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Youth, Mosques and Islamic Activism: Islamic Source Books in University-based *Halaqah*[1]

Hilman Latief*

Abstract

This paper discusses the emergent religious enthusiasm among young Indonesian Muslims, with special reference to the university-based *halaqah* activists in Yogyakarta. *Halaqah* is a growing phenomenon of socio-religious expression amongst university students. Within the Islamic movement, it has had a new and powerful influence on Indonesian Muslim youth cultures. It provides a system within which young Muslims seeking a new personal or collective social identity can cultivate their religious orientation and thirst for knowledge. The regional spread of *halaqah* seems to correspond to the rapidly increasing number of publishers producing the *halaqah* reference materials that the movement desires, and making them readily available in the market. This paper aims to provide a comprehensive account of the religious, political, and cultural orientations of *halaqah* members by examining the reading materials circulating within *halaqah*. It argues that campus-based mosques are controlled by two kinds of *halaqah*, namely Salafi *halaqah* and Tarbiyah *halaqah*. The findings also show that Indonesia's two mainstream moderate-traditionalist and reformist Islamic movements, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, are less favored by university-based *halaqah* activists. This is partly because, although both these Indonesian mass organizations are faith-based civil society associations, they both overlook campus-based mosques in their main *da'wa* agenda.

Keywords

Youth, *halaqah*, Tarbiyah, Islamic activism, and student organizations.

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Introduction

Increasing intellectual transformation in the Muslim world has accelerated the spread of social, religious and political ideologies. These have impacted the dynamics of religious life in Muslim societies. Indonesia, in particular, has witnessed such an intellectual transformation over recent decades, as evidenced by the increasing production of Islamic literature and the exchange of knowledge with Muslim groups around the globe. This has been instrumental in reshaping Muslims' religious and political behavior, their reception of modernity and perceptions of the relationships between religion and the State, their attitudes towards the public sphere, and their imagination of the global Islamic community. Living on the periphery of the Muslim World (however we define it), Indonesia Muslims frequently refer to the works of Islamic scholars in order to grasp and practice authentic Islam. To a significant extent, *fatāwa* (religious and legal opinions) issued by Islamic scholars from the Middle East have been influential in shaping the domestic religious and political attitudes of Indonesian Muslims.[2]

The influence of Islamic developments in the Middle East on Indonesian Islam can also be seen in the emergence of the Islamic reformist movement in the early 20th century. The works by Abduh and renowned Islamic scholars, such as Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Rashid Rida, were circulated among the advocates of Islamic modernism in Indonesia. There include Ahmad Dahlan who founded Muhammadiyah, and Shaikh Ahmad Shurkati who established Al-Irshad al-Islamiyyah in 1912 and 1914 respectively. The notion of Islamic revivalism arose in the same way. Following the Iranian Revolution at the end 1970s, the Islamic Brotherhood movement in Egypt, which had existed since the mid 1930s, began to gain ground among Indonesian Muslims. This can be seen by the wide-spread circulation of literature written by leading Muslim thinkers and ideologists, including Ali Shari'ati, Murtada Mutahhari and Imam Khomeini from Iran, and the Egyptians Sayyid Qutub and Hassan al-Banna. Apart from this, the burgeoning puritan Islamic Salafism movement in Southeast Asia, strongly supported by the Saudi government for the last four decades, has ideologically and culturally challenged not only the growth of both the Iranian and Egyptian-based Islamic revolutionary movements, but also Indonesian Muslim groups. In a nutshell, this rapid intellectual transformation can be attributed to the emergence of Muslim societies in the public sphere, as signified by the availability of many easily accessible publications attracting readers from various segments of society, from well-trained Islamic scholars to politically–oriented Islamists.

For dedicated Muslims, questions of 'authenticity' increasingly became a key issue. Despite the fact that some Islamic groups have tried to preserve the purity of Islamic creeds by referring directly to the Qur'an and Sunna, others seem to take another - but not always opposite - way by studying either medieval or modern treatises by Islamic scholars as a means

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of understanding the fundamental sources of Islam, the Qur'an and Sunna (prophetic tradition), and the practice of 'true Islam'. For some, being a good Muslim is not simply a matter of translating Islamic doctrines into practice, but also of appreciating the works of *ulama* who are held to have the required skills and knowledge, and exceptional spiritual capacity in interpreting the messages of Islam, analyzing scriptures, and "learning how to derive rules of behavior from them".[3] For others, having suitable Islamic source books is not sufficient. Further effort is required to steer Islam back onto the right track and call Muslims to the right path. This requires developing a 'tranquil community of learning' in which people can foster their religious identity, share their religious experience with fellow Muslims, and be guided by trustworthy Islamic creeds.

Youth, *Halaqah* and Campus-based Mosques

Since the collapse of the New Order regime and the rise of Reformasi Era more than a decade ago, Indonesia's socio-political landscape has become increasingly democratic. In this environment Islamic activism has entered a new phase, and found space to grow more rapidly than ever before. This is in part attributable to the opening of a public sphere accessible to Muslim groups, in which they can stand on the national stage and be actively involved in Indonesia's social and political processes. Their public appearances have taken the form of activities ranging from conducting religious gatherings and charity-based social activities, to establishing solidarity groups and political parties. The post-New Order process of democratization has also reshaped relationships between the State and Islam. This is again indicated by the pervasive public appearance of Islamist associations which had to conceal themselves from public view in the past, due to New Order's military-based repressive policy toward Islamists. In the rapidly changing socio-political atmosphere of the era of political transition in Indonesia, mosques retained and even expanded their functions. Apart from being places of worship, they became ideal venues for mobilizing resources, exchanging information and transferring knowledge among Muslim communities. This particularly applies to the campus-based mosques existing in higher education institutions since the 1970s, which represent a religious symbol guiding university students to nurture their religious knowledge, spirituality and political interests.

After Indonesia achieved independence in 1945, the number of higher education institutions increased dramatically. The few higher education institutions that existed before Independence included Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB) and Universitas Indonesia (UI), originating from Dutch Technische Hoogeschool and Recht Hoogeschool respectively, and Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII), established on 8 July 1945, just 40 days before the declaration of Indonesia's Independence. UII was founded by Muslim political leaders who included Moh. Natsir, Prof. KHA. Muzakkir, Moh. Roem, and KH. Wachid Hasyim. Indonesia then began witnessing a

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proliferation of higher education institutions, sponsored either by the State, privately, or by religiously-inspired and secular-based associations. Today there are over a thousand higher education institutions operating throughout Indonesia. State-sponsored universities are mainly non-religiously affiliated, with the exception of those universities under supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. However, since the 1980s, the establishment of mosques in non-religiously affiliated state universities (*Universitas Negeri*) has become prevalent. The primary objective of establishing mosques at State-sponsored universities is to fulfill Muslims' religious and social needs, and is a consequence of the increasingly closer relation between Islam and the State. Government efforts to sponsor the establishment of mosques within State-sponsored universities continue today. Muslim students, administrative staff and lecturers no longer have to leave the campus to attend Friday prayers or to perform their own daily prayers.

In tandem with this development, Muslim communities have found a new environment in which to intensify their religious, social and political activities through campus-based mosques. As an 'open area', campus–based mosques have increasingly become contested venues, where groups of university students of different religious, social and political stands compete for control. This in turn and unavoidably leads to rivalry between them. Campus-based mosques also function as centers of intellectual, social, political and even economic transformation among Muslim university students. It is very common for students to hold discussions or meetings and make preparations for mass-demonstrations at mosques. Likewise, mosques have often been the starting points of demonstrations and protest marches by Islamist associations to voice their concerns and to protest against events detrimental to Muslims, such as the war between Palestinians and Israelis. In sum, activities within mosques - to borrow Wictorowicz's expression - can provide "opportunities for organizing contention".[4]

Halaqah is a popular generic term used to signify religious activities organized by Muslim student groups, regardless of their religious orientation, who use mosques or *mushalla* (a place of worship smaller than mosque) as their center of activities. *Halaqah* may be translated as 'circle of knowledge' or 'community of learning'. It has been claimed that the widespread *halaqah* system in Indonesia is in part a result of (and influenced by) the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*), an Islamic political movement founded by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt in 1928. In recent times, the *halaqah* system is closely associated with and has been popularized by the Tarbiyyah movement, whose activities have much to do with the use of mosques as venues for 'reIslamization'. Moreover, *halaqah* signifies three aspects of the learning process: 1) *ta'rīf*, meaning preamble, (re)introducing Muslims, especially potential Muslim activists, to Islam; 2) *takwīn* implying the process of creating and strengthening personal and communal Islamic identities within the group; and 3) *tanfīẓ* signifying efforts to put Islamic doctrines (*Shari'a*) into action. The current widespread involvement of uni-

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versity students in campus-based mosques, notably students of 'secular' education institutions, is apparent in numerous big cities, and provides mounting evidence for a new religious enthusiasm among Muslim youth. At the same time this has provided an environment for New Religious Movements (NRMs) to develop.

Observers such as Noorhaidi Hassan[5], Yon Mahmudi[6], Elizabeth Collins[7], Robert Hefner[8] and Richard Kraince[9] have all proposed that student movements represented by Islamic Campus Preaching Organizations (*Lembaga Dakwah Kampus*/LDK) have been deeply involved with social and political activism for the last two decades. This activism has been transformed from a purely student movement, becoming a "collective client" of Islamic political parties.[10] In order to discern the process of intellectual transformation and the dynamics of Islamic activism among university students active in campus preaching organizations or *halaqah* groups, this article examines the types of Islamic source books being utilized in *halaqah*. It analyzes the way in which *halaqah* activists seek reading materials which enhance their religious understanding, develop their narrative of the ideal Islamic community (*umma*), and publicly broadcast their rhetoric of the future of Islam in the modern nation-state.

It is worth emphasizing that campus-based mosques provide a bridge between universities as modern academic institutions, and *pesantren*, or 'traditional' educational institutions. Many Islamic teachers (*ustādh*) from *pesantren* regularly give sermons and lectures on Islam at campus-based mosques. It is safe to say that campus-based mosques resemble *pesantren,* in that both provide opportunities for students to intensify their studies of Islam. Moreover, without diminishing the dominant role of Islamic teachers (*ustādh*) in nurturing students' spiritual and intellectual needs through courses of study in *halaqah* and providing reading materials, students also exercise their personal preferences by reading various Islamic reading materials available in the market. The nature of the reading material selected by *halaqah* activists to enrich the students' knowledge of Islam may be influential in making them more critical, moderate, or conservative in their religious views and in expressing their personal or collective attitudes.[11] What a sort of Islamic textual references (classical, modern, and contemporary) do *halaqah* activists commonly use? What kinds of Islamic scholars (*ulama*, including native and foreign preachers and writers) are attractive to *halaqah* activists, and why? This article will conclude with a discussion of the socio-religious or political affinities between student movements inside campuses, and other socio-political groups outside universities.

This piece is based on my research in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta is widely recognized as a multicultural city in which various ethnic groups and religious organizations exist with few locally imposed government constraints. For the past three decades various Islamic groups, including the conservative Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and Salafi pesantren, have experienced rapid growth, to the extent that they

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have emerged as influential religious streams in both urban and rural areas. Yogyakarta can also be labeled a 'student city' (*kota pelajar*) because its State, private, secular and religious universities number more than one hundred. Interestingly, given this diversity, acts of violence involving Islamic groups rarely if ever occur in Yogyakarta, unlike Jakarta or Surakarta.

The source materials used by *halaqah* activists or the Tarbiyah movement were collected during my fieldwork and observations at five campus-based mosques in Yogyakarta, from August-November 2007. These were: the Gadjah Mada University (UGM) campus mosque, the Mujahidin mosque at Yogyakarta State University (UNY), the al-Itqan mosque at Muhammadiyah University of Yogyakarta (UMY), the Ulil Albab mosque at Indonesia Islamic University (UII), and the Al-Jami'ah mosque at the State Islamic University of Yogyakarta (UIN). I attended sermons and religious gatherings at campus-based mosques, and interviewed *halaqah* activists, student leaders and chairs of the mosque committees (*takmir masjid*). My research assistants were *halaqah* activists who helped me to distribute and collect questionnaires during the course of *pengajian* (sermons) at *halaqah*. The questionnaires were distributed randomly to 20 students in each *halaqah*. Thus one hundred *halaqah* activists from five universities, ranging in age from 18 to 23, gave their personal opinions by filling in questionnaires about the reading materials suitable for their personal and collective religious preferences.

Two kinds of *halaqah* will be discussed. The first is the 'community of learning' type, organized by mosque committees or student organizations that are officially recognized and partly funded by universities (*organisasi intra-kampus*). Not all students attending *halaqah* organized by LDK (campus preaching organizations) at a campus-based mosque come from that or an affiliated university. For example, regular religious gatherings conducted on the UGM campus can be attended by students from other universities such as UNY, UMY, UII or UIN. It seems that LDK activists have established networks among themselves. This can be seen by their regular national meeting, attended by LDK activists from all parts of Indonesia. LDK activities have even attempted to standardize *da'wa* mechanisms, and have produced practical guidance for managing campus preaching organizations.[12] In organizing *halaqah*, LDK activists usually invite off-campus Islamic teachers, notable from pesantren. Other Islamic teachers invited have various Islamic studies educational backgrounds, but most were trained in Middle Eastern universities such as Darul 'Ulum of Madina, or Azhar University of Cairo.

The second type of *halaqah* conducts *da'wa* activities using the form of '*usrah*', or the 'membership' of a 'family' system. Using a patron-client interaction model, there is a closer bond between teachers (*murabbī*) and students (*mutarabbī*). They know each other personally, and through this relationship the Islamic teachers are able to intensify their supervision of the students. Each *usrah* may consist of five to ten students, led by *murabbī*. These *usrah* have multiple functions, such as to solidify commitment of

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group members; to mobilize solidarity, to disseminate information, to strengthen collective norms, to internalize codes of conduct and values and to provide a forum for sharing experiences among members.[13] By applying the principles of *shura* and collective action (*'amal jamā'i*) and by avoiding individualistic attitudes (*infirādiya*), what may be called 'reciprocal relations' develop between *murabbī* and *mutarabbī*.[14] *Usrah* also uses a "peer tutoring system", by which senior or junior students assist sophomore or freshmen students to learn Islam.[15] The teaching-learning process within *usrah* is conducted in a very intimate but relaxed atmosphere, and thus the process of transfer of knowledge and values can be achieved in a more effective way. This is in contrast to the practices of a large *halaqah*, which is often characterized by very formal lectures from Islamic teachers.

On Being a New *Santri*: Bringing Islamic Revivalism to Campus

The rise of neo-Islamic revivalism or Muslim student movements in Indonesia is certainly not a subject in its infancy. It has been much observed by scholars. However how the ideology of Islamic revivalism has penetrated the 'academic domain' of university-based communities, and why it has had such a great impact on Muslim youth activism in contemporary Indonesia, are questions still in search of answers. Why now, but not before? One should not disregard the fact that campus-based *da'wa* have taken place since the 1970s. A number of Islamic student organizations, including *halaqah* and the Tarbiyah movements, played a pivotal role in the process of campus Islamization, and in the transmission of Islamic revivalism into the cultural and political realms of youth. For example, the rise of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), a leading Islamic party, cannot be detached from the "campus Islam" conducted mainly at campus-based mosques.[16] According Martin van Bruinessen, cultural and ideological paradigm shifts have occurred among *halaqah* activists. He suggests that, "liberal Islam was the dominant trend among committed Muslims in the student movement throughout the 1970s, but in the 1980s more radical trends appeared".[17] This can also be seen after the Reformasi era, when campus-based mosques were very much characterized by two contrasting student groups: the 'apolitical' purist Salafi group and the politically-oriented Tarbiyah movement.

As noted above, the Islamic teachers who regularly give sermons at *halaqah* often come from pesantren. A pesantren is "an institution offering an intense form of Islamic education, and is the most important type of school in training young Muslims in Islamic sciences".[18] To borrow Federspiel's expression, learning at a pesantren can be regarded as entailing "a master-disciple relationship, frequently with pedigrees traced to the prophet himself".[19] In Yogyakarta, a number of pesantrens have become magnets for students, and some university students prefer staying at these pesantren rather than renting conventional dormitories. However living

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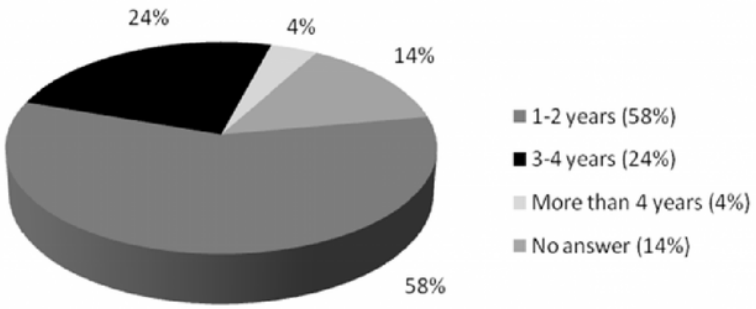
and learning about Islam in a pesantren is not an option for the majority of students, as the available space is limited. As an alternative to pesantren learning, many students learn about Islam through the *halaqah* activities offered at campus-based mosques and supported by Islamic teachers from pesantrens. The ideology of each pesantren clearly influences the nature of the Islamic source books its campus *halaqah* students are expected to read and absorb. Ideologically speaking, some pesantrens in Yogyakarta have affiliations with either traditionalist or modernist Muslim organizations, while others are affiliated with Salafi groups. When considering the transformation of religio-political ideologies at campus-based mosques, the role of Islamic teachers from pesantren and the source-books they use cannot be disregarded.

Moreover, university-based *halaqah* activism cannot be simplified into a single pattern of Islamic activism, as it is not socio-religiously or ideologically univocal but depends on the interest of the *jama'ah*. For that reason, campus-based dakwa may adjust teaching materials to suit the wide-ranging socio-spiritual needs of its participants. Students participating in the *halaqah* come from various educational backgrounds and major in different subjects. This means that the effort to be "a pious student" or new *santri* while studying at a tertiary institution can no longer be exclusively associated with graduates from Islamic High Schools (*'Aliyah*), but also with students from 'secular' High Schools (SMA) and Vocational Schools (SMK). Among the hundred student respondents, about 44 per cent were majoring in Natural Sciences, 32 per cent were studying Social Sciences, and the remaining 24 per cent were undertaking Religious Studies. The length of participation in *halaqah* differs from student to student.

Chart 1a: Period of Students' Involvement with *Halaqah*



Interestingly, nearly half of students (43 per cent) were members of more than one *halaqah*, either inside or outside their own campus. This suggests that many students have strong motivation for studying Islam. They may visit two or three different mosques or *halaqah* every week or

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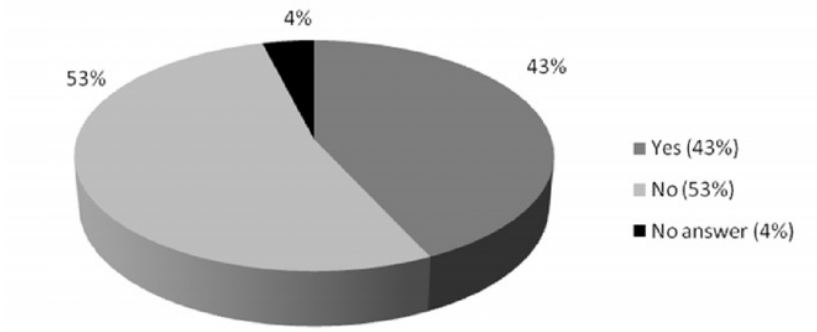
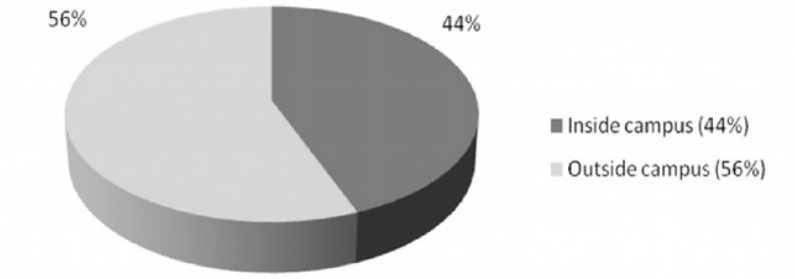
month to listen to religious sermons, and strengthen friendship and networks with other *halaqah* activists.

Chart 1b: Students Participating in More than One *Halaqah*



The "campus Islam" movement, as Bruinessen has suggested, is a symptom of "cultural conflicts", reflecting competition between supreme, noble Islamic values and the "free-values of secularism".[20] Therefore, the term "*ghazwu al-fikr*" (intellectual wars) is often heard.[21] These are much concerned with such issues as moral degradation, permissive sexual behavior, the negative impact of modernity, pornography, and hedonism among youth. There is some truth in Ira M. Lapidus' statement that "Islamic revival movements may be understood as a reaction against modernity, but more profoundly they are also an expression of modernity".[22]

Chart 2: Location of Students' *Halaqah*



Islamic gatherings at campus-based mosques initially aimed to provide a forum within which students could learn general Islamic doctrines and traditions, including Quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*), prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*), Islamic legal thought (*fiqh*), Islamic ethics (*akhlāq*), the history of prophethood (*sīra nabawiyya*) and Islamic preaching (*da'wa*). Speak-

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ing of the function of mosques for university students during the New Order Era, Fahri Hamzah, the first president of KAMMI, a campus-mosque sponsored student association, said:

> Mosque was the safest venue to discuss Islamic subjects with fewer portions of local political issues. This is simply because discussing local political issues openly was unsafe at that juncture. Therefore, student movement initiated campus-Islam preferred discussing international politics (Bosnia, Palestine, etc.) to exploring openly local politics...[23]

The teaching materials offered at *halaqah* resemble those provided at pesantren in general. In recent times, both Salafi and Tarbiyah sponsored *halaqah*, for example, have offered broad-spectrum Islamic subjects. Despite promoting 'purification' of Islamic belief and Islam *kāffa* (perfect Islam), *halaqah* sponsored by LDK have attempted "not to reproduce the traditionalist-modernist dichotomy" in Islamic expression in Indonesia.[24] In studying Islamic jurisprudence, general *fiqh* books are selected so that students can become acquainted with various Islamic schools of thought (*madhāhib al-Islām*). Nevertheless, they also campaign for the implementation of Islam kaffah (complete Islam), consistent with their endeavors to promote an Islamic State system in Indonesia. By contrast, Salafi *halaqah* at campus-based mosque remain apolitical in character, to the extent that their overriding concern is the purity of Islam.

Islamic Sources-Books: A View From Within

A number of works by prominent *ulama* are used in Salafi and Tarbiyah sponsored *halaqah*. The books frequently utilized by *halaqah* represent the three streams of Islam: 1) Salafi-puritan literature; 2) general Islamic literature and 3) ideological politically-oriented literature. I will begin my examination by giving a brief assessment to the types of books written by foreign scholars, mainly from Middle Eastern countries.

Table 1: List of Books Employed in the *Halaqah*

No	Title	Author	Subject
1	*Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* *Kitāb 'Aqīda Islāmiyya*	Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206) Imam Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328)	Islamic theology
2	*Kitāb Fiqh al-Sunna* *Bidāya al-Mujtahid*	Sayyid Sābiq (d. 2000) Ibn Rushd (d. 1198)	Comparative fiqh

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3	*Kitāb Arba'īn al-Nawāwī* *Zād al-Ma'ād fī Huā Khair al-'Ibād* *Kitāb Bulūgh al-Marām min Adilla al-Ahkām*	Imām al-Nawāwī (d. 1277) Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1349) Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalani (d. 1448)	Collections of hadith (Thematic issues)
4	*Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr* *Mukhtaṣar Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*	Ibn Kathīr	Quranic exegesis

Table 1 shows the various Arabic books utilized in *halaqah*. Their range covers theology (*'aqīda*), comparative Islamic legal thought (*fiqh*), collections of *ḥadīth* (prophetic narrations), and quranic exegesis (*tafsīr*). Islamic teachers in *halaqah* do not use these sources simultaneously. Instead, they are examined separately during the course of weekly gatherings. For example, in the first two weeks the group might study *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*, while in the third week the topic might relate to practical Islam and jurisprudence (*fiqh*). It should be noted that almost all these major Islamic textual sources used in *halaqah* were written by prominent purist 'ulama such as Syaikh (Sheik) Muhammad Ibn 'Abdul Wahhab and Ibn Taimiyya. There was no significant difference between the literature on *fiqh* used in Salafi *halaqah*, Tarbiyah *halaqah*, and even in traditional and modern pesantren.

1. Salafi-purificationist Literature

Works by the prominent Islamic theologians Syaikh Muhammad b. 'Abdul Wahhab and Ibn Taimiyya were among those frequently used by the *halaqah* observed. 'Abdul Wahhab's *Kitāb al-Tawhīd* and Ibn Taimiyya's *'Aqīda Islāmiyya*[25] promote Islamic puritanism. Their theological framework has far-reaching implications for some Muslims' inflexible attitudes towards eradicating heresies and accretions within Muslim communities. Both of these Islamic scholars are polemical in nature, combating religious beliefs considered as deviant, and eradicating religious practices considered to violate the purity of Islam.[26]

2. Common-Islamic Literature

Unlike the characteristically puritan-inclined theological thinking developed within *halaqah*, the legal thoughts offered to participants represent the diversity of Muslim expression through a wide-ranging examination of *fiqh* books or *ḥadīth* collections. Sayyid Sabiq's *Fiqh al-Sunna*, for example, claims not to give preferential treatment to any of the four *madhhab* scrutinized, despite the fact he wrote it at the request of his teacher, Hassan al-Banna, the political ideologist of Ikhwan al-Muslimin. Ibn Rushd, in his *Bidāya al-Mujtahid wa Nihāya al-Muqtaṣid*, examines issues concerning Islamic law and jurisprudence (*masāil al-aḥkām* or *masāil min al-*

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fiqh Islāmiyya) by presenting a wide diversity of scholarly opinions on particular legal issues in Islam. Thus these two books allow readers to compare the different legal opinions voiced by Islamic scholars. Furthermore, the works of Ibn Kathir, such as the *Mukhtaṣar Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr* and *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, are instrumental in the study of Quranic exegesis by *halaqah* activists. These two works provide straightforward explanations of the meaning of Quranic text that students and teachers can easily understand. Similarly, Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani's *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adilla al-Ahkām*, Imam an-Nawawi's *al-Arba'īn Al-Nawāwī* and Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, and Ibn al-Qayyim's *Zād al-Ma'ād* present general issues that the majority of Sunni Muslims may welcome, and classify hadith thematically. However, it is worth emphasizing that although the second group of books cannot be exclusively ideologically associated with Salafi groups, radical Islamic movements or Islamic political parties, the characteristics of the Islamic teachers who give lectures at *halaqah* are instrumental in determining what sort of religious framework students should follow. The topics chosen by Islamic teachers within Salafi *halaqah* are mainly "private issues," dealing primarily with *'aqīda* (theology), *fiqh* (law) and *akhlāq* (ethics), and have little relevance to with actual public issues.

3. Politically-oriented literature

Almost all books on Islamic theology, jurisprudence and hadith collections mentioned above were selected by *halaqah* coordinators or Islamic teachers (*ustadh*) who organize *halaqah* activities. Some other books written by both classical and contemporary ulama, politicians, and ideologist have caught students' attention, and been made part of their private collections or references. The widespread distribution of Islamic books (translated into Indonesian) provides students with easy access to a variety of works by prominent Muslim scholars, political activists, and revolutionary ideologists. Students involved in *halaqah* were asked the names of scholars who have influenced their religious and political views. Interestingly, the foreign authors most frequently mentioned were Yusuf al-Qardawi, Imam Hassan al-Banna, Shaikh ibn Baz, Shaikh al-Uthaimin, Sayyid Qutb, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jauziyya, Ibn Taimiyya, Aidh al-Qarni, and Fati Yakkan. If we look closer these authors, it appears that most of students prefer to read modern Muslim scholars of the 20th and 21st centuries. The two exceptions to this are ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, who lived in the 14th century. The works listed above were originally written in Arabic, but have recently been translated into Bahasa Indonesia.

Yusuf al-Qardawi is a prolific Islamic scholar whose works have been translated into many languages. He is regarded as a moderate Muslim thinker who tries to bridge Islamic tradition and the increasingly globalized world. His works discuss the Qur'an, tradition (Sunna), fiqh, and other contemporary issues. His most popular works are *Fatāwa Mu'āṣira* and *Kitāb al-Zakā*. He is one of the most respected scholars, and his works are very popular with *halaqah* activists. Above all, more students favor Qardawi's

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works than those of political ideologues such as al-Banna or Sayyid Qutb, who are ranked in the second and third position respectively.

The characteristics of works written by al-Qardawi and al-Banna and Sayyid Qardawi are quite different. While al-Qardawi's works cover wide-ranging issues, from theology and fiqh to Islamic ethics, and present rigorous erudition on major contemporary issues in the Muslim world, al-Banna's writings are mainly characterized by heroic narratives, providing the readers with notions of the Islamic movement (*ḥaraka islāmiyya*). As a founder of Ikhwan al-Muslimin in Egypt, al-Banna has "planted intellectual seeds of a socio-religious and mass-oriented movement that has played a significant role in the politics and society of the Arab Middle East and North Africa".[27] The power of his thought has also shaped the growing spirit of Islamization among Muslims, including within the *tarbiyya* movement.[28] His *Mudhākarāt al-Da'wa wa al-Dā'iya*, *Da'watuna* and *Majmū'āt al-Rasāl al-Imām al-Shahīd Ḥasan al-Banna* are well-liked works that nearly all students of *harakah*, *tarbiyya* and *halaqah* activists talk about. Likewise, Sayyid Qutb, another prominent Ikhwan al-Muslimin figure, has also inspired Tarbiyah activists, especially in conceiving the role of Islam in the modern nation-state. According to Ibrahim Abu Rabi', Qutb "does not divorce social conditions from political theory and practice"[29]. *Fī Ẓilāl al-Qur'ān* and *al-'Adāla al-Ijtimā'iyya fi al-Islām* are among his popular treatises in Indonesia. Qutb and Yusuf al-Qardhawi, according to one Islamic book publisher, are among his bestselling authors. Another name often mentioned by students is Fathi Yakkan, the prominent Islamic scholar, cleric and political activist who pioneered the Islamic movement in the 1950s in Lebanon while he was the General Secretary of the Lebanese Al-Jama'a Al-Islamiyya.

It is widely-acknowledged that Salafi pesantren, representing the purification movement, have become determinant factors in the dissemination of Salafi ideology. This is also supported by large number of 'Salafi books' produced by Islamic publishers in Indonesia. Although students did not specify the precise Salafi sources that have impressed them, they often mention the names of Islamic scholars such as Shaikh b. Baz and Syaikh Uthaimin, whose religious views cannot be separated from such scholars as Qayyim al-Jauziyya and Ibn Taimiyya. The proliferation of Indonesian translations of their works coincides with the massive publication of Islamic books. According to IKAPI (Association of Indonesian Publishers), the number of Islamic publishers has increased rapidly, and now comprises 35 to 40 per cent of all publishing companies in this country. As the world's largest Muslim country, Indonesia has increasingly become a giant market for Islamic books. According to a 2003 survey in ten major cities, about 71.7 per cent of Muslim respondents acknowledged that they read Islamic book during Ramadhan month. A number of publishers of general textbooks or popular books have even begun to establish special divisions for Islamic books.

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Local Islamic Scholars

Despite showing their admiration for Islamic scholars from the Middle East, *halaqah* activists also give attention to local 'ulama or Muslim leaders whose personalities are considered as inspiring. This means that they read not only books written by the foreign scholars listed above, but also by local writers. It seems that the role of the media is essential to the increased admiration of students for Indonesian Islamic scholars. Popular figures mentioned by students, ranging from Muslim intellectuals and academia to preachers and popular writers, are mainly those who frequently appear on National Television.[30]

Table 2: List of Local Muslim Authors/ Ulama Favored by *Halaqah* Activists (ranked)

No	Name	Profession/ Background	Subject/Expertise
1	Abdullah Gymnastiar	Cleric, Entrepreneur , trainer	Manajemen Qalbu,
2	M. Anis Matta	Politician, writer, activist	Youth movement Islamic politics, Motivation.
3	M. Yusuf Mansur	Cleric, Entrepreneur	Charity
4	Abu Bakar Baashir	Cleric	Jihad, Islam Sharia, and politics
5	Quraish Shihab	Academic, Intellectual	Qur'an & tafsir
6	Ari Ginanjar	Professional, trainer	ESQ
7	Habiburrahman El-Sirazy	Writer	Islamic Stories (Novel)

First of all, Abdullah Gymnastiar or Aa Gym is very popular among *halaqah* activists. Aa Gym is a key figure of the Pesantren of Daarut Tauhid in Bandung. His teachings and speeches are favored not only by various Muslim groups, but also by non-Muslims, as he is able to promote religious notions of peace, brotherhood, social unity, and individual integrity in an enthusiastic and popular way.[31] He prefers discussing the general principles of the morality (*akhlāq*) in society, rather than elaborating on the rigid differences in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Books about Aa Gym were also among bestsellers. Another figure is Yusuf Mansur whose popularity and prominence are approaching Aa Gym's. Mansur's preaching on radio and television, together with his publications concerning poverty, charity, generosity, and social welfare, have made him the second most respected

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preacher by *halaqah* activists. Mansur is the President of the Wisatahati Corporation, a spirituality-based cooperation which focuses on business consulting, entrepreneurship, printing, financial healing, achievement motivation and spiritual training. Next to him is another well-known professional entrepreneur, Ari Ginanjar Agustian, who invented "Emotional and Spiritual Quotient" (ESQ) or "the ESQ Way 165", a spirituality-based human resources training program. His ESQ Training programs have achieved extraordinary prominence, and have been attended by thousands of middle class participants, including government officials, businessmen, top company leaders, entrepreneurs, intellectuals, academicians and students.

Students displayed mixed and unpredictable responses to mention of Muhammad Annis Mata, a politician and the General Secretary of Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). Born in Makassar and a graduate of the Pesantren Darul Arqam Muhammadiyah Gombara Makassar, Anis Matta earned his bachelor degree from LIPIA-Jakarta, a Saudi-sponsored Arabic and Islamic Studies academy. Apart from his involvement in an Islamic political party, Anis Mata has recently published books on Islamic *Da'wa*, youth, and Islamic movements.[32] Students were more favourable towards Abu Bakar Baasyir, the Muslim cleric who was accused of involvement in terror activism and of being the leader of Jamaah Islamiyah, an association the USA believes is linked with al-Qaida. Despite his rare publications, Abu Bakar Baasyir Baashir was well-liked by *halaqah* activists. His statements and speeches about the implementation of Islamic *Shari'a* and jihad seized the attention of young Muslim activists. He has often been invited to give sermons on occasions such as *Tabligh Akbar*, mass religious gatherings that can be attended by thousands of people. Baashir has often criticized the nation-state system in Indonesia. He promotes its replacement by an Islamic system of governance, together with the implementation of Syariah and Islam Kaffah, yet he has never clearly formulated the sort of Islamic system he wants to be implemented in Indonesia. Nevertheless, Baashir's efforts are admired by his *halaqah* activist followers and sympathizers.[33] The only moderate Muslim academic to obtain first-rate appreciation from the *halaqah* activist respondents was Quraish Shihab, a professor of Quranic Studies and Exegesis (*Tafsīr*) at Islamic State University Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta. Holding a Doctoral Degree from the Azhar University, of Cairo, Shihab has published a number of respected works on Qur'anic Studies and *Tafsīr*. His best-selling *Membumikan al-Quran* and voluminous *Tafsir al-Misbah* have been republished several times. Shihab also often appears on TV, guiding discussions on Islamic issues.

The people not mentioned by *halaqah* activists and students are perhaps as significant as those discussed above. Remarkably, few students admired the so-called modernist or neo-modernist figures such as M. Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid. Some other names popular among activists in the 1990s, such as M. Amien Rais, Sahal Mahfudz, Ali Yafi, Jalaluddin Rahmat, Johan Effendi, Kuntowijoyo, and A. Mukti Ali,

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were overlooked by *halaqah* activists. Again, if we compare the listed Islamic scholars favored by *halaqah* students after Reformasi with those in the 1980s and 1990s, we find significant differences in the characteristic of those figures. For example, prominent Muslim thinkers such as Ali Shari'ati, Imam Khomeini, Ziyauddin Sardar, and Murtada Mutahhari were formerly highly favored by university student Muslim activists.[34] However the *halaqah* activists' answers obtained by this research show that revolutionary thinkers such as Shari'ati and the Muslim scholars listed above, including Abu al-A'la al-Maududi, are 'forgotten'. By contrast, such political ideologues as Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb remain in the minds of *halaqah* activists.

Islamic Magazines

In addition to admiring Muslim academics, writers, preachers, trainers, and politicians, and as well as reading books on Islam to satisfy their intellectual and spiritual needs, young *halaqah* activists also read various types of Islamic magazines. The recent proliferation of Islamic magazines confirms the increasingly visible strength of the Islamic movement among youth. Islamic magazines, like other popular magazines, provide updated information and cover wide-ranging issues concerning Islam and Muslim communities. However the mainstream and long-established Islamic organizations such as the Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, Persatuan Islam and al-Irshad al-Islamiyyah seem not to be taking advantage of this opportunity, and their publications appear to lack appeal for Muslim youth. The list of the favored Islamic magazines below reveals that Islamic magazines published by mainstream Islamic associations have declined and are no longer favored, at least by *halaqah* activists.

Table 3: List of Magazines Favored by *Halaqah* Activists

Magazines	Main Content	Main Readers	Style
As-Sunnah *Asyari'ah* *Risalah*	Messages of scriptures, Islamic tradition, fiqh, hadith, tafsîr.	Adult	Formal
Sabili *Hidayatullah*	Muslim-world, society, Islamophobia, Christianization, contemporary political Islam, Islamic tradition, morality, Christianization, anti-liberalism & political issues	Adults & teenagers student activists, and clerics	Semi-formal
Annida *Mutiara Amaly* *Hidayah* *Elfata* *Tarbawi*	Short religious stories and teenagers social issues, Islamic tradition, morality, Islamic movements, spiritual messages	Adult and teenagers	Popular

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Halaqah activists are quite familiar with three streams of Islamic magazines. The first type of magazine, issued by Salafi-oriented publishers, deals heavily with the notion of "authentic" Islam. These magazines cover issues such as Islamic propagation and criticism of fellow Muslims they see as deviant. They make simplistic value-statements, and their clear-cut, black-and-white judgments reflect a strictly textual approach to Islam. Examples of these magazines are *Asyari'ah, As-Sunnah* and *Risalah*, which represent Salafi ideological streams.

The second type is concerned with contemporary social and political issues. These periodicals often criticize religious movements other than Islam, trying to protect Islam and Muslims from offensive penetration by other 'ideologies' such as secularism and liberalism. Christianization, in particular, is one of their main issues. Such magazines as *Sabili* and *Hidayatullah* adopt a critical and provocative tone, and epitomize these ideologically-driven Islamic magazines.

The last type comprises popular Islamic magazines, presenting the friendly face of Islam to Muslim youth and giving a warm impression. They offer a broader dimension of Islam, motivating the younger generation to be more active, creative, and engaged. They are characterized by a colorful presentation, cheerful journalism, inspiring Islamic short-stories and fashionable issues. This type of periodical includes *Annida, Elfata, Tarbawi, Mutiara Amaly* and *Hidayah*.

Social and Political Affiliations

The mosque is the heart of Muslim civilization. Since the era of the Prophet Muhammad, mosques have remained essential for Muslim communities. The slogan "back to the mosque" has been promoted by Muslim activists since the 1970s. Campus-based mosques, where many *halaqah* have operated for the past three decades, are often arenas of contestation of competing ideologies and interests among students. In Indonesia's current socio-political setting, students are not immune to political infiltration from outside the campus. This is reflected by the configuration of social and political affiliations of university-based *halaqah* activists with off-campus associations or political parties. Some activists confirmed their attachment to socio-religious organizations or political parties. About 55 per cent of respondent *halaqah* activists said that their *halaqah* are institutionally independent and free from infiltration by political parties, while 24 per cent of students acknowledged the political interests of their *halaqah*.

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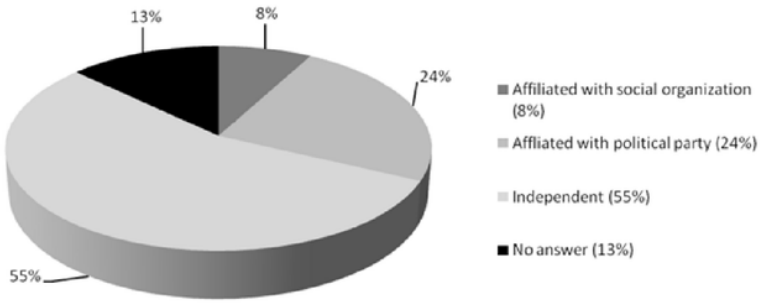
Chart 3: Social and Political Affiliation



Rather than attempting to detail the type of political parties that *halaqah* activists or students may affiliate with, this article will highlight why students are less interested in joining or affiliating with mainstream Islamic organizations. Although 55 per cent of students affirmed that they are politically autonomous now, the question of their likely future social or political affiliation remains. Will they become advocates of moderate, liberal, or radical Islam?

Observers regard Indonesian Islam as being moderate, and Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyyah and Nahdlatul Ulama are among the major pillars of civil society in Indonesia, yet, neither has significant influence on *halaqah* activists. Muhammadiyah's purification agenda, and its solid achievements in establishing social institutions like schools, orphanages, clinics and hospitals throughout Indonesia, seem not to be determinant factors attracting *halaqah* activists as members. Similarly, the success of Nahdlatul Ulama in preserving traditional Islam and its study of both classical and contemporary Islamic works, again, cannot attract *halaqah* activists' attention. The surprising conclusion seems to be that Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul 'Ulama have not taken any decisive action to include campus-based mosques within their *da'wa* agenda. Consequently, rather than joining the mainstream moderate organizations of Muhammadiyah or Nahdlatul Ulama, the two largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia, about 20 per cent of respondent *halaqah* activists have established close bonds with other movements, such as Salafism, Tarbiyah, or Islamic political parties, notably PKS. Some students also confirmed that outside campus they are active in mosque youth activist groups (*remaja masjid*) or as teachers at Islamic Kindergarten.

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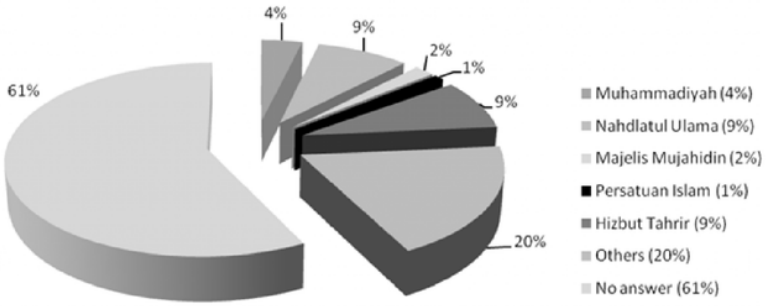
Chart 4: Organizational Affiliation



Intellectual exercises, liberal Islamic discourse, and progressive formulations of Islam are too complex for the *halaqah* activists, and have no significant impact on their religious enthusiasm. In order to enrich their religious knowledge, students prefer studying Islamic books that, according to their understanding, will develop their commitment (*ghīra*) to Islam. This coincides with the fact that modernist, neo-modernist, and traditionalist Islamic organizations have increasingly been bureaucratized. In turn, *halaqah* activists have increased their efforts to find alternative ways to study Islam and to articulate their religious expression. However, as already noted, about 55 per cent of students confirmed that they are not affiliated with - and their *halaqah* are free from penetration of - political parties.

Some questions remain for further research: what will be the contribution of *halaqah* activists to the Islamization process in Indonesia for the years to come? Despite sharing some similarities, there are differences between Salafi *halaqah* and Tarbiyah movement, especially in their political interests. To what extent will competition between the two kinds of *halaqah* happen, and to what extent can collaboration between the two can be established?

Concluding Remarks

The increasing pace of Islamization and the changing political environment of Indonesia over the past thirty-years have been instrumental in establishing mosques at both religious and secular higher education institutions, and in spreading a 'community of learning'. It is evident that mosques and musholla operating at both religious and secular higher education institutions to some extent resemble informal 'Islamic education institutions' where students can intensify their studies of both classical and modern Islamic literature. Nevertheless, at the time of this research the types of Islamic literature being studied at *halaqah* varied in nature, but

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generally ranged from theology and Islamic jurisprudence to Islamic ethics. The findings also reveal that unlike *Tarbiyah halaqah*, *Salafi halaqah* have rarely dealt with contemporary issues such as political Islam, Islam and modernity, and Islam and the State. Inspired by political ideologists such as Qutb and al-Banna, *Tarbiyah halaqah* are more familiar with political Islam. Their activism is no longer restricted to the campus milieu, and they have established networks with other groups outside campus, ranging from political parties to solidarity groups.

For Muslim youth, studentship can be a time when they search for a 'role model' from whom they can learn about Islam for intellectual and practical purposes. The Muslim figures mentioned by students clearly show that they admire popular preachers, especially those appearing on national television and in the mass media, rather than Indonesian writers or academics. At the same time, a number of foreign Islamic scholars, writers, and political ideologists from Middle Eastern countries influence the religious and political orientations of youth, particularly *halaqah* activists. It is also arguable that the dynamics of Islamic activism among students who are involved in Islamic students associations have been paralleled by the efforts of Salafi groups and the Tarbiyah movement, and also by Islamic publishers who make Islamic literature accessible to a wider public, including *halaqah* activists.

At times, in tandem with their deep studies of Islam, many *halaqah* activists have intensified their participation in 'campus politics', capturing Student Representative Councils (*Senat Mahasiswa*) at many State and Islamic universities. In this they compete with other Muslim students whose narratives hold "a pluralist nationalist and social-democratic persuasion"[35], such as HMI (Muslim Students Association), PMII (Indonesian Islamic Student Movement) and IMM (Muhammadiyah Students Association). Salafi groups, on the other hand, remain in their conservative position, keeping their religious activities far from 'politics' inside and outside campus.

Although formal Islamic education institutions have witnessed change and modernization, it seems to me that unless there is a paradigm shift among the Islamic teachers (*ustadh*) who are so instrumental in shaping Islamic materials used in *halaqah*, in the coming years the 'curriculum' of *Salafi halaqah* and *Tarbiyah* will not radically change.

Notes

[1] This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the International Conference on Muslim Youth as Agents of Change, sponsored by Training Indonesia's Young Leaders-Leiden in cooperation with the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Islamic University of Malang (UNISMA), in Batu-Malang, 26-29 November, 2007. I would like to thank conference participants for their invaluable comments.

[2] M. B. Hooker, *Indonesian Islam: Social Change through Contemporary Fatawa*,

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(Honolulu: University of Hawa'i and Allen & UnwinHooker, 2003), pp. 63-66; Noorhaidi Hassan, "Between Transnational Interest and Domestic Politics: Understanding Middle Eastern Fatwa Jihad in the Moluccas", *Islamic Law and Society 12/1*, 2005, pp. 73-92.

[3] Howard M. Federspiel, *Popular Indonesian Literature of the Qur'an*, (Cornell University Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1994), p. 40.

[4] Quintan Wictorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Theory Movement Approach*, (Bloomington: Indiana University PressWictorowicz's, 2004), p. 1.

[5] Noorhaidi Hassan, "Islamist Party, Electoral Politics, and Dakwa Mobilization among Youth: The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia", *Working Paper 184*, (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2009).

[6] Yon Machmudi, "Islamising Indonesia: the Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)", *a Ph.D Thesis submitted to the Australian National University*, Canberra, 2006.

[7] Elizabeth Collins, "Islam is the Solution: Dakwah and Democracy in Indonesia", *Unpublished paper*, Ohio University, Athens, 2004.

[8] Robert W Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, (New Jersey: Princeton, 2000).

[9] Richard Kraince, "The Role of Islamic Student Groups in the *Reformasi* Struggle: KAMMI (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia)", *Studia Islamika* 7, 2000, pp. 3-50.

[10] Aay Muhammad Furqan, *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera: Ideologi dan Praksis Politik Kaum Muda Muslim Indonesia Kontemporer*, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2004); Ali Said Damanik, *Fenomena Partai Keadilan: Transformasi 20 Tahun Gerakan Tarbiyah di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2002); Ahwan Fanani, "Akar dan Pemikiran Gerakan Revivalis Islam Indonesia: Studi terhadap Partai Keadilan Sejahtera", in Komaruddin Amin et al (eds.), *Quo Vadis Islamic Studies in Indonesia*, (Jakarta & Makassar: Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi Islam, Departemen Agama RI & Program Pascasarjana UIN Alauddin Makasar, 2006); Haedar Nasir, *Gerakan Islam Syariat: Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Pusat Studi Agama dan Peradaban, 2007); Jamhari & Jajang Jahroni, *Gerakan Salafi Radikal di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2004).

[11] To borrow George Kelly and Sebastian Huber's "personal construct theory," religious identity, including that of Muslim youth, is "a personal construct system" and "defined by the way the individual construes or understands his/her personal world", Sebastian Murken & Sussan Namini, "Choosing Religion as an Aspect of Religious Identity Formation in Modern Societies", in Alef Theria Washim et al (eds.), *Religious Harmony: Problems, Practice and Education*, (Jakarta & Yogyakarta: Aosis Publisher, 2005), p. 275.

[12] See Tim Penyusun SPMN FSLDK Nasional (UI & ITB), *Risalah Manajemen Dakwah Kampus: Panduan Praktis Pengelolaan Dakwah Kampus (Standarisasi Pelatihan Manajemen Nasional)*, (Jakarta: Studi Pustaka, 2004).

[13] Mahfuzd Sidiq, *KAMMI dan Pergulatan Reformasi: Kiprah Politik Aktivis Dakwah Kampus dalam Perjuangan Demokratisasi di Tengah Gelombang Krisis Nasional Multidimensi*, (Solo: Intermedia, 2003), pp. 78-79.

[14] M. Imadadun Rahmat, *Ideologi Politik PKS: Dari Masjid Kampus ke Gedung Parlemen*, (Yogyakarta: LKIS, 2008), p. 271.

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[15] Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad ke-20*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2005), p. 535.

[16] Yon Machmudi, "Islamising Indonesia: the Rise of Jemaah Tarbiyah and the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)", pp. 61-67; Noorhaidi Hassan, "Islamist Party, Electoral Politics, and Dakwa Mobilization among Youth: The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) in Indonesia".

[17] Martin van Bruinessen, "Genealogies of Islamic Radicalism in Post Soeharto Indonesia", *Southeast Asia Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2002.

[18] Howard M. Federspiel, *Popular Indonesian Literature of the Qur'an*, p. 40; see also Karel A. Steenbrink, *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah: Pendidikan Islam dalam Kurun Modern*, (Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1986); Martin van Bruinessen, "Gerakan Sempalan di Kalangan Umat Islam Indonesia: Latar Belakang Sosial-Budaya" (Sectarian Movements in Indonesian Islam: Social and Cultural Background), *Ulumul Qur'an* vol. III (1), 1992; Martin van Bruinessen, "Pesantren and Kitab Kuning: Continuity and Change in a Tradition of Religious Learning", in Wolfgang Marschall (ed.), *Texts from the Islands: Oral and written traditions of Indonesia and the Malay world*, (Berne: The University of Berne Institute of Ethnology, 1994).

[19] Howard M. Federspiel, *Popular Indonesian Literature of the Qur'an*, p. 40

[20] Martin van Bruinessen, "Gerakan Sempalan di Kalangan Umat Islam Indonesia: Latar Belakang Sosial-Budaya", *Ulumul Qur'an*, Vol. III, No. 1, 1992, pp. 16-27.

[21] Mahfuzd Sidiq, *KAMMI dan Pergulatan Reformasi: Kiprah Politik Aktivis Dakwah Kampus dalam Perjuangan Demokratisasi di Tengah Gelombang Krisis Nasional Multidimensi*, p. 87.

[22] Ira M. Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1997, 444.

[23] Fahri Hamzah in Mahfuzd Sidiq, *KAMMI dan Pergulatan Reformasi: Kiprah Politik Aktivis Dakwah Kampus dalam Perjuangan Demokratisasi di Tengah Gelombang Krisis Nasional Multidimensi*, p. 12.

[24] Abdul Karim Soroush, *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2006), p. 35.

[25] Nadia Abu Zahra, The Pure and the Powerful: Studies in Contemporary Muslim Society, (Ithaca, 2000).

[26] The concept of 'heresiography' in Islamic tradition began as soon as the fall of the "Guided Caliphs"and developed rapidly, as reflected by much heresiographical literature, after Imam al-Ash'arî wrote his magnum opus concerning Sunnism theological concept, Abdurrahman Badawy, *Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyîn*, (Dār al-'Ilmi Li al-Malayîn, 1997).

[27] Ibrahim M Abu Rabi', *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 64.

[28] Haedar Nasir, *Gerakan Islam Syariat: Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis di Indonesia*; Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad ke-20*.

[29] Ibrahim M Abu Rabi', *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*, p. 115.

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[30] Other Indonesian Muslims favored by halaqah activists are HAMKA, Abdullah Sahal, Fauzil Adhim, Nurcholish Madjid, Salim Badri, Hidayat Nur Wahid, Yazid Jawwas, and Cahyadi Takariyawan.

[31] Aa Gym was invited to give a speech in a Christian Church by the Christian community in Ambon to deliver his messages on peace, solidarity, and unity.

[32] Anis M Matta, *Model Manusia Muslim Abad XXI: Pesona Manusia Pengemban Misi Peradaban Islam*, (Bandung: Progressio, 2007)

[33] Irfan Suharyadi Awwas, *Risalah Kongres Majelis Mujahidin I dan Penegakkan Syari'ah Islam*,(Yogyakarta: Wihdah Press, 2001); *Sabili*, No. 6, VIII, 6 September 2000.

[34] Von der Mehden, *Interaction between Southeast Asia and the Middle East*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993); A. Rahmad Zainuddin and M. Hamdan Basyar, Syi'ah dan Politik di Indonesia, (Bandung: Puslitbang Politik dan Kewilayahan, LIPI dengan Penerbit Mizan, 2000); Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad ke-20*.

[35] Robert W. Hefner, *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, (Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), p. 75.

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