The ideological fragmentation of Indonesian Muslim students and *da'wa* movements in the post-reformed era

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Abstract

The presence of post-reformation religious organizations has influenced students' ideology and movements. Thus, this study explains the processes of Muslim students' ideological fragmentation and its implications to the future of students' post-reformation movements. This study is conducted through observations and interviews to extracurricular organizational activists in Purwokerto. Reflective analysis is then conducted using primary and secondary data. Islamic ideology has many important roles, such as guidance, values, beliefs, and directions for *da'wa* (Islamic missionary) activities. In its operation, Islamic ideology is fragmented into fundamental, modernist, liberal, and traditional ideology. The ideological processes are influenced by several factors, such as organization historical background, ideological relationship with social organizations, development of Islamic transnational organizations, students' increasing demands and needs in modern era, as well as the presence of massive information media. The Implications of ideological fragmentation influence post-reformation activities performed by those Muslim students.

They donot only perform religious activities by mentoring as previously performed in the new order, but also doing debate activities onIslamic theology, politics, community empowerment, global awareness,issues on humanities, and responses to the development of science and technology.The presence of ideological fragmentation may not be negatively faced andconsolidated in a single view. The most important one is how to critically and constructively maintain and develop the ideology.

Munculnya berbagai organisasi keagamaan pasca reformasi memiliki dampak pada ideologi dan gerakan mahasiswa. Oleh karena itu, pada tulisan ini akan diuraikan tentang proses terjadinya fragmentasi ideologi pada mahasiswa muslim dan implikasinya terhadap masa depan gerakan mahasiswa muslim pasca reformasi. Kajian dilakukan dengan cara observasi dan wawancara dengan para aktivis organisasi ekstra kampus di Purwokerto. Kemudian, penulis melakukan analisis-reflektif dengan menggunakan data-data dari sumber utama dan data pustaka. Ideologi Islam memiliki peranan yang amat penting sebagai pedoman, nilai, keyakinan dan arah untuk menggerakkan kegiatan-kegiatan dakwah. Ideologi tersebut dalam operasionalisasinya terjadi fragmentasi yang mengarah pada fundamental, modernis, liberal, dan tradisional. Proses terjadinya ideologi dipengaruhi oleh beberapa faktor di antaranya: latar belakang sejarah organisasi, memiliki hubungan ideologis dengan organisasi kemasyarakatan, berkembangnya organisasi-organisasi Islam transnasional, tuntutan dan kebutuhan mahasiswa era modern, serta adanya media informasi yang semakin massif. Implikasi dari fragmentasi ideologi Islam berdampak pada ragamnya kegiatan-kegiatan yang dilakukan oleh mahasiswa muslim pasca reformasi. Mereka tidak hanya melakukan kegiatan keagamaan melalui mentoring saja seperti yang terjadi pada era Orde Baru, melainkan juga menghadirkan kegiatan-kegiatan yang mengarah pada perdebatan teologi Islam, politik mahasiswa,pemberdayaan masyarakat, kepedulian pada masalah-masalah kemanusiaan dan global, serta responsif terhadap perkembangan ilmu dan teknologi.Adanya fragmentasi ideologi tidak perlu disikapi secara negatif dan tidak bisa disatukan dalam satu warna. Tugas kita adalah bagaimana memelihara dan mengembangkan ideologi tersebut secara kritis-konstruktif.

Keywords: *Fragmentation; Ideology; Da'wa movement; Muslim students; Islam*

Introduction

Indonesian Islam is a harmonious integration between religion and culture. Islam as a religion is just like a soul falling from the sky, while culture is the body on earth readily possessed by the soul of religion that their meeting creates a civilization. Spirit may not create historical moments without body while the body may die and be unable to reach the sky without the spirit of religion to the divine God.[1]

Integration between religion and culture of Indonesian Islam is not linearly established, yet full of dynamics and struggles. Islam is not coming from an empty and vacant space. Islam comes from particular historical realities and spreads among others with their own existence.[2] Thus, the presence of Indonesian Islam may be determined by the history through human empirical parameters. Contextually, the duties of intellectuals and Muslim culturists are how to harmonize Indonesian Islam and make Islam as the tree of civilization which substantially grows in Indonesia.

Studies on Indonesian Islam have been conducted by numerous scientists, both Indonesian and foreign scholars, including Karel A. Steenbrink,[3] Azyumardi Azra,[4] Deliar Noer,[5] Taufik Abdullah,[6] Martin van Bruinessen,[7] Howard M. Federspiel,[8] Abdurrahman Mas'ud,[9] Nor Huda,[10] Aksin

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[1] Komaruddin Hidayat, *Wahyu di Langit Wahyu di Bumi* , Jakarta: Paramadina, 2003, 27.

[2] Aksin Wijaya, *Menusantarakan Islam,* Jakarta: Diktis and Nadi Reader, 2012, 5.

[3] Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* , Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984.

[4] Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Akar Pemabahruan Islam Indonesia*, Jakarta: Kencana 2005.

[5] Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996.

[6] Taufik Abdullah, *Agama dan Masyarakat: Pantulan Sejarah Indonesia*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996.

[7] Martin Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis*, Bandung: Mizan, 1996.

[8] Howard M. Federspiel, *Ideologi Muslim: Pencarian dan Pergulatan PERSIS di Era Kemunculan Negara Indonesia (1923-1957)*, Jakarta: Porch, 2004.

Wijaya,[11] Mujamil Qomar[12] and more. This study is conducted to enrich studies on *Indonesian Islam* conducted by various scientists, focusing on post-reformation ideological fragmentation and *da'wa* movements of Indonesian Muslim students.

There are three factors underlying this study: First, there are numerous post-reformation religious organizations, such as Front of Islamic Defenders (*Fron Pembela Islam/FPI*), Islamic religious fighters (*Laskar Jihad*), Indonesian Islamic Religious Fighters(*Laskar Mujahidin Indonesia*), *Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI), and Indonesian Muslim students Movement Coalition (*Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia/KAMMI*). Ideologically, these organizations are different with other religious organizations, such as *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)*, *Muhammadiyah*, and Islamic Coalition (*Persatuan Islam/PERSIS*). Does the presence of those organizations color the existing ideology of various religious student organizations?

Second, Indonesian Islam is different from the existing Islam in Middle East countries. *Indonesian Islam* is Islam which is engaged with Indonesian local cultures, in which the diversity of religions, ethnics, tribes, languages, and cultures may not be avoided. As its implication, Indonesian people have various mindsets and behaviors. Do they hamper post-reformation *da'wa* movements of Muslim students or not?

Third, ideological fragmentation of Muslim students may certainly influence post-reformation *da'wa* movement of Muslim students. Thus, how do Muslim students face this problem and what efforts may be perform dealing with the sustainability of *da'wa* movements in Indonesia to be better and even bigger?

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[9] Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haromain ke Nusantara: Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*, Jakarta: Kencana 2006.

[10] Nor Huda, *Islam Islam Nusantara, Sejarah Sosial Intelektual Islam di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz 2007.

[11] Aksin Wijaya, *Menusantarakan Islam...*

[12] Mujamil Qomar, *Fajar Baru Islam Indonesia*, Bandung: Mizan, 2012.

To answer those questions, I as the researcher conduct observations and interviews on students involved in Association of Islamic Students (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam/HMI)*, Indonesian Islamic students Movement (*Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia/PMII*), Muhammadiyah Students Alliance (*Ikatan Mahasiswa/IMM*), Indonesian Muslim students Movement Coalition(*Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia/ KAMMI*),*Mafaza* Boarding School, and *Darul Abror* Boarding School. Those organizations are located in Purwokerto, Central Java which the researcher uses as the representatives of *Indonesian Islam.* As these organizations nationally run their programs, they have a similar ideology and movements with those of other universities in Indonesia.

This study is expected to be a reference for the development of Indonesian Islam, particularly in the future of Islamic *da'wa* movements. In addition, this study may be used as material sources to further understand the ideology and movements of Indonesian Muslim students.

Ideology and Islamic da'wa movements

The term of ideology is first introduced by Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), a French psychologist that believes in materialism. In 1796, he states that we may not know anything within themselves, but ideas formed by our sensations upon these objects. If we want to systematically analyze these ideas and sensations, we must have powerful backgrounds of all scientific knowledge that we may easily draw the conclusions. Thus, ideology is a method used to determine the origin of thoughts arising within human minds or ideology is a study of ideas.[13]

Ideology is not only a system of ideas, but a set of beliefs which may become the basis of personal, group of parties, or state actions. Consequently, humans may move and gain awareness of their positions and

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[13] M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Topik Kita", *Prisma* Num. 6, 1985, XIV, 2.

struggles in society. In other words, ideology creates humans as historical actors and are not determined by history.[14] Ideology has the function to provide conceptions, directions, goals, reasons, and rules dealing with movements and designs of movement activities. Ideology may also play as a glue to attach each individual involved in activities[15]

Practically, ideology may have two different meanings. First, ideology has a positive meaning to maintain value identities and to support itself. Second, ideology may have a negative meaning which may sacrifice tolerance, understanding, and growth among individuals.[16] Apart from these two different meanings, ideology may not be separated from any social movement of a group. Ideology becomes a doctrinal building, value , and belief systems; a set of myths and symbols of social groups or social movements providing their group members to understand their world and to justify either to preserve or to change something.[17]

When associated with Islamic movements, Haedar Nasir argues that ideology has an important position and function within Islamic movements of the Muslim world. The presence of Islamic movements,such as *Ikhwanul Muslimin* in Egypt, *Jama'at Islami* in Pakistan and *Masyumi* in Indonesia, may not be separated from ideology as ideology is associated and relevance with the universal Islamic teachings.[18] In addition, Syamsul Rijal states that *Hizb ut-Tahrir* Indonesia (*HTI*) movements in their recruitment strategies are based on ideology and views on *da'wah* movements. HTI represents itself as a political party which is based on Islamic

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[14] B. Thompson, *Kritik Ideologi Global*, Yogyakarta: Ircisod, 2004, 82.

[15] Yunanto.et.al, *Militant Islam di Indonesia dan di Asia Tenggara*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung &The RIDEP Institute, 2003, 39.

[16] Sheldon Stryker, et.all (Ed), *Self, Identity, and Social Movements*, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000, 99.

[17] Sheldon Stryker, et.all (Ed), *Self, Identity, and Social Movements...*, 98.

[18] Haedar Nasir, *Islam Syari'at Reproduksi Salafiyah Ideologis di Indonesia*, Bandung: Mizan, 2013, 175.

ideology with the main purpose of re-establishing the caliphate and to implement Islamic law.[19]

Islamic ideology must be owned by a youth who fights for *da'wa*, especially in campus areas. Ideology is required as a life perspective. A youth without ideology is just like a youth without direction, like a ship without a captain who only sails following the wind blowing. A Muslim youth who walks without Islamic ideology may get lost and far from Islamic life. They oath that runs without ideology may run without a direction and purpose. The ideology developed by campus *da'wa* activists must uphold the values of Islamic ideology derived from Qur'an and Hadith. They should become generations who uphold Qur'an and hadith in campus life to create a well-ordered and harmonious campus.[20]

Ideology also has an important contribution in mobilizing youths to engage in political, confrontational, and even radical activities, to reinforce their identity and position as youths in responding global developments. Youths adapt and disseminate their Islamic ideology as an alternative to replace those secular global systems and cultures.[21]

Similarly, Basit also states that ideology plays an important role in developing youths' spirit to participate in *da'wa* movements or organizations. There are at least four reasons why youths believe in ideology developed by *da'wa* organizations: First, the ideology developed by *da'wa* organizations has been tested through history and is systematically arranged that provides more advantages than their beliefs. Second, the ideology developed by Islamic *da'wa* organizations has more advantages

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[19] Syamsul Rijal, "Menarik Anak Muda Muslim: Studi Terhadap Sistem Rekrutmen Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia di Makasar Sulawesi Selatan", paper presented at the Annual Conference on Islamic Studies (ACIS) 10th, Banjarmasin, 1st to 4th November 2010.

[20] http://www.dakwatuna.com , accessed on May 17th, 2015.

[21] Noorhaidi Hasan, "Violent Activism, Islamist ideology, and the Conquest of Public Space Among Youth in Indonesia", in Kathryn (Ed.), *Being Young and Growing up in Indonesia* , Leiden, and Boston: Brill, 2015, 15.

than that is developed by others. Third, the purposes of *da'wa* organizations which are related to the development of Islamic youth life and participations on social welfare are believed by the youths to be true. Fourth, the success of *da'wa* organizations is a certainty. This belief is based on Islamic teachings which are possibly adjusted with modern era (*ghair mahdlah*),yet there are also constantly decided teachings (*mahdlah*) to preserve the sacred Islamic teachings. By having those beliefs, the youths may do their activities without loosing their faith. The question is only on what efforts they possibly make to balance their activities as a servant and Caliph of Allah.[22]

The previous researches conducted show that *da'wa* movements performed by *da'wa* communities or organizations may not be separated from Islamic ideology which provides guidance and which triggers their enthusiasm in the development of *da'wa*. Furthermore, this study discusses the ideology of Muslim students in the development of Islamic *da'wa*, especially Muslim students who are active at organizations of Muslim students in Purwokerto, Central Java, Indonesia.

Ideological fragmentation

In general, the ideology developed by Indonesian Muslim students is Islamic ideology.[23] They criticize ideologies coming from the West, such as capitalism, socialism (Marxism), humanism, and other ideologies developed in the world. Some of them even refuse those ideologies and choose Islam as an alternative ideology. Islam is considered as a universal and comprehensive religion. Islam does not only teach about theological issues but also regulates human life in developing their civilization.

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[22] Abdul Basit, *Remaja: Kajian Remaja Dan Institusi Dakwah Remaja*, Yogyakarta: Fajar Pustaka & STAIN Press, 2011, 179.

[23] This is in line with the statement cited by Haedar Jainuri Nasir "all Islamic movements that emerged in the early of twentieth century based on the ideology of Islam", Haedar Nasir, *Islamic Shari'a ...,*176.

The most interesting part of debates and discussions among activists of Indonesian Muslim students is when they are interpreting their Islamic ideology. What ideology is used as their principles in developing the Islamic movements? When Islamic ideology is mapped based on the existing concepts, the ideological fragmentations of Muslim students are divided into four, including fundamentalist, modernist, liberalist, and traditionalist.

According to William E. Shepard, the attaching ideological characteristics of fundamentalist are: first, considering Islam as true comprehensive religious teachings and meeting all the needs of human life; second, based on Islamic law for life practice and taking it into a system applicable in the state; third, refusing ideology coming from the West. Fourth, the necessity to restore traditions developed in Prophet Muhammad and the companions time; fifth, applying Islamic symbols as their Islamic identity.[24]

Meanwhile, the attaching ideological characteristics of modernist (neo-modernism) are: first, considering Islam as a powerful ideology to live in a modern society and is able to dialogue with the West; second, the door of *ijtihad* is always open that they are not only tied into four *madhhab*s, yet they may develop their ideas referring to Quran and Hadith; third, always criticizing cultures and ideologies from the West; fourth, Qur'an is contextually interpreted. Fifth, they were selective in using hadith.[25]

Modernist ideology (neo-modernism) is associated with liberalism. According to Barton, neo-modernism is understood as Islamic thought movements which are considered liberal, progressive, and synthesizing the insights of traditional Islamic knowledge with modernism emphasis on rational, *ijtihad*, and modern thoughts from the West.[26] Meanwhile,

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[24] William E. Shepard, *Islam and Ideology: Towards a Typology* , International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 19, Num. 3 (Aug., 1987), 307-335

[25] William E. Shepard, *Islam, and Ideology ...*, 307-335.

[26] Greg Barton, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia*, translated by Nanang Tahqiq, Jakarta: Pustaka Antara, 1999, xx-xxi.

Haedar Nasir mentions that the ideological characteristics of liberal are as follows: having a commitment with rational and reformation; believing the importance of *ijtihad* of contextualization; accepting social and religious pluralism; separating religion from political parties and non-sectarian of the State; and not only depending on the textual understanding of Islam.[27]

The last ideology which is different from fundamentalist, modernist and liberal is the traditional one. Traditional ideology in the context of Islamic movements in the early 20th century is authorized by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Nurjannah says that the characteristics of traditional ideology are: first, continuing the good deeds existence; second, developing moderate attitudes (*tawasuth and i'tidal*), tolerant (*tasamuh*), balancing (*tawazun*), and motivating good deeds and preventing the evil ones;third, developing fraternity or brotherhood (*ukhuwah*) concept. Fourth, based on *Ahlu al-Sunnah wal Jama'ah* (*Aswaja*) teachings.[28]

Of four ideologies, Muslim students of Purwokerto believe in their existence and roles on their ideological movement while some others do not openly declare their roles on the ideological movements.[29]

KAMMI activists are affiliated with the Social Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sosial/PKS*).They have similar ideology developed by the prominent figures of *Ikhwanul Muslimin* and *Hasan al-Banna* established based on Islamic understanding. For Al-Banna, Islam is a comprehensive system of values, covering all dimensions of life. Islam provides guidance for human life in all aspects with the accurate systemic formulation. Islam also provides solutions to vital problems and needs on a variety of orders

[27] Haedar Nasir, *Islam Syari'at...*, 212-213.

[28] Nurjannah, *Radikal vs Moderat atas nama Dakwah, Amar Makruf Nahi Mungkar dan Jihad*, Yogyakarta: Aswaja Pressindo, 2013, 41-50.

[29] Interview with Zofi Ardan and Angga Nasrullah, organizer of Pesantren Students Mafaza Purwokerto, on May 21st, 2015.

to rise the dignity of human life.[30]

The realization of Islamic interpretation is formulated into *KAMMI* ideology established in the National workshop meeting of Cadres Forming Department held in Bogor on August 9-15 of 1999 which summarizes six movement principles: the victory of Islam is the soul of *KAMMI* struggles, evil is the eternal enemy of *KAMMI*, Islamic solution is the struggling offers of *KAMMI*, improvement is struggling tradition of *KAMMI*, leadership is the fighting strategy of *KAMMI*, and brotherhood is *mua'malah* character of *KAMMI*.[31]

This ideology is implanted to Muslim students through forums of Islamic studies regularly scheduled and standardized materials with the speakers of senior managers (*murabbi*) considered competence to understand the ideology. Furthermore, what obtained from those studies is practiced to solve the problems faced by Muslims, such as awareness of disasters, wars, poverty, etc. They are also active in delivering the oppressed Muslims' aspirations and widely defending people's interests.[32]

The researcher tries to confirm the ideological tendency developed by *KAMMI* which leads to a fundamentalist, while according to Zuhal Qalbi, the ideology developed by *KAMMI* is a pluralist and not focusing on one *madzhab* only. In facts, the religious practices implemented by *KAMMI* members are various. However, Qalbi also acknowledges that the Islamic studies performed by *KAMMI* tend to be those developed by the leaders of *Ikwanul Muslimin*, such as Hasan al-Banna, Yusuf Qardlawi, Sayyid Qutb, etc.[33] It means that the ideology is not explicitly implanted to them but directly prac-

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[30] Hasan Al-Banna, *Risalah Pergerakan Ikwanul Muslimin*, translation of Anis Matta et al, Solo: Intermedia, 1997, 42. See also Larry Poston, *Islamic Da'wah in the West*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 66-67.

[31] Claudia Nel Saluz (Ed.), *Dynamics of Islamic Student Movements*, Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2009, 169.

[32] Interview with Zuhal Qolbi, activists *KAMMI* Purwokerto, on May 19th, 2015.

[33] Interview with Zuhal Qolbi, activists *KAMMI* Purwokerto, on May 19th, 2015.

ticed in the field which is colored by that developed by those *Ikwanul Muslimin* in Egypt.

Fundamentalist ideological tendency,just like within *KAMMI*, also belongs to Muslim student activists in numerous Islamic religious units at public colleges and universities, such asJenderal Soedirman University (UNSOED), STMIK AMIKOM, and Health Polytechnics of Purwokerto. Although their numbers are relatively small when compared to the other student organizations, yet their commitment to developing Islam at the campus is undoubtedly great. Their basic reason is that they only obtain Islamic teachings from the subject of Islamic religious education provided at schools, colleges, or universities. In their point of views, the religious education provided at campus does not give them enough supplies of knowledge for their life since the materials tend to be more cognitive with less direct religious practices.[34] In addition, they are also interested more in providing balance with studies which tend to discuss about secularism.[35]

In contrast with ideology developed byKAMMI, the members of *HMI* and *IMM*Muslim students tend to modernist. *HMI* activists' ideology is developed based on their Basic StrugglingValues (*Nilai Dasar Perjuangan/NDP*) formulated by Nurcholish Madjid and friends which become compulsory materials provided for each cadres forming. NDP is a formulation principle of Islamic teachings derived from Qur'an and Hadith considered strategic for *HMI*and its members in planning and implementing their struggling movements. NDP main points are equipping *HMI* cadres to be individuals with full of faith, knowledge, and actions.[36] NDP

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[34] Nurhayati Djamas (Ed.), *Pola Aktivitas Keagamaan Mahasiswa Islam Perguruan Tinggi Umum Negeri Pasca Reformasi*, Jakarta: MORA RI Research and Development, 2009.

[35] Interview with Nasrullah Anggun, activist in Islamic spirituality unit UNSOED and Pesantren Mafaza, on May 21st, 2015.

[36] Agus Salim Sitompul, *Menyatu dengan Umat Menyatu dengan Bangsa: Pemikiran KeIslaman-Keindonesiaan HMI (1947-1997)*, Jakarta: Misaka Galiza, 2008, 434.

Islamic values are expected to become a means of struggles to transform ideas and actions regarding the formulation of the expected ideal human beings, including academicians, creators, Islamic servants, and the ones who are responsible for realizing justice and prosperity in society with God's approval.

The modernist ideology promoted by *HM I*may be observed from their developed thinking patterns. They tend to have substantial thinking in facing political, social and cultural issues to avoid the unnecessary disagreements leading to a separation. In addition, *HMI* tends to have inclusive thinking. *HMI* views that the diversity of social groups in Indonesian cultures is not an obstacle to realise the national unity. Unity does not mean to eliminate the existing differences. *HMI* also emphasizes on modernist, to change ideas which are no longer appropriate to be used as bases for the development of society and those which are stuck in the present conditions, yet should be oriented on the future.[37]

In line with that developed by *HMI*, *IMM*which is affiliated with Muhammadiyah also develops modernist ideology. In contrast to *HMI*, *IMM* tends to develop Islamic basic principles formulated by Muhammadiyah, which is known as a modernist reformer organization with their Islamic modern development compatibility; encouragement to Muslims and women in improving knowledge and sciences; and Islamic universality.[38]

Due to those Islamic understandings believed by Muhammadiyah, *IMM* tries to realize their practical ideology with the motto "elegant morality and excellence intellectuality". This ideology is promoted and implanted at the initial stage in forming cadres and continued by con-

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[37] FGD with 10 members of *HMI* Purwokerto, on May 20, 2015.

[38] Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985, 322.

trolling and reminding each other among *IMM* members. The ideology is used as a movement to fight for Islam. They may not underestimate other different groups or organizations. They must remain polite and thoughtful in facing differences. *IMM* cadres are also required keeping developing their intellectual to generate factual works or to provide contributions in developing Islam and the society.[39]

Meanwhile, those Muslim students who become the members of *PMII* and studying at boarding schools tend to develop traditionalist ideology. In facts, there are some *PMII* activists who tend to be liberal, but not many and more individual. They tend to have left "Marxist" and liberalism Islamic studies carried out in discursive level, not the practical and even more leading to the radical one that *PMII* activists do not perform it in their movements.

Traditionalist ideology they have understood, of course, may not be separated with ideology developed by *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), that is, *Ahl al-Sunnah wal Jamaah* (*Aswaja*), the ideology which keeps continuing the previously existing good deeds; developing medical attitudes of *tawasuth* and *i'tidal*, tolerant (*tasamuh*), balance (*tawazu*n), and motivating the good deeds and forbidding the evil ones; developing the fraternity or brotherhood concept among humans; and based on *Ahl al-Sunnah Wal Jama'ah* traditions of Islamic teachings. This means that based on cultural-ideological principles, *PMII* and NU may not be separated. *Aswaja* is a connection between NU and *PMII*, as well as *manhaj al-Fikr* (thinking method) and *manhaj li al-taghayyur al-ijtima'i* (methods in social changing) to deconstruct and reconstruct forms of understanding and actualization of religious teachings including tolerant, humanist, anti-violence, critical, and transformative.[40]

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[39] Interview with Afiq Ihsanty, Chairman of Korkom *IMM* Purwokerto, on May 21st, 2015.

[40] Claudia Nel Saluz (ed.), *Dynamics of Islamic Student Movements ...*, 61.

To show the separation of organization between *PMII* and NU, the researcher provides five interdependence principles of *PMII*-NU: first, *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Islamic bond); second, *Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar* (ordering the good deeds and forbidding the evil ones);third, *mubadi khair ummah* (pioneers of best believers); fourth, *al-Musawah* (equality); fifth, mutual life and self-governing.[41]

PMII traditionalist ideology is implanted through a process of routine discussions and worship practices performed together, such as*yasinan* (reading Qur'an chapter of *Yasin*), *tahlilan* (reading *tahlil*), *slametan* (saying gratitude to the Almighty God), and *hadlroh*. Meanwhile, among students of Islamic boarding schools, *Aswaja* understanding is not implanted in a special forum, such as discussions, but inherently performed in studying *kitab kuning* (yellow books consisting of Islamic teachings) and during the learning processes.[42]

Indonesian Muslim students'*da'wa* movements

Da'wa is not practicallyunderstood as an activity and art of Islamic teaching delivery processes but further also as an Islamic movement to improve a Muslim faith, and believers to live in harmonious and prosperous society based on Islamic principles.

As Islamic movement in Indonesia, *da'wa* has been experiencing significant growth and development, especially since New Order government. It is characterized by the proliferation of *da'wa* activities in public and media, the presence of regulations issued by the government to organize people's religious life and those dealing with Islamic banking, judicial, religious education, etc. In addition, the level of understanding and

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[41] Claudia Nel Saluz (Ed.), *Dynamics of Islamic Student Movements* ..., 58.
[42] Interview with M. Nazamuddin Malkan, secretary of rayon *PMII* Purwokerto, on May 19th, 2015, and FGD with 20 boarding school students in Darul Abror Purwokerto, on May 20, 2015.

education of Indonesian Muslim communities has also been improving as the results of *da'wa* movement.

Da'wa development in the New Order is influenced by several factors, including: first, the influence of transnational *da'wa* organizations and networks developing in some other Muslim countries in the world, especially those coming from Middle East; second, there are competitions with non-Muslim *da'wa* organizations in Indonesia;third, political, economic and social development in the New Order Government.[43]

Da'wa movement in the New Order does not only influence the old generations but also the younger ones, especially Muslim students. The growth of religious movements among Islamic teenagers (*Remaja Masjid*) organizations, such as *Remaja Islam Sunda Kelapa* (RISKA)Jakarta (1974) and Youth Islamic Study Club (YISC), Al-Azhar Jakarta (1974). Then, in the 80s, the Islamic studies has developed rapidly through activities or mentoring (*halaqah*) at the campus and senior high schools. In addition, the initially growing organizations, such as *HMI*, *PMII*, and *IMM* shows their Islamic *da'wa* activities and movements.[44]

The development of Islamic *da'wa* movement among Muslim students is getting more intensified after the reformation era of 1998 in Indonesia. The religious movements which are previously hidden or behind the pulpit, start showing their identities, such as *Jama'ah Tarbiyah* which turns to be Indonesian Muslim Students Movement Coalition(*Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia/KAMMI*), Indonesian *Hizb ut-Tahrir* (*Hizb ut-Tahrir* Indonesian/*HTI*), Indonesian Islamic Students (*Pelajar Islam Indonesia/*PII), and a number of Muslim religious units or communities in universities of Indonesia. The development is inseparable from the state

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[43] Johan Meuleman, " Dakwah, Competition for authority, and Development ", *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Landen Volkenkunde* , Vol. 167, Num. 2-3, 2011, 239-241.

[44] To find out more read Abdul Basit, *Dakwah Remaja ...,*

political situations which provide free and open spaces for people, religious movements in various parts of the world, and mass media influences in globalization era.

In this research, there are at least four important agendas done by Muslim students in post-reformation movement development:

Understanding Islamic theological discourse

The classical discourse existing among Muslim students is on theological issues, that is, problems associated with beliefs in God and their correlation with human life in the world. They want their faith play an important role in the context of modern life. They do not want to be youths who are left behind and unable to adapt modern life. Numerous ideologies have grown and developed in this globalization era, such as secularism, humanism, materialism, etc which may harm their faith. Thus, by providing an understanding of Islamic theology, it may help them to face modern life.

The theological discourse developed by Muslim students of *HMI* members may not be separated from the formulation mentioned in basic values of *HMI* Basic Struggling Values(NDP),[45]consisting of faith basis to the Almighty God, humanity bases, destiny and efforts, the Almighty God and humanity, individual and society, social and economic justice, knowledge and Islam. Those basic concepts are discussed, criticized, and applied in everyday life practices. Thus, *HMI* cadres become more tolerant and inclusive in their association with the other theologically different student organizations.

Meanwhile, the theological discourse developed by Muslim students of *PMII* is liberalism. They study Islamic figures who are transformative and have critical thinking, such as Hasan Hanafi, Asghar Ali Engineer, Abdurrahman Wahid, and Abid al-Jabri. In addition, they are also study-

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[45] Interview with Irfan, organizer of *HMI* Purwokerto, on May 20, 2015.

ing the "left" figures, like Karl Marx, Nietzsche, Machiavelli, Paul Freire, etc.[46] By studying those figures, *PMII* members are expected to think critically and may criticize social life conditions, including most frequently-asked religious problems. Nowadays, religious doctrines are no longer relevant to the changing era as the religion have been separated from the authentic community traditions. Religion is not well implanted in the public consciousness. Thus, religious doctrinaire-interpretation is necessary to conduct, even deeper up to the bases of theological dimension.

In contrast to *HMI* and *PMII*, the theological discourse developed by Muslim students of *IMM*, *KAMMI*, and Mafaza boarding school members is not specifically strong. They tend to discuss materials related to actual global issues, such as gender, environmental, educational, and human rights issues. However, it does not mean that they leave everything related to theology. the theological study is directly applied in the field, not only in the form of discursive activities.

Political expressions of Indonesian Muslim students

In general, all Indonesian Muslim students try to optimally involve in student activities. They want to provide significant contributions in improving the quality of students although they do not become a part of intra-campus organization board managers. Their basic principle is regarding to how they may provide benefits for other people either personally or by joining the bureaucratic systems of student organizations. Personally, they want to be good people and become the paragons of their friends. They may also join the bureaucratic systems to become parts of intra-campus organization board managers who involve in various activities. their ideology and *da'wa* movements.

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[46] Interview with M. Nazamuddin Malkan, secretary of *PMII* Purwokerto, on May 19th, 2015.

The future of Muslim Students' *da'wa* movements

Ahmad Watik Pratiknya states that *da'wa* movement should be reformatted to meet the modernization challenges. It means that *da'wa* movements are not only utilized to rehabilitate bad consequences as the development impacts, but also as determinants in controlling the modernization changes. There are five characteristics and essences of globalization to consider regarding the implementation of *da'wa*. First, intensively and extensively transfer of values processes. Second, transfer of massive technology with its consequences. Third, the high and rapid mobility and activities of human beings. Fourth, the tendency of contemporary global cultures: materialistic and hedonistic lifestyles as well as denial upon religious values. Fifth, the crisis of great national figures due to their doubtful sincerity.[47] In addition, *da'wa* movements should emphasis more on the existing religious learning process effectiveness among Muslim students and appreciate the ideological differences.

It is undeniable that *da'wa* movements in the New Order are characterized by ideological fragmentation, particularly between traditionalists and modernists. The fragmentation even gets stronger and grows bigger after the reformation era. The presence of fundamental religious organizations colors the ideology of Muslim students who tend to be fundamentalists on one hand and liberalists on the other hand. Thus, ideological disputes among traditionalists, modernists, fundamentalists and literalists get stronger and become the driving force of Islamic *da'wa* development.

Ideological fragmentation does not discourage Muslim students to leave the struggling arena. In facts, Muslim students show maturity in their attitudes and actions. They try to end the differences and eliminate each

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[47] Ahmad Watik Pratiknya, " Dakwah Perlu diformat Ulang ", *Republika* , 2005.

organization's ego.[48] Ideological fragmentation is a historical necessity which is impossible to be consolidated. Thus, let the ideological fragmentation grows in differences of their believers' thoughts. The most important thing to build is the critical thinking and tolerant attitudes among those ideological differences. Dialectic activities should be possibly conducted among them without blaming or distrusting each other. They may quarrel in discursive corridors but not in judgment.

As ideology has an important role to be the driving force of *da'wa* activities, ideological fragmentation may become the organizational distinctive advantages. With ideology, Muslim students can perform various *da'wa* movement due to the students' needs. They believe that Islamic ideology is the flexible in meeting the humans' needs.

In the future, Muslim students' *da'wa* movements should meet the demands of globalization. Those may not only rely on mentoring activities,[49] but also should consider the students' needs and demands. The students tend to criticize western scientific studies and compare them with Islam's.[50] In addition, social media are also utilized by Moslem students as their movement media. Students' high participation upon the use of social media is not directly proportional to their participation in filling the rubric of social media as their movement and academic activities media.

Muslim students should keep in mind that their *da'wa* movement is relatively small, less than ten percent of the total students in colleges or universities. Thus, socialization, communication, special and attractive

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[48] Interview with Afiq Ihsanty, Chairman of Korkom *IMM* Purwokerto, on May 21st, 2015.

[49] Activity of mentoring according to Nurhayati Djamas regarded as an activity that is very effective in the learning process of religion. Nurhayati Djamas (Ed.), *Pola Aktivitas Keagamaan Mahasiswa Islam...*, 244.

[50] Interview with M. Nazamudin Malkan and Nasrullah Anga, on 19th and May 21st, 2015.

program offers, etc. may become one solution to attract students to involve in *da'wa* movements. The organizational board managers are required to creatively and productively work and think extra hard to offer alternatives of *da'wa* activities for the students.

The roles of government and school management are also important upon the success of Muslim students' *da'wa* movements. Students are the most important assets to the sustainability and future of the nation. Thus, government and educational institution managers are required to provide academic systems which may encourage students to engage in Islamic *da'wa* activities to prevent students from various different beliefs, understanding, and ideologies which are in contradiction with the national and Islamic values.

Conclusion

The presence of religious organizations in the post reformed era has also colored the ideological fragmentation of Muslim students in Indonesia. The fundamentalist and liberalist are the new ideological colors among Indonesian Muslim students following the initially existing traditionalist and modernist ideology. Ideological fragmentation may not harm the characters of *Indonesian Islam* which is inclusive, tolerant, and peace loving. Indonesian Muslim students, as one driving force of *Indonesian Islam* have wisely taken actions with their critical-transformative thoughts in facing the ideological fragmentation. They are dialectic without showing any bad attitudes, such as performing radical and anarchic actions.

Ideological fragmentation may not be consolidated in one color since ideological fragmentation is a historical necessity which is based on the human nature. The duties of Muslim students are how to critically and constructively maintain and develop ideology as guidance, values, beliefs, and direction to lead Islamic *da'wa* to be the better one and due to the needs of globalization era.

Indonesian Muslim students'*da'wa* movement should be directed to *da'wa* which has the characters of *Indonesian Islam*. The implementation may be performed by promoting the intellectual, moral, spiritual, social, and cultural values among students who are considered as the educated people as agents of change and leaders in the future. *Da'wa* movements are not only limited to mentoring activities and thinking suppliers for others, but should be adapted to the needs and Indonesian local cultures. The Prophet Muhammad says "invite others to think based on their capacity". It means that *da'wa* strategies and methods should be matched with the surrounding needs of students, local cultures, and globalization.

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