Preserving The Communal Piety

Friday Bulletins and the Dynamics of Religious Understanding

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Assessment of Friday Bulletins in Indonesia

PPIM UIN Jakarta

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This assessment of Friday Bulletins focuses on the bulletins that are distributed in five satellite cities or districts of Java--namely Pandeglang, Bogor, Bandung, Sukoharjo, and Gresik—for the purpose of conveying Islamic sermons or messages in the areas. Four outstanding groups of themes in the contents are: religion, state, gender and tolerance. The Islamic religious themes include *tauhid/aqidah*, daily worship, and virtues. The state-related themes include the state, government and leadership systems. The themes under tolerance discuss Muslims' attitude and behavior toward fellow Muslims or other believers. Meanwhile, the gender-related themes explore the roles and position of women, justice and equality. This assessment looks into how Friday bulletins are accessed by congregates and the extent to which the bulletins' publishers or authors deliver the four groups of themes, how the bulletins are distributed, and the meaning of this phenomenon in relation with the day to day life in this nation.

In general, this assessment found that the Friday Bulletins in 100 mosques in the five satellite cities are not evenly distributed. One of the reasons is the fact that many mosques already have their own proselytizing or preaching programs and activities in the forms of communal Quran reading and lectures--hence there is no urgent demand for bulletins. The Friday bulletins in the mosques under our observation account for 44 editions, with the highest distribution being in Sukoharjo and Gresik (34.9%) and the lowest in Pandeglang (9.9%). The fact that Friday bulletins are not evenly spread to all mosques may suggest that they do not constitute the main medium for preaching and non-formal Islamic education in mosques.

As a matter of fact, only a few mosques are equipped with Friday Bulletins. Some mosques publish their own bulletins, some subscribe, but most mosques are quite passive in this department; most of them just receive whatever Friday bulletins that come to them. The reason for the lack of enthusiasm in receiving them is because mosque stewards tend to believe that a Friday bulletin is but one of the information media to spread Islamic teaching to mosque congregates or Friday sermons.

Most mosque stewards (DKM) believe that Friday Bulletins are only one of the sources of reference with low significance in the context of preaching and teaching Islamic education in mosques. Mosque missionary programs and activities and Islamic teaching are focused on Quran reading and religious preaches on *fiqh*, *aqidah*, and Al-Quran interpretations. They realize that a mosque in a neighborhood basically purports as a place of worship to preserve and nurture the plurality of the people living nearby. They preserve and nurture the plurality though religious preaching and teaching. The provision or reception of Friday Bulletins in mosques is based on the above consideration.

Our study shows that while several mosques receive Friday Bulletins, some mosques do not because they are not within the distribution path. In addition, some reject such bulletins due to a concern that the holy Quranic verses in the bulletin are not accountable. Others argue that Friday Bulletins may be misused for the interest of certain ideologies, including radical religious ideologies. For example, the Kaffah Bulletin published by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is rejected in some mosques; based on our analysis of 70 of its editions, all of them do contain radical religious messages.

In general, Friday Bulletins contain the narratives of traditional and non-traditional Salafi Islamic teachings. Traditional Salafi is an Islamic stream that refers to the construction of Islamic teaching as formulated by past clerics, while non-traditional Salafi is an Islamic stream that emerges during the modern era that emphasizes the importance of returning to Al-Quran and Sunnah in constructing Islamic perspectives on things. In a traditional Salafi bulletin, the most prevalent messages are non-radical religious ideas. Meanwhile, in a non-traditional Salafi bulletin, the messages vary from non-radical religious to radical-religious ones.

One example of the Friday Bulletins that contain radical religious ideas is Kaffah Bulletin. Most of their writers writers deliberately plan and instill romanticism toward the caliphate government system. By employing Salafi narratives, they construct a simple yet strong logic to introduce readers to religious authorities from God, the Prophet and great clerics who are respected by the Muslim community. In any other

themes that they discuss, they seem to employ fact-twisting methods by delivering a romantic perspective toward the caliphate system, along with strong criticism against the Western government system, including the Indonesian government system, which adopts the Western system.

Statistics based on this research show that the themes introduced by Kaffah Bulletin authors do cover issues on religion, state and tolerance. By looking into its 70 editionshave , it can be concluded that this bulletin is strongly dominated by discussions on the state (around 90%) and religion (91.98%).

> "Thus, all party leaders, clerics and the community must carry out their mandate in realizing a *kaffah* (complete) Islamic sharia. Otherwise, they have, deliberately or not, betrayed Allah and His Prophet" (Kaffah [011], 2017: 4).

> "After the disbandment of HTI, the public can now understand and see how the concept of caliphate has been criminalized and deemed as forbidden teaching. In fact, the caliphate is part of Islamic teaching written in Al-Quran and the Prophet's Hadith as well as stated in the books of clerics and *fuqaha*. The obligation to implement sharia in a *kaffah* manner and the enforcement of caliphate is the opinion of all clerics from various streams. Furthermore, caliphate is an agreement between clerics and imam of each stream" (Kaffah [012], 2017:2).

> "With faith, a Muslim shall not make an exception on the Laws of Allah: neither the obligation to pray and to enforce *hudud* nor the prohibition to eat pork and prohibition to conduct *riba*; nor the obligation to serve their parents and to enforce caning and stoning punishment for adulterers; and so on shall be exempted. Their faith to Allah makes them believe in the implementation of Islamic sharia in a *kaffah* manner, not half-heartedly" (Kaffah [013], 2017: 2).

> "As such, it is indeed ironic for some to claim themselves as the inheritor of Ahlu Sunnah yet they are against the opinion of the supreme Imam, by rejecting the Caliphate. Not to mention if they obstruct the Muslim community in expressing complete obedience to Allah and His Prophet by enforcing sharia and Caliphate. This is a great sin." (Kaffah [013], 2017: 3).

The contents of non-Kaffah sbulletins vary and they generally deliver non-radical messages, ranging from moderate-religious to fundamentalist-religious ideas.

> "It is improper for the Muslim community to practice the Western rules, such as the one taught by Montesquieu (sic!), Thomas Hobbes, John Locke etc., which gave birth to a democratic political system, or the one taught by John Maynard Keynes, David Ricardo etc., which gave birth to a capitalistic economic system" (Risalah [55], 2019: 30).

Based on the above findings, several recommendations to stakeholders are in order concerning the phenomenon of Friday Bulletins.

Recommendations

This study proposes the following recommendations:

1. For the Directorate General of Muslim Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs:
    a. Conduct a campaign on friendly (moderate) Islam through Friday Bulletins in a massive, systematic and periodic manner;
    b. Improve the capacity of Friday Bulletin authors so they can have knowledge and capability in writing about moderate Islam themes.
2. For Islamic organizations:
    a. Make an active and progressive participation in proliferating friendly (moderate) Islam to all Muslim congregates and communities;
    b. Produce and distribute bulletins that contain moderate Islam contents; Respond actively to issues coming from radical organizations and bulletins, including making criticism against arguments published in those media.
3. For DKM/Mosque Stewards
    a. Improve their religion-knowledge capacity so they will not easily accept any Friday Bulletins without assessing the contents;
    b. Ensure that congregates have been "secured" from exposures to radical Islamic movements in their mosques.
4. For universities:
    a. Participate actively in the production of friendly (moderate) Islam narratives; Respond actively to issues coming from radical bulletins;
    b. Collaborate with Directorate General of Muslim Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in producing moderate Friday Bulletins.

5. For the general public
   a. Always employ critical thinking in consuming any literature distributed during Friday prayers;
   b. Always ask for confirmation from mosque stewards with regard to the Friday Bulletins distributed in the mosques.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

A. Islam in Friday Bulletin Media

The publication and distribution of Friday Bulletins in Indonesian mosques is essentially an inevitable part of the weekly worship routine of the Muslim community, i.e. during Friday Prayers. However, this seemingly common phenomenon has recently given birth to a concern on the possibility of Friday Bulletins being used as a medium to proliferate radical religious ideas – despite the fact that radical religious ideas are strongly suspected of having tendencies to reject democracy and human rights. This concern needs to be responded in an objective and prudent manner to avoid serious consequences in the future.

Several intellectuals have attempted to objectively explore the above phenomenon, among others: Syarif (2014), Centre of Study for Religion and Culture (CSRC) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta (2010 and 2018), Agus Sunaryo (2017), Abdul Qohar and Kiki Muhammad Hakiki (2017), Sabari (2017), Faisal Nurdin Idris (2015), International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) and P3M (2017-2018).

Syarif's (2014) dissertation on the texts of Friday sermons discus the Friday sermons during the period of Aceh War in the 19th Century. His research explains how Friday sermons were used by clerics to provoke the idea of independence, i.e. to fight against the Dutch colonial empire. CSRC UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta conducted research on mosques and their activities twice, in 2010 and 2018. In both studies, CSRC identified the seeds of religious radicalism in mosques. The research of Agus Sunaryo (2017) confirms CSRC's research in 2010 and finds that mosques are one of

the media used to deliver radical religious ideologies.

Based on the few research on Friday Bulletins, we can conclude that: (1) there is no special focus in investigating the proliferation of radicalism through Friday Bulletins; (2) most research only discuss few Friday Bulletins partially; (3) the majority of research does not analyze texts comprehensively, only partially; (4) all existing studies scrutinize bulletins in few limited areas. Therefore, our research aims to contribute to the study on Friday Bulletins by investigating their texts in Indonesian mosques in the satellite cities in Java; by exploring the reaction of mosque stewards and congregates toward the distribution of Friday Bulletins; and by analyzing the meaning of this phenomenon in relation with the rise of religious radicalism in Indonesia.

B. Root of Islamic Radicalism in Indonesia

Martin van Bruinessen traced the root of contemporary religious radicalism in Indonesia back to the late 40s and early 50s when most Muslim communities expressed their political aspiration through Darul Islam and Masyumi party (Van Bruinessen 2002, 117). This finding needs to be positioned proportionally in its context, namely the formation of nation-state Indonesia.

The term "radical" refers to s"disapproval" and "censure;" yet both the semeanings of these words in themselves, according to Fealy, cannot be used to measure the recent rise of radicalism. Other dimensions will be necessary to support the distinctive characteristics of radical Islam, because the term refers to several stances, principles and actions that reject, affront, and censor other ideas or groups.

Islamic radicalism, according to Fealy, has several interrelated characteristics. He identifies two major characteristics of Islamic radicalism. Firstly, they believe that Islamic teaching must be implemented completely according to its texts, i.e. Al-Quran and Sunnah, without any compromises. They usually give special attention to the part of Al-Quran that dictates about social relations, obedience, and punishment for crimes. They emphasize that these texts must be completely adhered to.

Secondly, they react by using languages, ideas or physical violence to anything deemed as forces of secularism, materialism and deviation. They tend to act in hostility toward the status quo and believe that the fundamental Islamic teaching has provided a basis to rebuild the community and the state (Fealy 2004, 105).

Based on the above explanation, vigilante – acting with no compromises in a selfish and anarchist manner – is the most basic characteristic of religious radicalism and ideology. Advocates of religious radicalism have the potential to harbor this

vigilante tendency. Friday Bulletins, which are supposed to spread loving messages on religious values, can be turned into a medium to proliferate contradictory values.

Friday Bulletin is a published information medium to spread Islamic teachings to congregates or anyone interested in its topics as well as a reference for clerics in delivering their Friday sermons. The contents and tendencies of such bulletins usually reflect the interest of their authors and/or publishers. This open position places Friday Bulletins as strategic media for various interests. The key words that often get twisted in Friday Bulletins to advocate for certain interest are: *daulah*, caliphate, sharia, *hijriyah, jahiliyah*, politics, modern, Islam as solution, democracy being destructive, betrayal and *zalim*.

C. Area of Study: Provincial Towns

This study is deliberately limited to a certain scope: the satellite districts/cities of major cities. Satellite districts/cities are areas located adjacent to major cities or provincial/state capitals. These geographical areas are fringe areas of major cities. As such, they function as connectors and first receivers of any influences from the major cities that surround them. On the contrary, from the perspective of major cities, the existence of satellite cities can influence the existence and development of the cities themselves, either as objects or partners that can interact positively or otherwise. In reality, geographical proximity has not been the main focus of any research even though the relationship between two cities of different characteristics has shown interesting dynamics, whether from the perspective of agency, institution or interaction between existing social forces and elements. Gerry van Klinken (2014) argues that the middle part of Indonesia, with lower-middle class being its main actor, is an intrusive and durable object of study.

This assessment focuses on satellite cities based on the above considerations. The selected cities are districts of Pandeglang, Bogor, Bandung, Sukoharjo, and Gresik. Pandeglang District is the satellite city of major cities in Banten Province, i.e. Serang; Bogor City is one of the satellites of Indonesian capital, i.e. Jakarta; Bandung District is the satellite of West Java capital, namely Bandung City; Sukoharjo is the satellite of Solo in Central Java; and Gresik District is the satellite of East Java capital, i.e. Surabaya. These five cities have the quality as described previously; hence their selection as research areas.

D. Research Questions

In order to dive into the above phenomenon, this assessment will be focused on exploring necessary data to answer the following questions:

1. What are the texts of Friday Bulletins distributed in Indonesian (Java) mosques like?

2. How do mosque stewards and congregates react to the distribution of those bulletins?

3. What is the meaning of the above phenomenon in relation to the rise of religious radicalism in Indonesia?

E. Research Objectives

1. To formulate a method to increase the role of religious education in preventing violent extremism in Indonesia;

2. To identify fieldwork findings;

3. To discuss identified findings;

4. To select a frame of narration;

5. To prepare a draft on the phenomenon of Islamic radicalism and its relation to the distribution of Friday Bulletin in Indonesia based on the findings in the five research cities;

6. To formulate recommendations based on the assessment.

F. Methodology

This assessment employs mixed methods, namely descriptive-quantitative and qualitative methods. The descriptive-quantitative method includes surveys on the population of bulletins and stewards in 100 mosques under 9 categories: community mosques, campus mosques, school mosques, Military/Police mosques, neighborhood mosques, village mosques, government mosques, market/shopping mall mosques, and organization mosques in five satellite cities in Java (Pandeglang, Bogor, Bandung, Sukoharjo and Gresik). The bulletins are sampled randomly based on what can be found physically, which include among others: 44 editions of non-Kaffah Bulletins and 22 editions of Kaffah Bulletins. On the next stage, a total of 70 editions of Kaffah Bulletins are collected, from the first to the last one. The findings from those bulletins are analyzed to be labeled as 'radical' (RD) and 'not radical' (TRD). In addition, the interpretation on findings data is contextualized to the application of the state system and value system adopted by Indonesia, to be discussed in 4 major themes: religion, state, gender and tolerance.

The descriptive-quantitative method is also employed to collect questionnaire data of mosque stewards and congregates with an initial target of 300 people under the assumption that each mosque consists of 1 steward and 2 congregates (3 people x 20 mosques x 5 cities). Based on the result of purposive sampling, we manage to obtain 122 respondents.

Data resulting from the analysis of bulletin contents and questionnaires are analyzed using SPSS program to look into each percentage of bulletin content, steward's acceptance and needs on the bulletin contents, authorship, publishers and continuity of each bulletin publication.

Furthermore, a qualitative method is employed by applying observation and interviews to mosque stewards and congregates as a way to confirm and deepen the data resulting from the quantitative method. The findings are analyzed using a diametric paradigm. This paradigm is based on the idea that reality, as in the tradition of most qualitative studies, is not singular.

Then in the process of data reduction we find that the crosscutting of each data is polarized into two realities. This is reinforced by findings where a diametric reality is found due to various factors. Firstly, the bulletins are classified into two polar opposites: Kaffah and non-Kaffah. This polarization is based on the finding in which Kaffah Bulletins can be easily found, consistent in its publication, and really strong in terms of their contents and structures. Meanwhile, non-Kaffah Bulletins are found to be lacking in terms of their contents, publication and distribution.

Secondly, based on the proposed issue, Kaffah Bulletins can be said to represent the missionary media of radical ideologies in the frame of caliphate while non-Kaffah bulletins advocate various issues and messages. The diversity versus singularity of issues in the two justifies this polar opposition to be used as a basis for analysis.

Thirdly, in terms of communication, the two entities (radical and non-radical) have their own varieties. Including the derivation, the radical typology has at least 13 (thirteen) sub-indicators whereas the non-radical category has thirteen sub-indicators. As a result, the relation between Kaffah and non-Kaffah bulletins is not always head to head.

As far as research framework is concerned, this binary opposition approach is indeed quite subjective. However, this is caused by the fact that the values built as part of a social contract within it is a collection of subjectivities of each individual. In addition, these shared values are considered as the most constitutive basis for each individual.

G. Radical Indicators

In order to map the field findings, a diametric process is employed to facilitate us in understanding the radicalism issues within each bulletin's narratives. The determination of radical and non-radical label is based on several formulated criteria, as follows:

Table 1.1

Criteria of Radical and Non-Radical

Code No.	Radical (RD)	Non-Radical (TRD)
1	Implements Islamic teachings in a complete and literal/textual manner according to Al-Quran, Hadith and certain Sunnah	Implements Islamic teaching according to Al-Quran, Hadith and Sunnah but adjusted to local contexts
2	Tends to act without compromises in looking at socio-religious diversity, whether toward fellow Muslims and non-Muslims	Tends to enjoy dialogues with different socio-religious perspectives, whether with fellow Muslims or non-Muslims
3	Reactive/against powers, ideas and practices from the West that are deemed secular and materialistic	Coexists with forces, ideas and practices from the West that are deemed secular and materialistic, specifically for the one they deem constructive
4	Reactive/against ideas, perspectives and traditions of local socio-religious contexts	Coexists with ideas, perspectives and traditions of socio-religious contexts
5	Has desire to rebuild the state and community through certain Islamic teachings	Has desire to build the state and community by synergizing Islamic teaching and constructive non-Islamic teachings
6	Actively preaches to anyone by selfish belief that their idea is more correct	Preaches partially with certain target
7	Rejects religious pluralism and tendency to be exclusive	Recognizes religious pluralism and tends to be inclusive
8	Rejects gender equality by using religious arguments	Recognizes gender equality by using religious and non-religious arguments
9	Rejects existence of minority groups and sects within Islam	Recognizes existence of minority groups and sects within Islam
10	Tends to be indifferent toward the use of violence in dealing with socio-religious difference, whether with fellow Muslims or non-Muslims	Tends to reject violence in dealing with socio-religious difference, whether with fellow Muslim or non-Muslim
11	Rejects new interpretations, heresies and ideas on socio-religious practices and issues	Is open to new interpretations and ideas on socio-religious practices and issues
12	Supports the implementation of Islamic law in daily life and some of them even support the formation of Islamic state/caliphate, whether through peaceful or violent means	Supports the implementation of secular law that does not contradict with Islamic law in daily life and most of them reject the formation of Islamic state/caliphate
13	Tends to reject democracy and human rights, but has often active involvement in political process	Accept democracy and human rights

CHAPTER II
FRIDAY BULLETIN IN HISTORY

A. The Printing Culture

Bulletin is one of the currently existing mass media. Mass media in printed or electronic form, such as newspapers, magazines, photography, radios, televisions and other media, are public domain – thus they are part of the public sphere (Gun Heryanto 2018, 281). Bulletin is a quite effective tool to proliferate ideas and suggestions. A good or missionary mission is an individual or institutional effort to spread Islam in the form of writing. Therefore, missionary efforts using printed media can be effective if delivered to the right readership.

Mosque bulletins are a *bilqolam* mission. Friday Bulletins, a widely known type of bulletins, are usually published by the Mosque Prosperity Council (DKM). This type of bulletin is published every Friday (weekly or bi-weekly). Congregates can get the bulletin for free (Syamsul and Romly 2003, 103). As a printed media, this bulletin is often used by clerics for their missionary activities in the community (Haryanto 2016, 1). However, there are also bulletins published by individual publishers and distributed to various mosques in Indonesia.

Eickelman and Anderson (1997) reveal that the commitment of Islamic publishing in Indonesia toward religious tolerance has been integrated with concrete issues on human rights and free press. Audience of this ideas is mostly the middle class in urban areas who are interested in the idea of civil pluralism – an idea often considered as Western creation – where Islam continues to be the center of socio-political life. In Indonesia, where religious schools and institutions are the main norms for Islamic

discourses and publication, discussions on Muslim life require an effort to correlate with the Indonesian nationalism according to the state (p. 43).

In the early 20th century, Islamic organizations in Indonesia were on the rise, such as Muhammadiyah, which was founded in 1912 in Yogyakarta, Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926 in Surabaya, Mathlaul Anwar in 1916 in Menes, Persatuan Islam in 1923 in Bandung, and so on. These organizations have since initiated institutionalization of Islamic education that not only focuses on cognitive aspects but also on attitude and behavior. Islamic organizations have carried out missionary activities for spreading Islam as a blessing for all creations.

B. The Digital Culture

The distribution of Friday bulletins by publishers in various Indonesian mosques still continues upto this day. In the five research districts of Bogor, Pandeglang, Gresik, Sukoharjo and Bandung, printed Friday Bulletins are distributed in various mosques. Some mosques do not receive them due to several reason. The mosque's DKM does not publish the bulletin or they may have changed the media format from printed to digital.

According to internetworldstats.com[1], there are 143 million internet users in Indonesia out of its 266 million population. This means that 53.7% of Indonesians surf on the internet for their daily needs and interest, including to access Islamic information.

Table 2.1.

Number of Internet users according to internetworldstats.com

ASIA INTERNET USE, POPULATION DATA AND FACEBOOK STATISTICS - JUNE 30, 2018					
ASIA	**Population (2018 Est.)**	**Internet Users, (Year 2000)**	**Internet Users 30–June-2018**	**Penetration (% Population)**	**Users % Asia**	**Facebook 31-Dec-2017**
Afganistan	36,373,176	1,000	6,003,183	16.5 %	0.3 %	3,200,000
Armenia	2,934,152	30,000	2,126,716	72.5 %	0.1 %	990,000
Azerbaijan	9,923,914	12,000	7,999,431	80.6 %	0.4 %	1,800,000
Bangladesh	166,368,149	100,000	88,687,000	53.3 %	4.3 %	28,000,000
Bhutan	817,054	500	370,423	45.3 %	0.0 %	350,000
Brunei Darussalam	434,076	30,000	410,836	94.6 %	0.0 %	350,000
Cambodia	16,245,729	6,000	8,005,551	49.3 %	0.4 %	6,300,000
China *	1,415,045,928	22,500,000	802,000,000	56.7 %	38.9 %	1,800,000
Georgia	3,907,131	20,000	2,658,311	68.0 %	0.1 %	2,100,000
Hong Kong *	7,428,887	2,283,000	6,461,894	87.0 %	0.3 %	5,200,000
India	1,354,051,854	5,000,000	462,124,989	34.1 %	22.4 %	251,000,000
Indonesia	266,794,980	2,000,000	143,260,000	53.7 %	7.1 %	130,000,000
Japan	127,185,332	47,080,000	118,626,672	93.3 %	5.8 %	71,000,000
Kazakhstan	18,403,860	70,000	14,063,513	76.4 %	0.7 %	2,500,000
Korea, North	25,610,672	--	20,000	0.0 %	0.0 %	14,000
Korea, South	51,164,435	19,040,000	47,353,649	92.6 %	2.3 %	43,000,000
Kyrgystan	6,132,932	51,600	2,493,400	40.7 %	0.1 %	650,000
Laos	6,961,210	6,000	2,500,000	35.9 %	0.1 %	2,200,000

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1   https://www.internetworldstats.com/stats3.htm accessed on February 2019 at 14.20 WIB.

Based on the above table, we can see that the current total world population has reached 7.6 billion while the internet users per 31 December 2017 amount to 4.1 billion. Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen argue that in the next ten years, the number of internet population will be bigger than the real world population (Schmidt and Cohen, 2014, p. 23). This is due to the fact that the internet is widely accessible to anyone, which facilitates them in using social media. In fact, a person can have more than one social media accounts in platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram and so on. It is no wonder then that the number of social media users will eventually be larger than the number of real world population, not to mention that accounts of the deceased can still be accessed on the internet even if they have gone from the real world.

Although the digital era is growing rapidly, printed Friday bulletins can still be found in many mosques. In Sukoharjo, for instance, many of the 20 mosques under study still print Friday bulletins such as: Kaffah Bulletin published in Jakarta, Al-Minhaj Bulletin published in Sukoharjo, Al-Furqon Bulletin published in Gresik, Al-Ikhlas Bulletin published by Sukoharjo Religious Affairs Office, and other Friday Bulletins published by local publishers.

That Friday bulletins exist in many mosques means there is a demand for it. That This explains why some publishers keep ing them, even in ssuch as Kaffah, Al-Minhaj, and Al-Furqon, etera keep publishing them, even in printed and digital forms.

Based on our study, we find that the only Friday bulletins circulating in all five research districts are the ones published by Kaffah. Its contents in all areas are almost same; tminor variations across areas are in the paper size, advertisement contents in the back covers, and information on local praying schedules in each area.

The digital version of Kaffah Bulletins in can be found in digital version on Facebook and a few websites such as muslimahnews.com and mediaumat.news. Similarly , Al-Minhaj Bulletin is also available on Facebook, suaraquran.com and ukhuwahislamiah. com. Meanwhile, Al-Furqon Bulletisn of Gresik can be found on Facebook and bulletin. alfurqongresik.com. The three bulletins found in Sukoharjo District--Kaffah, Al-Minhak and Al-Furqon Bulletins—all have their digital versions, too. Kaffah seems to be distributed more widely in many other areas in Indonesia although this claim will require further study. Meanwhile, Al-Furqon Bulletins are found in whichever areas they are subscribed to by the mosque DKMssubscribe to them. The same is also true for Al-Minhaj Bulletin, which is published in Sukoharjo and, according to its publisher, is also distributed in greater Solo area.

CHAPTER III
MAPPING BULLETIN CONTENTS

The following figure illustrates how all the 70 editions of Kaffah Bulletins contain radical contents. Meanwhile, among the 44 editions of non-Kaffah Bulletin found in the printed form, 84.09% contain non-radical and 15.91% contain radical contents. In all the five cities we found that both Kaffah and non-Kaffah bulletins do have radical contents. Meanwhile, specifically for non-Kaffah, bulletins with radical contents are distributed in Bogor, Bandung, Pandeglang and Sukoharjo Districts.

DISTRIBUTION OF KAFFAH & NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS
(Radical/non-Radical in 5 Indonesian cities)
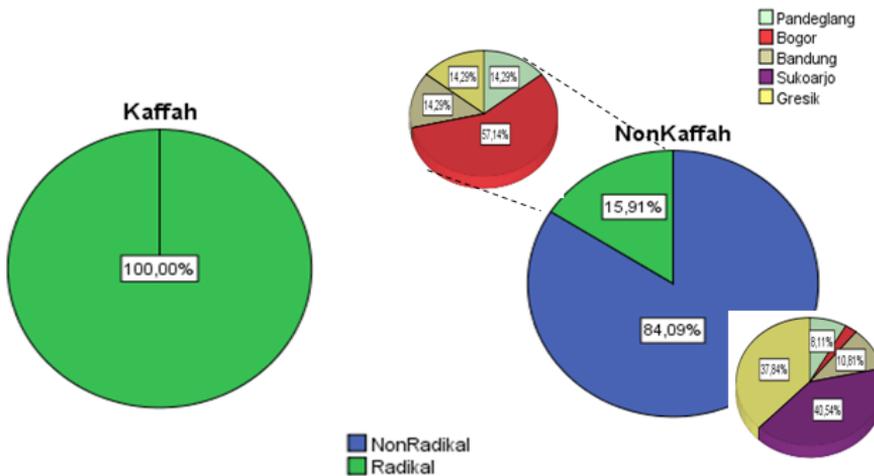
Figure 3.1. General map of Friday Bulletins

A brief description of the mapping of Kaffah and Non-Kaffah Bulletins based on their contents are as follows:

A. Non-Kaffah Bulletins

Based on our field assessment in five cities in Java, we found that the distribution of bulletins is not even and not every mosque receives or helps to distribute Friday bulletins. A mosque steward in Sukoharjo strongly argued that Friday Bulletins are no longer relevant as proselyting media due to the existence of better alternatives, i.e. the Internet. Some mosques are now equipped with Wi-Fi facilities that enable congregates to access Islamic information and knowledge through the internet. As we found out, the massive, free, sustainable and highly accessible bulletins belong to the Kaffah group. No other bulletins have the same levels of distribution and accessibility; they are categorized herea as non-Kaffah bulletins.

**DISTRIBUTION OF NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS
IN 5 INDONESIAN CITIES**
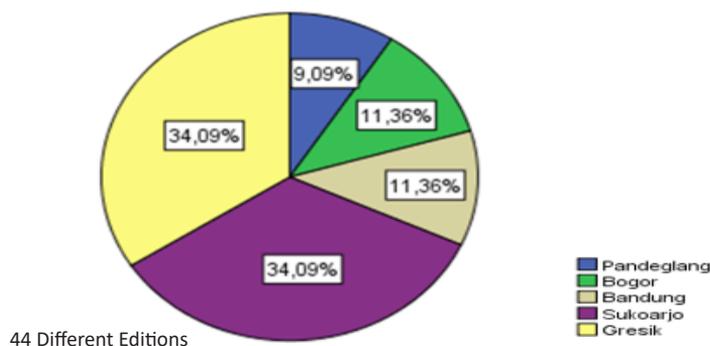
Figure 3.2. Distribution of Non-Kaffah Bulletins in 5 satellite cities

Most of the 44 editions of bulletins under assessment were distributed to mosques in Sukoharjo and Gresik (34.9%) and least to mosques in Pandeglang (9.9%).

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS
(Radical/non-Radical in 5 Indonesian Cities)
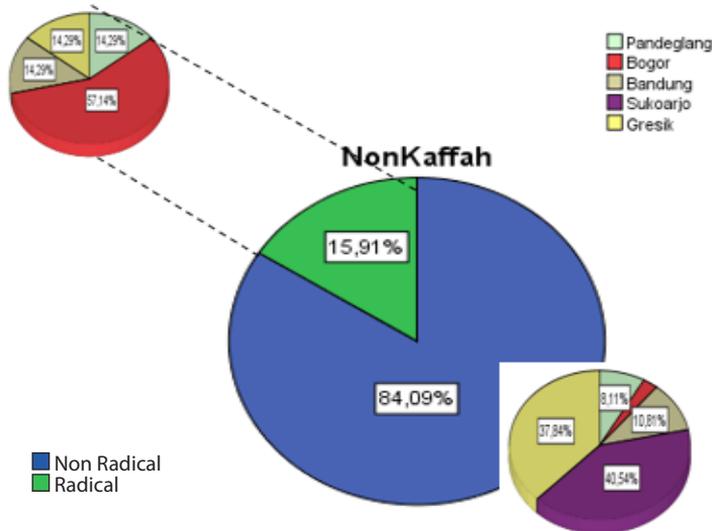
As we categorize non-Kaffah bulletins using radical and non-radical labels, the result is quite surprising. Nearly 16% of them turn out to be radical with their biggest distribution in Bogor District. Meanwhile, non-radical non-Kaffah bulletins are mostly circulated in Sukoharjo.

The distribution of radical non-Kaffah bulletins can be found in the following figure.

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS BASED ON
## MOSQUE CATEGORIES IN 5 INDONESIAN CITIES
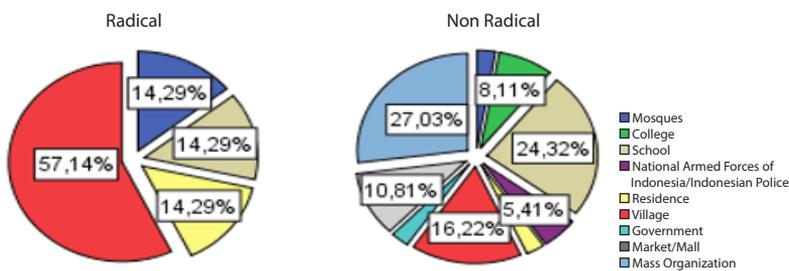
Figure 3.4. Distribution of Non-Kaffah Bulletins based on mosque Categories

Radical ideologies in Friday Bulletins are channeled to four segments or categories of mosques: village, public, school and neighborhood mosques. From the four segments, village mosques are the ones with the highest Acceptance Level (57.14%), followed by the three other segments (collectively 14.29%).
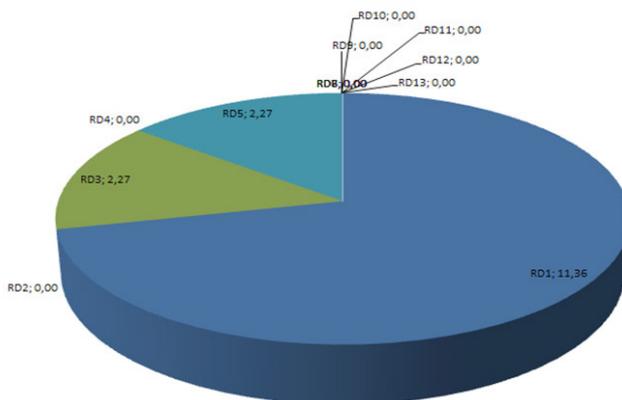
Figure 3.5. Radical contents in Non-Kaffah Bulletins
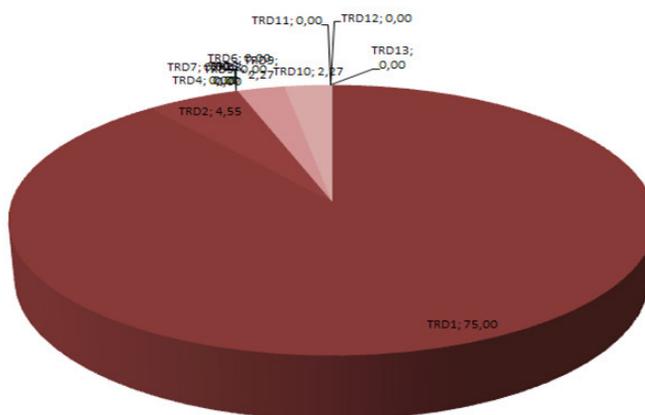
Figure 3.6. Non-Radical contents in Non-Kaffah Bulletins

1. Religion

DISCUSSIONS ON RELIGIOUS THEMES IN NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS
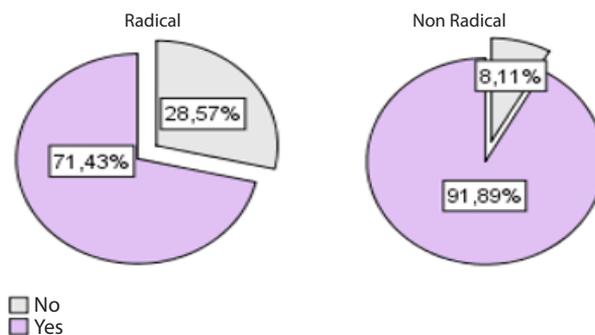
Figure 3.7. Discussions on religious themes in Non-Kaffah Bulletins

Religious themes make quite dominant presence in non-Kaffah Bulletins, whether radical ones or non-radical alike. Discussions on these theme are more prevalent in non-radical bulletins (91.98%) than in radical bulletins. (71.43%).

2. State

### DISCUSSIONS ON THE STATE IN NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS
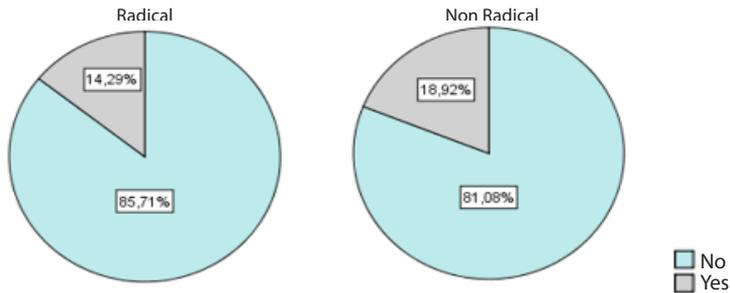
Figure 3.8. Discussion on the State in Non-Kaffah Bulletin

Both radical and non-radical non-Kaffah bulletins tend to avoid discussions on the state. Discussions on the state themes are slightly more prevalent in non-radical bulletins (18.82%) than in radical ones (14.29%).

3. Gender

### DISCUSSIONS ON GENDER THEMES IN NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS
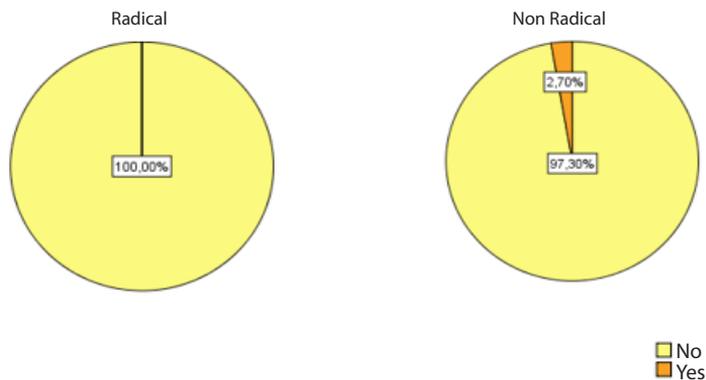
Figure 3.9. Discussions on gender themes in Non-Kaffah Bulletins

Overall, both radical and non-radical non-Kaffah Bulletins do not include gender in their discussion themes or contents. However, some non-radical bulletins do include some gender issues in their contents (2.7%).

4. Intolerance

DISCUSSIONS ON TOLERANCE/INTOLERANCE IN NON-KAFFAH BULLETINS

Radical

Non Radical

28,57%

71,43%

8,11%

91,89%

■ No
■ Yes
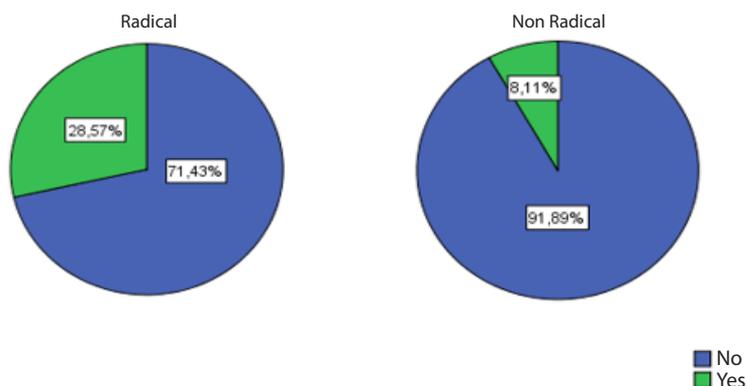
Figure 3.10. Discussions on tolerance in Non-Kaffah Bulletins

Discussions on tolerance or intolerance themes are prevalent in radical bulletins (28.57%) compared to those in non-radical bulletins (8.11%). Radical non-Kaffah bulletins tend to have intolerant religious understanding.

B. Kaffah Bulletins

DISTRIBUTION OF KAFFAH BULLETINS
(Radical/Non-Radical in 5 Indonesian Cities)

Kaffah

100,00%

■ Radical
■ Non Radical
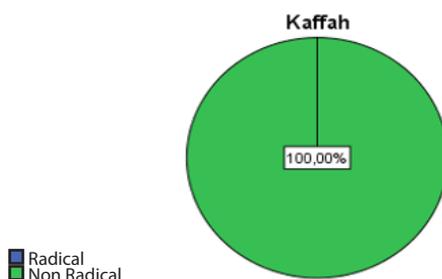
Figure 3.11 Radical contents in Kaffah Bulletins

Our analysis of content in 70 editions of Kaffah Bulletins concludes that Kaffah Bulletin's contents are 100% radical. This is a strong evidence of Kaffah Bulletin's radicalness.
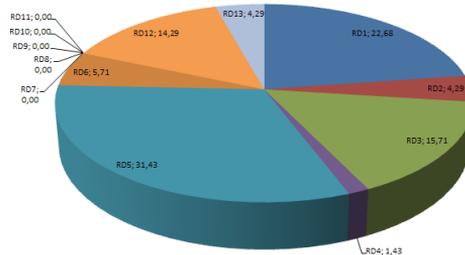

Figure 3.12 Map of radical contents of Kaffah Bulletins

Based on the result of content analysis, we found that the most prevalent discussions in Kaffah Bulletins are on the desire to rebuild the state and community by using certain Islamic principles (31.43%). Meanwhile, the least discussed contents are on arguments against local ideas, perspectives and socio-religious traditions (1.43%).

## DISTRIBUTION OF KAFFAH BULLETINS BASED ON MOSQUE CATEGORIESIN 5 INDONESIAN CITIES
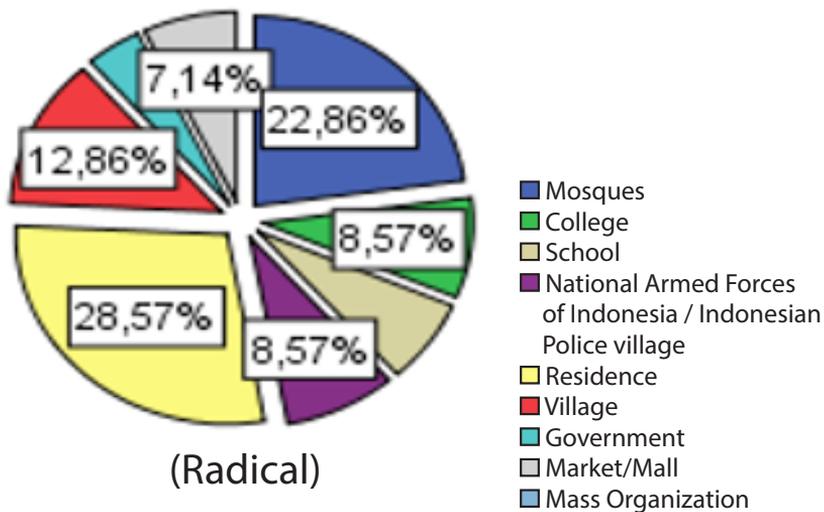
Figure 3.13. Distribution of Kaffah Bulletins based on mosque categories

Based on the above statistics, we can see that Kaffah Bulletins are distributed to each mosque category except to organization mosques, where not a single Kaffah Bulletin was ever found. This illustrates the massive outreach of Kaffah Bulletins to mosques with no organizational affiliations. The largest distribution is in neighborhood mosques (28.57) while the smallest one is in market/shopping mall mosques and government mosques (7.14%). However, if we look at the data of each mosque category, our biggest concern is in the fact that Kaffah Bulletins are distributed in 22.86% public mosques. This number is huge given the small number of public mosques.

1. Religion

### DISCUSSIONS ON RELIGIOUS THEMES IN KAFFAH BULLETINS
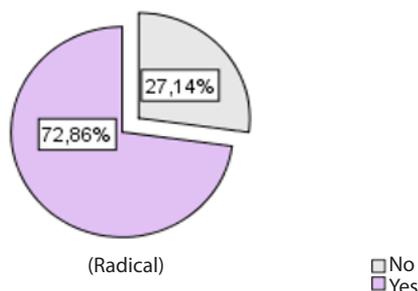
Figure 3.14. Discussions on religious themes in Kaffah Bulletins

This statistics shows that out of the 70 editions of Kaffah Bulletin, 72.86% discuss religious themes.

2. The State

### DISCUSSIONS ON STATE THEMES IN KAFFAH BULLETINS
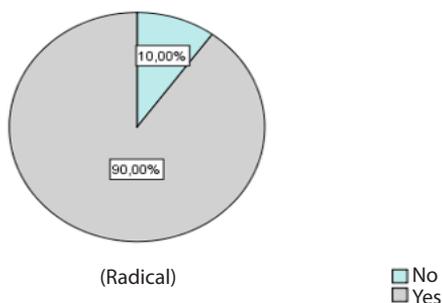
Figure 3.15. Discussions on the State in Kaffah Bulletins

One thing that should be highlighted is the fact that the state themes have become a general theme in Kaffah Bulletins. In the 70 editions of Kaffah Bulletins, 90% of them discuss state themes.

3. Gender

DISCUSSIONS ON GENDER THEMES IN KAFFAH BULLETIN

(Radical)

☐ No
☐ Yes
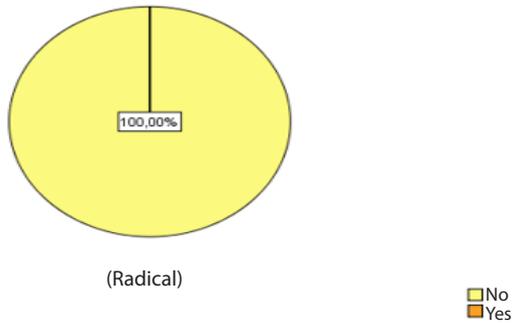
Figure 3.16. Discussions on gender themes in Kaffah Bulletins

There is no discussion about gender in Kaffah Bulletins. This is markedly different from other themes such as religion and state. It can be assumed that the lack of gender discussions is because it is deemed as a Western concept. Kaffah Bulletins are known to be anti-Western.

4. Intolerance

DISCUSSIONS ON TOLERANCE THEMES IN KAFFAH BULLETINS

(Radical)

☐ No
☐ Yes
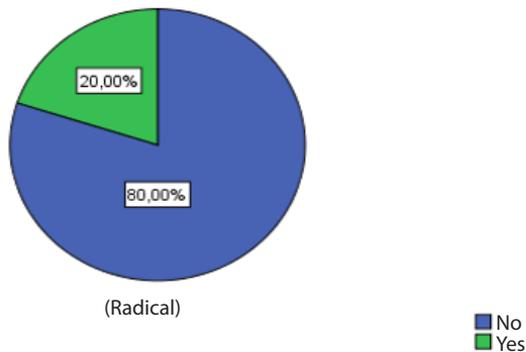
Figure 3.17. Discussion on tolerance themes in Kaffah Bulletins

Based on the statistic, only 20% of Kaffah Bulletins discuss tolerance while 80% discuss intolerance. This is quite heartening given that the previous statistics show that religious themes are discussed in 72.86% of Kaffah Bulletins and 90% on the state themes. As such, we can conclude that discussions in Kaffah Bulletins on religion and state matters are nuanced with intolerance.

C. Perception of Mosque Stewards

1. Informant Profiles

As illustrated in the following table of informant profiles, most informants in five cities are male. Interestingly, the number of younger mosque stewards is comparable with the number of their older counterparts. it means that there is an increasing trend of diversity among the youth. Mosque stewards who are formally educated are vulnerable to radical religious ideologies. Many mosques have no budget allocations for bulletin subscription or production. This means that mosques are essentially used to performing worship, study and build a new life.
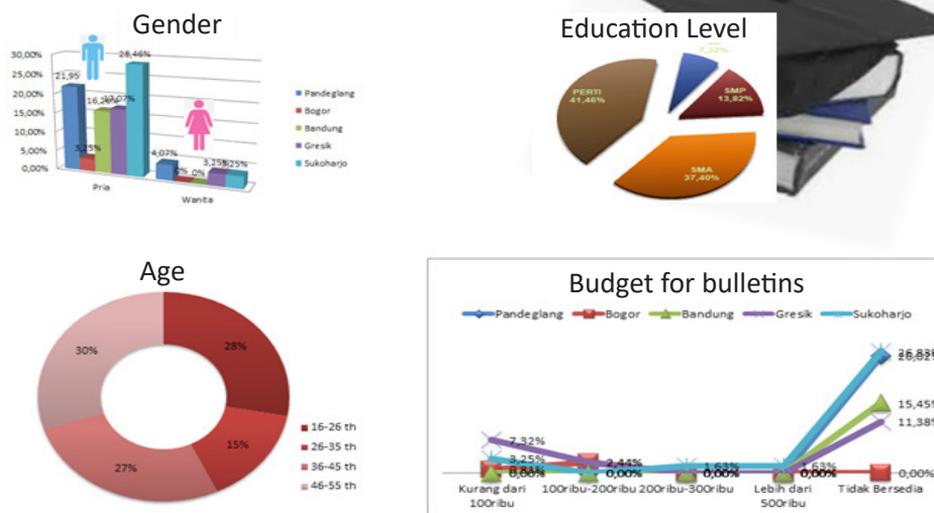
Figure 3.18. Profiles of mosque stewards/congregate informants

2. Acceptance Level of Bulletins

In general, the acceptance level is highest toward the contents of non-Kaffah Bulletins. The distribution of Kaffah Bulletins shows the largest figure as compared to that of non-Kaffah Bulletins.

Acceptance Level of Bulletin Contents
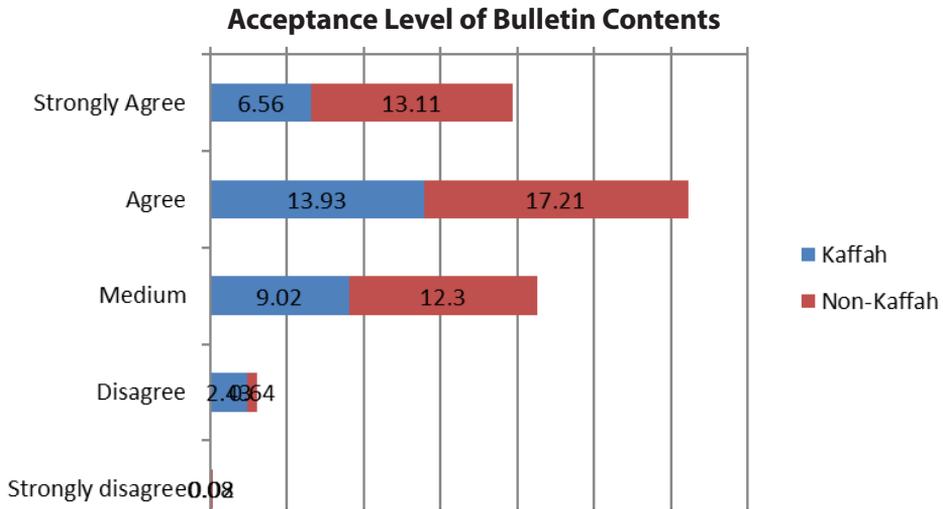
Figure 3.19. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Contents

In general, the acceptance level toward authors of non-Kaffah Bulletins is highest at 17.21%. Meanwhile, the acceptance level to authors of Kaffah Bulletins amounts to 6.15%, meaning that the acceptance toward authors of non-Kaffah Bulletins is higher.

Acceptance Level of Bulletin authors
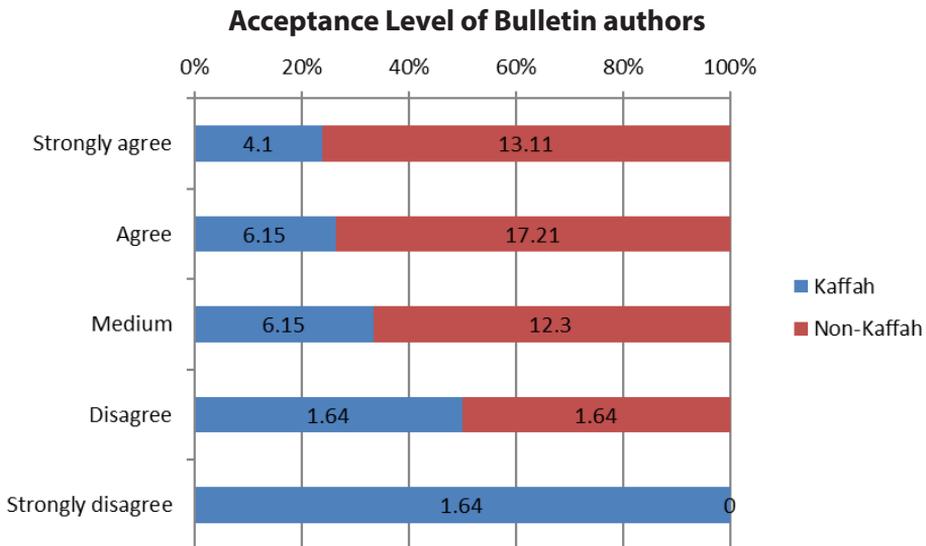
Figure 3.20. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Authors

In general, the percentage of acceptance level of Non-Kaffah Bulletin publishers under the criterion of 'Agree' is 18.85% whereas that for Kaffah under the 'Medium' criterion is 15.57%. It means that the acceptance level of Kaffah Bulletin is higher under the 'Agree' criterion.

Acceptance Level of Bulletin Publishers
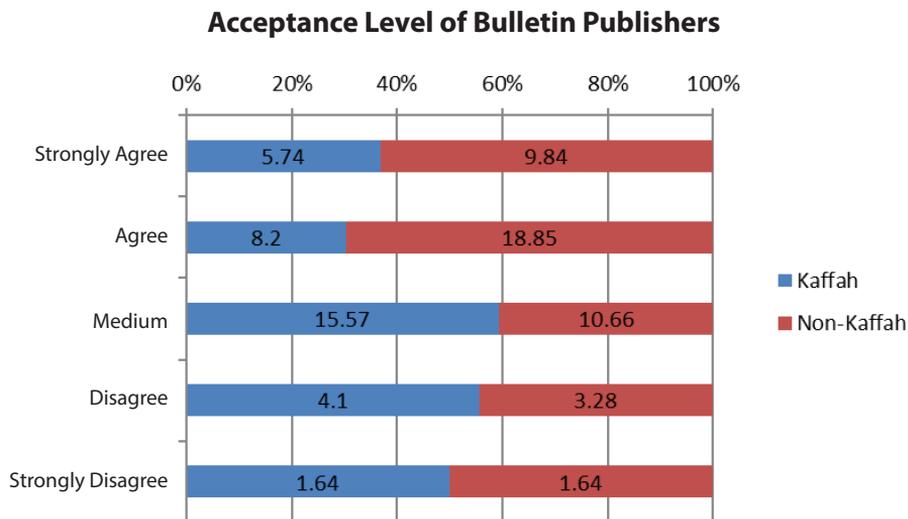
Figure 3.21. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Publishers

In general, the acceptance level to non-Kaffah Bulletin mosques is higher (at 17.21%) under the 'Strongly agree' criterion than that of Kaffah under the 'Strongly agree' criterion (12.30%).

Acceptance Level of Bulletins for Distribution in Mosques
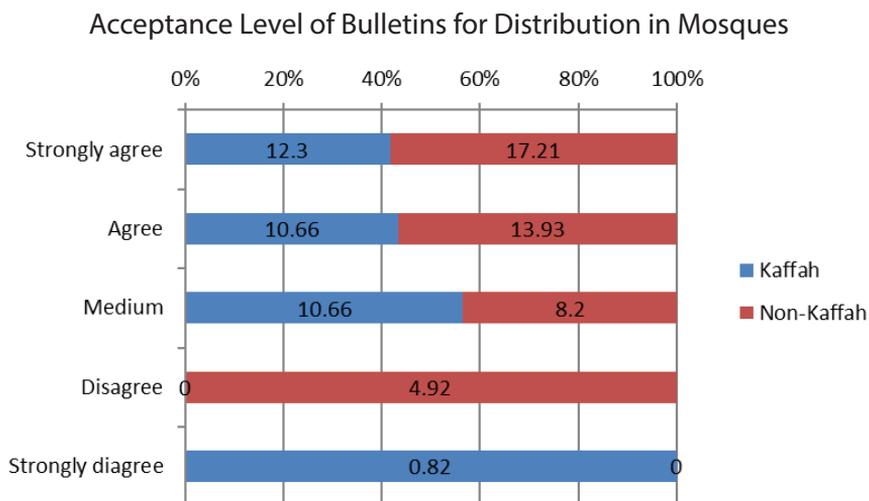
Figure 3.22 Acceptance Level of Bulletins for Distribution in Mosques

Overall, the acceptance level of weekly publication of non-Kaffah Bulletins is higher under the criterion of 'Agree' (18.03%) than that of Kaffah under the 'Agree', which is also lower (13.11%) compared to non-Kaffah. it means that non-Kaffah Bulletins are more accepted as a weekly publication.

3. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Contents
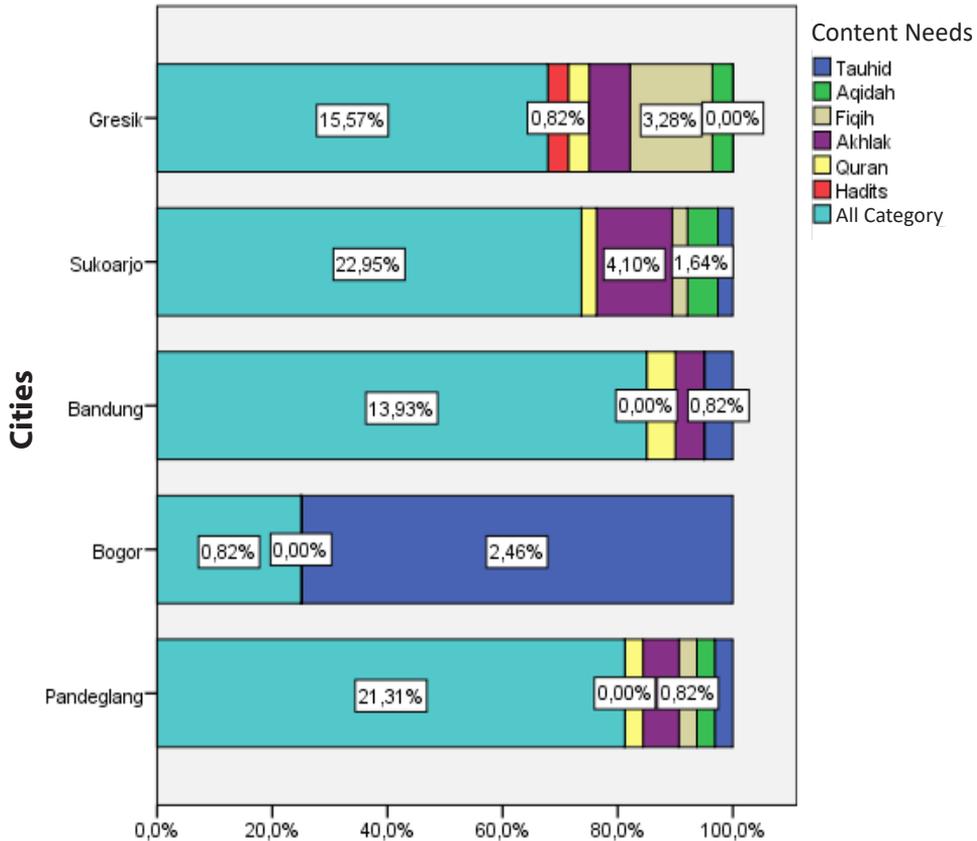
Figure 3.23. Bulletin Content Needs

All in all, the needs for bulletin contents in 5 cities are on *tauhid*, *aqidah*, *fiqh*, *akhlaq*, Al-Quran, and *hadiths*. For Sukoharjo, the need for all contents is 22.95%. In the other four cities (Gresik, Bandung, Bogor and Pandeglang), the figures are similar to that in Sukoharjo. The need for such themes as *fiqh* in Gresik is at 3.28% whereas the need for themes on akhlaq in Sukoharjo stands at 4.10%. This means that all the above categories of contents (i.e. *tauhid, aqidah, fiqh, akhlaq,* Al-Quran, and *hadiths*) are needed in every city.

4. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Authors
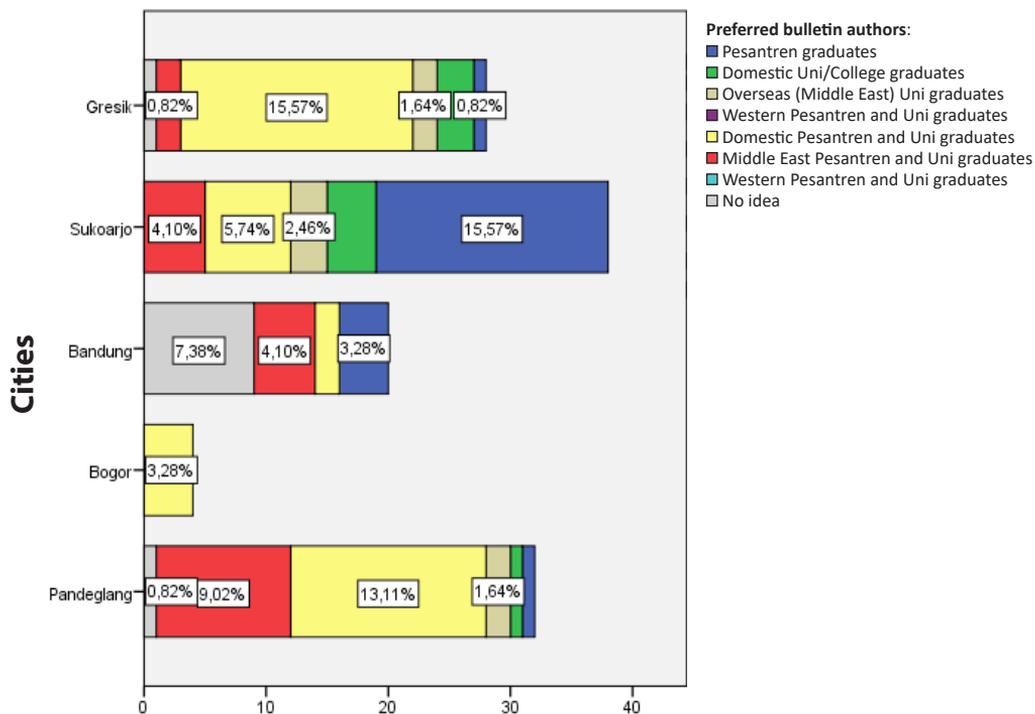
Figure 3.24. Needs for Bulletin Authors

In general, Sukoharjo district opts for authors that are pesantren graduates (15.57%) whereas Gresik district demands those graduated from domestic pesantren and universities (15.57%). This goes to show that in every city, graduates of domestic pesantren and universities are much preferred bulletin authors.

5. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Author's Expertise Level

In terms of perceived expertise, each city opts for both common authors and famous authors.
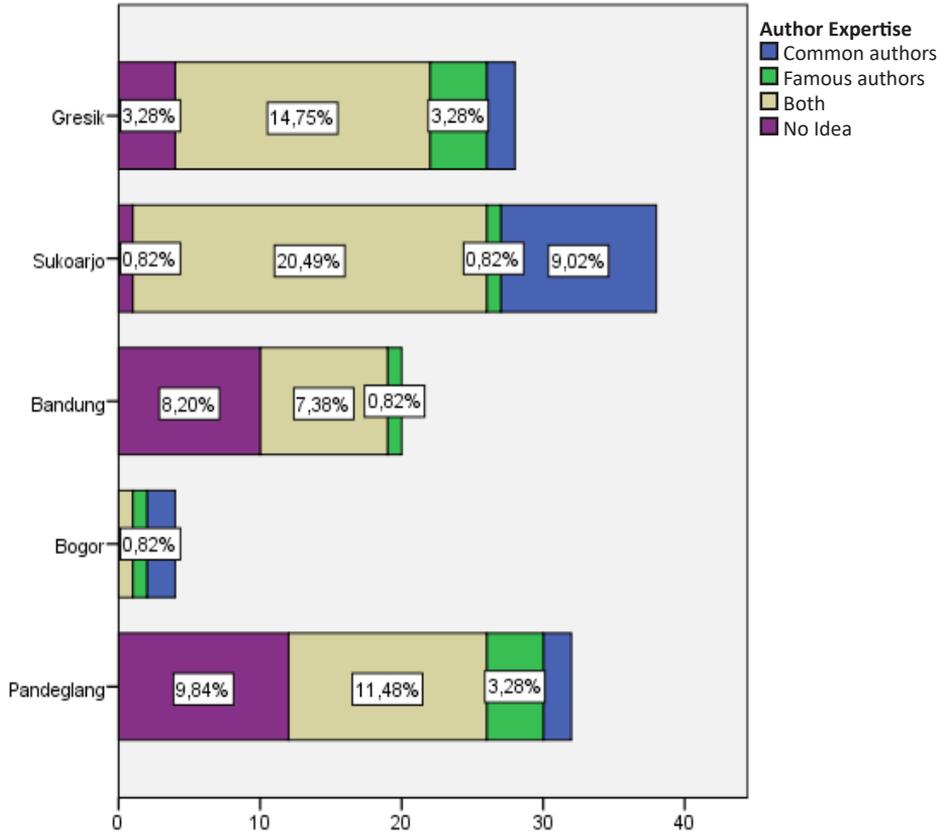
Figure 3.25. Needs for perceived author expertise

6. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Publishers

In terms of bulletin publishing institutions, each city puts an emphasis on independent institutions or institutions affiliated with national organizations.
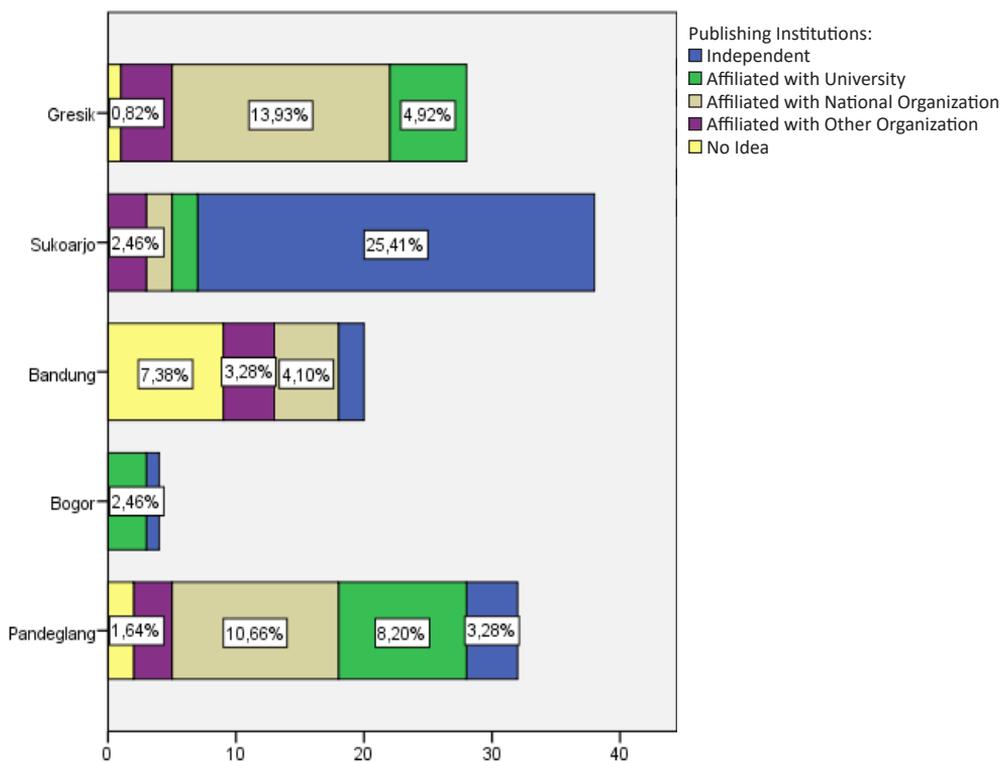
Figure 3.26. Publishing Institution Needs

7. Acceptance Level of Bulletin Publication Schedule

In terms of publication schedules, all cities prefer Friday Bulletins to be published every Friday.
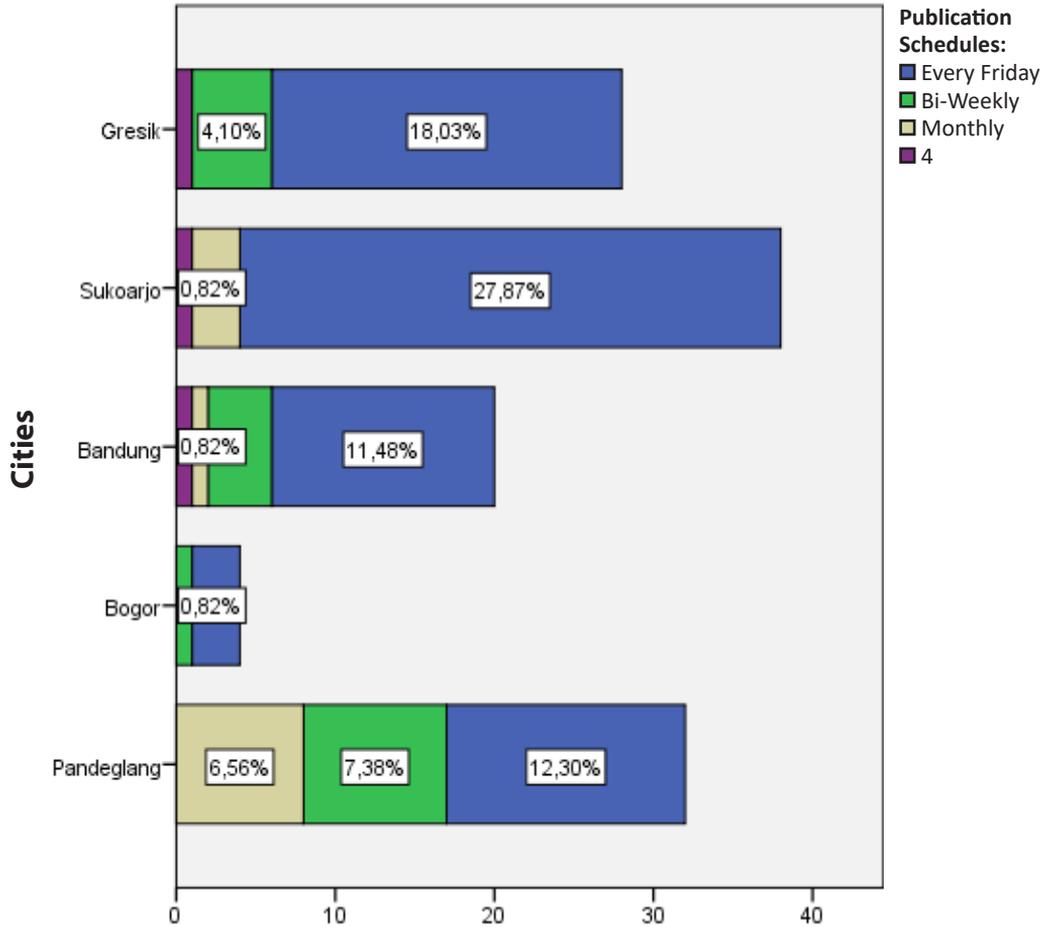
Figure 3.27 Preferred bulletin publication schedules

CHAPTER IV
CONTESTATION OF ISLAMIC IDEOLOGIES IN FRIDAY BULLETINS

A. Friday Bulletins as a Parochial Medium to Divide the Community

In an increasingly democratized, decentralized and Islamized Indonesia since the fall of New Order in 1998, there is a complicated landscape resulting from the intertwining interests between piety, Islamic populism, Islamism and religion commodification in various Islamic institutions. The shift of religious perception and practice often occur among the middle-class urban Muslim community to adjust to transnational Islamic ideologies and forces of global market economy. In the context of Islamic populism and Islamism, for instance, these groups tend to follow populist ideas in social issues such as, among other things, in identifying and condemning collective enemies--oftentimes this means rich non-Muslim foreigners, mostly Chinese descent, or Western countries that are always thought to have plans to destroy Islam. In the context of piety and religion commodification, they tend to enjoy the spirit of consuming "holy" commodities as well as religious tourism, including *umrah,* which is getting increasingly popular.

While currently there are many religious activities expressed and practiced in public--including in state-owned mosques and electronic media-- which thus tend to be inclusive (Millie et al., 2014), and because there is a desire in many modern Muslims to rediscover the holy Islam and holy book that are thought to be lacking (Howell 2010, 1042), a number of contemporary religious activities, such as Quran reading group in urban area, often become exclusive and seem to challenge the traditional

and more moderate dimensions of Indonesian Islam. Despite the exclusivity, they tend to be keen on discussing issues concerning global and local religious affairs.

Friday Bulletins, which aim to proliferate Islamic ideas and understanding of certain groups, organizations or ideologies, are actually important for proliferating useful information among the community. In our research, we found that the community has a high demand for Islamic ideas and thoughts. In addition to religious preaching and lecture in *majlis taklim* and other types of Quran reading groups, Friday Bulletins can become a printed media to spread Islamic ideas and thoughts, including updated information on religious, political, economic, social, and cultural issues.

In the case of Kaffah Bulletins, which are published by HTI, all of the contents we analyzed have shown a tendency to spread religious radicalism. Based on the 13 radical dimensions that we have formulated, we found that the bulletins mostly consist of "the desire to rebuild state and community according to certain Islamic teaching principles" dimension, followed by the next seven dimensions, consecutively: "Implementation of Islamic teachings in a complete and literal/textual manner according to Al-Quran, Hadith and certain Sunnah"; "practices from the West that are deemed secular and materialistic"; "supporting the implementation of Islamic law in daily life and some of them even support the formation of Islamic state/caliphate, whether through peaceful or violent means"; "actively preaching anyone by selfishly believe that their idea is correct"; "tendency to act without compromises in looking at socio-religious diversity, whether toward fellow Muslims and non-Muslims"; "tendency to reject democracy and human rights, but often actively involved in political process"; and "reactive/against ideas, perspectives and traditions of local socio-religious context." From the 13 proposed radical dimensions, all the Kaffah Bulletins belong to 5 radical dimensions, namely: 'rejecting religious pluralism and tends to be exclusive"; "rejecting gender equality by using religious arguments"; "rejecting the existence of minority groups and sects within Islam"; "tendency to be indifferent toward the use of violence in dealing with socio-religious difference, whether with fellow Muslims or non-Muslims"; and "rejecting new interpretations, heresies and ideas on socio-religious practices and issues."

The radicalism dimensions in Kaffah Bulletins are actually not exclusive and are only expressed, developed and spread by HTI. Other bulletins that we found in the research areas also show the same tendencies. In fact, this phenomenon is not unique to Indonesia as it is also found in other countries, even if it is not specifically expressed in Friday Bulletins. One thing that can be understood from the prevalence of ideas

and thoughts that continue to develop in the Muslim world, whether conservative, moderate or radical, is that there is a rise of Islam at the global level in recent decades. According to James Boerk Hoesterey, the reason to attract Muslim communities around the world into religious issue is due to the rise of global Islam in recent decades that have broken the traditional form of religious authority, resulting in new public role models for piety, as well as creating a new public where Islamic teaching is formed and fought over (Hoesterey 2012, 38). The increasing level of education and the rise of new communication media has also contributed to the creation of public space whereby most people demand the right to express themselves in political and religious issues. The has resulted in challenges for authoritarianism, fragmented religious and political authority, and increasingly open discussions on issues concerning "common good" in Islam (Salvatore and Eickelman 2004, xi).

One of the most prominent characteristics of our finding in the five districts is the existence of religious parochialism, i.e. a mental condition where an individual or community is only focused to the small part of ideas, thoughts, or religious issues instead of looking at its wider context. Our research is focused on the satellite cities that are characterized as hubs between urban and rural areas.

In regard with Kaffah and non-Kaffah, we analyzed four major issues, namely religion, state, tolerance and gender. On Kaffah Bulletins, from four major issues, the state and religious themes with radicalized tendencies are dominant. Meanwhile, in non-Kaffah Bulletins, the dominance lies in religious and tolerance themes. Kaffah Bulletins are more focused at state issues, especially the idea of caliphate, signifying the fact that they have a strong religious parochialism tendency. State issues are only focused on the caliphate government system, even though the state problem in Islam is far bigger than it. Meanwhile, non-Kaffah Bulletins are more focused at certain religious issues, which means that there is still a parochial tendency in those bulletins. For example, we found that 11.36% of the contents with religious radicalism tendency in non-Kaffah Bulletins actually fit the dimension of "Implementation of Islamic teachings in a complete and literal/textual manner according to Al-Quran, Hadith and certain Sunnah." Religious parochialism has great impact on the life of the community in that it divides them into a condition where there are many Muslim groups with their own exclusive ideas and practices, many of whom claiming that their religious expression is the most correct one. In Indonesia, there are many debates about the capability of Islam and modernity to reject the secular modernist idea that religious privatization and the removal of religion from public space is required to achieve modernity.

Although these five districts serve as urban-rural hubs, the existence of universities, factories, modern shopping centers and middle-class housing areas have turned them similar to major cities in Indonesia. Based on our finding, in addition to the prevalence of Kaffah Bulletins that contain religious radicalism, there are also non-Kaffah Bulletins that contain similar contents. Many congregates and mosque stewards are also found to develop a parochial and conservative understanding of religion as well as being indifferent toward conservative and exclusive religious understanding that does not respect religious diversity and other Muslim groups.

B. Friday Bulletins as a Medium to Reinforce Piety and Islam Commodification

Entities need symbols that can represent them and their group. If businesses use company logos and brands as their symbols, some organizations use names and prayers as their symbols.[2]

The role of symbols in human life is essential for not only are they material anthropologic products, but they also evoke a process that associates certain historical and cultural values to them. Thus, anyone that touches a symbol not only touches a thing, but rather they also touch the very value that the symbol represents.

In a wide and diverse public space, every symbol experiences contestation. Therefore, we can understand why the process of knowledge production and reproduction that support a symbol is met with as strong contestation to it. A common symbol is vulnerable to getting destroyed by another stronger symbol. In fact, if we attempt to map a symbol, its symbolic contestation occurs in various arenas, from small arenas among its believers up to large ones with different beliefs and ideologies.

Table 4.1.

Bulletins in Roland Barthes' Textual Semiotic Framework

Theory Variable	Reality 1	Reality 2
Denotation	Existence of Bulletin	Bulletin is found in various mosques
Connotation	Expression of Piety	Bulletin is used as reading material
Myth	Commodification of Islam	Bulletin is referred to for the religious practice of a group of people

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2 Although information that explains this in religious context is not yet to be found, the phrase is well-known in our community.

The substance of any idea that will be "marketed" requires a media to deliver it. Such media, if we talk about the mainstream one, can be categorized into two major variants: offline and online.[3] Thus, commodification process occurs in the types of media – by referring to current demand. Bulletins (offline) and their websites (online) have been adopted by some Islamic groups as a part of piety expression that becomes commodified. Such commodification process continues to occur as part of production and reproduction of the symbol they built or created in order to reinforce its identity.

The presence of Friday Bulletins can be seen from various perspectives. From the textual semiotic approach of Roland Barthes (1915-1980), the presence of bulletins is the meaning of denotation, connotation, and myth.

Piety expression is a form and realization or implementation of one's Islamic understanding that is manifested in various forms: sayings, actions, and other things related to acting upon religious teachings. This is confirmed in the statement of one informant:

> "*The Shaba' bin Mut'ib Bulletin published by Shaba' bin Mut'ib Mosque Council is one of the mosque's efforts to provide religious understanding to the surrounding community. This bulletin is also distributed to neighboring mosques. Sometimes, other congregates also take the bulletin to their place.*"
> **(Mr. Lukman – Head of Shaba' bin Mut'ib Missionary Council of Muhammadiyah)**

Connotatively, a bulletin is a part of mission. The mission implemented in the form of writing (*ad-da'wah bilqalam*) that its authors and readers believe to be the very representation of piety--especially in the current age when there are plenty of media for people to add their knowledge or understanding, including about religion. Thus, the presence of bulletins is significant in the context of religious learning.

In terms of myth, a bulletin from its physical product side is a means to strengthening the memory of congregates. This is indeed possible because the medium has a long history.[4] Readers or congregates need not to be reminded to the ontological aspects of this "thing." More than that, a bulletin becomes a communal identity of an entity whose bond can, if needed in the future, be immediately used to initiate an action.

The reality, however, is quite concerning. Bulletins that are consistent, structured, massive and well-managed are not the ones found in the fields (5 districts). They are

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3   In the New Media Theory, web is included to New media category due to its character: "digital, interactive, hyper-textual, virtual, networked and simulated." See, Martin Lister (et al.) New media: a critical introduction. Routledge: New York, 2003.

4   See this printed media history in chapter 3.

actually owned by the radical Kaffah. The quantitative data on their distribution maps, contents, and networks mentioned in the previous chapter confirm the superiority of Kaffah Bulletins in many regards.

C. Friday Bulletins and the Emergence of Islam Populism and Islamism

Friday Bulletins are also one of the media where Islam, Islamism and religious conservatism find their place in Indonesia. In all the districts that we studied, namely Pandeglang, Bogor, Bandung, Sukoharjo and Gresik, the radical Kaffah Bulletins are distributed. In addition, of the 44 editions of non-Kaffah bulletins that we found in those districts, 15.91% contain religious radicalism contents. This means that Kaffah Bulletins are not the only one with radical, conservative and parochial religious ideas and expressions. There are also other bulletins with similar ideas. Given the wide distribution of Kaffah Bulletins in Indonesia, and given the religious radicalism contents also found in non-Kaffah Bulletins, we can assume that the conditions in other Indonesian areas are not that much different. It means that after 1998, the emergence of Islamic populism and Islamism has become an undeniable reality.

It is quite clear by now that the 'true' spirit of Islam is a determining factor that reinforces the rise of Islamic populism and Islamism in Indonesia. This is also a clear sign that Islamization continues to occur in the country. It should be noted, however, that Islamization is not always a sign for the rise of Islamism. As explained by Andreas Ufen, in many occasions, Islamization in Southeast Asia signifies the rise of conservative Islam, not Islamist. In addition, he argued that in recent decades, most Indonesian Muslims have experienced a radicalized Islamization in various areas since the fall of the New Order. This development, since the independence, has been facilitated in part by the state and political elites. The state obviously has limited the activities of certain religious actors. However, most of the process was apparently the result of civil society dynamic. In the current state party system, political Islamization is moderate in nature whereas conservative Islam is flourishing in the community (Ufen 2009, 309).

As such, Friday Bulletins as one of the media to proliferate religious ideas and practices must be considered as a serious matter in the proliferation of religious parochialism, Islamic populism, Islamism and religious conservatism that will eventually divide the community. Friday Bulletins are one of the key battlegrounds where conservative Islam and radicalism often win in many Islamic discourses. Our

research has shown that these groups are ten steps ahead of us. However, there is still hope in the fact that many non-Kaffah Bulletins do proliferate religious ideas without using radical ideologies. However, there is a lingering issue that the distribution and publication of these bulletins are not as consistent or massive as those of Kaffah Bulletins, which can be found throughout Indonesia, including in digital forms. We wish to elaborate these particular major findings in the next section.

D. Friday Bulletins as a Medium to Create Pseudo-Religious Authority

Authority in general refers to power, right or legitimacy to act or ask another person to act or conduct/deliver something according to the required capacity, mentality and experience. A person is considered to have certain authority if the person has graduated from training, education, work practice, or standardized testing or receiving formal opportunity. Such definition of authority is related to an authentic power or legitimacy. For example, a doctor must pursue education and field practice for a certain period. Meanwhile, pseudo-authority refers to the same definition but the concerned is on the fact of not having to experience formal and legal processes, i.e. a person pretends to be another person or certain authority. It could be that the person has met the required knowledge and capability requirements, but their method to meet those requirements is improper. Under that definition, the term pseudo-religious authority can also be formulated as a power or legitimacy of a Muslim in delivering Islamic messages by using informal and/or improper or alternative methods. A person might learn by reading books or accessing the internet in order to master the requirements, but they then attempt to gain the authority through a different method than that commonly used to gain said authority.

The recent phenomenon of religious authority in Indonesia is interesting to scrutinize. The conventional religious authority has faced challenges from religious authority that is characterized by its disruptive nature, because some people are playing certain roles or are considered to represent a religious authority. They then play a role that is similar to existing religious authorities. In reality, those who attempt to gain religious authority through alternative means are coexisting and contesting – creating a dynamic phenomenon in regard with the integration and fragmentation of the community.

Islam has now become a pop culture, stylist, youthful and cool for the urban middle class. In Indonesia, religiosity has been on the rise since the 1980s, slowly but

surely transforming into a significant factor of an open political expression toward the government of Soeharto and as a proud symbol of politico-religious identity after the fall of the authoritarian regime. As argued by Hoesterey and Clark, pop culture has become a major arena in Indonesia where Muslims formulate and contest their ideas on Islam and piety (Hoesterey and Clark 2012, 207).

CHAPTER V
CLOSING

A. Conclusions

The result of Friday Bulletin research in five cities is compiled into the following conclusions:

1. Friday Bulletins are still needed by the community/congregate albeit with different distribution, both in terms of bulletin types, contents, or publishers. Our research also found that the distribution of Friday Bulletins in five satellite cities is not even and not every mosque has received and/or distributed Friday Bulletins;

2. In those satellite districts, we found a sharp polarization between radical and non-radical bulletins. Among the radical bulletins, there is one that always proliferates radical religious issues in a massive, systematic and structured manner as well as accompanied with strong argumentation. This bulletin is called Kaffah. It is published digitally and also distributed in various mosques including the ones located in the five research districts;

3. Interestingly, village mosques are an area where radical bulletins are massively distributed; furthermore, the acceptance level of mosque stewards in public mosques or great mosques toward radical contents is apparently pretty high.

4. Despite its limited scope (only in five satellite cities on Java island), this research in general has confirmed the assumption that religious radicalism groups have been using special media (bulletins) and time (Fridays) as arenas to proliferate their ideologies and beliefs;

5. Meanwhile, some non-Kaffah Bulletins also contain religious radicalism contents,

albeit not as massive as Kaffah Bulletins. However, their presence in various mosques is also concerning;

6. The acceptance level of bulletin among congregates is quite diverse. Although they generally accept the presence of Friday Bulletins, interestingly some mosque stewards believe that Kaffah Bulletins (and other radical bulletins) are quite decent and useful for their congregates.

B. Recommendations

Based on the six conclusions above, this study proposes the following recommendations:

1. For the Directorate General of Muslim Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs:
   a. Conduct campaigns on friendly (moderate) Islam through Friday Bulletins in a massive, systematic and periodic manner;
   b. Improve the capacity of Friday Bulletins' authors so they possess knowledge and capability in writing about moderate Islam themes.

2. For Islamic organizations:
   a. Make active and progressive participation in proliferating friendly (moderate) Islam to all Muslim congregates and communities;
   b. Produce bulletins that contains moderate Islam contents for distribution to congregates;
   c. Respond actively to issues coming from radical organizations and bulletins, including making critical refutation to arguments published in those media.

3. For DKM/Mosque Steward
   a. Improve religious knowledge capacity so as not to easily accept any Friday Bulletins without assessing the contents critically;
   b. Ensure that congregates have been "secured" from exposures of radical Islamic movements in their mosques.

4. For universities:
   a. Participate actively in the production of friendly (moderate) Islam narratives;
   b. Respond actively to issues coming from radical bulletins;
   c. Collaborate with the Directorate General of Muslim Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in producing moderate Friday Bulletins.

5. For the general public
   a. Always use critical thinking in consuming the literature distributed during Friday prayers;
   b. Always ask for confirmation from mosque stewards with regard to the Friday Bulletins distributed in the mosques.

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