modernity. This failure resulted in efforts to "entertain oneself" by trying or getting closer to a world that was considered not yet polluted by modernity, namely by returning to the original

texts or classical Islamic texts literally. In addition, according to Syafii, the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism was also caused by the loyalty of several Muslim groups to the fate of Muslims in other countries, for example, the incident in Afghanistan or Uighur, Israel, and so on.

Thus, among the main characteristics of the fundamentalist movement is their *rigid* and *literalist interpretation* of religious doctrine. The next characteristic is the approach used, which is very monopolistic over Islamic doctrines. According to most Islamists, the world is divided into two surfaces: right and wrong, black and white, righteous and sinful, reward and punishment, halal and haram, and so on.⁶⁴ This interpretation is usually around; (1), Covering religious doctrine, (2), the position of the government system of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, and (3), questioning the diversity of society.⁶⁵

Religious fundamentalism movement, when manifest in social movements (*social movement*) then He incarnates become movement Islamism. This movement, wants only Islam to be allowed to provide the foundation and structure in today's political and social life. Even among them, it is allowed or everyone must rebel against non-Islamic Muslim countries.⁶⁶ This Islamist group also must declare infidels who are considered to have apostatized. This is where radicalism or violent ideology begins.⁶⁷

Other equally important doctrines are *First*, the doctrine of jihad *fisabilillah* (war in the way of Allah), *Second*, that jihad is *farđu 'ain* (jihad is an individual obligation for every Muslim). This

⁶¹Hilmy, *Islamism, and Democracy in Indonesia: Piety and Pragmatism*; Masdar Hilmy, "The Roots of Islamic Transnationalism of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *ISLAMICA: Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2014).

⁶²The term Fundamentalism in religious movements first appeared in The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary in 1923. This term refers to a group of Protestants in America who base themselves on the Bible. There are several points conveyed; the virgin birth of Jesus, his physical resurrection, the infallible Bible, the atonement, and the second coming of Christ. The term fundamentalism then became more popular in 1909 after the Treatise was distributed throughout the world. The treatise entitled The Fundamentals was compiled by an Evangelical Christian figure. See M. Dja'far Alamsyah, *Religion and Shifting Representations; Conflict and Reconciliation in Indonesia* (Jakarta: Wahid Institute, 2009), p.43-44

⁶³ In Abdurrahman Wahid, *The Illusion of the Islamic State: Expansion of the Transnational Islamic Movement in Indonesia*, pp. 7-10

⁶⁴Masdar Hilmy, *Islam, Politics & Democracy: The Struggle Between Religion, State, and Power* (Surabaya: Intiyaz, 2014).

⁶⁵M. Quraish Shihab, *Dynamic Islam Upholding the Values of the Teachings of the Qur'an in Modern Life in Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana Yogya, 1997).

⁶⁶M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Islamism in the Era of Democratic Transition; The Indonesia-Egypt Experience* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2018).

⁶⁷This movement, in Tibbi's notes, is also considered as "Islamic fundamentalism" which makes Islam a political ideology. This means that Islam is no longer a religious belief system, but also a socio-political worldview, namely concerning the character of the state, society, and the world political order articulated with religious symbols. See Bassam Tibi, "Islamism and Totalitarianism," in *Islamism and Islam*, 2023.

jihad is aimed at reclaiming Islamic territory controlled by infidels, both infidels *ajnaby* (foreign infidels) and infidels *ma h ally* (local infidels). The rulers who are considered to have "apostatized" who rule Islamic countries are among those who need to be seized, *Third*, Jihad leads to terrorism (*ir h abiyah*), a jihad whose targets are civilians. According to this doctrine, this movement allows killing civilians, as a form of *qishas* or revenge, and the *fourth* is *tawhid h akimiyah* (sovereignty belongs absolutely to Allah). The embodiment of this doctrine is establishing an Islamic state by implementing Islamic law. Those who reject this doctrine are declared infidels, and infidels may be killed.⁶⁸

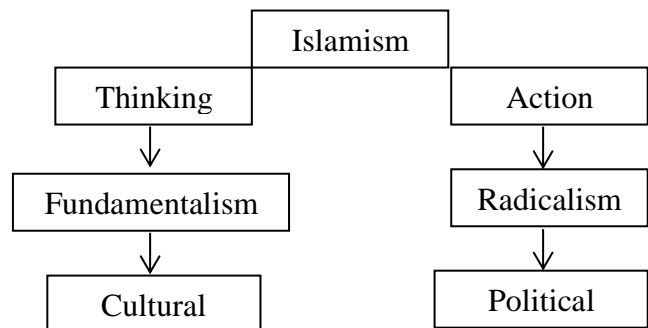
From the description above, Islamism is at least the embryo for the birth of radicalism and terrorism. Radicalism according to BNPT is " *an attitude that longs for total and revolutionary change by drastically overturning existing values through violence and extreme actions* ". This attitude is characterized by several characteristics as follows; 1). intolerant (not wanting to respect the opinions & beliefs of others), 2). fanatic (always feeling right; considering others wrong), 3). exclusive (distinguishing oneself from Muslims in general) and 4). revolutionary (tending to use violent means to achieve goals).⁶⁹

Religious radicalism also means;

"... extreme actions carried out by a person or group of people that tend to cause violence in the name of religion. For example, sweeping and raids on places such as gambling, discos and prostitution; demonstrations and destruction of offices of certain institutions,

mass mobilization with certain religious symbols and attributes, political statements with certain tendencies and threats, speeches with substances that tend to incite violence and so on."⁷⁰

If mapped, several of the Islamic movements mentioned above can be seen in the following image:



Several study groups in Indonesia, such as the Liberal Islam Network, ⁷¹LAKPESDAM, Wahid Institute, and LAPAR have mapped these fundamentalist groups, namely: Ikhwanul Muslimun, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), Jihadi, Salafi Dakwah, and Salafi Sururi, as well as Jamaah Tabligh (Dakwah Movement). According to Zarkasi, the more jihadist-oriented and pro-violence variants of Islamism include DI (Darul Islam) and NII (Islamic State of Indonesia) which have risen again from their long sleep since the 1950s. Subsequent movements were shown, for example, by MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia), Lasykar Jihad, and Jemaah Islamiyah.⁷²

⁶⁸Syamsul Arifin, "Multiculturalism In The Scheme Of Deradicalization Of Radical Religious Understandings And Movements In Indonesia," *Aicis Xiv*, 1998; Solahudin, "Nii To Ji: Salafi Jihadism in Indonesia," *Komunitas Bambu* (2011); Petrus Reihard Golose, *Deradicalization of Terrorism: Humanist Soul Approach and Touching the Grassroots* (Jakarta: Police Science Development Foundation, 2009).

⁶⁹AM Hendropriyono, "Strategy to Deal with Radical Terrorism - ISIS," *National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT)* (2009).

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹The Liberal Islam Network or better known as JIL is a group of Muslim intellectuals, who were initially very familiar with the traditions of Islamic boarding schools, and then understood contemporary Western thought, such as philosophy, sociology, politics, and literature. It can be said that this group is the initial milestone of Indonesian Islamic thought. Namely, they provide a deeper meaning about Islam

in dealing with modernization and democratization. Names such as Nurcholis Majid, Abdurrahman Wahid, Djohan Efendy, and Ahmad Wahib are said to be the "carriage pullers" of JIL. See Charles Kurzman, "Islamic Liberal Discourse: Contemporary Islamic Thought on Global Issues," Jakarta: Paramadina (2001); However, specifically JIL is an institution that stands under ISAI (Institute for the Study of Information Flow), which is an institution for studies or discussions on Islam and has an office in Utan Kayu. Some of its founders, for example Ulil Abshar Abdalla and Luthfie Assyaukani, from modernist circles there are Syaiful Muzani and Hamid Basyaib. See Muhammad Ali, *Young Islam: Liberal, Post Puritan, Post Traditional* (Yogyakarta: Apeiron Philotes, 2006).

⁷²Syamsurijal, "Violence Framed in Religion; Tracing the Genealogy and Development of Fundamentalism in the Islamic World," *Al-Fikr* 20, no. 1 (2016).

According to Khamami Zada, among the results of studies of this group's movements, such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), KISDI, *Laskar Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah*, it turns out that they have similarities, especially in viewing Islam as a religion and ideology, including: 1) fighting for Islam in its entirety, 2) basing religious understanding and practice on the pious Salaf generation (*salaf al-salihin*). 3) very hostile to Western countries which are considered the great devil. 4) Very hostile to liberal Islamic groups because they are considered to have destroyed Islam with rational and contextual interpretations of religion.⁷³

Meanwhile, according to the research results of the *Center for the Study of Religion and Culture* (CSRC), Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, the mention of Islamism and political Islam is intended to detect five ideological issues. The five things are, *first*, the issue of the government system which includes the enforcement of the Islamic Caliphate and the Islamic State (*Islamic State*) versus the democratic system. *Second*, the issue of enforcing Islamic sharia in opposition to a democratic constitutional system. *Third*, the issue of jihad as a war against the enemies of Islam. *Fourth*, the issue of women's equality in public life, and *fifth*, the issue of diversity in religious life (*pluralism*), including tolerance towards non-Muslims.⁷⁴

According to Jahmhari and Jajang Rahroni, among these Islamist groups are Radical Salafis.⁷⁵ While others mention the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI). Several religious organizations that are considered radical include Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI), the Islamic State of Indonesia (NII), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), Jama'ah Ansharut Tauhid (JAT), the Quran Interpretation Council (MTA), and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). While others include Hizbut

Tahrir Indonesia, the Indonesian Mujahidin Council, the Salafi Movement, Laskar Jundullah, Laskar Jihad, the Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah Islamic Movement, as Indonesian Islamist groups.⁷⁶

Conclusion

There has been a wave of enthusiasm to become good people in this country, which is shown by the efforts to show their religious identity in public spaces. The enforcement of Islamic law is understood as religious *practice* that can be seen in public spaces. It is not surprising that then there is "coercion" in public spaces when there are other groups that differ from them in practicing Islamic law. This means that Islamic law is understood as a single entity. Here the Islamist movement was born. Unfortunately, Islamism with this character will shift to a radical religious movement. Namely, seizing "public space" using violence and hatred.

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⁷³Khamami Zada, *Radical Islam: The Struggle of Hardline Islamic Mass Organizations in Indonesia, Teraju*, 2002.

⁷⁴A Fauzia, "The Seeds of Radical Islam in Mosques: Case Study of Jakarta and Solo," *Repository.Uinjkt. Ac.Id*, 2018.

⁷⁵The characteristics of this group include white kokol shirts, cingkran pants, wearing white turbans or berbeci, growing beards, cingkrang pants, and often shouting "Allahuakbar" slogans. See Jamhari and Jajang Jahroni, *Radical Salafi Movements in Indonesia*.

⁷⁶Rubaidi, "Variations of Islamic Radical Movements in Indonesia," *IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya XI*, no. 1 (2011); Askar Nur, "Fundamentalism, Radicalism and Islamic Movements in Indonesia: A Critical Study of Islamic Thought," *Al-Ubudiyah: Journal of Islamic Education and Studies* 2, no. 1 (2021); Abdul Munip, "Countering Religious Radicalism in Schools," *Journal of Islamic Education* 1, no. 2 (January 1, 2012): 159–181; Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, "Religious Radicalism And Efforts To Deradicalization Of Religious Understanding," *Akademika: Journal of Islamic Thought* 22, no. 1 (2017).

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