


**MAP OF MILLENNIAL
GENERATION'S
ISLAMIC LITERATURES:
IDEOLOGY AND NETWORK**

Policy Development for Enhancing the Roles of Religious Education
in Countering Violent Extremism in Indonesia

**UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Graduate School – PusPIDep Yogyakarta
PPIM UIN Jakarta – UNDP Indonesia**

CONVEY REPORT

Vol. 1 | No. 2 | Year 2018



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper maps the ideology and network of Islamic literatures among Muslim youth. The Islamic literatures in question include reading books for Islamic education (PAI) in schools and colleges as well as other reading books accessible to youth Muslim outside of class. In general, Islamic education books in schools and colleges offer an inclusive face of Islam, but there are still gaps that could allow the literatures to influence the students' aspirations and perspectives. The gaps are caused not only by the ambiguous nature of the discussions provided in the literature but by the excessive emphases they put on morality issues and character building. The latter mention can actually increase youth's uncertainty which is exacerbated by the issue of 'moral hazard' as a result of widespread promiscuity, misuse of drugs, and other youth-related antics.

The uncertainty pushes Muslim youth to hide behind a fortress in order to go deep on Islamic literatures that give strong messages about moral decadence in the community as a result of secular Western cultural expansion or contemporary world, which is depicted as a sinful place filled to the brim with *bid'ah* and infidelity that can only be dealt with by applying Sharia. Otherwise, they will look for works of literature with a lighter ideological tone but still emphasising character building, morality, and piety.

There are 5 types of Islamic literatures popular among the youth, namely: Jihadi, Tahriri, Salafi, Tarbawi and Popular Islamism. Jihadi

literature is Islamic-ideological literature that depicts Islamic world as constantly being in war or being threatened by an enemy that desires the destruction of Islam. This literature encourages – and even urges – the Muslim community to go down to the battleground and take arms to attack the enemy’s symbol. Another type of literature is Tahriri, which depicts the Muslim community in the condition of being suppressed by non-Islamic powers, systems, and values. Meanwhile, Salafi literature offers themes about religious purification by educating its readers with the fundamental value of Islam based on a literal interpretation on Al-Qur’an and Hadith as well as the tradition of first-generation Muslim (*al-salaf al-shalih*). The next is Tarbawi, which is the literature that socialises Tarbiyah movement’s ideology which, in many parts, is inspired by the political and religious movement of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The last type of literature is popular Islamism. At a glance, this literature seems to have no clear ideology. These works of literature are considered Islamist due to putting an emphasize on personal piety and offer a conservative idea as well as literal interpretation: what kind of clothing that Muslims should wear – especially female Muslims, a strict rule on how men and women interact in Islam, etc. The five types of Islamic literatures are obtained by students through bookstores, book fairs, Rohis (student Islamic organizations) or LDK (college student Islamic organizations) activities, Islamic study groups, and book discussions.

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MAP OF MILLENNIAL GENERATION'S ISLAMIC LITERATURES: IDEOLOGY AND NETWORK

BACKGROUND

The vulnerability of Indonesian youth, especially students, to radicalism, extremism, and terrorism is closely related to their uncertainty in dealing with structural problems and the future. The expansion of communication technology, triggered by the rise of the internet, has collapsed spatial and social distances which eventually increase their uncertainty. The impact of this change is obviously felt by the millennial generation. Born in the last 25 years, they grew under the dominance of digital culture which intersects closely with the spread of instant consumption pattern and lifestyle.

The youth's uncertainty is increased due to the widespread issue of moral hazard that fell on millennial generations, in regards of promiscuity issue, narcotics and other kinds of antics that make parents worried (Thompson 1998; Springhall 1998). In fact, the millennial generation is part of a youth group that has to deal with an even higher competition in order to be employed in a secure job. The lack of adequate employment results in the high number of unemployment among the youth and makes them frustrated (Nilan, Parker, Bennett and Robinson 2011; Naafs 2013). Due to their uncertain and lack of status, many youths are encouraged to claim a "space" in the complex social interaction process by waving the flag of identity politics (Massey 1998; Herrera and Bayat 2010; Hasan 2016).

In this very uncertain situation, millennial generations have to deal with the massive influence of Islamist ideology that offers them hopes and dreams about change. Built upon narratives that put emphasize on the return to the fundamentals of Islam and the virtue of early generation of Muslim, they attempt to put a distance and demarcation between Islam and the open society which is depicted as being full of sin, infidelity, and westernization. The failure to put such distance is often claimed as the cause for the downfall of Muslim community compared to the political, economic and cultural domination of the secular West. Islamic Empire is echoed as the key to return Islam's glory. Despite being utopic, Islamist ideology is apparently attractive due to its capability in offering a 'coherent' and 'effective' reading on the many contemporary issues as well as framed in a way that represents marginalized people in a fight against the unjust.

The role of Islamic literature in the flourishing Islamist ideology among students is very significant. In general, Islamist ideology infiltrates through religious reading books that are used by students. In fact, works of literature that offer Islamist ideology – centered on the demand of total implementation of Islamic value in every aspect of life that leads to a desire to replace the entire democratic system of the nation-state by using violence, if necessary – is very prominent in high school and college environment in Indonesia. The main target is obviously students who are perceived as a potential recruit that can sustain the further spread of the ideology. Many Islamist books, references, and magazines are easily accessible to them, offering them a world view on Islam and the world.

Study on Islamic literature and its influence on the construction of Islamic knowledge and ideology in Indonesia can be divided into two main concerns: classical and contemporary. Classical Islamic literature study focuses on the transmission of Islamic knowledge through the texts of yellow book (traditional Islamic literature in Indonesia) which is read and discussed in traditional pesantren (Islamic school in Indonesia). Study with such model can be found on works by Martin van Bruinessen (1990) and Azyumardi Azra (2004) which is more concerned with the transmission and genealogy of Islamic knowledge in Nusantara. On the other hand, contemporary Islamic literature study focuses more on the publishing of translated books from the Middle East and the ideology contained in those books. Philips Vermonte (2007) and Abdul Munip (2008), for example, shows how the discourse regarding the rise of Islam in the Middle East, including

Iran, has influenced the Muslim youths in Indonesia since the 1980s. Works by Hasan al-Banna, Abul A'la al-Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Sayyid Hawwa, Ali Shariati and Yusuf al-Qardhawi which has been translated to Bahasa Indonesia, caused youths to be obsessed with the idea of building an Islamic state and an ideal classless society.

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

A study that specifically maps Islamic literature distributed among college students are the work by Hilman Latief (2010). The research took place in 5 universities in Yogyakarta, UGM, UNY, UMY, UII and UIN Sunan Kalijaga. Latief believes that the Islamic literatures used and read by college students can be divided into three: *Salafi-Puritan literatures, general Islamic literatures and politically-oriented Islamic literatures*. Salafi-Puritan literature is represented by Abdul Wahab's *Kitab Tauhid* and Ibnu Taymiyyah's *Aqidah Islamiyah*. General Islamic literature are, among others, *Fiqh Sunnah* by Sayyid Sabiq and Arbain Nawawi. Meanwhile, politically-oriented Islamic literature is represented by Sayyid Qutb's *Ma'alim Fi al-Tariq* and Yusuf Qardhawi's *Fatawa Musasira*. Aside from Middle Eastern literature, Latief also found that several students read works by local Muslim writer such as Abdullah Gymnastiar, Quraish Shihab, Abu Bakar Ba'asyur and Anis Matta.

Beyond the existing studies, this study attempts to map the producers of Islamic literature in Indonesia along with their network and products. Outside of standard literature used as a reference for a class session, this study also attempts to understand and differentiate the many types of literature that are popular among the millennial generation: Jihadi, Tahriri, Salafi, Tarbawi and popular Islamism. A more detailed explanation on the types of Islamic literature will be provided in the next part of this paper.

The first part of this paper will explain the methodological aspect which includes the research objective, research location and how we

collect our data. It is then followed by an explanation and analysis on Islamic works literature in the school and college as well as the circulation and transmission pattern of Islamic literature outside of the class. After that, this paper will investigate and analyze 5 types of Islamic works of literature along with its ideology and network, which is then closed by a conclusion and recommendation.

Methodology

Islamic literature in this paper is referring to printed literature. This paper is made based on the research in 16 cities, Medan, Pekanbaru, Padang, Bogor, Bandung, Solo, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Jember, Pontianak, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Palu, Mataram, Ambon, and Denpasar. These cities are chosen by considering its distribution, typology, and characteristics.

Data collection is made through observation in each city for at least 3 months, by visiting chosen schools and universities, as well as bookstores and other relevant nodes. A simple survey was made during the early observation phase to map the general trends within each city. Furthermore, data is also collected through in-depth interview with up to 300 informants. These informants consisted of students, teachers, lecturers, principals, booksellers, writers, publishers, and other relevant informants.

In order to confirm the data from interview and observation, this study also held 2 Focus Group Discussion (FGD) session in each city by inviting at least 10 students from high school and college to discuss millennial generation's acceptance and preference to Islamic literature as well as how they contextualize and appropriate those works of literature. In terms of educational institution, we chose several high school, vocational school and madrasah aliyah (Islamic school at high school level), both public and private, as well as public universities under Minister of Research and Higher Education and private universities that represents the map of diversities and distribution of educational institution in each of those cities.

Aside from paper, another output from the research is a book titled *Literatur Keislaman Generasi Millennial: Transmisi, Apropriasi dan Kontestasi* or Islamic Literatures of The Millennials: Transmission, Appropriation, and Contestation, which was published separately by Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga Press (2018). Due to being an output from the same program, some narrative used in this paper has similarity with that book, sometimes explicitly and sometimes inexplicitly.

FINDING AND ANALYSIS

I. Islamic Education Literatures in High School and University

High school and university students with the current age of 16-23 years old are the millennial generation who are still trying to find their identity. Those who are already Muslims are forced to learn Islamic Education because it becomes a compulsory class under the national curriculum. As such, it is important to investigate the type of Islamic Education literature that is being used in the school and university. In this research, we investigate the Islamic Education literature consumed by millennial generations in the school and universities, whether in high school (which includes vocational school), Madrasah Aliyah (MA), and public universities. As for the segment of literature used in formal educational institutions, we are not investigating the literatures used in a religion major in Islamic university. The idea is to know whether the Islamic Education literature that they use promote tolerance and respect for diversity or otherwise, encouraging exclusivism or even radicalism.

In public and private high school, Islam and Moral Education class is held for two school-hours each week. As for Islamic private high school, usually under a foundation, Islamic education class can be held for more than 2 school-hours a week, even up to 6 school-hours a week. The same is also true in the university. University in general, both public and private, only offers 2 credits for Islamic education. As for religious university, usually under religious foundation, religious education has a bigger portion of the credit. In Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), for example, Islamic education is replaced by a package of Al-Islam and Muhammadiyah-ism Class (AIK) which give 8 credits. Those credits are distributed in 4 classes that give 2 credits each: Al-Islam 1 Aqidah-Akhlak, Al-Islam 2 Fiqh, Al-Islam 3 Qur'an, and Muhammadiyah-ism. In campus backed by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Persatuan Islam (Persis), or other similar religious institution, the credit distribution pattern is more or less similar. The class' weight is increased in order to preserve their identity as an Islamic institution.

a. Islamic education Literature being Used

In most public high schools that we investigated, teachers and students are using Islamic education books based on the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) 2013 curriculum. In practice, however, they are using Electronic Textbooks published by Pusat

Kurikulum Perbukuan Balitbang Kemendikbud or Curriculum, Book and Research Center of MoEC. Most schools use the standard 2013 curriculum's Islamic education books which are published by publishing companies which is engaged in the field of school textbooks. Based on our research in 16 cities, the most popular high school Islamic Education books are the one published by Erlangga. After Erlangga, the most common Islamic Education is those published by Yudhistira, Bumi Aksara, Platinum, Yrama Widya, or other publishers.

Islamic Education books publisher is still being dominated by big companies from Java Island. Erlangga Publishing Company, which has the most count for its book's usage, is a school textbook publisher headquartered in Caracas, East Jakarta. Aside from Erlangga, other publishers are also headquartered in the Java island like Yudhistira (Jakarta), Bumi Aksara (Jakarta), Karya Toha Putra (Semarang), Platinum (Surakarta) and Srikandi Empat Widya Utama (Yogyakarta). Although Erlangga is headquartered in Jakarta, it also has a branch office in 31 provinces in Java and outside Java. Other mass production practice is also made by Yudhistira which has branch offices in big cities in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali and Nusa Tenggara. Most of the big publishers are establishing a more specific subsidiary. Tiga Serangkai Publishing Company, for example, establishes Aqila that specifies on books for MA. At the same time, Platinum and Tiga Serangkai groups are also targeting Islamic Education segment in schools.

If students and teachers in high school use Islamic Education literature based on Kemendikbud's 2013 curriculum, students and teachers in MA use religious/Islamic literature based on Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kemenag) 2013 curriculum. In Kemenag's MA curriculum, there are 4 classes for Islamic education, namely Al-Quran and Hadith, Akidah-Akhlak, Fikih, and Cultural History. Those four classes are held for 2 school-hours a week. Arabic is also an obligatory class for students but it is not considered as Islamic education. As such, a total amount of school-hours for Islamic Education in MA is 8 hours. Our research focuses only on three textbooks, Akidah-Akhlak, Alquran and Hadith, and Fikih.

Similar with high school, the government, through Directorate of Madrasah Education's Directorate General of Islamic education in Kemenag, also provided Electronic Textbook for Islamic education in MA. In general, teachers and students in research site use the 2013 curriculum's Islamic education textbook, particularly the Electronic

Textbook. There are also some schools that combine electronic textbook with books published by Aqila, Karya Toha Putra, Srikandi Empat or others.

Other than Islamic Education literature, many high school and MA also use Student Workbook. A Student Workbook usually contains the summary of lesson and quizzes. Those quizzes are in accordance with applicable curriculum and/or the textbooks used in the school. As such, there are many quizzes that fit with the materials in the curriculum. Students and teachers in both high school and MA are still relying on Student Workbook, including for Islamic Education. In Ambon, for example, SMAN 3 and SMAN 11 uses Aspirasi's Student Workbook which is published by CV Graha Printama Selaras that headquartered in Colomadu, Karanganyar, Central Java. Several schools in Mataram use Student Workbook published by Putra Nugraha Surakarta. In Pontianak, students who attend the FGD session reported using Student Workbook for their Islamic Education class which is published by CV Haka MJ (Surakarta), Master (Klaten), CV Merah Putih (Surabaya) and Putra Nugraha (Surakarta). Other Student Workbook being used in schools are from Sindunata (Sukoharjo), CV Indonesia Jaya (Solo), CV Graha Pustaka (South Jakarta) and Intan Pariwara (Klaten). As we can see, Java-based publishers still dominate the production of the Student Workbook.

Compared to high school and MA in which students and teachers use similar curriculum and standard textbook authorized by the government, the case in university is rather diverse. In 2016, Directorate General of Learning and Student Affairs in Minister of Research, Technology and Higher Education (Kemenristek-Dikti) publishes an Islamic Education textbook titled *Pendidikan Agama Islam bagi Mahasiswa (Islamic Education for College Students)*. The Directorate General sent the Letter No. 435/B/SE/2016 on "Obligatory Learning Materials for General Lectures" to the executive committee of public universities, Private University Coordinator I to XIV, and executive committee in other related Ministries and Institutions. One of the general lectures in question is Islamic Education. The book was made by quite a lot of writers, 12 people in fact. It is stated that the book is "prepared by the government to be one of the source of values and materials in the implementation of lecture in order to establish the student's character as an Indonesian." This means that Islamic education also have a role in building nationalism for the students.

Kemenristek-Dikti also supports the making of Islamic Education textbook which is written and organized by Executive Board Committee of Asosiasi Dosen Pendidikan Agama Islam Seluruh Indonesia (ADPISI) through Islamic Education Curriculum Development Team in General Universities. ADPISI's provincial membership is quite widely spread in 20 provinces. The association publishes *Pendidikan Agama Islam Kontemporer (Contemporary Islamic Education)*. In terms of contents, ADPISI's book has a lot of similarity with the book published by Kemenristek-Dikti. The book is designed to be readily used in university, consisted of 14 chapters for 14 class session in a semester. The First Chapter discusses the importance of Islamic Education in universities, which then followed by a discussion on the concept of God, human, faith-piety, Al-Quran, Hadith, Ijtihad, Islamic Law and ethics. It is then followed by topics about interfaith harmony, Sharia economic, Islamic politics, Islamic culture and the role of the Mosque.

Kemenristek-Dikti is supposed to have a wide and systematic authority and ADPISI's outreach should also be effective due to being spread in 20 provinces. In reality, however, both Kemenristek-Dikti and ADPISI is not quite successful in placing its books as the main reading text in Islamic Education in universities. The lecturers that we interviewed reported that they rarely use ADPISI's book. In most cases, lecturers, both individually or as a team, made and publish their own Islamic Education book. Others use an unpublished dictate or simply using PowerPoint slides, with reference taken from other sources. These examples can be seen in how Team of Islamic Education Lecturer in Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), Universitas Lambung Mangkurat (ULM), Universitas Negeri Padang (UNP), Universitas Baiturrahman Padang wrote and published their own Islamic Education textbook.

The materials written in those textbooks, both one written individually or as a team, are mostly identical with the Kemenristek-Dikti's 2016 book or the previous 2002 curriculum. Some, however, are not. A more detailed explanation about this will be provided below. On one hand, this is a good thing since it encourages a more locally-oriented textbook, as long as the material does not deviate too much from the government's curriculum. Furthermore, the materials provided are still giving respect to diversity without any mention about hatred too different Islamic sects or non-Muslim. On the other hand, however, this kind of practice opens up an opportunity to insert Islamist ideas in Islamic Education class, if the lecturer is a proponent of Islamist.

b. Islamic Education Literature: Inclusive or Exclusive?

At least there are four important findings that we wrote in this paper in regards to Islamic Education literature's content. *First*, a strong acceptance to democracy. Among other contemporary issues, acceptance of democracy tends to be high and positive in many Islamic Education literature, whether in high school, MA or university. In the high school level Islamic Education textbook, particularly Kemendikbud's 2015 electronic textbook, the topic of democracy is given its own special chapter in the Twelfth Grade's textbook with title "Bersatu dalam Keragaman dan Demokrasi (Unified in Diversity and Democracy)" (Chapter 4). The early part of this chapter, which is filled with reflective writing, is quite interesting:

"Democracy is indeed a concept that came from the Western world, but do not forget that Islam is accommodative to anything that comes from the outside, be it from the West or the East. As long as the values that they brought is in accordance with Islamic values, then it will be considered Islamic" (Kemendikbud 2015: 58).

This book also mentions that the government led by Prophet Muhammad and the first four Khalifah (Emperor), which is constituted by Medina Charter, was a very democratic government. Aside from providing the fundamental of Al-Quran and Hadith, the book also discusses the comparison and meeting point between democracy and *syura*, in which *syura* is more specific due to its emphasize on freedom of expression. However, it is mentioned that *syura* is the most important democratic process in a democracy. Interestingly, the final part of this chapter also informs about the polemic of democracy among Islamic scholars (Kemendikbud 2015: 66-67). Even though democracy is specifically discussed in Kemendikbud's electronic textbook, it is not true in the case of books published by Erlangga (2015), although the idea about democracy is distributed quite well in several chapters. Meanwhile, the book published by Platinum (2015) made a specific chapter for democracy in Chapter Six of the Tenth-Grade textbook, titled "Memahami Demokrasi (Understanding Democracy)."

In Madrasah Aliyah's literature, discussion on democracy is included as a part of Al-Qur'an and Hadith learning process. In the book published by Karya Toha Putra (2016), it is included as a material in the Chapter VII for the Twelfth Grade with title "Perilaku Demokratis

dalam Kehidupan Sehari-hari (Democratic Attitude in Everyday Life).” Since it is part of Al-Quran and Hadith lesson, the discussion is mostly centered on Quranic verses, its *asbabun nuzul* (cause) and its interpretation, as well as hadith about democracy. The Quranic verses being discussed is Ali Imran (3) article 159 and Asy-Syu’ara (26) article 38. In explaining Ali Imran (3) article 159, the book’s writer refers to Quraish Shihab’s *Tafsir Al-Misbah* which explains about the Prophet Muhammad’s attempt to be gentle and prioritize consultation during the difficult time of Uhud War (Matsna 2016: 103).

Islamic Education literature for university level also discussed about democracy. However, each book has different portion in discussing it. The book was written by UGM’s Islamic Education Lecturer Team (2006) creates a special chapter, the Chapter VI, titled “HAM dan Demokrasi dalam Islam (Human Rights and Democracy in Islam).” Meanwhile, ADPISI’s book (2017) does not discuss it specifically in a special chapter but put it as a part of the chapter “Sejarah Politik Islam (Islam’s Political History).” The chapter discusses about “Democracy and Consultation.” A similar method of discussion was also found in the book written by UNP’s Islamic Education Lecturer Team (2014) who includes a sub-chapter of “Democracy in Islam” in the chapter about “Applying Islamic Political Sharia.” As for the Kemenristek-Dikti’s textbook (2016) and Universitas Andalas’ Islamic Education textbook (2014) there is no meaningful or adequate discussion about democracy.

The discussion about Islam and democracy in Islamic education class should have been an engaging discussion. However, the existing textbooks, including those mentioned above, rarely facilitate its reader’s discursive potential in reading about this topic. The chapter “Human Rights and Democracy in Islam” in UGM’s Islamic Education Lecturer Team’s textbook (2016) is written with almost no reference and meaningful intellectual discussions. This is quite unfortunate, seeing as there are many academic books and journals regarding this topic. The whole chapter only has six footnotes and all of it informs the Qur’anic verses that legitimizes democracy. Obviously, such a thing is important, but facilitating critical and discursive thinking among students is also important. The sub-chapter “Democracy in Islam” in the textbook written by UNP’s Islamic Education lecturer team (2014) only consists of 2 pages, meaning that it is quite short, even though it is written in a better manner and also make a reference to an authoritative figure in this field, John L. Esposito. Again, however, the

reference was not found in the bibliography of the chapter. This means that many Islamic Education textbooks are not written in an adequate academic standard.

Secondly, the failure to contextualize a discussion about Khilafah. The book *Fikih*, which was published as Kemenag's electronic textbook (2016 edition) for MA, discussed two topics that are quite sensitive in Indonesia: "Khilafah (Governance in Islam)" and "Jihad in Islam." We did not see any attempt made in the revised book to contextualize those two topics into the contemporary situation in Indonesia. Apparently, the contextualization is quite successful when it comes to jihad, but not much for khilafah. When discussing about khilafah, although there is an attempt to compare the history of khilafah with the history of other nations, such as Montesquieu's *trias politica* and American Constitution, as well as dividing Islamic politics into *siyasah syar'iyah* and *siyasah dusturiyah*, it still concludes that – by referring to Islamic scholar's opinion – the obligation to build khilafah is considered *farḍlu kifayah* (communal responsibility) (Kemenag 2016: 12).

As such, it is not surprising that quizzes or exams often include ambiguous questions. In the textbook published by Kemenag (2016 edition), for example, there are two questions for quiz session that can have an ambiguous meaning. *First*, the question of "Explain the basic principle of khilafah along with its *naqli* principle!" and the *second* question, "In reality, there are many practices of governance in this world. How could this be possible?" (Kemenag 2016: 28-29). The first question legitimizes the fact that khilafah is a concept that should be accepted by asking the *aqli* (rational) and *naqli* (religious) principle that justifies it. As for the second question, khilafah is one of the many form of governance in Islam. The statement about the *farḍlu kifayah* status of building khilafah, if explained without properly contextualizing it, can create controversy. This has actually happened during our research – A *Fikih* exam on December 5th, 2017 for the twelfth grade in a Madrasah Aliyah of South Kalimantan Province raises national controversy. The exam actually asks about the law that dictates Muslim community to build khilafah according to the majority of Islamic scholars. The answer given for that question will definitely be *farḍlu kifayah* because it is stated explicitly in the textbook. By reading the other questions in that exam sheet (in total there are 27 questions about khilafah) it appears that many different people will have different impression about it. This is due to the fact that many of its questions are making a political appreciation to a certain

type of governance, such as questions about Syuro Assembly (in the political tradition of Islam) and legislative system in Indonesia, about Pancasila, people's sovereignty, etc.

What makes *Fikih* literature in MA controversial might also be contributed by its choice of word for the title, which is "Khilafah (Governance in Islam)." The *Fikih* book for twelfth graders published by Toha Putra (2016) wrote a chapter about "Ketentuan Islam tentang Khilafah (Islam's Provision on Khilafah)." This means that the 2013 curriculum is putting an emphasize on khilafah. What must be considered is the fact that the term 'khilafah' in Indonesia is very sensitive and often associated with the khilafah depicted by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). It might have been different if the curriculum put the emphasize on *fikih siyasah*. This is what happened in university textbooks which put more emphasize on *fikih siyasah* or Islam politics, governance in Islam, or even democracy in Islam – instead of *khilafah*. We believe that the controversy surrounding Islamic Education in MA can be avoided if the focus on *khilafah* is replaced, in accordance with university textbooks, by changing the word of 'khilafah' into 'Islam politics'.

Thirdly, the shift from Asy'ariyah theology into Salafi theology. The recent polemic surrounding *tauhid* study or godliness theology in Indonesia can be simplified into two paradigms. The first is a paradigm that emphasizes a *tauhid* concept of 20 absolute traits of Allah. This paradigm refers to Abu Hasan Al-Asy'ary's (passed away in 935 AD) and Abu Mansyur Al-Maturidi's (passed away in 944 AD) theology. This theology is very popular among traditional Muslims in Indonesia. Secondly is the paradigm that emphasizes *tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiya*, and *asma' wa sifat* that refers to Ahmab bin Hanbal's (passed away in 855 AD) and Ibn Taymiyyah's (passed away in 1328 AD) theology.

Many of Akidah-Akhlah textbook in MA or Islamic Education textbook for high school and universities have already incorporated those three concepts (*tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiya*, and *asma' wa sifat*), but there are some that appropriates it in 4 concepts comparable with 6 principles of faith (*rukun iman*) which is widely popular in Indonesia. The four concepts in question are *ilahiyah*, *nubuawah*, *ruhaniyah*, and *sam'iyah*. As for their explanation, *ilahiyah* includes forms, names, traits and deeds by Allah; *nubuawah* discusses about faith to the prophet and *rasul*, including holy books, miracles, and fetishes; *ruhaniyah* believes in metaphysical realms such as angels, genies, demons, devils and spirits; *sam'iyah* is making a

leap of faith through *sama'i* or *naqli* decree on the underworld, the afterlife, grave torture, signs of Armageddon, and on heaven and hell. The existing textbooks make an explicit reference to Hasan Al-Banna's work (Saputra & Wahyudin 2014: 6-7). Hasan Al-Banna is the founder of Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt. The book *Pendidikan Agama Islam* (Aqidah/Tauhid) published by Lembaga Pengembangan Pendidikan Agama Islam (LEPPAI) of Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan, uses the conceptual category of *tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiya*, and *asma' wa sifat* (LEPPAI 2017: 30-33). In the book *Pendidikan Agama Islam untuk Perguruan Tinggi Umum* used in Universitas Andalas, Padang, the scope of akidah also makes a reference to Hasan Al-Banna. As for the scope of tauhid, similar book from UNP (Islamic Education lecturer team 2015) also explains similar classification by giving a more adequate and in-depth explanation of the four concepts.

Works of literature on Akidah in Muhammadiyah universities also emphasized the above-mentioned concepts. The book *Kuliah Akidah Islam (Islamic Akidah Lecture)* published by Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengamalan Islam (LPPI) Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) mentions about the scope of aqidah by explicitly referring to Hasan Al-Banna: *ilahiyat*, *nubuwat*, *ruhaniyat* and *sam'iyat*, although the book also mentions other alternatives in the form of six *arkanul* of faith. The second chapter of this book "Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala" also made a specific sub-chapter discussing about "Al-Asma' Was-Shiffat" (Ilyas 1992: 5-6). Meanwhile, the book *Kuliah Aqidah (Lectures on Aqidah)* published by Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengamalan Islam (LP21) Universitas Muhammadiyah Mataram also explains three types of tauhid: *tauhid rububiyah*, *tauhid uluhiyah*, and *tauhid asma' wa sifat* (Sukarta 2016: 78-96). The way the writer describes it, however, is only by providing a little description and a large number of quotes from the Al-Quran.

In some high school Islamic education textbook, such as the electronic textbook published by Kemendikbud (2017) and Erlangga (2016), there are no discussions about that topic. Meanwhile, the Islamic Education textbook published by Platinum (2012) still uses the 20 absolute traits of Allah concept. Some of the Akidah-Akhlak textbooks such as one published by Toha Putra uses the concept of *ilahiyah*, *nubuwah*, *ruhaniyah* and *sam'iyah* which makes a reference to Hasan Al-Banna. On the other hand, the Akidah-Akhlak textbook published by Kemenag (2014) does not use that concept at all.

Recently, people were shocked with the rare mention of 20 absolute traits of Allah (or 50 traits if combined with the *jaiz* trait of Allah and Prophet) in textbooks. The question is, since when the theological paradigm of *asma wa sifat* enters the curriculum or textbook literature? This research does not investigate textbooks published in the past or before the 2013 curriculum. However, an article written by Muhaimin in 2007 provides solid evidence on the argument that theological paradigm of *asma wa sifat* enters the curriculum and textbook literature since 2007. The late Muhaimin was a professor of Islam education in UIN Malang and the former Director of Graduate School and Lembaga Konsultasi & Pengembangan Pendidikan Islam in UIN Malang. He wrote articles that were quite thick, 44 pages, titled “Analisis Kritis terhadap Permendiknas No. 23/2006 & No. 22/2006 tentang Standar Kompetensi Lulusan dan Standar Isi Pendidikan Agama Islam di SD/MI, SMP/MTs & SMA/MA.” His work was presented in the Islamic Education Assessment Workshop in Bogor’s Religion Department in 2007. In a very explicit way, Muhaimin explains the “flaws of Minister’s regulation” and wishes to contribute an “alternative solution in order to repair the standard contents of Islamic Education in school.”

In his statement, Muhaimin showed the flaw of 20 traits theology and proposed a replacement in the form of *asmaul husna* by revising Islamic education’s curriculum. In reality, such proposal or similar ideas from other experts are quite successful. The tauhid concept of *asma wa sifat* is widely accepted in Islamic Education textbook at the university level. Some akidah-akhlak literature in MA still prefers the old tauhid concept of 20 absolute traits of Allah, but some already incorporate *asma wa sifat*. Meanwhile, there is no such theological discussion in high school level. The development of this discourse is important to be analyzed as it can show how much progress has been made in Islamic theology (read: Tarbawi, Salafi) taught to students in formal educational institutions.

Fourthly, the lack of confidence in making Indonesian Islamic local wisdom and clerics or scholars as the source of knowledge. Among the most prominent characteristic shown in Islamic Education literature, especially in high school level, is the reluctance to use local wisdom, whether it is an opinion from Muslim clerics or scholars or an Indonesian local tradition, as the source of knowledge. The existing literature prefer figures and traditions from other Muslim Countries, including aspects in which Indonesia has a great role in it. In Kemendikbud’s Islamic Education textbook (2017) for eleventh grade, there is a chapter about

"The Golden Age of Islam" which divides Islamic history into three great periods: classical age (650-1250), middle-age (1250-1800) and modern age (1800-present). Unfortunately, Indonesia as the biggest Muslim Country is not mentioned at all in that historical narrative. While it is true that Islam in Indonesia has not been meaningfully developed in the classical age, Indonesian Islam in the middle age has actually grown into a meaningful social, cultural, political and economic community – especially during the modern age. In the chapter about "Rejuvenators of Islam," Indonesia is mentioned shortly as a country with the biggest population of Muslim. But in the discussion about "Islam rejuvenator figures in modern age" it only mentions Syah Waliyullah (India), Sayyid Ahmad Khan (India), Muhammad Iqbal (India), Muhammad Ali Pasha (Egypt), Rafa'ah Baidawi Rafi' Al-Tahtawi (Egypt), Jamaluddin Al-Afghani (Egypt), Muhammad Abduh (Egypt), Muhammad Rasyid Rida (Egypt), Sultan Mahmud II (Turkey), and Namik Kamal (Turkey).

Why aren't there any figures from Nusantara mentioned in the book? Hamzah Al-Fansuri, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri, Syamsuddin Sumatrani, Nawawi Al-Bantani, Yusuf Al-Makassari, Arsyad Al-Banjari, Ihsan Jampes and many others clerics and scholars from Indonesia gained many international recognition during their age, but the book does not mention any of them. They have taught in Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Egypt or in South Africa and wrote influential books in Indonesia and other countries. The previous generation has the Walis (Sunans) who persistently preach in Java, Bali and other regions. Several other prominent political figures are Samudera Pasai, Raden Patah, Pakubuwono, Hamangkubuwono, Ki Ageng Tirtayasa and so on. Ironically, Indonesian Islam in the book is depicted as only the receiver of influence from external figures. Thus, Indonesia is depicted as a passive community, instead of an active community in the global landscape.

Other textbooks are more or less similar, including books published by Erlangga (2014). The Islamic Education textbook published by Platinum for the eleventh grade (2015) also has similar perspective. The textbook does mention a cleric from Indonesia, Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabawi. Ahmad Khatib himself lived alone and taught in Mecca and has a lot of pupils which will then become prominent figures in Indonesia. The Islamic Education textbook for eleventh grade published by Bumi Aksara mentioned more about figures of Islam rejuvenation in the world, such as pioneers in economy, education, literacies, etc.

But once again, there was no mention of pioneering figures from Indonesia.

Recently, Indonesia has been seen as the biggest democracy in the world. Many experts mention the contribution of Muslim people in the democratization process in Indonesia. One of the chapters in Kemendikbud's textbook (2015) for twelfth grader is about "Unified in Diversity and Democracy" in which one of its sub-chapter explains about "Islamic Scholar's Opinion on Democracy." The sub-chapters talk about Muslim scholar's opinion, both who rejects and accepts democracy conditionally. The strangest thing is that, Indonesian Muslim clerics or scholars that are being referred to were not mentioned. The figures it uses as a point of reference are Abul A'la Maududi, Mohammad Iqbal, Muhammad Imarah, Yusuf al-Qardhawi, and Salim Ali al-Bahasnawi. It should be noted that Indonesia also has prominent figures such as Soekarno, Agus Salim, Wakhid Hasyim, Muhammad Hatta, Ki Bagus Hadikusumo, Nurcholis Madjid, Abdurrahman Wahid and many more. Obviously, this lack of mention is not due to negligence or ignorance in part of the textbook writers. Instead, it is due to the inferiority complex that makes them think Indonesian Muslim clerics/scholars are no good to be referred to as a source of knowledge and learning for Indonesian Muslim youths.

c. Several Notes to Fix Islamic Education Literature

If the question in previous sub-chapters is whether the Islamic Education literature in school and university an inclusive or exclusive tendency have, the answer is inclusive with serious footnotes that must be considered. The main factor that makes them inclusive is the clarity and partiality of the government to the vision of education as the guardian of religious social coexistence, which includes Muslim and non-Muslim. However, without fixing the serious flaws of Islamic Education literatures, the inclusivity of it could be meaningless in constructing student's understanding and attitude. It could be that Islamic Education becomes less attractive – a conclusion made by several other researche. As such, even though Islamic Education has an inclusive nature, it still has a low impact on young generations. In other words, without improving its literature's quality, then the inclusive message cannot be delivered. Here are several considerations to fix Islamic Education literature in high school or university level:

First, despite being inclusive, Islamic Education curriculum is not solid enough. The materials seem to have no focus. A good example

to prove this point is the discussion on tolerance in Kemenag's Al-Quran and Hadith textbook (2016) for eleventh grade MA students that explains about "How Beautiful My Life is If I Have Tolerance and Etiquette in Mingling with Others." Despite appears to be a call for tolerance, the content itself mostly discuss the restriction and danger in mingling with others from different religions.

Second, the quality of Islamic Education literature in university is rather worrying. The recent rise in public's curiosity to religion, especially to Islam, should have been an opportunity to make Islamic Education more interesting. Instead, Islamic Education literature in university are not only unattractive but also have low academic quality. This can be seen from the fact that most of Islamic Education works of literature being used in university have almost no reference and academic discussion, meaning that these literature were not made seriously.

Third, in order to minimize substantial and technical mistakes in Islamic Education literature, then Kemenristek-Dikti, Kemenag, and even Kemendikbud should collaborate to establish a proofreader (*pentashih*) body for Islamic Education textbooks. This body will be tasked to ensure the quality of Islamic Education textbooks before being distributed to students.

Fourth, the reference used by writers or contributors for Islamic Education literature in the school and university often relies on the availability of mainstream literature. This is where we can see the correlation between literature in the school and in the market. Thus, the writers should be given map detailing non-textbook literature that can be accessed, including the ideological affinity of the book. This way writers of school and college level textbook can avoid making reference to the exclusive and radical group.

II. Circulation and Transmission

In general, students have a different attitude in regards to Islamic Education that they learn in the class. Some feel satisfied, some feel unsatisfied. In a survey that asks this following question "Where did you learn a textbook to learn about Islam?," some students mention a teacher or lecturer in Religion class. However, the majority answers from the Islamic study group (*pengajian*) in the school/campus, mentoring activities in Rohis/LDK, and book discussion event. In short, Islamic Education teachers/lecturers are competing with other figures outside of the class. In some cases, teachers/lecturers are not even a

competitor. This is further exacerbated by the limited amount of time for class session, boring method employed by teachers or lecturers and huge curiosity among students to learn about Islam themselves – or together with their peer – all of which has given an opportunity for alternative sources in the form of book, magazine and Islamic bulletin or by participating in an event, organization or movement to provide additional Islamic knowledge for students.

Furthermore, the excessive emphasize on morality and character building in 2013 curriculum is actually increasing the youth's uncertainty, especially for students, who have to live under the widespread discourse of moral hazard such as widespread promiscuity, misuse of drugs and other kinds of antics. The uncertainty pushes Muslim youth to hide behind a fortress in order to go deep on Islamic literatures which give strong messages about moral decadence in the community as the result of Secular Western culture expansion or contemporary world which is depicted as a sinful place filled to the brim with *bid'ah* and infidelity, which can only be dealt with by applying Sharia. Otherwise, they will look for literature with a lighter ideological tone but still emphasizes character building, morality, and piety.

There are several popular channels for students to obtain Islamic literature outside of the school, such as book store, book fair, Rohis or LDK activities, Islamic study group and book discussion. The next part will describe those channels and explain its role in the circulation and transmission of Islamic literature to the millennial generation.

a. Book Store

Bookstore is an important node in the circulation of Islamic literature to many parts of Indonesia. The academic dynamics and Islamic discourse in a region almost always occur alongside the appearance of a book store that provides Islamic literature. The bookstores in question could be a national store such as Gramedia, or translocal such as Togamas, but most of them are considered as a local store. Gramedia is present in more than 50 big cities in Indonesia, from Banda Aceh to Jayapura – they also have stores in Singapore and Malaysia. Togamas can be found in big cities and often becomes the main competitor to Gramedia, especially for middle to lower consumers. Local book stores are also contributive in circulating Islamic literatures, most of which exists in big or small cities, such as Zanafa in Pekanbaru, Social Agency in Yogyakarta, Albaba and Usaha Jaya in Banjarmasin, and Ramedia (not Gramedia) in Palu. Those book stores, aside from

providing general literature, also sell Islamic literature with any kind of ideology.

Many bookstores adopt the concept of 'one stop Islamic shopping' that combines the selling of cross-paradigm Islamic books with Islamic clothing and other kinds of Islamic merchandise. The Kedai Muslim in Medan that adopts one-stop Islamic shopping is quite successful in attracting students to purchase Islamic books and other Islamic souvenirs. Meanwhile, Al-Amin bookstore in Bogor, aside from providing mainstream Islamic books such as *Terjemah Fathul Qarib* which is quite popular among NU pesantren, also sells a book about jihad by Abdullah Azzam, titled *Tarbiyyah Jihadiyyah*, along with books published by HASMI (Harakah Sunniyah Untuk Masyarakat Islami), such as *Kebangkitan Sejati (The True Revival)*, *Urgensi Da'wah Kemurnian (The Urgency of Pure Preaching)* and *Menuju Masyarakat Islami (Towards an Islamic Society)*.

Other than general bookstores, there are also special bookstores that sell Islamic literatures for certain segment or group. However, the number is relatively small. People who shop in those kinds of stores are mostly members or sympathizers of the group. In Pekanbaru, there are two Islamic book stores for Salafi segment, that is Pustaka Ilmu and Cahaya Sunnah. Pustaka Ilmu is a small bookstore but has many visitors. It provides books published by Pustaka Imam Syafii which is a Salafi publishing company. Cahaya Sunnah does not only sells Salafi books, but also clothing and praying equipment. In Bandung, the Islam Rabiah book store – located near Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI) and beside Darut Tauhid Pesantren – sells Salafi books.

In Banjarmasin, there is an Islamic book store for Tahriri segment, which is Al-Azhar book store. This store specifically sells HTI's books written by Syaikh Taqiyudin al-Nabhani, and other Tahriri figures. It also provides *Koran Media Umat*, al-Wa'ie magazine and *Buletin Kaffah*. Al-Bayan and AL-Azhar book store is located in the vicinity of Universitas Islam Kalimantan (UNISKA) and Universitas Lambung Mangkurat (ULM), which makes them the go-to store for students in the two universities to obtain Islamic literatures. In Palu, the Salafi movement also has a segmented book store called Al-Ghuroba which is located near Al-Amanah Mosque in Ki Hajar Dewantara Street and Rumah Syar'I in Yos Sudarso Street. The two also applies one-stop Islamic shopping concept by selling herbal medicines, Muslim clothing, and Salafi-oriented books. Also in Palu, Jamaat Tabligh, a piety movement from Indo-Pakistan, also has a segmented bookstore called Tablighi in

Mangga Street, which is located near its headquarter in Al-Awwabin mosque.

Some cities also have Islamic bookstores that sell, and even print, books made by local scholars. Tafaqquh book store in Pekanbaru, for example, prints and distributes works made by Abdul Shomad and Musthafa Umar (prominent figures in Majelis Intelektual dan Ulama Muda Indonesia/MIUMI), as well as selling the preaching video of those two scholars. In Banjarmasin, Murni book store specifically prints and sells Arabic books written by local scholars in Banjarmasin or South Kalimantan, such as books made by TG Ibrahim Zuhri Mahfuz, TG Abdurrasyid Amuntai, TG Abdurrahman Sungai Bandar and TG Syukri Unus Martapura. In Palu, there is a book store that sells local scholar's books, such as Alkhairaat book store which is located in the same street with the headquarter of Pengurus Besar Alkhairaat. Dunia Ilmu book store which is located in Ampenan, Mataram, also prints and sells Nahdlatul Wathan (NW)'s books although they recently have sold Islamic books as well.

b. Book Fair

Book Fair is an important media to circulate Islamic literatures because other than providing books from many publishers and bookstores, they also bring iconic figures in Islamic literary. There are several Rohis and LDK that collaborates with publishers or bookstores in certain events in order to organize a small and limited book fair. IKAPI usually have an annual book fair in big cities which is participated by both general and religious publishers, including Islamic publishers. The systematic attempt to organize Islamic book fair has been made since 2002, under the name Islamic Book Fair (IBF) which was pioneered by several Islamic book publishers incorporated in Pokja Buku Islam IKAPI DKI Jakarta. As time goes by, IBF is also held in big cities outside of Java. In Yogyakarta, IBF was first held in 2004 while in Denpasar, the 1st Bali Islamic Book Fair was held in 2014.

It appears that each city has its own dynamics. In Jakarta, Mizan remains an important part of IBF, while in Yogyakarta, publishers who are often considered an obstacle to Islamist movement, such as LKiS, has never been invited, although LKiS usually sneaks its books in existing stalls which are mostly moderate books. Outside of Jakarta, it appears that IBF is totally controlled by Islamist groups. This can be seen from the books being launched or discussed, and the figures that got invited. In IBF Malang 2014, for example, the invitees were Helvy

Tiana Rosa and Cahyadi Takriawan who are affiliated with Tarbiyah movement, Habib Ahmad al-Hamid (First Leader of Central FPI), and K.H. Abdul Wahid Ghazali (Gus Wahid, the head of As-Salam pesantren in Malang) who used to be affiliated with NU but has since "found salvation" after meeting with the Ghoib Ruqyah Syar'iyah team and currently preaching about the union between NU and Salafi. In Yogyakarta, IBF is divided into two, but all of them are under Islamist' control. Jogja Islamic Book Fair 2017 was held on December 31st, 2017 to January 6th, 2018 in UNY's sports arena, inviting Fauzil Azim, Cahyadi Takriawan, Salim A. Fillah, Jazir ASP, all of whom, except the latest, are affiliated with Tarbiyah.

c. Rohis and LDK Activities

Outside of the classroom, many Muslim students are active in Unit Kerohanian Islam (Rohis) or Islamic Student Club and Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK) or Campus Preaching Club. Through those organizations, they were able to learn about Islam more than they ever going to get in the classroom. Rohis and LDK is a unit for Islamic activities in school and college which is structured in a systematic way (Widiyantoro 2007). These organizations are medium for intense transmission of Islamic literature. Alumni, senior and allies of Rohis and LDK, as well as the scholars and clerics they invite, has a significant role in introducing Islamic literature which contains Islamist ideologies.

As a unit for student's Islamic activities, Rohis and LDK first appeared officially during the last decades of the New Order and has managed to last until the present day. The limitation set for Islamic politics and the available space for expressing piety in the school and college during the New Order era has allowed campus-associated Islamic movement, especially Tarbiyah, to solidify itself in the era of Reformation (Wajidi 2011; Kailani 2010; Salim, Kailani and Azekiyah 2011) due to the freedom of movement provided under the banner of democracy.

The activity of Rohis and LDK is closely related with Tarbawi Islamic literature. Their process of regeneration is accompanied with their mastery in key Tarbiyah literature, such as works by Sayyid Quthb, Hasan al-Banna, and literatures appropriated by the senior activists based on those key literature. Those literatures are socialized during their *liqa'* and *halaqah* or widely known as *Manhaj Tugas Baca* (Mantuba). *Liqa'* or *halaqah* in Tarbiyah's regeneration system is a process involving small group consisted of more or less ten participants and mentored

by a *murabbi*. In this process, participants are encouraged to read at least 5 pages of Mantuba every day.

Many students are happy to learn about religion through mentoring or *liqa'* and *halaqah* method, compared to learning Islamic Education in the class or in an Islamic study group, due the capability of the *murabbi* to better communicate with their mentee – often informally. *Liqa'* also offers a counseling session. The *murabbi* will then deliver materials based on Tarbiyah movement's key literature. Tarbiyah books are easily accessible among their circles, such as books by Cahyadi Takariyawan, Ikhwan Fauzi, Salim A. FIlah, Ummu Yasmin, Satria Hadi Lubis, and Ridwansyah Yusuf Ahmad. In several LDK, aside from Tarbawi literature, Salafi books and magazines, such as *Majalah Qanitah* and *Majalah Qudwah*, as well as Tahriri books and magazines are also distributed. In such circumstances, Islamic literature are being read to the audience which allows it to circulate among the students. However, there is also a competition between Tarbiyah and HTI, as shown in the case of ITB.

d. Islamic study group and Book Discussion

Book circulation can be observed from communal al-Quran activities or an Islamic study groups based in mosque (or mushalla) and movement (or organization), or both that operates in the school and campus. Also included in this definition is *halaqah* and *liqa'* which becomes a vessel for transmitting Islamic discourses and literature. University in general is a good place to circulate and transmit Islamic literatures through communal Al-Quran reading and Islamic study groups held by LDK activists. Salman Mosque (ITB), Jama'ah Shalahuddin (UGM) and Nurul Huda Mosque (UNS), for example, is an important place to circulate Tarbawi discourses and literature. The same is also true in al-Ghifari Mosque (IPB) which is an important place to circulate Tahriri discourses and literature – especially before the dissolution of HTI in mid-2017.

In Medan, before its banning, HTI routinely held Islamic study group in UINSU's campus mosque every Friday – before and after Friday prayer. Salafi students are also active in organizing study group in Universitas Negeri Medan (Unimed)'s mosque and Universitas Sumatera Utara (USU)'s mosque. In Unimed mosque, they routinely study *Sharh al-Sunnah* book on Saturday morning. In Surabaya, Jamaah Masjid Manarul Ilmi (JMMI) ITS organizes religious activity and post a wall magazine with strong ideological tone, including their

rejection on nation-state system and propaganda about khilafah.

In Palu, Salafi study groups which are based in Al-Amanah Mosque in Ki Hajar Dewantara street, is active in reading Salafi books, such as *Tsalatsatul Ushul* by Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab At-Tamimi and *Taudhihul Ahkam* (syarah Bulughul Maram by Syaikh Abdullah ibn Abdurrahman al-Bassam). The study group is also attended by youths who are enrolled in the schools and colleges in Palu. Meanwhile, Wahdah Islamiyah, a Salafi organization headquartered in Makassar, also have a routine study group for students.

In Denpasar, LDK utilizes the mosque and mushalla near campus to organize their Islamic study group. Salafi group is quite active in organizing routine study group in a number of mosque and mushalla, although they have not engaged students yet. Among the books studied in that mosque and mushalla are *Syarah al-Ushul al-Salasah*, *Mawqif Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah min al-Ahwa' wa al-Bida'*, *Mukhtashar Minhas al-Qashidin*, *Qawa'id wa Ushul Jami'ah*, *al-Qaul al-Mufid fi Kitab al-Tauhid*, *al-Mukhtashar al-Hasis fi Hayani Manhaj al-Salaf*. They also organize "Bali Mengaji" event that invites scholars from outside Bali such as Syafiq Basalamah, Salim A. Fillah, and Bachtiar Natsir. The scholars are ideologically diverse but still belong in Islamist categories, such as Salafi, Tarbawi, and Tahriri. Furthermore, KAMMI Dewata also held a book discussion session on December 24th, 2017 for *Sejarah Emas dan Atlas Perjalanan Nabi Muhammad SAW (Golden History and Atlas of Prophet Muhammad PBUH's journey)* by Shafiyurrahman al-Mubarakfy and *Sahabat-Sahabat Rasulullah (Friends of Rasulullah)* by Mahmud al-Mishri.

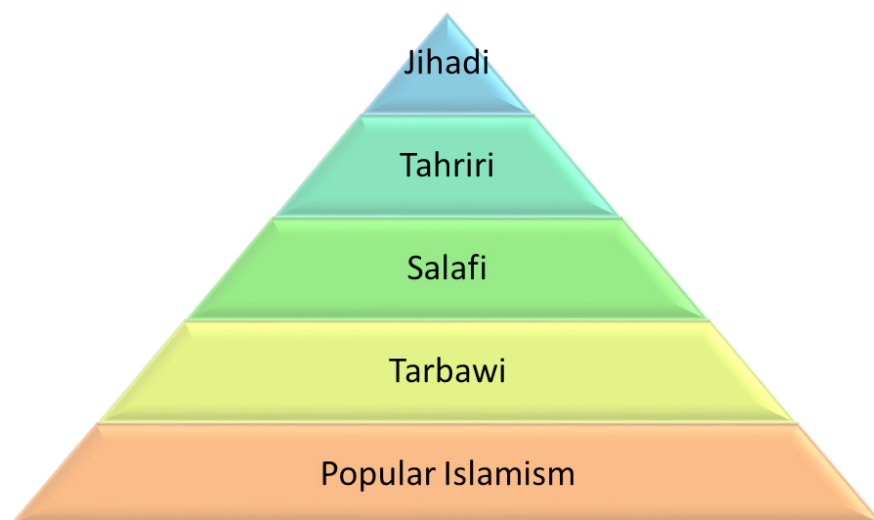
Aside from study groups, book discussion event is also an important media for students to know more about the books being discussed. There is some event who invite the writer themselves to talk, but there are some who invites other activists believed to be capable of analyzing the books. The books being discussed are mostly reflecting the organizer's religious ideological preference. In Padang, for example. Rohis of SMA Adabiyah once organized *Back to Tarbiyyah*, a Tarbawi book published by Pro-U, and a popular Islamic book, *Fikih Gaul (Cool Fiqh)* by Thobib al-Asyhar.

Bung Hatta University's Islamic study group regularly organizes book discussion every Sunday, by involving the student unit in the faculty. Universitas Andalas (UNAND) also organizes book discussion quite often, such as a discussion on *Membuka Jendela Hati (Opening the Window to the Heart)* which was written by an UNAND alumnus, Yuda

Oktana. Universitas Baiturrahmah has monthly book discussion which has discussed, among others, *Sakura with You* by Dinni Ramayani. Universitas Baiturrahmah also invited Riris Setio Rini, a Muslim convert, to discuss about her book, *Story of My Hijrah*, and Dammais, an ITB alumnus who is known among LDK activists for his work, *Inspiration Palapa* and *Menuju Kampus Madani (Towards a Civilized Campus)*. In Pontianak, a book discussion on *Syariat Cinta (The Sharia of Love)* by Buya Nanang Zakariya was organized as a part of pre-Marital lecture in Asmaul Husna Mosque on February 2017. In Ambon, Salim A. Fillah's book *Lapis-Lapis Keberkahan (Layers of Blessings)* was discussed by LDK activists.

III. THE MILLENNIAL YOUTH'S ISLAMIC LITERATURES IN THE FREE MARKET

Through channels such as book store, book fair, Rohis and LDK activities, as well as study groups and book discussions as explained previously, Islamic literature with Islamist ideology manage to reach the students. There are 5 types of Islamic literature distributed among the youth, that is Jihadi, Tahriri, Salafi, Tarbawi and Popular Islamism.



The Pyramid of Islamic Literature's Hierarchy

Jihadi literature are Islamic-ideological literature that depict Islamic world as constantly being in a war or being threatened by an enemy that desires the destruction of Islam. This literature encourages – and even urges – Muslim community to go down to the battleground and

take arms to attack the enemy's symbol. Another type of literature is Tahriri which depicts the Muslim community in the condition of being suppressed by a non-Islamic power, system, and values. The Tahriri literature believes that the solution for Muslim community's problem is the enforcement of khilafah as a political and official state system to bring upon glory for Islam and ensure the sustainability of Islamic teaching as a whole (*kaffah*).

Meanwhile, Salafi literature often depict the condition in which Muslim communities has strayed from the foundation of pure Islamic teaching. In order to return to the 'true' Islamic identity, Salafi literature offer themes about religious purification by educating its reader with the fundamental value of Islam based on a literal interpretation on Al-Qur'an and Hadith as well as the tradition of first generation Muslim (*al-salaf al-shalih*). The next is Tarbawi, which is a literature that socializes Tarbiyah movement's ideology which, in many parts, is inspired by the political and religious movement of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Tarbawi literature offer a strategy of Islamisation from below by building Islamic character from the smallest unit and family which will then expand until it can Islamize the whole state. The last type of literature is popular Islamism. At a glance, this literature seems to have no clear ideology. These literatures are considered Islamist due to putting an emphasize on personal piety and offer a conservative idea as well as literal interpretation: what kind of clothing that Muslim should wear – especially female Muslim, a strict rule on how man and woman interact in Islam, etc. This kind of literature and its writers are welcomed by readers affiliated with an Islamist movement. These literature are considered popular due to its capability to penetrate a wide range of readers, including readers who are not part of Islamist group or organization.

a. Jihadi Literature

International Crisis Group (ICG)'s report No. 147 on February 28th 2008 titled "Indonesia: Jemaah Islamiyah's Publishing Industry" shows that Jihadi literature publications in the 2000s, although small, is already quite developed into an important reference for the dissemination of Jihadi ideas. The Jihadi literature is used as a reference for Jihadi indoctrination, discussion, and training. The example for popular Jihadi literature is *Tarbiyah Jihadiyah* by Abdullah Azzam (Jazera 2013), the man behind Al-Qaeda's ideology who is also the mentor of Osama bin Laden. There are also other literatures such as *Jihad Jalan Kami* (*Jihad*

in Our Way) by Abdul Baqi Ramdhun (Era Intermedia 2002), *al-Wala' wa al-Barra'* by Muhammad Said al-Qahtani (Ummul Qura), *Kafir Tanpa Sadar (Unconsciously Infidel)* by Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz (Media Islamika 2007), *Harakah Jihad Ibnu Taimiyah* by Abdurrahman bin Abdul Khaliq (Media Islamika 2007), *39 Cara Membantu Mujahidin (39 Ways to Help Jihadist)* by Muhammad bin Ahmad as-Salam (Media Islamika 2007), and *Muslimah Berjihad (The Jihad of Female Muslim)* by Yusuf al-Uyairi (Media Islamika 2007).

Jihadi literature is the least popular among the millennial youths. The discourse and movement and Jihadi have indeed been on a downfall ever since 2010. There are several explanations on their downfall. *First*, the government's de-radicalization program has been successful in suppressing the distribution and development of Jihadi discourse. *Second*, several Jihadi activists are facing social, political and economic dilemma in shouldering the Jihadi ideology. They have to face the structural challenge from the state as the sole owner of legitimized instrument of violence. They also face rejection and pressure from the majority of Muslims who felt that they are being harmed by how Jihadi activists ruin the peaceful face of Islam. Furthermore, Jihadi activists are having economic difficulties due to the government blocking their logistic chains.

Tarbiyah Jihadiyyah by Abdullah Azzam is currently the most popular Jihadi literature among the youth, especially in Surakarta (Solo) and Bogor. This book consists of 16 chapters separated into three volumes. This book contains jihad doctrines, the ideal characteristic of a Jihadist, and the author's experience during the war in Afghanistan against the communist government of Soviet Union. In his book, the author claims that jihad is the core of Islam and thus it is an obligation that must be fulfilled until the end of time; Jihad takes precedence over any kind of prayer obliged to a Muslim which includes: five-times-a-day prayer (*shalat*), fasting, donating (*zakat*) and pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*). According to Azzam, stopping Jihad is equal to stopping the heart of Islam since the history of Islam is no other than a history of battle with "sword" in one hand and al-Quran in the other hand (Azzam 2013, I, 159-60).

Other jihadi literature popular among millennial youth is *Tathbiq Syariah: Menimbang Penguasa yang Menolak Syariat (Weighing on Leaders Who Refuse Sharia)* by Abdul Qodir bin Abdul Aziz (2007) and published by Media Islamika. This book is very strong in its claim of infidelity (by putting the label of infidel on others) by claiming

that a Muslim leader has an obligation to implement sharia as part of tauhid doctrine. If the leader does not fulfill their obligation, then they will be an infidel (no longer Islam) or a follower of *thoghut*. In these circumstances, the Muslim community should break free from the rule of such a leader. This book often makes a reference to decrees and opinions of Salafi scholars such as Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab, Muhammad bin Ibrahim Alu al-Syaikh, Abdurrahman al-Sya'di, Abdullah Azzam, Salman Audah and Najih Ibrahim ('Abd al-Aziz 2007).

Muslimah Berjihad: Peran Wanita di Medan Jihad (The Jihad of Female Muslim: The Role of Women in Jihad Ground) by Yusuf al-'Uyairi et al. is quite unique among Jihadi literature since it depicts women as a stakeholder with their own role in jihad. The book explains the role and contribution of female Muslim in jihad and provides stories about female jihadist since the time of Prophet Muhammad to the present day in order to support their argument about the important role of women in jihad. By quoting jihadist pioneers such as Abdullah Azzam, Abd al-Baqi Abd al-Qadir Ramdhun, Abdullah Ahmad Qadiri, Ali Nufa'I al-Ulyani and Salman Fahd al-Audah, the author seems to believe that jihad means war against the infidel ('Uyairi 2007: 18-19).

b. Tahriri Literature

The Tahriri literature distributed in Indonesia is a translation from Taqiyyudin An-Nabhani and Abdul Qadim Zallum's works. These two works are mostly published by Hizbut Tahrir-affiliated publishers such as HTI Press, Khilafah Press and Penerbit Quwwah. In the last decade, several Indonesian writers who are affiliated with or sympathizers of Hizbut Tahrir have been appropriating popular literature by translating Tahriri ideology to genres such as self-development literature, motivation novels, and comics.

The Tahriri books that are currently popular among students are the ones made by Felix Y. Siau such as *Beyond the Inspiration*, *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*, *The Art of Dakwah*, and *How to Master Your Habits*. Felix Siau is a popular scholar who is very active in social media and often invited for Islamic motivational seminar.

Beyond the Inspiration was first published in 2010 by Khilafah Press and was reprinted in 2013 by Alfatih Press, a new publishing company owned by Felix Y. Siau himself. Under Alfatih's publication, *Beyond the Inspiration* has been reprinted seven times in December 2014. Tahriri in *Beyond the Inspiration* is told through slangs, illustrations, and idioms that the urban Muslim youth can relate to. Felix Siau

builds a logic that *bisayarah* (good news) can only come if Islam has been completely implemented (*kaffah*). The good news in question is the conquest of regions previously ruled by non-Muslims such as Constantinople which used to be the heart of Christian Byzantium Empire (Siauw 2014: 191-94). The book is closed with a statement that explicitly explains Felix's affiliation with HTI. He believes that "khilafah" is the only legitimate form of government in Islam; The Prophet did not only gave example but also an order to enforce khilafah as the only social, political and religious order that can ensure a *kaffah* implementation of Islam and the realization of other Islamic conquests (Siauw 2014: 262-63).

Another popular book by Felix Siauw is *Muhammad al-Fatih 1453*. This book was first published in March 2013 and was reprinted for 10 times by February 2016. This book reinvents the history of the Ottoman Empire, especially the conquest of Constantinople. Siauw glorifies Sultan Mehmed II and the Ottoman's khilafah institution. Sultan Mehmed II, also known as Muhammad al-Fatih, is depicted by Siauw as an ideal figure for 21 years old Muslim youth who managed to conquer the heart of Byzantium Empire, Constantinople, in 1453. In Felix' narration, al-Fatih is depicted as a figure who was successful in rejuvenating the true spirit of Islam, especially when Arab's dynasty has stagnated in expanding Islam's power.

The figure of Al-Fatih became a gateway for Felix Siauw to present a par excellence role model for Muslim youth in order to spread Tahriri ideas to the youth. The depiction of Muhammad al-Fatih as a teenager who is not only virtuous, smart and noble but also heroic, is quite new and innovative in the contemporary Islamist discourse in Indonesia. Through al-Fatih narratives, the Islamist idea about the importance of Sharia implementation in political and governance system is reinvented with a motivational language in order to uplift the spirit of the youth through symbols of masculinity and heroism *a la* Superman, Batman and other superheroes in Western pop culture.

The two other books by Felix Siauw which quite popular among our interviewees are *Yuk Berhijab (Let's Wear Hijab)* and *Udah Putusin Aja! (Just Breakup with Him/Her!)* The two books were first published by Mizania, but then got reprinted by Alfatih Press. Unlike previous Felix Siauw's works, especially *Beyond the Inspiration* and *Muhammad Al-Fatih 1453*, these two books came in a truly new format with more illustration than writing. This new look seems to be employed to attract the millennial youths who tend to love books with pleasing aesthetic

and easy-to-digest contents rather than an intimidating book with no entertainment value.

Other popular Tahriri literature is the *Chronicles of Draculesti* novel series made by young author Sayf Muhammad Isa who attempted to fill the fictional history segment in order to socialize Tahriri ideology. Initially, the novel was published by D'rise Publishing Sukabumi and then reprinted by Khilafah Press. This novel took an ideological inspiration from Felix Siauwh who reinvents the glory of the Ottoman Empire as its model. Felix Siauwh does notice Isa's work due to having similar vision and mission. Siauwh then invited Isa to collaborate in modifying that novel which was then published under new title *Chronicles of Ghazi* by Alfatih Press.

Other than books by Felix Siauwh and Sayf Muhammad Isa, Tahriri Islamism is also adapted by local authors such as Akin or Fauzan Mutaqqin's *Al-Qandas Al-Kamill: Kegagalan yang Sempurna (A Perfect Failure/2010)* and *Winneto la Mimfito: Kesempurnaan Mimpi (The Perfection of Dream/2011)*. The two books are motivational books delivered as a dialogue and short notes much like Felix Siauwh's works. *Al Qandas Al Kamill* is slang from Bahasa Indonesia (Kandas/Failure) and Arabic (Kamil/Perfect). Akin himself is a Rohis activist from a favorite high school in Banjarmasin and graduated from the Medical Faculty in ULM. Other than being a doctor, Akin is also known as an Islamic Motivator.

c. Salafi Literature

Much like Jihadi and Tahriri literature, Salafi literature are mostly dominated with translations from Salafi scholar's works such as those made by Nasiruddin Al-Albani, Shalih Al-Utsaimin etc. These books are mostly published by Pustaka Imam Syafii, Pustaka Ibnu Umar and Mujahid Press. They mostly discuss about puritanism and a return to Al-Quran and Sunnah as well as rejecting *bid'ah* practices.

Salafi's ideological books such as *Kitab al-Tauhid* by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab and *Fath al-Majid* by Abdurrahman bin Hasan Alu al-Syaikh were widely used as the framework of Salafi literatures. *Kitab al-Tauhid* contains tauhid doctrine (Allah is One) with a strict definition. The meaning of *syirik* in *Kitab al-Tauhid* includes having your prayer being said by others, giving a similar level of compliance to both religious figure and God, giving a similar level of love to someone and God, seeking benefit from things, asking for help from someone other than God ('Abd al-Wahhab 2008). Other than the book, the Salafi

ideology is also produced in the form of magazines such as as-Sunnah, al-Furqon, asy-Syariah, Qanita, Fawaid, adz-Dzakirah, al-Islamiyah, an-Nashihah, Qudwah, Tashfiah, Akhwat and Sakinah.

Hadith is the backbone of Salafi literature. In a Salafi university such as Sekolah Tinggi Dirasat Islamiyah Imam Syafi'I Jember, books based on hadith such as *Sahih Bukhari*, *Sahih Muslim*, *al-Adab al-Mufrad*, and *Nail al-Authar* are the main reference and backbone of Salafi discourse. As for the students, hadith books such as *al-Arba'in al-Nawawi*, *Riyadh al-Shalihin* and *Bulugh al-Maram* with annotation given by Salafi figures such as Muhammad bin Salih al-Utsaimin, Nasir al-Din al-Albani, and Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawaz are commonly used among Rohis and LDK activists.

The *Syarah Arba'in an-Nawawi* book which contains commentaries from Yazid bin Abdul Qadir Jawas, for example, makes a lot of reference to the authoritative figure in Salafi such as Salih Fauzan al-Fauzan, Salih al-Utsaimin and Nashiruddin Al-Albani. In terms of hadith validity, the author makes a reference to Al-Albani. The Salafi nuance is strong in this book especially when the author explains a certain *syarah*. In the part where the book discusses about whether the intention to pray should be said aloud or not, Jawas said that saying the intention aloud is a *bid'ah* and *munkar*, far from the Prophet's guidance (Jawas 2016:28).

Other than the doctrine of purification, Salafi discourse is highly against Shia. In an edition of Qonitah magazine (vol. 24/2, 2015), for example, there was an anti-Shia article titled, "The Destruction of Women's Dignity in the Clasp of Shia" and "Shia's Brutality to Women and Children." Shia is depicted as the most dangerous form of infidelity that could happen not only to the religious ignorant and rascal but also to scholars. Other than being anti-Shia, Salafi discourse is also anti-tasawuf. In an edition of Qudwah Magazine (Vol. 32/3, 2015), tasawuf is depicted as a practice of worship built upon laziness that leads to foolishness.

One Salafi author often cited by students is Abu Al-Ghifari. Many of his works discuss about moral hazard among Muslim youth. Some of Al-Ghifari's books include *Gelombang Kejahatan Seks Remaja Modern (Wave of Sexual Crime Attempted by Modern Teens/Mujahid Press 2003)*, *Bila Jodoh Tak Kunjung Datang (If the Soulmate Never Comes/Mujahid Press 2007)*, and *Kudung Gaul: Berjilbab Tapi Telanjang (Cool Hijabers: Wearing Hijab but Naked/Mujahid Press 2007)*. If Tahriri books are made with the pleasing aesthetic in mind, Salafi books

tend to avoid illustration of human and living things. Furthermore, popular Salafi books often make a reference to Al-Quran and hadith in accordance with Salafi scholar's opinion. The book *Cool Hijabers: Wearing Hijab but Naked* was first published in March 2001 and has been reprinted twenty times in 2007. The book highlights the phenomenon of cool hijabers often found among Indonesian female Muslim teenagers.

Salafi literature is also produced in local level such as the work of Abuya Nanang Zakaria titled *Syariat Cinta: Panduan Praktis Pra Nikah (The Sharia of Love: A Practical Pre-Marital Guidance/2017)* which was published in Pontiana, West Kalimantan. This book can be considered as a how-to book, which contains short guide on how to manage the relationship between men and women if love is involved in order to avoid sin. The guide explains each step of the relationship from how to introduce each other to marriage and sexual relationship.

d. Tarbawi Literature

The two Tarbawi authors often cited by Tarbiyah activists are Anis Matta and Cahyadi Takariawan. Anis Matta is a prominent Tarbiyah activist and also one of the translators of Muslim Brotherhood's handbook titled *Majumu'ah Rasail: Risalah Pergerakan Ikhwanul Muslimin (An Essay on Muslim Brotherhood Movement/Era Adicita Intermedia)* by Hasan Al-Banna. Anis Matta is also quite productive in publishing popular books containing the Muslim Brotherhood's ideas. The most popular books that he made are, among others, *Spiritualitas Kader (Spirituality of a Cadre/Yayasan Lingkar Pemuda Pembaharu 2014)*, *Membentuk Karakter Cara Islam (Islamic Character Building/Al-I'tishom Cahaya Umat 2002)* and *Serial Cinta (Love Series/Tarbawi Press 2008)*.

The book *Serial Cinta* and *Sebelum Anda Mengambil Keputusan Besar Itu (Before You Take that Big Decision/Syaamil 2003)* is the most sought-after book from Anis Matta which argues about the importance of early marriage for Muslim youth in order to avoid premarital sex and to understand the meaning of love according to Islam. The *Serial Cinta* book is referred by many Tarbiyah sympathizers who wrote about Tarbiyah. The prominent examples of this case are Munnawar Zaman's Work, *Jangan takut Married: Manajemen Cinta Pra-Nikah, Menuju Nikah Penuh Berkah (Don't be Afraid with Marriage: Pre-marital Love Management, towards a Blessed Marriage)* and Redha Helmi's work, *30 Juz Mencari Cinta: Belajar Memahami Cinta Secara Sederhana*

(*30 Chapters to Find Love: Learning Love in a Simple Way*). The two authors often cited Anis Matta's work to strengthen their arguments on *ta'aruf* (matchmaking) and the danger of premarital relationship.

Aside from Anis Matta, another Tarbiyah activist who is quite active in making popular work on Tarbiyah is Cahyadi Takariawan. Takariawan is a very productive Tarbiyah writer. His works often discuss marriage, family and women issues according to Tarbiyah views or widely known as *keakhwatan*. His most popular books are, among others, *Di Jalan Dakwah Aku Menikah (I Got Married in the Way of Islam/Era Intermedia 2005)*, *Pernak-pernik Rumah Tangga Islami (Islamic Household's Furnitures/Era Intermedia 2007)*, and *Izinkan Aku Meminangmu (Allow Me to Propose to You/Era Intermedia.)* Takariawan's works are often cited by authors who are concerned about the issue of marriage among youths, such as Kusmarwanti M. Idham, *Smart Love: Jurus Jitu Mengelola Cinta (Tips and Tricks to Manage Love)* and Bunda Novi, *Cinta Semanis Kopi, Sepahit Susu (Love as Sweet as Coffee, as Bitter as Milk)*. Unlike his books from the 2000s, currently, Cahyadi Takariawan is employing a book title that employs motivational words which is popular among contemporary Muslim middle class who love the Wonderful Series such as *Wonderful Family, Wonderful Husband, Wonderful Wife* and *Wonderful Couple*.

The current most popular Tarbawi literature among the millennial generation is Salim A. Fillah's books such as *Saksikan bahwa Aku Seorang Muslim (See that I Am a Muslim/2007)*, *Dalam Dekapan Ukhuwah (In Ukhuwah's Embrace/2010)*, *Jalan Cinta Para Pejuang (The Hero's Way of Love/2008)* and *Nikmatnya Pacaran Setelah Pernikahan (The Joy of Going Out after Marriage/2003)*. Salim A. Fillah is a prolific Tarbiyah writer who publishes his works through Pro-U Media channel. Other than being a writer, Salim A. Fillah is also known as an Islamic scholar who routinely preaches in mosques or Tarbiyah events. Besides Salim A. Fillah, Solikhin Abu Izzudin's works are also popular among students. Some of his popular books are *Zero to Hero (Pro U Media)*, *Back to Tarbiyah (Pro U Media)*, and *New Quantum Tarbiyah (Pro U Media)*. Locally-oriented Tarbawi literature are also popular among students in several cities. The book *Jodohku dalam Proposal: Jalan Cinta Seorang Murabbi (My Soulmate in a Proposal: The Murabbi's Way of Love/2016)* was made by Nafi'ah al-Ma'rab, Sugiarti's pen name, and published in Solo, but also being circulated in Pekanbaru and around. The same is also true for *Menjadi Princess tanpa Mahkota: Sebuah Catatan Hati untuk Remaja Muslimah (Becoming a Princess*

without Crown: A Note from the Heart to Female Muslim Teens/2016) by Maharani Yas which is read by some Tarbiyah movement activists in Pekanbaru, even though the book itself was published in Bojonegoro.

Wajah-Wajah Perindu Surga (The Faces of Those Who Misses the Heaven/2016) by Neng Alfi Yulia is published by IAIN Pontianak Writing Club and STAIN Pontianak Press. Other than that, Selvia Stiphanie et al.'s short story collection, *Mencintai dalam Diam (Loving in Silent/2017)* is also popular in several locales. There are 26 short stories in this book written by local writers from many parts of Indonesia, from Aceh to Bali and Nusa Tenggara. It was first published and distributed by Dreamedia publishing co in Banjarbaru, South Kalimantan. Even though it was written by many writers from different regions, the literature's circulation is still limited to the local level, especially Banjarmasin and around. The short story in this book utilizes their local settings, the city's name, their school or universities, in order to socialize Tarbiyah ideology.

e. Popular Islamism Literatures

Literature on personal piety are the most distributed literature among Muslim youths. These kinds of literature are being read by students from different ideology and affiliation. Content-wise, it offers inspiration and illustration for Muslim to be able to compete in today's society. In general, this genre of literature is a fictional story of Muslim adventures abroad, especially in countries that are considered advanced in science, technology, economics, and politics but inhabited by many non-Muslims. Although far from Muslim countries, the protagonist's commitment to religion has never wavered and does not become an obstacle to global competition. This literature accentuates the Muslim missionary's "sacred mission" in correcting the negative stereotypes of Islam and Muslims in the West.

Topics of personal piety can be found, for example, in the novel *99 Cahaya di Langit Eropa (99 Lights in the European Sky/Gramedia 2016)* by Hanum Salsabiela Rais and Rangga Almahendra. This novel tells about the adventure of a Female Muslim and her husband to Europe. Due to feeling the pressure of being a minority, the author tries to formulate a concept of ideal Muslim in a predominantly non-Muslim country. The author describes the Muslim situation in Europe who lives under constant prejudices and stereotypes following the events of the September 11, 2001, bombing of New York, London and Madrid, the cartoon controversy of the Prophet Muhammad and

the film *Fitna* by Geert Wilders. This novel depicts Muslim's mission to "correct" negative opinions about Islam circulating in many Western societies. According to the author, negative opinions about Islam are deliberately made and disseminated. They cite *Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète* written by the French philosopher Voltaire for a play. This screenplay, as the novelist describes, tells about how Zayd bin Harithah, the Prophet's adopted son, had the heart to kill his own father because of fanaticism on the teachings of the Prophet's religion. A Muslim in that novel denies the screenplay and "corrects" the "wrong" understanding, claiming that the story is not based on historical facts (Rais and Almahendra 2016, 135-36).

The topic of pious motivation wrapped in the syar'i romance story is also found in *Ayat-Ayat Cinta (The Verses of Love/Republika 2007)* by Habiburrahman El Shirazy. The author raises the story of Fahri, an Indonesian student who is keen to study at al-Azhar University, as a role model for a perfect Muslim man. Fahri is depicted as a straight and religious figure who places religion above other predicates under any circumstances. As an unmarried young man, Fahri's life is intersected with many women -Aisha, Maria, Nurul and Noura- who are in love with him. After a tortuous love affair, Fahri married Aisha and then Maria who became a convert before she died of her illness. This novel tells about a successful and youthful romance in the hands of a perfect and charming man. In general, the author wants to illustrate how teenage love is channeled according to religious guidance.

Ayat-Ayat Cinta 2 continues upon the previous story. Fahri, who has completed his studies at the University of Freiburg, Germany, earned a position at Edinburgh University, Scotland. Living in Europe, Fahri lives with people from different countries with different religious, social and professional backgrounds. Due to living in Europe, he often faces discrimination as a Muslim, especially after the bomb incidents allegedly orchestrated by certain Islamic groups, "Islam is the religion of the devil and terrorists". One interesting setting is his involvement in the debate at Oxford Union with Prof. Mona Bravmann from the University of Chicago and Professor Alex Horten from King's College London. Bravmann, who was born as an Egyptian Muslim, married to a Jew and lived in a Christian society, argues that all religions are equal because they come from the same source. Meanwhile, Horten argues that the current humanitarian conflict is motivated by religion; thus he dreams of a world without religion so that humanitarian conflict can be reduced. It was here that Fahri took the role of "correcting" both of

the above opinions: religious diversity and spirituality were facts, and atheism-communism had, in fact, victimizes many people (Shirazy 2015, 557-85).

Popular Islamism is very subtle in its Islamist ideology, which is why it is very popular among the Muslim youths. These work of literature offer an illustration and imagination of a good role model for a Muslim who can be pious and modern at the same time.

CONCLUSIONS

Democratization in Indonesia has not only facilitated the emergence of Islamist groups, but also the emergence of creative authors on Islamic topics who are able to provide a response to new social, political and cultural contexts. Popular Islamism and public piety provide a market for Islamist works. The author of this Islamist literature emerged by exploiting new trends, opportunities, and information technology popular among Indonesian Muslim society recently. Due to their awareness on the changing times and the emergence of new reader community, these authors present Islamic topics in more modern and contemporary forms. These authors are the new actors in Islamic glorification and the producers of Islamic discourse that play within the framework of thinking "Islam is the only solution".

The role of Islamic literatures in the popularization and indoctrination of Islamic ideology among the millennial Muslim youth is significant. Islamist ideology generally penetrates students through books and religious readings available in bookstores. This literature is also obtained through Islamic literacy events such as book discussion and religious community gathering. Students are the main target of Islamist literature because they are considered as a potential recruit that can sustain the ideology of Islamism. Many Islamist books, references, and magazines are easily accessible to them, offering them a world view on Islam and the world.

It is true that PAI lessons at schools and colleges now generally contain inclusiveness. The politics of government education through the national curriculum has contributed to emphasizing religion as the guardian of religious and social coexistence, including Muslim and non-Muslim relations. Nevertheless, it seems that the Islamic Education lessons that emphasize an inclusive religious attitude are not always appealing to the millennial youth. As such, certain segments of students seek references to other Islamic literature on the free market to meet their curiosity about religion or to provide them with a way to express

their religiosity.

In general, the Islamic Education curriculum is indeed inclusive, but in some cases, the focus and the material look less solid. The quality of Islamic literature in universities, for example, are generally very poor - less attractive in terms of packaging and have low academic quality. Sometimes controversial concepts are still found. In some cases, Salafi theology began to penetrate into the textbook. This kind of cases, if not properly anticipated, can instill an absolute religious understanding among young people and a lack of understanding of the differences and plurality of religious interpretations.

The Islamist literature circulating outside the classroom can be categorized into five categories: Jihadi, Tahriri, Tarbawi, Salafi and popular Islamism. These literatures are produced by various publishers that are affiliated with Islamist movements and organizations that flourish in various cities in Indonesia. Solo is a city with the most active publishers for Islamism literature, followed by Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and Bogor.

This study contains findings that can be taken into consideration by the government, stakeholders and the wider community, especially related to youth issues and Islamic religious literature. Curriculum, materials and Islamic Education textbook in high school-madrasah aliyah and higher education still need to be refined, especially in relation to Islamic topics and narratives with the potential ambiguous ideological interpretation that could backlash the goal of achieving harmony, peace and the development of moderate Islam in Indonesia. In addition, in order to compensate for the spread of the influence of ideological Islamic literature propagated by an Islamist publishing network, the government also needs to strengthen the production and dissemination of Islamic literature that embraces the mission of moderate Islam. To be more efficient and effective, this step needs to be followed by strengthening awareness and expansion of the insights of all stakeholders involved in the teaching of Islam in schools and colleges, especially teachers and lecturers, so that they can properly explain the issue of the literature.

Another point that needs to be underlined, the overemphasis on character education as in the 2013 Curriculum-which seems to give an unnecessary obligation for each student to be a good-natured and religious person – needs to be reviewed if the government or stakeholders are unable to provide a relevant and adequate literature, as well as unable to understand the mind of the youth. The absence of

such literature will only make way for ideological Islamic literature to flourish further and embed its influence among students through out-of-school Islamic activities.

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