

Noorhaidi Hasan

# Islamic Literatures Of The Millennials

**Transmission, Appropriation, and Contestation**



**PPIM**  
UIN JAKARTA



**PusPIDeP**

**Noorhaidi Hasan**

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**Islamic Literatures of The Millennials:  
Transmission, Appropriation, and Contestation**

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**WRITERS**

Noorhaidi Hasan, Suhadi, Munirul Ikhwan,  
Moch Nur Ichwan, Najib Kailani, Ahmad Rafiq, Ibnu Burdah

**TRANSLATOR**

CMM Translation

**PROOFREADER**

Fernando Hainim

**LAYOUTER**

Imam Syahirul Alim, Stelkendo Kreatif, Ahmad Jajuli

**PUBLISHER**

PPIM UIN Jakarta  
Gedung PPIM UIN Jakarta  
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat,  
Ciputat Timur, Tangerang Selatan  
Banten, Indonesia 15419

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# Preface

The collective effort to produce this book began from an instantaneous decision by the end of our research on the millennials' Islamic literatures, which is part of Convey Indonesia's program initiated by Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) of UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta along with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). This thematically relevant and interesting research had too much potential to be wasted only on mere reports and policy briefs, especially for scholars with strong interest in diffusing knowledge. Therefore, the associated parties of this research project, i.e. UIN Sunan Kalijaga Graduate Department, Pusat Pengkajian Islam, Demokrasi dan Perdamaian (PusPIDeP) Yogyakarta, Project Management Unit (PMU) CONVEY and PPIM Jakarta, agreed to turn the research findings into a book. A team of contributors was immediately established to quickly read and analyse the research report and transform it into a ready-to-publish manuscript.

This research began in June 2017 after PMU CONVEY and PPIM Jakarta authorised the proposal submitted by UIN Sunan Kalijaga Graduate Department and PusPIDeP Yogyakarta. To sharpen the proposal and devise research instruments, we organised a workshop by inviting several speakers, i.e. Martin Slama, Hilman Latief, Din Wahid and Saiful Umam. Sixteen locations were identified to represent the nexus between the millennials, high school and college students and Islamism in Indonesia, which included: Medan, Padang, Pekanbaru, Bogor, Bandung, Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Jember, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Palu, Ambon, Denpasar and Mataram. We then identified the map of Islamic literatures that encircled Indonesian millennials in those cities.

The research involved 16 main researchers and 32 local assistant researchers. The main researchers came from different backgrounds belonging to the cluster of Islamic and social studies: Islamic Politics, Urban Muslim Anthropology, Interfaith Study, Al-Quran and Hadiths Study, Middle-East Study, Salafism, Minority Study, and Islamic Law. We deployed 2 researchers to each region--1 main researcher as the person in charge to be assisted by 1 other researcher--as well as 2 local assistant researchers. The overall field research took 3 months to complete. The data finding of each region was processed by the main researcher and then discussed intensively with all researchers in many occasions. To sharpen the analysis, we organised a research-findings workshop, which was attended by several speakers including Fuad Jabali, Ali Munhanif, and Hew Wai Weng. The whole process resulted in 16 research reports from each region plus 16 policy briefs.

The main purpose of this research is to map the Islamic literatures that are distributed to and read by the millennials, particularly high school and college students. Another purpose of this research is to see the acceptance of many different Islamic literatures by several orientation: ideology, genre, approach tendency, style and others among the millennials. We focus on the millennials after considering the fact that they are the very representation of youth generation

whose aspiration, desire and positioning will decide the future of Indonesia.

This research was supposed to be ended in December 2017. However, due to several technical problems and field research dynamics, it was extended for a month and ended in late January 2018. The result of this research was disseminated in 5 cities: Medan, Jakarta, Mataram, Banjarmasin and Yogyakarta, by inviting several speakers such as Prof. Amin Abdullah, Prof. Jamhari Makruf, Inaya Rahkmani, Saiful Umam, Prof. Hasan Asari, Masnun Tahir, Muhammad Nasir, Prof. Mujibburahman, Ali Munhanif, Waryono Abdul Ghafur, Hairus Salim and Nendra Primonik. This dissemination was important, not only to share research findings, but also to obtain feedback from experts, education practitioners, and the society in general. The feedback and input from them became an important consideration in the production of the report and this book.

This volume attempts to aim at the big and thematic idea in regard to the millennials' Islamic literatures based on the rich data and dynamic from each region. The authors were asked to discuss the literature aspect of formal Islam education in high school and college, the discourse it produced, its dissemination and distribution pattern, appropriation and consumption as well as emerging alternative narratives to balance the prevalent Islamist discourse. This book is expected to contribute in reading the transmission, appropriation and contestation of Islamic literatures distributed to and consumed by Indonesian millennials.

I wish to express my gratitude to the 16 researchers who are involved and have dedicated their time and mind for this research. They are Muhammad Yunus (Medan), Euis Nurlaelawati (Padang), Najib Kailani (Pekanbaru), Roma Ulinuha (Bogor), Suhadi & Siti Khodijah Nurul Aula (Bandung) Noorhaidi Hasan (Solo), Suhadi (Yogyakarta), Ibnu Burdah (Surabaya), Munirul Ikhwan (Jember), Sunarwoto (Pontianak), Ahmad Rafiq (Banjarmasin), Moch Nur Ichwan (Denpasar), Rofah Muzakir (Mataram), Nina Mariani Noor (Ambon), Achmad Uzair (Palu) and Fosa Sarassina (Makassar).

I also wish to extend my gratitude to the research assistants who have



worked hard to assist the researchers in completing the arduous field research. I also want to thank the core team of this research project: Suhadi, Najib Kailani, Munirul Ikhwan and Erie Susanty, who are responsible to help me in running this research, plus the support from Imam Mahmudi, Thas Fajarini, Siti Khodijah Nurul Aula, and Khairil Anwar.

Obviously, I want to express my endless appreciation and gratitude to CONVEY Indonesia and PPIM Jakarta who have put their trust in us to act as a partner in the big and phenomenal program titled Convey, *Enhancing the Role of Religious Education in Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia*. Several other names that I would like to mention include Jamhari Ma'ruf, Saiful Umam, Fuad Jabali, Ali Munhanif, Ismatu Ropi, Didin Syafrudin, Din Wahid, and Jajang Jahroni, as well as several staff members of Project Management Unit (PMU) CONVEY Indonesia who have helped us a lot in the technical affairs of this research: Syamsul Tarigan, Ridwansyah, Utami Sandyarani, Jaya Dani Mulyanto, Narsi, Abdalla, Hani Samantha, and other names that I cannot mention one by one.

Last but not least, I would like to express my endless gratitude to the Rector of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, Prof. K.H. Dr. Yudian Wahyudi, who always gives his support and provides a stimulating academic atmosphere for us to complete this research and produce the book that you are now reading. I also wish to thank Deputy Rector 1, 2 and 3, Prof. Dr. Sutrisno, Dr. Phil. Sahiron Syamsuddin and Dr. Waryono Abdul Ghafur for their support in the development of research activities in the Graduate Department. Happy reading!

Yogyakarta, 20<sup>th</sup> February 2018

Noorhaidi Hasan  
Research Coordinator  
Director of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta  
Graduate Department

## List of Contributors

**Noorhaidi Hasan** is a professor in Islam and politics who currently serves as Director of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His diverse research interest is interdisciplinary, which includes themes such as Salafism, Islamic radicalism, identity politics and youth generation. He obtained his Ph.D from Utrecht University (2005). Noorhaidi is quite a productive scholar. His publications are, among others, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia* (2006), *The Salafi Movement in Indonesia: Transnational Dynamics and Local Development*, *Post-Islamist Politics in Indonesia* (2007) and *Funky Teenagers Love God: Islam and Youth Activism in Post* (2016).

**Suhadi Cholil** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta

Graduate Department. His research interest is interfaith study. Suhadi finished his doctoral program at Radboud University Nijmegen of Holland in Inter-Religious Studies (2014). His publications are, among others, *I Come from a Pancasila Family: A Discursive Study on Muslim-Christian Identity Transformation in Indonesian Post-Reformasi Era* (2014), *Protecting the Sacred: An Analysis of Local Perspectives on Holy Site Protection in Four Areas in Indonesia* (2016), and *Freedom of Religion or Belief in Indonesia and the Challenge of Muslim Exceptionalism* (2010).

**Munirul Ikhwan** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes Al-Quran Study and its interpretations, Islamic and Muslim Society study, and Islamic intellectual history. He obtained his Ph.D. in Islamic Study from Freie Universität Berlin (2015). His publications are, among others, *Tafsir Alquran dan Perkembangan Zaman: Merekonstruksi Konteks dan Menemukan Makna* (2016), *Fī Ta addī al-Daula: “al-Tarjama al-Tafsīriyya “fī Muwājahat al-Khi āb al-Dīnī al-Rasmī li al-Daula al-Indūnisiyya* (2015) and *Western Studies of Qur’anic Narratives: from the Historical Orientation into the Literary Analysis* (2010).

**Moch Nur Ichwan** is a full-time lecturer and Coordinator of the Doctoral Program in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes the practice and thought of Islamic politics in Indonesia, the social and political role of Islamic scholars, post-conflict Islam in Aceh, religious governance, and Islamic hermeneutics. He obtained his Ph.D. in Religious Study and Islamic Politics from Tilburg University (2006). Nur Ichwan is quite a productive scholar who has published, among others, *Faith, Ethnicity, and Illiberal Citisenship: Authority, Identity, and Religious “Others” in Aceh’s Border Areas* (2017), *Neo-Sufism, Shari’atism, and Ulama Politics: Abuya Shaykh Amran Waly and Taubid-Tasawuf Movement in Post-Conflict Aceh* (2016), and *Towards a Puritanical Moderate Islam:*

*Majelis Ulama Indonesia and the Politics of Religious Orthodoxy* (2013).

**Najib Kailani** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes urban Muslim anthropology and youth literacy. He obtained his Ph.D. from University of New South Wales (UNSW) of Australia (2015). Among his publications are *Forum Lingkar Pena and Muslim Youth in Contemporary Indonesia* (2012), *Politik Ruang Publik Sekolah: Kontestasi dan Negosiasi di SMUN Yogyakarta* (together with Hairus Salim HS and Nikmal Azekiyah, 2011) and *Muslimising Indonesian Youths: The Tarbiyah Moral and Cultural Movement in Contemporary Indonesia* (2010).

**Ahmad Rafiq** is a full-time lecturer and Secretary of the Doctoral Program in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes the Quranic practice, thought and hermeneutics. He obtained his Ph.D. from Temple University (2014).

**Ibnu Burdah** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department. His research interest includes Middle-East study, Islamic Politics, Arabic, Religion Study, and Islamic Thoughts. He obtained his doctoral degree from Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta. Ibnu Burdah is quite productive in producing books, articles, journals and articles in mass media. Some of his works are, among others, *Islam Kontemporer: Revolusi dan Demokratisasi* (2014), *Konflik Timur Tengah: Aktor, Isu, dan Dimensi Konflik* (2008), and *Indonesian Muslim's Perception of Jews* (2010)



## List of Researchers

**Mohammad Yunus** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department with a doctoral degree from Al-Azhar University of Cairo (2016).

**Euis Nurlaelawati** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department with a Ph.D. from Utrecht University (2007).

**Najib Kailani** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from University of New South Wales (UNSW) of Australia (2015).

**Roma Ulinnuha** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his doctoral degree

from ICRS Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta (2013).

**Siti Khodijah Nurul Aula** is a postgraduate student in Interfaith Study of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Department.

**Noorhaidi Hasan** is a professor of Islam and politics and obtained his Ph.D. from Utrecht University (2005).

**Suhadi Cholil** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from Radboud University Nijmegen of Holland (2014).

**Sunarwoto** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from Tilburg University (2015).

**Ahmad Rafiq** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his doctoral degree from Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta (2007).

**Munirul Ikhwan** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. in Islamic Study from Freie Universität Berlin (2015).

**Moch Nur Ichwan** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained his Ph.D. from Tilburg University (2006).

**Ro'fah** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained her Ph.D. from McGill University (2011).

**Rr. Fosa Sarassina** is a full-time lecturer in the Vocational Faculty of UGM and obtained her doctoral degree from Utara University of Malaysia (2015).

**Achmad Uzair** is a full-time lecturer in Social and Humanities Faculty of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta with a Ph.D. degree from Flinders University (2015).

**Nina Mariani Noor** is a full-time lecturer in UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate Department and obtained her doctoral degree from ICRS Gajah Mada University of Yogyakarta (2016).





## CHAPTER 1

# **Introduction: Towards Popular Islamism**

Noorhaidi Hasan

In April 2017, a short video depicting hundreds of college students taking a solemn oath to establish an Islamic empire and enforce Islamic sharia in Indonesia became a trending topic on the social media. Those students were members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) who organised that act in Bogor Agricultural University (IPB), one most prominent university in Indonesia.

HTI, an Islamist movement popular among college students, also organises its activities in many other campuses. Examples include Bandung Institute of Technology, University of Indonesia, Gadjah Mada University, Brawijaya University, and Hasanuddin University, which have been known since 1980s to be the fertile ground for the diffusion of Tarbiyah Influence and the seed of Muslim Brotherhood ideology. In these top-graduate-maker campuses, da'wah activists (Islamic missionaries) recruit young

cadres from among the students and organise many Islamic events, which include Al-Quran reading, *halaqah*, *daurah*, book discussions, and Islamic art festivals. Sometimes they go public to organise demonstrations – voicing their concerns on such issues as morality, politics, religion and the Middle-East, or demanding full implementation of the Sharia (Islamic law).

The diffusion of Islamist movement's influence among students is intertwined with the context of da'wah campus movement in Indonesia (Kailani, 2009). This is related to the appearance of Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK), which manages to penetrate almost all of essential arenas in university through the management of Islamic Assistance (AAI) program, later renamed into Islamic Accompaniment (IRE). This program is part of Islam Religion studies for first year students. Through IRE, da'wah is distributed and new cadres are recruited to sustain the movement. The success of this program has caused da'wah activists in campus to consider the importance of expanding their activities to high school students. By following the same IRE pattern as used in campuses, the da'wah activists penetrate high schools through Rohis (a muslim organisation for high school students) and pioneer the Islamic mentoring program.

At the very least, three patterns are used by da'wah activists in campus to expand their influence among high school students. *First*, through the alumni network that is directly involved with the management of Rohis in several prominent schools. This pattern is the most significant factor that contributes to the massive da'wah movement in high schools. *Second*, the da'wah activists in campus approach Rohis committees by inviting them to Islamic events organised in certain mosques. The participation of Rohis activists in Al-Quran reading events organised by campus da'wah activists captivates them enough to make them persuade their school to invite those da'wah activists to be their mentor in the school. *Third*, through school's own request to LDK to provide volunteers that can manage Islamic mentoring in the school (Kailani, 2009; Salim, Kailani, Azekiyah, 2010; Fanani, 2011; Saluz, 2012).

The massive influence of Islamist movement among high school and college students has been underlined in MAARIF Institute's research in 2011 in 50 high schools located in Pandeglang, Cianjur, Yogyakarta and Solo. The mapping conducted by this institution shows the rampant penetration of Islamist groups to high schools, from the extremists who refuse Pancasila to groups that advocate for the implementation of Islamic sharia (Fanani, 2011). The finding from MAARIF Institute is strengthened by the 2012 survey from Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Perdamaian (LaKIP) on 100 students in Jakarta, which shows their huge support to the persecution and violence on minorities, as well as their sympathy to terrorists. Similarly, Islam Education teachers in high schools also have a tendency to support the implementation of Sharia and exclusive Islamism ideology, despite accepting Pancasila as the nation's *raison d'être* (PPIM, 2016). The strong influence of Islamism ideology can also be seen among college students. In fact, many of them are important actors and prominent activists of Islamist movement that has flourished since the fall of Suharto, which includes Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia (KAMMI), HTI and Salafi (Damanik, 2002; Rosyad, 2006; Karim, 2006).

The slogan "*Islam is the only solution*" has echoed for a long time among high school and college students. This slogan is inseparable with the gait of Muslim Brotherhood, the main Islamic political movement in the Islamic world. Founded by Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) in Egypt in 1923, this pro-caliphate and sharia movement works very closely with the Jami'at-i Islami, founded by Abul A'la al-Mawdudi (1903-1978), to call for Islamic revolution. While Jami'at-I Islami grew strong in Indo-Pakistani region, Muslim Brotherhood quickly flourished in almost every part of the Middle-Eastern region. The role of Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) was also important in navigating the direction of Islamic politics pioneered by Hasan al-Banna and Abul A'la al-Mawdudi. He wrote many influential papers to describe the dream of establishing a new world order at all cost, including the use

of violence. His magnum opus, *Ma'alim fi'l-Tariq*, is a classic literature referred to by many Islamists in the whole world. Muslim Brotherhood paved the way for the creation of several smaller radical groups, including Jihad Islam, Jama'ah Islamiyah, and Jama'at al-Takfir wa-l-Hijrah. Sayyid Qutb has also inspired other Islamic groups such as Hizbut Tahrir and Hamas in Palestine, Hizbullah in Lebanon, FIS (Front Islamique du Salut) in Aljazair, and Salafi Movement in Saudi Arabia (Roy, 1996; Kepel, 2002). His legacies can be clearly seen in jihadist movements emerging in the last two decades, such as the transnational al-Qaeda and other groups with similar ideological affinity like Jamaah Islamiyah in Indonesia, Abu Sayyaf in South Philippines, and ISIS in Syria and Iraq.

The diffusion of Muslim Brotherhood's influence in universities in Indonesia can be traced back to the late 1960s. Figures from Masyumi, Indonesia's first Islamic political party, decided to use da'wah as an alternative for their movement after the rise of Suharto in the New Order. Thus Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia (DDII) was established in 1967 to be the official representation of Rabitat al-'Alam al-Islami, a Jeddah-based agent to spread the influence of transnational Islamic movement (Hasan, 2007). At that time, Saudi Arabia was opening their door for political exiles of Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt in order to establish itself as the centre and guardian of the Islamic world. Through DDII, ideological literatures from Muslim Brotherhood, such as works by Hasan al-Banna, Abul A'la al-Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Sayyid Hawwa and Mustafa al-Siba'i, entered Indonesia.

For strategic reasons DDII decided to focus their da'wah to college students. Muhammad Natsir, founder and main figure of DDII, personally supported the establishment of programs such as Latihan Mujahid Dakwah (Jihadist' Da'wah Training), Islam Mentoring, and Focused Islamic Study, with Salman Mosque in ITB as their headquarters. These programs soon developed models for Islamic activism in other universities.

DDII was also active in sponsoring the development of campus mosques and Islamic Centers, coupled with their da'wah programs widely known as "Bina Masjid Kampus (Guiding Campus Mosques)."

The New Order's policy to restrict campus activism through NKK-BKK, which was later strengthened by the implementation of *asas tunggal* (the single principle), also contributed to the development of da'wah in campus. Then, the Iranian revolution in 1979 became a culmination point, as the popularity of Ayatollah Khomeini, Murtada Mutahhari, and Ali Shariati among the students rose to the roof (Rosyad, 2006). Saudi Arabia attempted to suppress Iran's influence by intensively spreading Wahabism, which is known to be very much against the Shia.

At the beginning, Muslim Brotherhood flourished in universities under the name of *Harakah Tarbiyah* (Aziz et. Al., 1989). Most of their advocates were alumni of the Middle Easter universities, such as Abu Ridho or Abdi Sumaiti and Rahmat Abdullah. Through the cell-system recruitment pattern, this movement managed to grow very fast. *Halaqah* and *daurah* were held in member's houses, flats, and other clandestine places. Each cell or *usrah* consisted of 10 to 20 members under the leadership of a *murabbi* (instructor). Every member in each cell was encouraged to recruit new members. The diffusion of Muslim Brotherhood was soon followed by other Islamist movements.

The Hizbut Tahrir, which was founded by Taqiy al-Din al-Nabhani in Palestine in 1953, also contributed to Islamism activities in campus after its introduction by 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi in the 1980s (Ahnaf, 2011). Similar to Muslim Brotherhood, he also used the clandestine cell-system recruitment pattern. Al-Baghdadi began his attempt to promote this movement after he got his position as a lecturer in Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab (LIPIA) and was invited by Abdullah Nuh to lecture in Pesantren Al-Ghazali of Bogor. He organised *halaqahs* and *daurahs* in al-Ghifari Mosque in IPB and Ibnu Khaldun University

Mosque, in order to introduce Hizbut Tahrir's ideology to students. Due to the persistence of its early advocates, Hizbut Tahrir managed to recruit many talented students, especially those active in Lembaga Dakwah Kampus, which later became the main activists for the movement, such as Muhammad al-Khattat and Ismail Yusanto. Through this network, the movement rapidly grew and spread to Padjajaran University, Gadjah Mada University, Airlangga University, Brawijaya University and Hasanuddin University. After the fall of Suharto, the movement declared itself under the name of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

The Salafi movement also has contributed to Islamic activism in Indonesia since mid-1980s after the appearance of caped (*jalabiyyah*) and bearded (*lihyah*) youth wearing turban (*imamah*) and  $\frac{3}{4}$  pants (*isbal*), as well as women wearing wide black clothing and face mask (*niqab*) in the public space. They explicitly called themselves as the "Salafi," introducing rigid variants of Islam, focusing on the cleansing of faith and exclusive religious practices that are claimed to follow the virtues of *Salaf-al-Salih*, the first generation of Muslim. Every seemingly-simple problem always appears in their daily discourse. Earlier, they refused any forms of political activism (*hizbiyya*), which they believed to be blasphemous (*bid'ah*), and preferred to use apolitical quietism approach (Hasan, 2007).

By advocating for Salafi as a da'wah movement, they attempted to create a clear separating line from other societies, namely by grouping themselves exclusively within communality bonds like an enclave. Due to the change in social and political configuration in Indonesia during the last two decades, Salafi's expansion has contributed to the penetration of Islam variant that resembles a rigid cultural fortress known as *abangan*, although this is getting weakened due to the shift in political-economic constellation.

These transnational Islamist movements have had to compete with underground domestic movement that consists of *usrah* groups widely

known as NII (Negara Islam Indonesia/Islamic State of Indonesia). This group has evolved from DI/TII, which emerged in West Java in 1949. Their cause is to establish an Islamic state through revolutionary and militant political strategy, by firstly creating *Jamaah Islamiyah* (Solahudin, 2013). Due to the contact between its advocates and Muslim Brotherhood ideas, NII's activities also follow Muslim Brotherhood's pattern. However, NII's cells are organised more secretly. At the beginning, NII grew as a small group of college students in Yogyakarta, before spreading to other cities in Indonesia. One of the most important nodes of NII movement is Pesantren Al-Mukmin Ngruki founded by Abdullah Sungkar and Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. They are both known as the founding fathers of *Jamaah Islamiyah*, a jihadist organisation that operates in Southeast Asia.

Outside of political factors, the success of Islamist movement in infiltrating college and high school students has pretty much intertwined with uncertainties in dealing with structural problems and uncertain future. The expansion of communication technology, triggered by the discovery of internet, has collapsed special and social distance that eventually exacerbates the uncertainty. The most obvious impact of this change was felt by the millennials. Due to being born in the last 25 years, they grew amidst the dominance of digital culture that is closely related to the spread of instant consumption patterns and lifestyles. This generation is used to simplifying the complex nature of the world to their easily-clickable smartphones in order to find 'whatever they need'. Uncertainty can be easily dealt with when the virtual world is often different from the real world in front of them. Their uncertainty is then exacerbated by the discourse of moral panic among the millennials, due to the spread of issues such as promiscuity, usage of drugs, and other forms of antics that make parents worried (Thompson, 1998; Springhall, 1999).

The fact is, the millennial generation is part of the youth who have to face the reality of stricter competition to get jobs. The unavailability of adequate



jobs causes a high number of unemployment among the youth, causing many of them to be frustrated (Nilan, Parker, Bennett and Robinson, 2011; Naafs, 2013). Due to their uncertainty and non-establishment, some of youths were encouraged to claim a 'space' in complex social interaction process by relying on identity politics (Massey, 1998, Herrera and Bayat, 2010; Hasan, 2016a).

In a very unclear situation, the millennials must go face to face with the expansion of Islamism ideology that came to offer hopes and dreams of change. Built upon the narrative of the importance of going back to Islam's fundamental roots and the virtues of early generation, this ideology attempts to put a distance and demarcation between Islam and the open society that is depicted as a world full of sins, blasphemy and infidelity. Failure to put this distance is believed to be the main factor that contributes to the downfall of Muslim community under the political, economic and cultural dominance of the secular West. Caliphate (Islamic Empire) is advocated as the key to revive Islam's glory (Hasan, 2016a). Despite being utopic, Islamism ideology is quite attractive, particularly due to its ability in providing a 'coherent' and 'effective' reading on the many contemporary issues as well as in framing them in a way that represent marginalised people in a fight against injustice.

### **Islamism, Post-Islamism, and Popular Islamism**

Gilles Kepel in *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (2002) defines Islamism as a thought, discourse, action and movement that involves a group of Muslim individuals that operates under a hastily-assumed shared ideology. Based on this definition, Islamism is obviously not a religious symptom, but more of a socio-political phenomenon that involves a group of Muslim individuals who are active in certain ideological-based movement that they believe in.

Olivier Roy (1996) has previously offered a definition similar to

Kepel's when he claims ideological-based thought and action as the main constitution of Islamism. This kind of thought and action grows within the Muslim community who dreams about the establishment of an "Islamic state," i.e. a state that based its legitimacy on Islam. For Roy, political Islam is a thought and action that believes that Islam is not only a religion, but also a political ideology that goes hand in hand with the world's huge political ideology, including capitalism, socialism, and communism.

According to this definition, ideology remains the main constitution of Islamism. Unlike Kepel, Roy underlines the importance of the goal of these thoughts, actions and movements--that is: the establishment of Islamic state. The definition of 'Islamic state' could be very wide, from the appearance of some Islamic symbols in the thought and daily activity of the people up to the change to the political system and format that are based on Islamic values and principles.

Among Islamic political scholars, Islamism is an umbrella term that refers to the socio-political symptoms closely related to ideological nuances, the intersection between religion and politics, as well as individual or collective activism that wants to promote a fundamental change to the established system. In this context, Islam is affirmed as a political ideology that constitutes the establishment of an Islamic state, or at least a Sharia-based Muslim community.

As an ideology that goes against a secular political, economic and social system, Islamism emphasises a holistic lifestyle that affirms the need for each individual and society to strictly follow Allah's regulation as stated in Sharia (Hasan, 2012). By framing it with a slogan of returning to the supposedly pure Islamic model – the *Al-Quran*, *Sunnah*, and the practices of early Muslim generations (*Salaf al-Salih*) – their demand materialised in many dimensions, such as in affirming parochial identity and militancy as well as bloody action to take over the power from the regime in charge.

Based on the above explanation, Islamism in actuality is not Islam plus

violence, which is often depicted in public discussions. Rather, similarly to the religion itself, Islamism is vulnerable to the manipulation of religious symbols that eventually ends in violence. Islamism is more of an activism that commits to realising certain political agenda through the use of symbols, doctrines, languages, ideas, and Islamic ideologies. The political agenda in question can be interpreted in many ways, from simply fighting for their aspiration and political rights to defeating and overthrowing the regime in charge. The methods to achieve this are also very diverse, from collective actions to express opinions, mass demonstrations, creating political parties, participating in general elections, to mobilizing underground and terrorist movement. Violence in Islamism is usually accepted in order to realise a political agenda.

Islamism as a concept has been widely debated. Lately, this concept is more associated with radicalism and terrorism, particularly after the 9/11 attack, bombings in Bali, London, Madrid, Brussels and Istanbul – among others – the murder of Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam, and a wide backlash against the Prophet Muhammad's caricatures in a Denmark Newspaper. Daniel M. Varisco (2010), for example, criticises the use of the term Islamism, especially because he believes that the term is closely associated with the impression of Islamic violence. He believes that the use of the term Islamism is rooted on prejudice and hostility toward Muslim that has developed since the middle ages.

Other scholars stress the dynamic nature of Islamism. Asef Bayat (2005) defines Islamism as an activism with Islamic nuance in which the main purpose, both collective and individual one, is to promote a change toward an established social and political system. The nuance of activism has garnered special attention in this definition. As an activism, Bayat argues, Islamism has a dynamic nature that can be associated with liberal freedom and cultural differentiation or structural modernism. Bayat criticises the scholars who tend to exaggerate aspects of symbolism, language and

ideology in Islamism by treating it as something static and wrapped in a frozen structure and discourse. He believes that Islamism is something that is always in constant shift and motion following the change in the context behind it.

In reality, Islamism has undergone a post-Islamist transformation ever since the Arab Spring. The Renaissance Party (Ennahda) in Tunis and Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt are two examples of Islamic movement that became more moderate and enjoyed key support from the people. Hizbullah Lebanon and Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (AKP) in Turkey or Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia also experienced similar changes. Even in Saudi Arabia, signs of a shift toward post-Islamism have been made clearer by accommodation of many aspects of democracy, pluralism, moderatism, and women's rights in the royal politics. Under the leadership of Prince Muhammad ibn Salman, who is trusted to lead corruption institution, the shift seems to continue cracking political deadlocks in the petro-dollar country that was previously active in advocating Wahabism.

Asef Bayat (1996;2005) has predicted this change when he offered a theory of post-Islamism, which is depicted as a shift to the pattern of Islamist activism from a revolutionary collective activism to individual activism that accepts the imperatives of modern life. While the first centres upon ideology, post-Islamism distances itself from ideological nuance and collective militancy to establish an Islamic state and stresses upon the harmonisation and alignment between Islam and modernity.

According to Nilufer Göle (2006; 2010), post-Islamism emerges as the second wave of political Islam that focuses more on the cultural aspect and materialises in personal piety. The identity of Muslim in this wave experiences a process of 'banalisation,' in which actors involved in shaping the face of Islam in public space are fine with entering the modern urban space through global communication network, getting involved in public debates, following consumption patterns, studying market regulations, as

well as being familiar with values of individualism and professionalism. Thus, they challenge the hegemonic claim and conform to the context behind it.

Bayat argues that post-Islamism is an analytical construct to understand the shifting political trend in Islamic world to a new direction; a synthesis between the discourse on the rise of Islam that emerges alongside Islamism wave and the development of secular modern education as well as market values and democratic idioms in Islamic world (Bayat, 2007; 2013). Despite that, post-Islamism cannot be separated from the roots of Islamism; rather, it is more of an acceptance to the secularisation of state and the prevalence of religious ethics within the society, which is supported by the development of personal piety.

Similar to Bayat, Olivier Roy (2012; 2013) also believes that Islamism as an ideology collapses due to frustration and the lack of convincing blue print as well as the limit of secular politics. Roy believes that the utopia of Islamic state and holistic ideology has 'lost its credibility' especially among the educated youths. Modernisation and globalisation, which can be seen from the rise of new media, apparently undermine the receptiveness of the youth to the top-down authoritarian structure urged by Islamism. Therefore, post-Islamism emerges as an alternative for Muslim youth who like to use Facebook and other forms of social media - not to discuss about an Islamic state, but to respond the global discourse on freedom and plural society.

Dominik M. Müller (2014) affirms Bayat and Roy. He believes in the dynamic nature of Islamism as it is related with the youth as the main pillar of Islam movement that tends to be the most progressive, idealist and brave, as well as able to bring about change. As a new generation who is involved in a normative contestation with the elite, they don't mind changing political orientation, leaving behind the desire to create an Islamic state, and putting forward a desire to create a dialogue between Islam and modernity. They

see the compatibility between Islamism's dream to realise God's Supremacy and the spirit of democracy as well as popular culture that rises alongside globalisation in the Islamic world. Muller calls this phenomenon a popular Islamism that combines Islamic dreams and modern pop cultures within it.

### About this Book

One of the ways to read the dynamic and shift in Islamism is to see the map of millennial generation's Islamic literatures. This approach is important since many scholars are only concerned with the ideological dynamic of Islamic movement, thus ignoring the more fundamental thing regarding the factors that constitute that ideology. The role of Islamic literatures in the diffusion of Islamism among the millennials, particularly college and high school students, cannot be ignored in this context. In general, the Islamist ideology infiltrates through religious books and literatures used in high school, whether in the class or extracurricular activities. In extracurricular activities, Islamic Mentoring in Rohis for example, the idea of the supremacy of caliphate and sharia receives more allocation, by referring to books written by prominent Islamist thinkers such as Hasan al-Banna, Abul A'la al-Maududi, Sayyid Qutb, Taqiy al-Din al-Nabhani, Ali Syariati, 'Abd al-Aziz bin Baz, and Muhammad Salih al-Uthaimin. The same is also true in campuses, where Islamist ideology spreads through books read by students, especially in da'wah activities and other kinds of Islamic activities, such as *halaqah* and *daurah*.

In general, studies on Islamic literatures and their influence in constructing Islamic knowledge and ideology in Indonesia can be categorised into two main concerns: *classical* and *contemporary*. Classical Islamic literatures studies focus on the transmission of Islamic knowledge through texts in the yellow book (traditional Islamic literatures in Indonesia), which is read and discussed in traditional pesantren (Islamic school in Indonesia). Studies with such a model can be found in works

by Martin van Bruinessen (1990) and Azyumardi Azra (2004), which are more concerned with the transmission and genealogy of Islamic knowledge in Nusantara. On the other hand, contemporary Islamic literatures studies focus more on the publishing of translated books from the Middle East and the ideologies contained in those books. Philips Vermonte (2007) and Abdul Munip (2008), for example, show how discourse regarding the rise of Islam in the Middle East, including Iran, have influenced the Muslim youth in Indonesia since 1980s. Works by Hasan al-Banna, Abul A'la al-Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Sayyid Hawwa, Ali Shariati and Yusuf al-Qardhawi, which have been translated into Bahasa Indonesia, have caused many youths to be obsessed with the idea of building an Islamic state and an ideal classless society.

Unlike previous contemporary Islamic literatures studies that mainly focus on books and publishers, recent studies are expanding their scope to include magazines distributed among Muslim youths. These studies investigate Islamic magazines such as Sabili, Jihadmagz, Annida and Elfata as well as Islamic literatures written by local figures such as Abdullah Gymnastiar, Yusuf Mansur and Habiurrahman El-Shiraezy (Rijal 2005; Muzakki 2009; Kailani 2010; and Latief 2010). Aside from investigating the politico-economic aspects of Islamic literatures publishing, these studies also show how those magazines are distributed among students through a variety of Islamic activities.

A study that specifically maps the Islamic literatures distributed among college students is exemplified by the work of Hilman Latief (2010). The research took place in 5 universities in Yogyakarta, UGM, UNY, UMY, UII and UIN Sunan Kalijaga. Latief believes that the Islamic literatures used and read by college students can be divided into three: Salafi-Puritan literature; general Islamic literature, and; politically-oriented Islamic literature. Salafi-Puritan literature is represented by Abdul Wahab's *Kitab Tauhid* and Ibnu Taymiyyah's *Aqidah Islamiyah*. General Islamic literatures

includes, among others, *Fiqh Sunnah* by Sayyid Sabiq and Arbain Nawawi. Meanwhile, politically-oriented Islamic literatures is represented by Sayyid Qutb's *Ma'alim Fi al-Tariq* and Yusuf Qardhawi's *Fatawa Musasira*. Aside from Middle Eastern literatures, Latief also finds that several students read works by local Muslim writers such as Abdullah Gymnastiar, Quraish Shihab, Abu Bakar Ba'asyur and Anis Matta.

Continuing upon those pioneer works, this book will comprehensively map and study Islamic literatures available and accessible to Indonesian millennials. The Islamic literatures in question do not only include external books, magazines, leaflet and others commonly assumed to be influential in the construction of millennials' Islamic knowledge and ideology, but also classroom textbooks and Islam Religion textbooks used by students. Although these are usually ignored in scholarly research, school textbooks are important to figure out Islamism's capability to penetrate the education system in Indonesia as well as its diffusion method and depth of influence among college and high school students. With a standardised curriculum and teachers who have competence and regulation regarding the publishing and usage of textbook in Islam Religion classes, Islamism should not be able to penetrate classrooms easily.

Beyond the existing studies, this book attempts to map the producers of Islamic literatures in Indonesia along with their network and products. Outside of standard literatures used as a reference for class sessions, this study also attempts to understand and differentiate the many types of literature that is popular among the millennial generation: Jihadi, Tahriri, Salafi, Tarbawi, and popular Islamism.

In this context, it would be interesting to see the position of Jihadi literature – which depicts the world in a constant war situation due to ignorance to God's absolute sovereignty, thus urging the Muslim community to commit jihad wherever they are – in the map of millennials' Islamic literatures. Also important to be studied is the position of Tahriri literature



that focuses on the idea of reviving the Islamic empire as a way to return to the glory of Islam and its role in soothing the millennials' frustration to the unjust system. The role of key actors like Felix J. Siau in adapting and appropriating Tahriri ideas, in languages that are simple, straightforward and appropriate for cotemporary Muslim youth, is also interesting to be given special attention to in this book.

Furthermore, this book also sees the importance of Salafi literature for the millennials. The strength of Salafi literature is in its capability to create a clear separating line between the contemporary world that is depicted as a place full of sin and infidelity and the ideal world believed to give salvation and certainty. Those books also offer a foundation to claim an identity and authenticity in practicing religion, since they have strong references to Islam's main sources of information. Also as important is Tarbawi literature that brought Muslim Brotherhood's ideology – that desires a change to established political order. In this context, it is important to observe the shift in Tarbawi literature to books that appropriate the ideological mission of Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb and Sayyid Hawwa into messages about gradual changes, by first planting morality and commitment in practicing Islam.

Outside the four categories mentioned above, this book also attempts to understand the emergence of one particular new Islamic literatures that flourishes among the millennials; i.e. popular Islamism. By being delivered as fiction, in a popular and comical format, popular Islamism literature offers themes relatable to most people's daily life and a ready-to-use guide to practice Islam. Some particular characteristics of this literature are its tendency to use short narratives, simple languages without patronizing, and attractive illustrations. It would be interesting to go in-depth in order to see how actors are involved in a process of contextualisation and appropriation after understanding market demands and the millennials' cultural identity that appears to be easily persuaded into following certain ideologies,

especially by dictating and locking them in a black and white perspective. Observing the development of popular Islamism literature will also be important to understand the trajectory of Islamist movement in Indonesia.

Besides mapping Indonesian millennial's Islamic literatures, this book also looks into how those literatures are distributed and transmitted into the millennials. The role of agencies is indeed important in the production and distribution of Islamic literatures. They are the main actors who are fully aware of their decision in choosing the books to be published – whether based on ideological consideration or market demands. Some of them are translations of works by Middle-Eastern scholars whose influence are getting more apparent with the diffusion of transnational Islamist movement in Indonesia. This book then probes the distribution and transmission patterns of Islamic literatures among the millennials. The focus is directed to see the role of LDK, Rohis, Islamist organisations and movements, political parties, and other supporting organisations as well as certain key actors – college and high school students, lecturers, teachers, alumni, book writers, publishers and bookstores – in that transmission process. Those actors are not only capable to creatively introduce those books through Islamic activities, such as communal Al-Quran reading, *halaqah* and *daurah*, but also to sell them to wider audience by organizing book discussions and book fairs as well as other popular events. This book also analyses how those actors contextualise and appropriate messages that they wish to deliver through Islamic literatures, as well as how they package them in attractive ways so that they can be accepted by the millennials.

As we see the diverse context behind the emergence of Islamic literatures among millennials in Indonesia, a country with 34 provinces and hundreds of tribes, languages, and cultures as well as different historical, socio-political and economic characteristics, this book also considers the dynamics that occur in each region in terms of production, transmission and appropriation of Islamic literatures by local actors and writers.

Furthermore, this book also identifies the staying power of traditional or mainstream Islamic literatures, as well as moderate-progressive literatures written to be a counter-narration to radical literatures, in the context of widespread distribution of new Islamic literatures developed by Islamist movements. The staying power of this kind of literatures is important to be observed as it emits important signals regarding the future of Islam in Indonesia.

### **Methodological Notes**

This book is based on a research conducted in 16 cities in Indonesia by involving 16 researchers and 32 assistant researchers. The research was conducted in Medan, Pekanbaru, Padang, Bogor, Bandung, Solo, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Jember, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Makasar, Palu, Mataram, Ambon, and Denpasar. These cities were chosen by considering the distribution, typology, and key characteristics inherent in each of them. The research sampling included several high schools, vocational schools, and Madrasah Aliyah (MA)<sup>1</sup>, both the public and private ones, as well as several public universities regulated under the Ministry of Research and Technology – Higher Education (Kemenristek-Dikti) and the Ministry of Religion and private Universities. All of them represented the map of diversity and spread of educational institutions in each city.

Researchers and their assistants conducted an observation in each city for more or less 2 months by visiting the chosen schools and universities, as well as bookstores and other related nodes. A simple survey was made in the early observation phase in order to map general trends that developed within each city. The researchers then conducted in-depth interviews with almost 300 respondents. They were college and high school students, teachers, lecturers, principals, book sellers, book writers, publishers, and

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<sup>1</sup> TN: Madrasah Aliyah is an Islamic school for high school-level students. It is regulated by the Ministry of Religion instead of the Ministry of Education and Culture.

other relevant respondents. Moreover, the researchers also conducted 2 Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) with 10 high school students and 10 college students respectively. Overall, more than 320 people, excluding respondents in interviews and surveys, were involved in those FGDs. In those FGDs, researchers were able to dig deep into the millennial's acceptance level and preferences to Islamic literatures as well as how they contextualised and appropriated those literatures.