Islam in Indonesia

Contrasting Images and Interpretations

Edited by
Jajat Burhanudin and *Kees van Dijk*

Amsterdam University Press

uin

Publications Series

General Editor
Paul van der Velde

Publications Officer
Martina van den Haak

Editorial Board
Wim Boot (Leiden University); Jennifer Holdaway (Social Science Research Council); Christopher A. Reed (The Ohio State University); Anand A. Yang (Director of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and Chair of International Studies at the University of Washington); Guobin Yang (University of Pennsylvania).

The *ICAS Publications Series* consists of Monographs and Edited Volumes. The Series takes a multidisciplinary approach to issues of interregional and multilateral importance for Asia in a global context. The Series aims to stimulate dialogue amongst scholars and civil society groups at the local, regional and international levels.

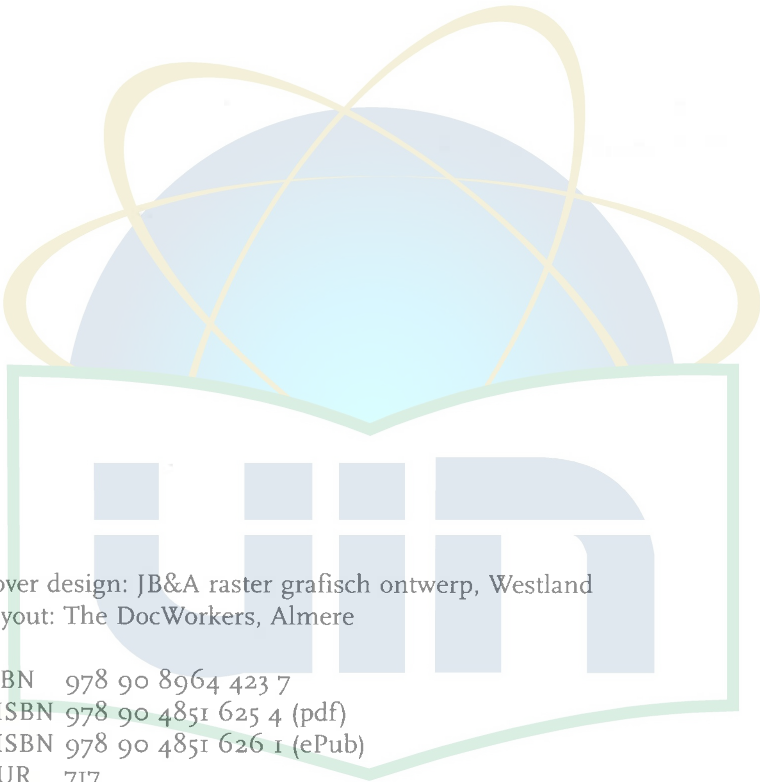
The International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS) was founded in 1997. Its main goals are to transcend the boundaries between disciplines, between nations studied, and between the geographic origins of the Asia scholars involved. ICAS has grown into the largest biennial Asia studies event covering all subjects of Asia studies. So far six editions of ICAS have been held respectively in Leiden (1998), Berlin (2001), Singapore (2003), Shanghai (2005), Kuala Lumpur (2007), Daejeon, South Korea (2009) and Honolulu, Hawai'i (2011).

In 2001 the *ICAS secretariat* was founded which guarantees the continuity of the ICAS process. In 2004 *the ICAS Book Prize* (IBP) was established in order to create by way of a global competition both an international focus for publications on Asia while at the same time increasing their visibility worldwide. Also in 2005 the *ICAS Publications Series* were established.

For more information: www.icassecretariat.org

PUBLICATIONS SERIES

Edited Volumes 16



Cover design: JB&A raster grafisch ontwerp, Westland
Layout: The DocWorkers, Almere

ISBN 978 90 8964 423 7
e-ISBN 978 90 4851 625 4 (pdf)
e-ISBN 978 90 4851 626 1 (ePub)
NUR 717

© ICAS / Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2013

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owners and the authors of the book.

Contents

Introduction 7

1 Comparing different streams of Islam
Wrestling with words and definitions 15
Kees van Dijk

2 Defining Indonesian Islam
An examination of the construction of the national Islamic identity of traditionalist and modernist Muslims 25
Ahmad Najib Burhani

3 Indonesia in the global scheme of Islamic things
Sustaining the virtuous circle of education, associations and democracy 49
Robert W. Hefner

4 Distinguishing Indonesian Islam
Some lessons to learn 63
Azyumardi Azra

5 Islam, state and society in democratising Indonesia
A historical reflection 75
Taufik Abdullah

6 The politics of piety in the Pondok Pesantren Khusus Waria Al-Fattah Senin-Kamis Yogyakarta
Negotiating the Islamic religious embodiment 91
Dian Maya Safitri

7 The Indonesian Muslim feminist reinterpretation of inheritance 109
Nina Nurmila

8 Managing familial issues
Unique features of legal reform in Indonesia 123
Euis Nurlaelawati

9 A new generation of feminists within traditional Islam
An Indonesian exception 139
Andrée Feillard and Pieternella van Doorn-Harder

10 Religious pluralism and contested religious authority in contemporary Indonesian Islam
A. Mustofa Bisri and Emha Ainun Nadjib 161
Asfa Widiyanto

11 Islam and humanitarian affairs
The middle class and new patterns of social activism 173
Hilman Latief

12 Dakwah radio in Surakarta
A contest for Islamic identity 195
Sunarwoto

13 Muslim fundamentalism in education institutions
A case study of Rohani Islam in high schools in Cirebon 215
Didin Nurul Rosidin

14 Majlis Tafsir Al-Qur'an and its struggle for Islamic reformism 227
Syaifudin Zuhri

Glossary 241

About the editors and contributors 249

Bibliography 253

Index 275

Introduction

In recent years, the way Islam manifests itself in Indonesia has changed. As elsewhere in the Muslim world, there is stricter adherence to Islam, and fundamentalism has gained strength. An increasing number of Indonesian Muslims are observing the tenets of their religion more faithfully. More people fulfil the *hajj*, one of the basic pillars of Islam, and an increasing number of women wear a headscarf, sometimes a very fashionable one. These women include members of a segment of society that used to be considered the embodiment of secularism and syncretism, known in Indonesia as the *abangan*.

National surveys confirm this trend. In the last ten years or so, Muslims in Indonesia have become more religious in their attitudes and practices. The use of rituals associated with abangan culture has decreased, to be replaced by those of more observant Muslims, the *santri*. As a result, Islamic symbols and elements can be seen everywhere in Indonesian public life, including in liberal and capitalist institutions such as company offices and shopping malls.

The increasing emphasis on Islam is also reflected in the shifting position of fundamentalist groups. Since Suharto was forced to step down in the late 1990s, Indonesia has witnessed a growing religious militancy. Not only have the militants increased in number, but they are also more actively engaged in missionary activities among fellow Muslims. Various radical organisations have emerged, including the FPI (Front Pembela Islam, Front of the Defenders of Islam), the MMI (Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia, Indonesian Council of Jihad Fighters) and the Laskar Jihad (Jihad Force). With a militant agenda of purifying Islam, these organisations are engaged in a series of violent acts against others, creating concern among moderate Muslims, who still form a majority in Indonesia. Their aspiration is to implement Islamic law in the public sphere, which in Indonesia is supposed to be religiously neutral.

The aims of these radical Muslim organisations are congruent with those of a number of Islamic political parties in parliament, while in some regions local administrations are trying to enforce proper Islamic conduct. The *fatwa*-giving commission of the MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, Council of Indonesian Religious Scholars) – the institution en-

trusted by the government with this task – and its regional chapters, at times also acts as the guardian of a strict interpretation of Islam.

Contributing to this trend has been the changing relationship between the state and Islam since around the turn of the century. After Indonesia became independent on 17 August 1945, its history as a nation is usually divided into three parts: the Old Order when Sukarno was President, the New Order when Suharto was in power, and the post-1998 period. The Sukarno years were coloured by antagonism between adherents of a religiously neutral state – or the Pancasila state, named after the five principles formulated by Sukarno in 1945 as the ideological foundation of political life – and the proponents of an Islamic state. A number of these proponents took up arms, fighting for an Islamic State of Indonesia (also known as the Darul Islam rebellion); others tried to realise their ideals through constitutional means by striving for a majority in the representative bodies. In the Constituent Assembly, the political institution tasked with defining the nature of the Indonesian state, those in favour of giving the Indonesian state an Islamic base and those against were more or less in balance. The deadlock this caused induced Sukarno to re-introduce the Constitution promulgated in 1945, which mentions Pancasila in its preamble, on 5 July 1959.

The period that followed was one of intense indoctrination of the Pancasila state ideology and increased domestic tension and repression. Deeply religious Muslims and the organisations that represented them were among those who suffered. Hard hit was Masjumi, the political party of the adherents of Islamic modernism, a stream of thinking that had reached Indonesia around the turn of the twentieth century and that had spread gradually and steadily. The government accused Masjumi leaders of siding with the Darul Islam and a second rebellion that took place in Sumatra and had regional rather than religious sentiments as its roots. Consequently, Masjumi was banned in 1960. The large modernist socio-religious organisation, Muhammadiyah, was allowed to continue to exist, as was its traditionalist counterpart, the Nahdlatul Ulama; but it became impossible for the leaders of either organisation to publicly criticise government policy in any field.

Suharto's New Order brought some relief, but only partially so. The generals who came to power in 1965 were highly suspicious of political Islam and the Masjumi. The authorities introduced a new term – right extremism – for political Islam and for demands for a state based on *syariah* instead of Pancasila. Only those fundamentalist groups that kept clear of politics and did not question Pancasila as the basis of the state were tolerated. Speaking out against the national ideology meant imprisonment or life in exile, if not worse. Masjumi remained a forbidden party. Banned from politics, as a number of the contributions to

Bibliography

'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Rahman b. Baz. 1995. *Majmu' Fatawa wa Maqalat Mutanawwi'a*, Vol. 3. Riyad: Dar al-Qasim li al-Nashr.

Abdillah, Masykuri. 1997. *Responses of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals to the Concept of Democracy (1966-1993)*. Hamburg: Abera Verlag Meyer & Co.

Abdullah, Amin. 2001. 'Muhammadiyah's Experience in Promoting Civil Society on the Eve of the 21st Century'. In Mitsuo Nakamura, Sharon Siddique, & Omar Farouk Bajunid, eds., *Islam and Civil Society in Southeast Asia*, pp. 43-54. Singapore: ISEAS.

Abdullah, Taufik. 1996. 'The Formation of a New Paradigm? A Sketch on Contemporary'. In Mark R. Woodward (ed.), *Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Development in Indonesian Islamic Thought*, pp. 47-88. Temple, Arizona: Arizona State University: Program for Southeast Asian Studies.

Abdullah, Taufik. 1971. *School and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra*. Ithaca: Southeast Asian Program, Cornell University.

Abdullah, Taufik. 1998. 'The Clash of Civilizations: A Prognosis of the Future or the Lure of the Past'. *Studia Islamika*, 5, pp. 77-96.

Abdullah, Taufik. 2009. *Indonesia towards Democracy*. Singapore: ISEAS.

Abu Zaid, Nasr. 2006. 'The Nexus of Theory and Practice'. In: Mehran Kamrava, *The New Voices of Islam. Rethinking Politics and Modernity*, pp. 153-176. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Alatas, Alwi. n.d. *Kasus Jilbab di Sekolah-sekolah Negeri di Indonesia tahun 1982-1991*.

al-Albani. 1997. Tahrim Alat al-Tarb aw al-Radd bi al-Wahyiyin wa Aqwal al-A'imatina 'Ala Ibn Hazm wa Muqallidihi al-Mubihina li al-Ma'azif wa al-Ghina wa 'Ala al-Sufiyyin al-Ladhina Ittakhadhu Qirbatan wa Dinan. Maktabat al-Dalil.

al-Albani. 2006. Al-Masa'il al-'Ilmiyya wa al-Fatawa al-Shar'iyya: Fatawa al-Shaikh Nasir al-Din al-Albani fi al-Madina wa al-Imarat. Tanta, Egypt: Dar al-Diya'.

Adam, Thomas (ed.). 2004. *Philanthropy, Patronage and Civil Society: Experiences from Germany, Great Britain, and North America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Adeney-Risakotta, Bernhard. 2009. 'Religion, Violence and Diversity'. In: Carl Sterkens, Muhammad Machasin & Frans Wijsen (eds.), *Religion, Civil Society and Conflict in Indonesia*, pp. 9-27. Berlin & Zürich: LIT.

al Alami, Dawoud S. 1992. *The Marriage Contract in Islamic Law in the Shari'ah and Personal Status Laws of Egypt and Morocco*. London: Graham & Trotan Ltd.

Alfian. 1989. *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism*. Yogyakarta: UGM Press.

Ali, Muhamad. 2005. 'The Impact of MUI Fatwas on Freedom of Religion in Indonesia'. *The Jakarta Post*, 8 August 2005.

Alterman, Jon B. & Karin von Hippel. 2007. *Understanding Islamic Charities*. Georgetown: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Andaya, Leonard. 2000. 'The Bissu. Study of a Third Gender in Indonesia'. In: Barbara Watson Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts. Women, Gender, and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, pp. 27-46. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Anshari, Abu Asma, Abdullah Zaim & Naibul Umam. 2005. *'Ngetan Ngulon' ketemu Gus Mus: Refleksi 61 th KH. A. Mustofa Bisri.* Semarang: HMT Foundation.

Anwar, Etin. 2006. *Gender and Self in Islam.* London: Routledge Publishers.

Anwar, M. Syafi'i. 1992. 'Islam, Negara, dan Formasi Sosial dalam Orde Baru: Menguak Dimensi Sosio-Historis Kelahiran dan Perkembangan ICMI'. In Supplement of *Ulumul Quran* 3 (3), pp. 1-28.

Anwar, M. Syafi'i. 1995. *Pemikiran dan Aksi Islam Indonesia: Sebuah Kajian Politik Tentang Cendekiawan Muslim Orde Baru.* Jakarta: Paramadina.

Aqsha, Darul, Dick van der Meij & Johan Hendrik Meuleman. 1995. *Islam in Indonesia: A Survey of Events and Developments from 1988 to March 1993*, Seri INIS 16, pp 27-96. Jakarta: INIS.

Armando M., Nina. 2005. *Ensiklopedi Islam*, vol. 4. PT Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve.

Arnez, Monika. 2010. 'Empowering Women through Islam: Fatayat NU between Tradition and Change', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 21, pp. 59-88.

Arnold, T.W. 1913. *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith.* London: Constable.

Asad, Talal. 1993. *Genealogies of Religion. Discipline and Reasons in Christianity and Islam.* Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins Press.

Asad, Talal. 2003. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity. Cultural Memory in the Present.* Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Asmin, Yudian W. 2002. 'The slogan "Back to the Qur'an and the Sunna": A comparative study of the responses of Hasan Hanafi, Muhammad 'Abid al-Jabiri and Nurcholish Madjid'. PhD dissertation, McGill University.

Aspinall, Edward & Marcus Mietzner (eds.). 2010. *Problems of Democratisation in Indonesia: Elections, Institutions and Society.* Singapore: ISEAS.

Assyaukanie, Luthfi. 2009a. *Islam and the Secular State in Indonesia.* Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Assyaukanie, Luthfi. 2009b. 'Fatwa and Violence in Indonesia', *Journal of Religion and Society*, 11, pp. 1-21.

Atshushi, Ota, Okamoto Masaaki & Ahmad Suaedy (eds.). 2011. *Islam in Contention: Rethinking Islam and the State in Indonesia.* Jakarta-Kyoto-Taipei: Wahid Institute-CSEAS-CAPAS.

Auda, Jasser. 2008. *Maqasid al-Sharia as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach.* London & Washington: International Institute of Islamic Thought.

Azca, Muhammad Najib. 2011. 'After Jihad: A Biographical Approach to Passionate Politics in Indonesia,' PhD dissertation, Amsterdam University.

Azra, Azyumardi. 1994. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII. Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia.* Bandung: Mizan.

Azra, Azyumardi. 1999a. *Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia: Tradisi Menuju Millenium Baru.* Jakarta: Logos.

Azra, Azyumardi. 1999b. 'Opposition to Sufism in the East Indies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century', in: Friedrich de Jong & Bernd Radtke (eds.), *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, pp. 53-58. Leiden: Brill.

Azra, Azyumardi. 2004. *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Azra, Azyumardi. 2006. *Indonesia, Islam and Democracy; Dynamics in a Global Context.* Jakarta & Singapore: ICIP, TAF and Equinoq-Soltice.

Azra, Azyumardi. 2007. *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Development.* Jakarta: Mizan.

Azra, Azyumardi. 2010a. 'An Islamic Perspective of Religious Pluralism in Indonesia: The Impact of Democracy on Conflict Resolution', in KS Nathan (ed.), *Religious Pluralism in Democratic Societies.* Kuala Lumpur: KAS, MAAS and Select Publishing.

Azra, Azyumardi. 2010b. 'Cultural Pluralism in Indonesia: Continuous Reinventing of Indonesian Islam in Local, National, and Global Context'. Paper presented at the 10th Annual Conference of Islamic Studies (ACIS), Banjarmasin 1-4 November 2010.

Azra, Azyumardi, Kees van Dijk & Nico Kaptein (eds.). 2010. *Varieties of Religious Authority: Changes and Challenges in 20th Century Indonesian Islam*. Singapore: IIAS & ISEAS.

Azra, Azyumardi, Afrianty Dina & Robert Hefner. 2007. 'Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia, in Schooling Islam'. In Robert W. Hefner & Muhammad Qasim Zaman (eds.), *The Culture and Politics of Muslim Education*, pp. 185-191. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Azra, Azyumardi & Wayne Hudson (contributing eds.). 2008. *Islam beyond Conflict: Indonesian Islam and Western Political Theory*. Aldershot, Hampshire, UK: Ashgate.

Badran, Margot. 1991. 'Competing agenda: Feminists, Islam and the State in 19th and 20th century Egypt'. In: Deniz Kandiyoti (ed.), *Women, Islam and the State*, pp. 201-236. Basingstoke & London: Macmillan,.

Badran, Margot. 1995. *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Baktiari, Bahman. 2011. 'Iran: Shari'a Politics and the Transformation of Islamic Law'. In Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Sharia Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World*, pp. 121-145. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bamuallim, Chaider S. 2006. *Islamic Philanthropy and Social Development in Indonesia*. Jakarta: CRSC.

Barfield, Thomas. 2011. 'Afghanistan: The Local and the Global in the Practice of Shari'a.' In Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Sharia Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World*, pp. 179-206. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Bayat, Asef. 1998. 'Revolution without Movement, Movement without Revolution: Comparing Islamic Activism in Iran and Egypt', *Comparative Studies of Society in History*, 40, pp. 136-169.

Beatty, Andrew. 1999. *Varieties of Javanese Religion: An Anthropological Account*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beken, Munir. 2004. 'Music'. In: Richard C. Martin (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, vol. 2, p.493. New York: MacMillan Reference USA.

Benthall, Jonathan & Jérôme Bellion-Jourdan. 2003. *The Charitable Crescent: Politics of Aid in the Muslim World*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

Berger, Peter L. 2007. 'Foreword': In: Nancy T. Ammerman (ed.), *Everyday religion. Observing modern religious lives*, pp. v-viii. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.

Berkey, Jonathan. 1992. *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Binder, Leonard. 1988. *Islamic Binder: A Critique of Development Ideologies*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago.

Bisri, A. Mustofa. 2009. 'Perbedaan Fatwa, Wacana dan Vonis', *Sinergi Indonesia*, 7 (1), pp. 11-12.

Blackburn, Susan. 2004. *Women and the State in Modern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blackwood, Evelyn. 2000. *Webs of Power: Women, Kin, and Community in a Sumatran Village*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Blackwood, Evelyn. 2005a. 'Wedding Bell Blues: Marriage, Missing Men, and Matrifocal Follies', *American Ethnologist* 32 (1), pp. 3-19.

Blackwood, Evelyn. 2005b. 'Gender Transgression in Colonial and Postcolonial Indonesia', *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64 (4), pp. 849-879.

Blackwood, Evelyn. 2005c. 'Transnational Sexualities in One Place. Indonesian Readings', *Gender and Society* 19 (2), pp. 221-242.

Wuthnow, Robert. 1988. *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since the Second World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wuthnow, Robert. 2003. Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. 2007. 'Tradition and Authority in Deobandi Madrasas of South Asia'. In: Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (eds.), *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*, pp. 61-86.

Wuthnow, Robert. 2011. 'Pakistan: Shari'a and the State'. In: Robert W. Hefner (ed.), *Sharia Politics: Islamic Law and Society in the Modern World*, pp. 207-43. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Yavuz, M. Hakan. 2004. 'Opportunity Spaces, Identity and Islamic Meaning in Turkey'. In: Quintan Wiktorowicz (ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, pp 270-288. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Young, Kenneth. 1990. 'Middle Bureaucrats, Middle Peasants, and Middle Class? The Extra-urban Dimension'. In: Richard Tanter & Kenneth Young (eds.), *The Politics of Middle Class*, pp. 147-166. Clayton: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.

Young, M.J.L. 1990. 'Arabic Biographical Writing'. In: M.J.L. Young, J.D. Latham & R.B. Serjeant (eds.), *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period*, p. 177. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yusuf Ali, Abdullah. 2001. *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an, New Edition with Qur'anic Text (Arabic), Revised Translation, Commentary and Newly Compiled Comprehensive Index*. Beltsville, Maryland: Amana Publications.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. 2002. *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Zeghal, Malka. 2007 'The 'Recentering' of Religious Knowledge and Discourse: The Case of Al-Azhar in Twentieth-Century Egypt'. In: Robert W. Hefner and Muhammad Qasim Zaman (eds.), *Schooling Islam: The Politics and Culture of Islamic Education*, pp. 107-130. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zoelva, Hamdan. 2005. *Impeachment Presiden: Alasan Tindak Pidana Pemberhentian Presiden Menurut UUD 1945*. Jakarta: Konstitusi Press.

Zuhdi, Masjfuk. 1993. *Masail fiqhiyah. Kapita Selekta Hukum Islam*. Jakarta: CV Haji Masagung.

Zuhri, Syaifudin. 2009. 'Gerakan Purifikasi di Jantung Peradaban Jawa'. In: Yudian Wahyudi (ed.), *Gerakan Wahabi di Indonesia* (Dialog dan Kritik), pp. 208-310. Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawesea Press.

Zuhri, Syaifudin. 2010. 'Transnationalising Jamaah Islamiyyah', *Al-Jami'ah*, 48 (1), pp. 45-80.

Zulkifi, Zul Harmi. 2003. *Sufi Jawa: Relasi Tasawuf-Pesantren*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Sufi.