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MAINSTREAMING MULTICULTURAL STUDIES FOR RADICAL ISLAMIC MOVEMENT IN YOGYAKARTA

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ABSTRACT

Study of radicalism in the body of Jama'ah Shalahuddin, can be concluded that Jama'ah Shalahuddin conceptually or in radical thought, but socially, is very plural. This is seemed to be contradiction, but apparently this is the chosen path of Shalahuddin to "escape" from a variety of other student organizations. In the context Jama'ah Shalahuddin, multicultural education could be perceived as an alternative offer of pedagogic practices that leverage the diversity of disciplines.

Keywords: *Radicalism, multicultural, Jamaah Shalahuddin of UGM university mosque*

A. INTRODUCTION

The developments in the after math of the events of 9/11 brought all Islamic educational institutions into the spotlight.¹ In Indonesia, attention directs to to Salafi boarders.² The incident which started from some groups of men wore long flowing robe, calf-length trousers, turban and long beard, also niqab women, strength the attention around.³ The incident of arrested Abu Bakar Ba'Asir with his Ngruki boarders, and the emergence of Ja'far Umar Thalib, as if convinced the world as their correct accusation. Since that time, the spotlight to salafi boarders becomes prominent.

But, the international spotlight lately has refuted by the arrest of terrorists who were not in salafi background, but rather from public school and even university which they are inclusive and multicultural in fact.⁴

This research is focused on Jama'ah Shalahudin from public university, Gadjah Mada University⁵. The fall of the option is based from the reality that Jama'ah shalahudin in UGM university mosque emerged as militant Islam group which is the most phenomenal that shakes the plural society because of the persistence of members to be "martyr" for God. Then, the enchantment of Jama'ah Shalahuddin is on the fact that they can not be separated with Salafi propaganda movement. Focusing on Jama'ah Shalahuddin in UGM university mosque, this research explores

- 1 Noorhaidi Hasan, "*The Salafi Madrasas of Indonesia*" dalam Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand & Martin van Bruinessen (eds.), "*The Madrasa in Asia, Political Activism and Transnational Linkages, e-book*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press), hal. 249
- 2 Martin Van Bruinessen, (1995), *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tareqat*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), hal 19
- 3 Noorhaidi Hasan, *Laskar Jihad; Islam, Militansi, Pencarian Identitas di Indonesia Pasca Orde-Baru*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2008), hlm. 31
- 4 Ibid., hml. 233-234
- 5 Setna Krisna Sumargo, *Noordin M. Top dan Co. The Untold Stories*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2009), hlm. 63-67; bandingkan dengan pengakuan mantan aktivis NII, Dani Dwi Permana, alumni SMA Swasta di Jakarta, dalam Baban Sarbana, *Blogger Ngomong Politik*, (Jakarta: Elex Media Komputindo, 2010), hlm. 38-39

the history of an Islam community and the process on how it is built in around multicultural society. Therefore, this research focus is in mainstreaming multicultural studies in de-radicalization of religion effort for public schools.

Explicitly, this research wants to answer the problem: *first*, what are the factors which indicating of the spread of religion radicalism movement, both in public schools and public universities? *Second*, how is the process of the spread of radicalism religion movement, both in public schools and public universities? *Third*, how to mainstream multicultural studies for radical islamic movement?

B. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research uses sociology approach based in transformative sociology theory. This research unites theoretic and empiric research. The data sources is collected by library and field research. Library research is done by researching books and dissertation, thesis, graduating paper, journal and others. Beside that, the library research is also done by electronic exploration (internet) and mass media (newspapers and magazines) which are related to the research subject. The second primary research is field research. Field research is done in Jama'ah Shalahuddin Gadjah Mada university mosque in Yogyakarta. This subject is chosen because it is reputed as "prominent circle" of development in Islamic university communities in Yogyakarta. This prominent circle is known by the same Jama'ah Shalahuddin movement actors although they are in different mosque locations.

This research is qualitative research which has some characteristics, *first*, it is in scientific field, *second*, researcher is instrument or primary data collector, *and third*, data is analyzed in inductive way.⁶ According to *Yin*, research focus will answer more about "how".⁷ Philosophically, as with data characteristics, collecting technique and research analysis in this research point to *post-positivisme-phenomenology*.⁸ This qualitative approach choice is based on this study characteristics that the aim and data are convinced to be more relevant with qualitative approach.⁹ Validity and data reliability which are obtained from this research is fundamentally will rely on observation of vary sides who participate in managing the community and/or activities in Jama'ah Shalahuddin.

Collecting data techniques are done in four ways: (a) participant observation become active participants in the Jama'ah Shalahuddin forum for 1 month. (b) interviewing the board and prominent figures of other Jama'ah Shalahuddin, (c) collecting documents, organization structure, bulletin, tabloid, and audio record in every recitation.¹⁰

C. RESEARCH SETTING

Geographically, Jama'ah Shalahudin is now located in UGM university mosque and managed in different management than Lembaga Dakwah kampus (LDK) Jama'ah Shalahuddin. For that reason, duty and role are also different. Under its own management, UGM university mosque only manages external mosque parts, which are: manage and keep the mosque clean, both inside mosque, outside mosque, and wudhu place; organizing mosque management; keep infrastructure of university mosque in complete; also providing glasses for people in the mosque.¹¹ While LDK

6 Lexy J. Moleong, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 1989), hlm. 3.

7 Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research, Desighn And Methods*, Terj. M. Jaudzi Mudzakir (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada 1996), hlm. 18.

8 Noeng Muhadjir, *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif* (ed. IV) (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset, 2002), hlm. 17.

9 Lincoln & E. G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (California: Sage Publications Inc. 19985) hlm. 39.

10 R.C Bogdan & S.K. Biklen, *Qualitative Research Education; An Introduction to Theory and Method* (London: Allin dan Bacon, Inc., 1982), hlm. 145.

11 Interview with Muhammad Ali on Tuesday September 24th 2013, at 14.15 WIB in masjid kampus UGM.

Salahuddin al Ayyubi is someone who "can communicate with all people on each side, and that's why we use his name". Although not all Shalahuddin activists agreed with this opinion, when they are asked if the name was chosen based on certain considerations such as "reproduce" the spirit of the Crusades—which to some extent imply the anti-Christian feeling. On the one hand, it would be hard to ignore isolated statement that the choice of name reflects Shalahuddin's willingness to inherit the spirit. But on the other hand, there is no evidence to corroborate this speculation. Since Jamaat Shalahuddin begins with Maulud celebration, researchers will also speculate that the reason the committee chose the name because *Shalahuddin al-Ayyubi* was the first person to start Maulud tradition. He did it for the purpose of maintaining and restoring the spirit of the Muslims during the Crusades.

D. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

In short definition, multiculturalism means "cultural diversity".¹³ There are three terms that are often used interchangeably to describe the diversity of the communities that comprise both the diversity of religion, race, language, and culture, which are the plurality, diversity, and multicultural.¹⁴ According to Bhikhu Parekh, in the 1970s, *multiculturalism* appears first in Canada and Australia, then in the United States, Britain, Germany, and others. After that, the discourse of *multiculturalism* is growing very rapidly. After three decades since it was rolled out, *multiculturalism* has experienced two major waves, which are, *the first*, multiculturalism in the context of the struggle for the recognition of different cultures. The principle of the need for recognition is the main characteristic of this first wave; *second*, *multiculturalism* that legitimize the cultural diversity and undergo several stages, including:¹⁵

The need for recognition, involving a variety of other academic disciplines, liberation against *imperialism* and *colonialism*, liberation movements of identity groups and indigenous peoples, *post-colonialism*, *globalization*, *post-nationalism*, *post-modernism* and *post-structuralism* that deconstructs establishment structure in the society.¹⁶ This second wave of *multiculturalism*, according to Steve Fuller, it raises three challenges that must be considered as well to watch out for, namely, *the first* is the existence of western hegemony in the politic, economy, and science. Community, especially developing countries, need to study the causes of western hegemony in these fields and take the necessary steps to overcome, so they can be aligned with the western world. *The second* is culture essentialization.¹⁷

Radical Islamic movement and its meaning, *etymologically*, radicalism comes from the word *radix*, meaning root. A radical is someone who wants to change the existing situation by breaking it through the roots. A radical is a person who likes quick and fundamental changes in laws and methods of government. So, radicalism can be understood as an attitude that craving for change of the status quo by way of totally destroying the status quo, and to replace it with something new which is different. Normally, the way that is used is revolutionary way, that means turning over the

- 13 Scott Lash dan Mike Featherstone (ed.), *Recognition And Difference: Politics, Identity, Multiculture* (London: Sage Publication, 2002), hlm. 2-6.
- 14 Agus Moh. Najib, Ahmad Baidowi dan Zzainudin, "Multikulturalisme dalam pendidikan islam (studi terhadap uin yogyakarta, iain banjarmasin, dan stain surakarta)", dalam <http://idb3.wikispaces.com>.
- 15 H.A.R. Tilaar, *Multikulturalisme; Tantangan-Tantangan Global Masa Depan dalam Transformasi Pendidikan Nasional* (Jakarta: Grasindo, 2002), hlm. 83.
- 16 Gregory Jay. "Critical Contexts For Multiculturalism" dalam <http://www.uwm.edu/~gjay/Multicult/contextsmulticult.htm>, download 2 Desember 2005
- 17 Steve Fuller, "Social Epistemology as a Critical Philosophy of Multiculturalism" dalam Ram Mahalingan dan Cameron McCarthy, *Multiculturalism Curriculum*, 2002. hlm. 15-36 sebagaimana dikutip oleh H.A.R. Tilaar, *op. cit.*, hlm. 84-85.

existing values drastically through violence (*violenceri*) and extreme actions.¹⁸

Sociologically, radicalism often arises when there are many contradictions in the existing social order. When people who experience anatomy or gap between values and experiences, and people is no longer having the power to overcome that gap, then radicalism can emerge into the surface. In other words, there will be a process of radicalism in layers of society, especially among young people. However, there is no consensus for the right term of Islamic radical name to describe the radical Islamic movement. The most common term is "*fundamentalism*", in order to show the attitude of Muslims who reject the existing social order and try to apply a separate order model based on religious values.¹⁹

However, the term is too much influenced by the Christian tradition refers to the movement of Protestant fundamentalism. To avoid religious bias, some analysts use certain terms, that are sociological and political as "radical, extreme, religious nationalists, or simply by Islamists". The difficulty of applying this term is also arises from the fact that members of religious radicalism movement have never called himself as fundamentalist. Arab mass media are usually call them radical or extreme while *Hasan al-Banna* himself as the founder of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, one of the religious organizations known as radical, calling themselves *Salafiyah* which means it is the former. This term is technically indicate an attempt to follow the religious behavior based in al - Qur'an, Sunnah and the practice of previous pious people.²⁰ Islamic movements are oriented on law enforcement as Islamic Fundamentalists, as indicated by *Ikhwanul Muslimin*, *Hizbuttahrir*, *Jamaah Islamiyah*, dan *Islamic Salvation Front (FIS)*.²¹

Multiculturalism of Jama'ah Salahuddin and its development. In the context of Jama'ah Salahuddin, mult i culturalism can be understood as a " middle way " of various campus organizations, especially when they were HMI and GMNI at the time. In other words, one of the goals of Jama'ah Salahuddin is to find a safe, neutral way to preach in overcoming the classic rivalry between HMI and GMNI which are mentioned above. It has also dedicated to be an independent preach organization in the university, not connected with the student extra organization. Or, as reformulated in *Boulevard*; commemorating the 20th anniversary of Salahuddin, the organization aims to create a form of propaganda that is free from the influence of practical politics. The focus of propaganda is the Muslim communities in and around University of Gadjah Mada. They never try to convert non-Muslims. One former chairman Salahuddin told the researchers: "we do not want anyone to change their beliefs to Islam. Our goal is to sharpen muslim commitment to Islam". In fact, researcher has never heard of a case where the "conversion to Islam" happened to Salahuddin.²²

Salahuddin claimed that all Muslim students at UGM with any culture are its members, and all the programs that are provided to them as a propaganda media. Organization divides the target of propaganda into four categories:²³ 1) external groups, the people who do not understand and are not interested in Islam. It is the largest group and propaganda aiming to get them interested and then understand Islam by doing book fairs or popular Islamic studies. 2) Those who are interested, but according to Salahuddin activists, they did not really understand and not committed to Islam. Da'wah in this group is aiming to build their commitment to Islam. This is done by giving lessons

18 M. Amin Rais, *Cakrawala Islam*, Bandung: Mizan, 1987 Cet. 1, hal. 136-137.

19 Tarmizi Taher, *An atomi Radikalisme Keagamaan Dalam Sejarah Islam*, dalam Bahtiar Efendy dan Hendro Prasetyo, *Radikalisme Agama*, (Jakarta: PPIM-IAIN, 1998), hal. 6.

20 Martin E. Marty dan R. Scott Appleox (ed): *Fundamentalism and the State, Remaking Politics, Economics and Militance*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993, h. 153.

21 Olevor Ropy, *The Failure of Political Islam*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1994, h. 2.

22 Interview with....

23 Interview with JS ex-chairman 2013

and discussions of Islam, especially during Islamic big days. 3) Those who understand, interested and committed to Islam, but has not been involved in da'wah, by trying to deepen the commitment of Muslims through religious activities. It is a medium-leveled group. The propaganda method used for them is trying to maintain or restore their commitment to Islam by doing some khalaqah (intensive discussions) on Islamic issues. It aims to encourage them to engage in missionary activity. 4) Those who engage in missionary activity. This is the core group, and a propaganda activators itself. In defining the obligations of those who understand Islam to engage in propaganda efforts, the Salahuddin rule quotes a verse of the Qur'an, which means: "And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to [all that is] good, enjoying what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful." (*Ali Imran: 104*).

Thus, the real Saladin Jama'ah is very multicultural, not just having background from many disciplines (Medicine, Geography, Physics-Chemistry, Engineering [Nuclear, Architecture, Engineering, Industrial], etc., but also a variety of religious knowledge, ranging from the unreligious one up to the boarders. Salahuddin Jama'ah also seems to be pragmatic in becoming a "peacemaker" of the various university camp, especially HMI and GMNI. Naturally, one of the consequences to be borne by the Salahuddin Jama'ah is receiving both while rejecting both, in terms of campus practical politics.

Another element of multiculturalism is Jama'ah Shalahuddin members consists of academics, musicians, unreligious people and boarders. Most of academics who concerned about Salahuddin Jama'ah are UGM lecturers who have Islamic insights provide and can scientifically speech or speeches about Islam. Musicians of Jama'ah Shalahuddin members are dominated by campus extra organization in collaboration with off-campus traditional arts, such as puppet or the like and often staged at UGM. Unreligious people of Jama'ah Shalahuddin members dominate almost all members, both academics and the arts/musicians. There is also boarders who do not stay last long in Jama'ah Shalahuddin membership because it is seemed "less Islamic" for them.

Organizationally, multiculturalism elements in Shalahudddin can be seen from the personnel of vary socio-religious organizations, such as: **Chairman:** Efri Dian Kusuma (Geography 2010); **Secretariat General:** Muhammad Ali (Engineering Physics 2010); **Executive Secretary:** Khozainu Rohmah (West Asian Literature 2011); **Treasurer:** Ardani Latifah Hanum (Nursing 2010); **Sharia Entrepreneurship:** Nanang Sunardi (Management 2010); **Directorate of National Propagation:** Wening Mulat Asih (Chemistry 2010); **Special Bureau Regeneration:** Irfan Islami (Agriculture 2010), Mukhtar Witono (Accounting 2010); **Ervira Rushdiana** (Computer and Information Systems 2010), **Minuk Kusmiati** (Biology 2010), **Annisa Prita Rizkiana** (Physics 2010); **BP Faculty Propagation Institute:** Muhammad Lutfi Firdaus (Psychology 2010); **Head of the Department of Services and Syiar:** Sri Wahyuni (Agricultural Engineering 2010); **Social:** Riri Dwika A (Anthropology 2011); **Femininity:** Lisa Nur Aeni (Forestry 2011); **Strategic Studies:** Fahmi Restu Fuadillah (Social Development and Welfare 2010); **Media Center:** Agus Aminanto (Electronics and Instrumentation 2010); **External:** Hardy Santoso S (Electronics and Instrumentation 2011).

Jama'ah Shalahuddin radicalism and its development. Seeing from its multiculturalism content, Salahuddin Jama'ah should not have any element of radicalism in religion. However, if it is examined more in-depth studies of the content of it, especially studies in the last 10 years, the radical element is noticeably in the discourse of the scriptualist, textualist, and fundamentalist.²⁴ As an example, in a study on Thursday-Sunday afternoon, an ustadz who fill the session said that Islam is the truest religion...²⁵ At first glance, there is nothing wrong with the statement. But

24 Governance structure document of Jama'ah Shalahuddin 2013

25 Recitation review of Jama'ah Shalahuddin on Thursday and Sunday afternoon at 15.30 until 17.30

understanding that emerged among Jama'ah Shalahuddin is considering another religion outside of Islam is wrong. This implicit assumption among the Jama'ah Shalahuddin became the seeds of radical understanding. While this is still a thought or understanding and not in action, but it is quite alarming.

This Jama'ah Shalahuddin view is because the majority of Jama'ah Shalahuddin is less religious people who then suddenly experience a "resurrection faith" and become the new boarders who studying Islam intensively with the spirit of Islam. But unfortunately, Jama'ah Shalahuddin did not examine Islam with enough scientific device the scientific device except to the extent "recitation"—differ it with study—that are popular. It can be seen clearly on the Ustadz who give tausiyah or preachers in studies Salahuddin Jama'ah. Most of them in fact do not have background of depth Islamic studies, but rather the background of general sciences, such as medicine, Physics, Chemistry, Geography, and so on. As an example, in a study on Sunday afternoon, speaker who filled Jama'ah Shalahuddin was a student majoring in Geography.²⁶

Jama'ah Shalahuddin in this condition has implications for the quality of the result in Islamic studies. Views on substantial matters in Islam are only sourced from secondary holy book that is popularly studied. For example, the study was taken from the book of *Riyadush Sholohin* translations delivered by an academic who have less competence in it. Of course this way may not actually called "studies", but merely "recitation". Recitation generally examines only textual because the writer does not use related scientific device, such as *Ulumul Quran*, *Hadith Ma'anil*, *Ushul Fiqh*, and other related sciences, as well as its correlation with the actual phenomena present. As a result, the way of Salahuddin Jama'ah study did not arrive at meaningful substance of Islam but limited to textual messages which seem to be doctrinal-theological.

Based on the study of radicalism in the body of Jama'ah Shalahuddin above, it can be concluded that the Jama'ah Shalahuddin conceptually is very radical, but socially, is very plural. It seem a contradiction, but it seems this is the way Jama'ah Shalahuddin chose to "save themselves" from various other student organizations.

Mainstreaming of multicultural education for Radical Islamic Movement. In the context of Jama'ah Shalahuddin, multicultural education can be interpreted as an offer of alternative pedagogical practices that take advantage of the diversity of disciplines (Medicine, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, etc.), class (HMI and GMNI), ethnicity (tribal UGM students who come from various regions), religion, and so forth. In other words, this multicultural education is investigated from Jama'ah Shalahuddin religious practices which—as mentioned above, conceptually tend to be radical but in social practices tend to be plural.

Thus, the meaning of mainstreaming multicultural education for radical Islamic movement is mainstreaming multiculturalism (respect for differences) without diluting the identity of the characteristics of each, including radical ideas though. In this case, the interesting quote of interview with Shalahuddin Jama'ah is stated here: "It is not like that, small samples of student extra organization in UGM are 4; joint secretary of sports, arts, mapalaska, cooperation, spirituality like Jama'ah Shaluhiddin, Mass Catholic, Christian, Hindu Dharma, and Buddha. From this multicultural situation, which we understand it, is takken progrented. the condition is already like that, because multicultural in Jama'ah Shalahuddin coming from a wide range of motion instead of creating a wide range of motion. The reality is that there is already an existing movement before, and some of them want to get in Jama'ah Shalahuddin, so we accepted them. So, how do we create a system, when there is always argument fight, they could had always understanding the difference

26 Recitation document of Jama'ah Shalahuddin on Sunday afternoon, September 22nd 2013.

each time. Because the implied vision of Jama'ah Shalahuddin in the field of regeneration is makes people understand their choices. So when Jama'ah Shalahuddin cadres come out, they will choose what they want to be later, and not thinking about Jama'ah Shalahuddin own agendas that affect change in their minds. That is to understand the difference of thoughts that should be based on a mature ideology. Not that he only knows this thought, but indifferent toward other thoughts."²⁷

Based on quotes above, it is clear that the praxis reality of Jama'ah Shalahuddin is promoting multiculturalism. They also recognize that in the process there is argument fight, but it is not an obstacle to unite. That is, the praxis of social life in Shalahuddin prioritizes or mainstreams multiculturalism. But in conceptually thought, they survive and fight for his opinion in the midst of differences. In other words, they can live and thrive in multicultural society, but in this society, they have a radical thought in their respective fields. This seems contradiction, but Jama'ah Shalahuddin deliberately chose that path with reason 'for safety' of various conflicts so that they can make peace in the surrounding contradiction.

E. CLOSING

Factors that affect the spread of radical Islamic movements from Islamic traditional boarding schools and salafi schools to public schools and universities are: *first*, the background students come from less religious. *Second*, experiencing sudden revival of faith and studying Islam intensively since they become student. *Third*, reciting Islam from the popular recitation forums lead by of ustadzz who are less competent in Islamic studies. *Fourth*, an attitude of people that tends to seek a safe zone without any effort for seeking a deeper understanding of the misunderstanding conflict.

The process of spreading radical Islamic movement starts from the pulpits of popular lectures followed by most less religious people and accept Islam as a simplification. For example, the concept of Jihad is supposed to be served by ustadzz who are less knowledgeable about religion, so it causes in a misconception. Those who understand Islam in a "false concept" then build up the communities that led to the potential for radical movements.

Based on the review of the Jama'ah Shalahuddin, mainstreaming multicultural education for radical Islamic movements can be done by promoting respect for diversity without distorting the respective radical thought.

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²⁷ Interview with Muhammad Arwyn (physics engineering, 2008), ex-Secretary General of Jama'ah Shalahuddin, 2008 (Sunday, September 29th 2013).

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