RECENT SCHOLARSHIP ON “ISLAMISM” DISCOURSE: AN EVALUATION AND ASSESSMENT
Tauseef Ahmad Paray

THE CHRONICLE OF TERRORISM AND ISLAMIC MILITANCY IN INDONESIA
Zakiyah

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS: A ROLE OF CAMPUS’ MOSQUES IN RAISING EXCLUSIVITY
(A Case at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta)
Arifuddin Ismail

THE SOCIETY OF MINANGKABAU IN TULIS SUTAN SATI’S SENGSA SENGAWA MEMBAWA NIKMAT:
BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND ISLAMIC TEACHINGS
Betty Mauli Rosa Bustam

TRACING THE “CULTURAL CHANGES” IN SUNDAANESE LOCAL INCANTATIONS
Asep Nahrul Musadad

THE USES OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS TO REPRESENT ISLAM
(A Study on Religious Soap Opera “Bukan Islam KTP”)
Siti Sholihati, Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, Heru Nugroho

VALUE RATIONALITY OF PEOPLE LIVING ON THE SLOPE OF MERAPI IN YOGYAKARTA
Napsiah, Budhi Gunawan, Oekan Soekoto Abdoelolah, dan Munandar Sulaiman

IMAM HATIP SCHOOL (IMAM HATIP LISLESI): Islamic School in Contemporary Secular Turkey
Mahfud Junaudi
Analisa is a peer-reviewed journal published by Office of Religious Research and Development Ministry of Religious Affairs Semarang Indonesia. It specializes in these three aspects; religious life, religious education, religious text and heritage. Analisa aims to provide information on social and religious issues through publication of research based articles and critical analysis articles. Analisa has been published twice a year in Indonesian since 1996 and started from 2016 Analisa is fully published in English as a preparation to be an international journal. Since 2015, Analisa has become Crossref member, therefore all articles published by Analisa will have unique DOI number.

Advisory Editorial
Koeswinarno
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

Editor in Chief
Sulaiman
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

International Editorial Board
Florian Pohl, Emory University, United State of America
Alberto Gomes, La Trobe University, Melbourne Australia
Nico J.G. Kaptein, Leiden University, Leiden the Netherlands
David Martin Jones, University of Queensland, Brisbane Australia
Patrick Jory, University of Queensland, Brisbane Australia
Dwi Purwoko, The Indonesian Institute of Science, Jakarta Indonesia
Heddy Shri Ahimsa, Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta Indonesia
Irwan Abdullah, Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta Indonesia
Iwan Junaidi, Semarang State University, Semarang Indonesia
Komarudin Hidayat, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta
Bani Sudardi, Surakarta State University, Surakarta Indonesia
Muslich Shabir, Walisongo State Islamic University, Semarang Indonesia
Sutrisno, Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University, Yogyakarta Indonesia
Zamroni, Yogyakarta State University, Yogyakarta Indonesia
Editors
A.M Wibowo
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia
Samidi
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia
Zakiyah
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia
Siti Muawanah
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia
Umi Mozayanah
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia
Umi Masfiah
Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia

Assistant to Editor
Muhammad Purbaya
Mustolehudin
Musyafak
Arda Arief Ridhaffa

Mailing Address
Office of Religious Research and Development, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Semarang, Indonesia
jl Untungsurapati Kav 70 bambankerep Ngaliyan
Semarang
Central Java, Indonesia
Email: analisajurnal@gmail.com
INTRODUCTION FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARDS

The advancement of information and technology in this era has encouraged the editorial boards of Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion to change some aspects of the journal for the better. The first changing is the name of the journal since 2015, from “Analisa Jurnal Pengkajian Masalah Sosial Keagamaan” to be “Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion”. As a consequence, there is alteration on the ISSN 1410-4350 to be 2502-5465. Furthermore, at this time, it is a must that a journal is published electronically, as it is stated in the rule issued by PDII LIPI (the Indonesian Institute of Science). Therefore, in 2015, Analisa started the electronic journal with E-ISSN 24443-3853, while the printed edition has been published since 1996 and continued until now. Along with the changing of the name, Analisa began the publication in English started vol.1.no.1 2016 as part of the preparation for being an international journal.

There are various articles submitted to Analisa in the beginning of 2016. These include Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism, culture, Islam and Islamic education in Turkey. An article written by Tauseef Ahmad Parray talking about Islamism is placed as the opening of this volume. He argues that the incidence of 9/11 2011 in World Trade Center USA became a turning point for Western country to stereotype Islam as terrorist. Furthermore, after that tragedy Islam is perceived as fundamentalist religion, extremist, conservative Islam, radicalisms, and other negative stereotypes. In this article, he suggests that it is necessary to evaluate the Western perspectives on Islam in which they labeled Islam as extremists.

The next article is entitled “The Chronicle of Terrorism and Islamic Militancy in Indonesia” written by Zakiyah. This paper provides data and deep analysis on the series of bombing and terror happened in Indonesia from 2001 to 2012. After the fall of President Soeharto in 1998, there were a series of bombing and terror in some part of the country which caused hundreds casualties and great number of property damages. This year was also a time for some extremists coming back to Indonesia after a long period of exile abroad. These extremist figures then began their activities in Indonesia and they also disseminated the radical ideology, establishing network, recruiting new members and preparing for terror and violent action. Some of the terrorists and suspected of the bombing actions were indicated having connection with the Islamic radical group which means that there is an Islamic militancy in Indonesia.

The radical ideology was also spread at prominent university in Yogyakarta Indonesia. This theme is discussed by Arifudin Ismail. He mentions that this ideology is not only spread by jihadists but also by some activists in certain campuses. For instance, there are some discussions and discussion groups existed in Gadjah Mada University, Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University, Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah University, and Indonesia Islam University. In such activity, there is an indication that there is discussion on “the radical ideology”. He focused his study on the exclusive students movement in Gadjah Mada University especially related to how the religious doctrine (Islam) disseminated and perceived by students.

Besides the discussion of the Islamism, terrorism and radical movement as the phenomena happened in Indonesia and in the world, this volume also offers other insights of Indonesia. Betty Mauli Rosa Bustamn explores the Minangkabau tradition. She describes in her article how the local people (Minangkabau) adopted Islamic values into their tradition from generation to the next generation. In this paper, it can be seen that Islam and local culture are living in harmony. In addition, Asep N Musadad talks about the assimilation and acculturation process between local traditions of Sundanese community with Islam. He describes that the harmony between them can be seen on the literature; there is a cultural change as a picture of how Islam and local tradition met and assimilated. Besides, in the folklore as he mentions that some incantations used by shaman (panayangan) contain some symbols of Islam.

Besides being practiced in the local tradition as mentioned earlier, Islam in Indonesia is
transformed and disseminated through electronic media such as television; this can be read at the next article. Siti Solihati wrote a paper about how Islamic symbols are used by a soap opera broadcasted in a national television. In this article, she found that there are some ideologies embedded in such program namely; (1) ideology of materialistic-capitalist, (2) ideology of patriarchy, and (3) violent domination.

Napsiah and her colleagues wrote an article about how the people living in surrounding the Merapi Mountain cope with the disaster especially when the eruption occurred and its aftermath. Community living in Pangukrejo village near the mountain helps each other dealing with their disaster related problems. They are hand in hand in re-building their villages without looking at their religious background. All people participate in those activities since they feel that Merapi is their home and their source of convenience and safety, therefore this honorable symbol should be preserved at all cost. They argue that the eruption is the destiny from God, thus it is undeniable fact. At that time, they were at the bottom level condition, so that to wake up from that situation they need to help each other (gotong royong).

The last article in this volume is about the transformation of Islamic education at Imam Hatip School in Turkey. This paper is written by Mahfud Junaidi. He describes that the curriculum in this school aims to transfer the traditional norms based on the Islamic values. It is expected that by implementing Islam, this will contribute to the development of society and nation-state in Turkey.

Please enjoy reading articles in this volume.

Semarang, May 2016
Editorial boards
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion would like to thank you to all international editorial boards for their support and their willingness to review articles for this volume. Analisa would also like to thank you to all authors who have submitted their articles to Analisa, so that this volume is successfully published.

Analisa do hope that we would continue our cooperation for the next editions.

Semarang, May 2016

Editor in Chief
# TABLE OF CONTENT

**ISSN**: 2502 - 5465 / **e-ISSN**: 2443 - 3859  
**Accredited by LIPI Number**: 543/AU1/P2MI-LIPI/06/2013

---

**Analisa**  
Journal of Social Science and Religion  

---

Volume 01 No 01 June 2016  
Pages 1 - 138

---

**Introduction from the Editorial Boards**: i  
**Acknowledgments**: iii  
**Table of Content**: v

---

**RECENT SCHOLARSHIP ON “ISLAMISM” DISCOURSE: AN EVALUATION AND ASSESSMENT**  
Tauseef Ahmad Parray :: 1-18

**THE CHRONICLE OF TERRORISM AND ISLAMIC MILITANCY IN INDONESIA**  
Zakiyah :: 19-40

**NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS: A ROLE OF CAMPUS’ MOSQUES IN RAISING EXCLUSIVITY**  
*(A Case at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta)*  
Arifuddin Ismail :: 41-58

**THE SOCIETY OF MINANGKABAU IN TULIS SUTAN SATT’S SENGsARA MEMBAWA NIKMAT: BETWEEN LOCAL TRADITIONS AND ISLAMIC TEACHINGS**  
Betty Mauli Rosa Bustam :: 59-74

**TRACING THE “CULTURAL CHANGES” IN SUNDANESE LOCAL INCANTATIONS**  
Asep Nahrul Musadad :: 75-90

**THE USES OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS TO REPRESENT ISLAM**  
*(A Study on Religious Soap Opera “Bukan Islam KTP”)*  
Siti Sholihati, Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Putra, Heru Nugroho :: 91-104

**VALUE RATIONALITY OF PEOPLE LIVING ON THE SLOPE OF MERAPI IN YOGYAKARTA**  
Napsiah, Budhi Gunawan, Oekan Soekotjo Abdoellah, dan Munandar Sulaiman :: 105-120

**IMAM HATIP SCHOOL (IMAM HATIP LISESI): Islamic School in Contemporary Secular Turkey**  
Mahfud Junaedi:: 121-138
NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT ON CAMPUS: A ROLE OF CAMPUS’ MOSQUES IN RAISING EXCLUSIVITY  
(A Case at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta)

ARIFUDDIN ISMAIL

ABSTRACT

The Islamic model that happened and developed within the campus as the place used for this study, is the results of the implementation of religious movement. This model is known through a qualitative method with interviews and direct observation to some religious activities organized by students, in both the formal and informal settings. In the process of religious movement itself, there is a tension between those who tend to be an exclusive group with the one who is moderate (non-exclusive) in various forms of activities, particularly in scientific research forum. Student religious movement became a phenomena indicating a desire to learn or analyze religious beliefs with the more acceptable scientific reasoning. This choice is a form of expression to the lack of or inability in meeting the needs of religious knowledge provided by the university. Ironically, this choice of students was understood by some religious groups with different ideology. Each pattern known through activities and religious movements even it did not appear overtly or show its identity. Will this phenomena allowed or the campus will take an anticipatory action in order to develop new policies as an effort to meet the needs of students religious knowledge? Everything should goes back to the university.

Keywords: religious movements, campus mosque, campus propaganda activist, exclusive

INTRODUCTION

The shifting and strengthening phenomenas of religious movement taking place within the campus are very interesting to study for several reasons. First, the phenomena of the rise of Islam in the campus becomes more visible in comparison with other religious movements occurred in Indonesia, including in Yogyakarta. This revival is characterized by the revolutionary change of student lifestyle. Most of the female students involved in religious activities on campus wear the hijab (headscarf with big size) as the Islamic outfit. Similarly, the Islamic attribute (Arab and Pakistan) reflected on dress pants “cingkrang” (end of the lower limit above the ankle) are used by the male Muslim students.

Second, the rise of Islam among the students started from campus is not only on a “non-religious” one such as the University of Gadjah Mada (Universitas Gadjah Mada, UGM), but at the same time it also appears on the Islamic campus such as the State Islamic University. It is an antithesis toward an expression that the spread of Islam is only on “non-religious” campus. Islamic Campuses such as the State Islamic University, Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah University and the Islamic University of Indonesia become the place of the Islamic movements. Third, the organized Islamic activities are not temporary, but included within the student activities program, including the Lecture of Akidah and Islamic faith on campus. Fourth, their activity has produced new ideas that their practice is an effort to apply Islamic concepts about certain issues which have not been done before, such as the idea of khilafah (Jamas in Afadlal et.al, 2005).
Another important factor of the strengthening of Islamic students on campus is that it has been supported by various religious facilities. Currently, almost all campuses already have a mosque or at least musholla. Therefore, with the establishment of mosque and small prayer house on campus such as religious activities exist and are increasing, as well as the mosques’ activists become bigger in numbers.

The strengthening of religious activities in several campuses through the Lembaga Dakwah Kampus-LDK (campus preaching institution) is very positive and should be supported by all parties since these activities have affected the religious consciousness of students in off-campus. Furthermore, in terms of the coverage of its spreading experienced substantial progress. If at the beginning of the reformation, they only encompass urban and campus-based, currently mosques in the city areas have been controlled by them in which they bring the atmosphere of the more Islamic devotion, as well as relying on the power of preaching, organization and other activities (Zada, 2007). Through a variety of activities in the mosques, they call themselves “youth of the mosque” and this is very positive.

However, there are signs that the attraction characterizing the strength of the movement, on the one hand shows the tendency that leads to what is known as a “religious exclusivism” even “Islamic radicalism,” a term which is still a subject to debate. Yet, it is enough to convince academics as embryonic religious ideas which are less tolerant and open; on the other hand there are religious movements which are quite open, more tolerant, democratic and liberal.

The exclusivism nuance of students according to Muhibullah (2006) is a necessity as the implication of the social process that has been going through. Interaction of the mosque activists on campus is relatively intensive through a variety of activities. Therefore, any activity carried out almost always lasted until the internalization process, is rare in the activities of the Mosque’s congregation in general. This internalization process is what allows the establishment of character or revolution personality that exclusive and radical.

Muhibullah’s statement got justification from the obtained preliminary data which is the rejection of assistance from the non-Muslims on the grounds that receiving such assistance is “illegal” (haram) because it comes from the pagans. The similar refusal happens when giving assistance to the afflicted non-Muslims; they prioritize the fellow Muslims only or their specific group because the unbelievers, for them, are “their enemy.”

The phenomena of Islamic exclusivism like this is certainly worrying. Given campus mosques are assets of the nation and the people, they should be able to produce individuals who are intelligent, creative, tolerant, courageous to live but do not fear death, love the people and the nation; but in fact it tend to produce individuals who are rigid, stiff, glorifies death, intolerant, divisive and potentially community and nation. Therefore, it is time to pay attention to the construction of mosques and campuses (Sasmono, 2006).

Thus, the attention on campus does not only lead to the development of the intellectual capacity of students, but also on how to create conditions that are far from groups interests which could potentially reduce the independence of the campus as a neutral academic institution. Based on this, a study of the strengthening phenomena of the new Islamic movement on the Public Higher Education campus in particular Gadjah Mada University (UGM) in Yogyakarta draw studied deeper.

The fundamental problem of this research is “how Islamic Movement Campus could intensify and become an alternative of students on public higher education university of Yogyakarta.” From this issue, there are three research questions, as follows: 1) how the reality of Islamic religious education at the University of Gadjahmada as Public Higher Education in Yogyakarta? 2) What kind of model that was developed in the Islamic campus? 3) how are the dynamics of the Islamist movement took place on campus?

In general, this study aims to describe
Islamists campus that intensified and become an alternative option in the Public Higher Education in Yogyakarta. In particular, we want to know about: 1) the system of Islamic education at the University of Gadjah mada as public college; 2) Islamic model in college that became the object of study; 3) the dynamics of the movement which took place in the campus and the anxiety underlying the movement.

The results of this study are expected to provide a valuable contribution to the Universities, especially those related to religious activities and religious education system in college. The intensified phenomena of Islamic movements in campus is more or less influenced by the weakness of religious institutions in the College itself. The results of this study can be the foundation for evaluating the performance of religious institutions in Higher Education. The study is also beneficial to the development of science, especially as data enrichment for academics and other researchers, as well as the possibility of further research.

**LITERATURE STUDY**

**Previous Writings**

So far, efforts to systematically mapping the phenomena associated with the presence of new religious movements are much studied by experts from various disciplines. Among them is an article by Haidar Nasir (2007) entitled: Manifestasi Gerakan Tarbiyah; Bagaimana Sikap Muhammadiyah? (2007: v). The Tarbiyah Movement at first (around 1970 and 1980) was a propaganda movement in the campus of ITB, IPB, UI, UGM, and others. Later, it became a movement and they called themselves Gerakan Tarbiyah, Tarbiyah Movement. Finally, in 1998, when there was a new round of reform among activists founded the Justice Party (Partai Keadilan-PK) which turned out to be the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) in 2004. Though it discusses the problems of propaganda/dakwah movement in the campuses’ mosques, it emphasis on the historical perspective of the phenomena of Tarbiyah movement.

M. Zaki Mubarok (2008) provides a fairly comprehensive review of several groups called “Radical Islam” in Indonesia. This book gives the impression which quite clearly related groups of radical Islam in Indonesia such as the Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI), Mujahidin Council (Majelis Mujahidin, MM), Laskar Jihad (LJ), and Indonesian Committee for Solidarity of Islamic World (KISDI).

Other studies also have relevance to the discussion on the research conducted by Zuly Qodir (2011), The radicalization of Islam in Surakarta, Central Java: A Case Study of Islamic Mosque Campus UMS, UNS, IAIN, and Pondok Pesantren Ngruki, which highlighted the dynamics of Islam during the campuses’ mosques. In that study, it was confirmed that the campuses’ mosques, not just secular campuses, but religious (Islam) ones understand the radical tendencies are very strong. This can be seen from the efforts of certain parties to dominate the mosques by entering new model of Islamic studies as well as look at the sermon takes place every Friday. However, this study did not arrive at a model of how Islam developed and held on campus (the Mosque) is.

Another study of radical Islam also was done by M. Imdadun Rahmat (2005) entitled “New Islamic Currents: Revivalism Transmission of Middle East Islam to Indonesia.” In his study, he noted that the campuses’ mosques are very strategic places for mission activists to spread their ideologies. Campus movement activist such as Gerakan Tarbiyah, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, and the Salafi movement had used campuses’ mosques as media of propaganda in transmitting Islamic revivalist ideology imported from the Middle East.

The study of differences in propensity between students of Natural Science Faculty and Social Science Faculty in responding to the idea of fundamentalism is also shown by Erham Budi Wiranto (2010) in his article titled “Islamic Fundamentalism among Student of Natural Sciences and Social Sciences Faculties of Gadjah Mada University.” This study reveals that students at the Faculty of Social Sciences have stronger tendency against the idea of fundamentalism.
Students from the Faculty of Social Sciences have an open and sustain understanding because they have been in contact with social theories such as cultural understanding, multiculturalism, pluralism, etc., so they are more capable in doing further research on phenomena and problems that occur, including socio-religious phenomena. On the other hand, students of the Faculty of Natural Sciences are often caught in the way of positivism thinking that is more likely to look at the question as the “black-and-white.” The idea of fundamentalism is easy to flourish because the students have relatively low understanding on the social theories. They have lack of knowledge and ability to counter this kind of idea. Besides, it is due to the network of institutions of the campus propaganda forum (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus) which strongly facilitate and socialize the idea of fundamentalism.

Research and thoughts about variants in religious student movements were also carried out by Arifuddin Ismail and colleagues (2011) with the title: Varian Pemikiran dan Gerakan Keagamaan Mahasiswa Perguruan Tinggi di Jatim, Jateng, dan DIY (Variants of Thoughts and Religious Movement of Student in Higher Education University in East Java, Central Java and Yogyakarta). The study has found three trends of thought and movement among students, which are the radical, liberal and moderate. All three forms of thinking is growing among students with a wide range of factors that influence such religious understanding, motivations, patterns of interaction and communication patterns of movement.

Some of its library study have a lot in common, especially on the study of radical Islamic groups on the Islamic state, with the use of terrorism as well as the political approach in analyzing the phenomena of conflict or unrest in Indonesia and the emergence of current movement. To uncover the phenomena of the emergence of new trends which is the strengthening of the Islamic Movement Campusthat tend to be systematically exclusive in campuses’ mosques, it requires a relatively new research focus on these issues.

### Theoretical Reference

The presence of several “new religious movements” which are generally different from the established religious movement such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama had given the new color of the dynamics of the Islamic movement in this country. These new religious movements have many names associated to it such as Islamic fundamentalists, radical Islam, militant Islam, exclusive Islam, and even the most extreme groups are labeled as a “terrorists” embryo. Despite the various names, it have common characteristics such as equally dogmatic, the claim of truth, a rigid interpretation of the sacred texts (textual), the radicalization of views, their attitudes and actions in the communities allowing them to easily label other group who have different views and understanding to them as unbelievers; that later give birth to a type of a collective movements (social movements). New religious movements also appear and thrive in universities because it is not an area that stands alone and isolated from the large society.

Studies on the Islamic movement in universities, referred to the theory of “social movements”. In general, a social movement has a broad definition because of its various scope. According to Giddens (1993), a social movement is a collective effort to pursue a common interest; or movement to achieve common goals through collective action (collective action) outside the scope of the institutions established.

Meanwhile, Tarrow (1998) positioned social movements as political resistance that occurs when ordinary people that unite with a more influential group of people, join forces to fight the elite, authority, and other opposed group. Action underlying political resistance is a contentious collective action. Collective action can take many forms, short or sustained, institutionalized or quickly dispersed, dull or dramatic. Collective action has the sense of resistance when the action is done by people who have less access to institutions to submit new claims or claims that could not be accepted by the authorities or other opposed parties (Putra, 2006: 2).
Rhys H. Williams defined social movement as:

“Social Movements are socially shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of the social order. To the narrow: a social Movement is a formally organized group that acts consciously and with some continuity to promote or resist change through collective action” (Marty and Appleby, 1994: 786).

Based on the view, the social movement is an organized movement by the ideals and goals of “to do” or “to reject” the changes consciously, continuously and collectively towards certain aspects in the existing social order, including the movement associated with religious.

‘Religious movement’ is an idea which seeks to interpret religious ideas to become a transformative power for developing a better new social structure and order; by partaking, being open and being emancipative (Rahardjo, 1999: 12). It is an ambition upholding the dignity and the self-regard of humanity. Religious movements in the frame of transformative paradigm are the most humane way to change human history. The religious movement defined here is any individual or business group that’s been organized to show new patterns of different religious or a new interpretation of an existing religion (established).

For further development of the theory of social movements, New Social Movements (NSM) was born to complement the old social movements. This term refers to the phenomena of social movements which have developed since the mid-1960s (Suharko, 2006). NSM is a recent development of the concept of social movements present to correct principles, strategy, action or ideological choices used by social movements in the past. New social movement is a collective action of the community as it struggles to meet the needs of a new paradigm, a model of alternative culture, and a new awareness of the betterment of sustainable future (Qadir, 2009).

Situmorang (2007) in his book “Social Movements” offers new patterns of social movements (New Social Movement). The emergence of social movements is characterized by the diverse social movements’ performers such as students, professionals, women, and workers and farmers who defend human rights, democracy, environment, and injustice. New social movements emerged, not because of the pressures, but, a broader political and socio-economic plan, resulting in social movement which can take advantage of that. This view is further clarified by Zuly Qodir (2009), Social Movement in Islam: The Manifesto of the Believer, that a group of a small scale religious movement (Muslim) can influence a bigger religious movement in achieving its greater political objectives.

New social movement is the dynamic of the social movement itself. Nonetheless, principally, both the old social movement and the new one have the same goal, namely the desire for transformation as what is aspired. Social movements have the characteristics of the actors, pilgrims/the people, activity, ideology, and networks. In addition, the social movements demonstrated the so-called collective consciousness and then bring what is called collective behavior arising from the collective consciousness (Donattela, 1992: 23; Tarrow, 1993: 26). In times, the emergence of new social movements can be considered to filling the empty spaces which go unnoticed by the agendas of the old social movements. The study of the new religious movements within the campus of UGM uses the above theoretical formulas, because it is considered to be closer to the existing conditions.

**RESEARCH METHODS**

This is a case research involving descriptive qualitative method, and was conducted at the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM). This campus has been used as the location based on the following considerations. **First,** UGM is one of the leading universities in Indonesia with the number of Muslim students more than 80% of the number of active students. **Second,** the campus is not based on Islam as well as not directly patronized Islamic education as campus under the auspices of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. **Third,** there is various dynamics of religious movements on campus. **Fourth,** there is an aspect of Islamic Religious
Education, which involves senior students as mentors, without selection and control, as the finding of Arifuddin Ismail (2011); *Fifth*, religious activities on campus are rampant and intensive.

The data collected include: 1) the reality of Islamic religious education at the University of Gadjah Mada as Public Higher Education in Yogyakarta; 2) Islamic model developed on campus, including a variety of forms of religious activity, and the tendency of the movement as implication of religious understanding; 3) the dynamics of the campus Islamist movement, related to the emergence of students creativity involved in this movement to adding and deepening their religious knowledge.

Data collection methods used in this study includes observation, in-depth interviews, and field notes as well as documentation study. Observations were carried out on the variety of student activities at both campus and mosque. Various student involvements on campus were recorded through their activities such as Ramadan and Islamic studies, especially after noon prayers (*shalat dhuhur*). In observation, the researchers did not do it alone, but were helped by two assistants of students. This was done to facilitate introduction and communication of the observation area. It was not done on a daily basis, but adjusted for events or activities undertaken by students known through announcements on the bulletin board on campus.

The in-depth interviews were conducted with several informants, such as the management, professors and students. Selection of the informants is based on their faculty. This determination is also based on the assumption that the Islamic movement happens in two different disciplines. Interviews were also conducted with students who are active in Salahuddin campus mosque and the graduate school (At Taqwa) and Takmir mosque as the compared informants.

This study is a qualitative research using words and sentences compared to figures. Accordingly, the process and analysis of data has been done through three lines of activity which occurred simultaneously. The lines are data reduction, data presentation and conclusion. Data reduction is defined as the selection process, focusing on the simplification of abstraction, and the transformation of raw data that comes from the notes written on the field. Data reduction is a process to sharpen, classify, direct, remove and organize data in such a way that it can be concluded or verified.

In the meantime, the process of preparing the data is to plan and incorporate the information in a cohesive structured form and easier to read. The conclusion is the process for registering regularity, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, the flow of cause and effect, and propositions. The process is interactive, which are interconnected and cohesive.

**result and analysis**

**The Reality of Religious Study on Campus**

Courses on religion at the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM) is inserted into the Personal Development subjects or courses (Matakuliah Pengembangan Kepribadian, MPK). There are 42 lecturers on the courses coming from UGM and UIN, aided by several assistants. The learning is divided into two; the first, religious course that has been taught using standard material, as published by the Ministry of Religion (Islamic disciplines). Second, the contextual Islamic material is coordinated and given to each faculty with the adjustment of the specific disciplines of the faculty. ¹

Religious courses for students, especially for the freshmen, are required as their educational background are not religious. It is assumed that they do not have religious background. It is intended to assist them in providing enrichment of religious knowledge. Religious courses formally are only 2 credits. Apparently, the university realizes it so they provide assistantship for Islamic program.

---

¹ Interview with Arqom Koeswanjono (Pembantu Dekan I of Philosophy Faculty of UGM) at the Philosophy Faculty, September, 2012.
(Asistensi Agama Islam).\textsuperscript{2} AAI program itself is a complementary program to help introduce Islam to students despite new policies, including direction to read the Quran. A student of UGM said that with only 2 credits of religious studies, it is impossible to provide a sufficient understanding. Furthermore, he said:

The class we have received is only 1 hour per week, plus assistance every week for 2–3 hours. This is not enough, so to work around this, I follow \textit{khalaqah}, at the Mosque near my boarding house, visit forums and university studies, and learn religious by myself.\textsuperscript{3}

Apart from the religious education program formally enacted at the university, there are also other extra activities, such as prayer and religious gathering dedicated to the entire academic community within the university under the coordination of “Dzikir and Do’a Assembly” (Majelis Dzikir dan Do’a). The event is raised by lecturers who are responsible for things related to religious programs at UGM. In all business units are always activities respectively, including religious programs. For example, there are prayer and \textit{dzikir} performed by Dharma Wanita Faculty and other units.

In addition, there is the Student Activity Unit (Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa, UKM) which has a lot of student activities. In this unit, there are specific areas and one of them is ROHIS (Islamic Spirituality program). ROHIS directly handles activities related to religion since there are specific areas on Islamic spirituality. ROHIS at the university level is also formed in ROHIS- faculty level. This ROHIS in each faculty makes a number of Islamic ritual programs, such as coordinating the implementation of the prayer (Dhuhr) and Friday prayers in their respective faculties. In the Graduate School, for example, ROHIS is taken over by the officer in charge of organizing Kultum (seven minutes sermon) every Dhuhr and preacher (\textit{khatib}) at Friday prayers.

The other side, Shalahuddin Foundation also has a major role in filling the lack of religious knowledge in the university environment.\textsuperscript{4} The foundation is responsible for coordinating the activities of Islamic spirituality in UGM, as the Ramadhan committee in Campus (RIC) (see Tempo Magazine, May 13, 1989). In 1997, the Rector Prof. Dr. Koesnadi Hardjasumantri, SH., settled the Jamaah Salahuddin (JS) as Islamic Chaplaincy Unit under the coordination of Vice Rector (Pembantu Rektor, Purek) III (now the Vice Rector of Alumni and Business Development). Since then, JS officially is entitled to occupy a space in the UGM Student Center. In its journey, JS has a significant role in the fight for the establishment of the mosque in the university campus. Nevertheless, activities in JS are not only about Islam, but also to discuss discourses of the social-political situation, the world of the student movement, and moral issues in society.

In carrying out its mandate as UGM students’ forum in deepening knowledge and understanding Islam, Jamaat Salahuddin (JS) focuses all activities on the campus mosque where they plan and implement programs and activities which are consistent with the objective of JS. These activities are planned in its long-term and there is also a temporary activity in accordance with the needs and the development of the programs. As the forum being in charge of the daily programs, the Shalahuddin Foundation appointed a daily manager for all program activities to run well.

In relation to the development of people, the Foundation has scheduled the programs for talks by inviting speakers from all level. Beside study, discussion or prayer groups are not coordinated by the JS, but by another student group (Ismail, 2012).

\textsuperscript{2} This program has started since 1987 and was approved by the university through the SK Rektor N0. 214/P/SK/HT/2004. This decision letter is a form of legalization to the assistance or mentoring of Islamic religious education on UGM that has been done up to this day.

\textsuperscript{3} Interview with HF (22), Student of Engineering Faculty of UGM, October 6, 2012.

\textsuperscript{4} Aside from JS, UGM also have other spirituality units of other religions, such as the Buddhist Students Family, Hindu Students Family Dharma, Catholic Chaplaincy Unit (Campus Mass) as well as the Christian Spirituality Unit (Unit Kerohanian Kristen).
Religious activities and the nuance of Islam are very much felt on the campus. Various activities such as Islamic studies, discussions, a big gathering for Islamic sermon (tabligh akbar) and the like can easily be found at the university. The latest program created by the campus activist propaganda movement is memorizing the Qur’an in the name of “Gadjah Mada memorizing the Quran” (Gadjah Mada Menghafal Qur’an, GMMQ). It was on Friday, October 19, 2012 at 4pm in the Multimedia Room of Faculty of Law, student activity units LDK Jama’ah Shalahuddin of UGM launched Semi Autonomous Body (BSO) named GMMQ. The semi-autonomous organization has a special program to accommodate students who want to become those who memorize the Quran.

Mosque: Contention between Public and Private Space

A mosque on campus is an important asset for the development of Islamic study in general. However, the mosque is also sometimes used as an arena of contestation intended to show the influence of each group which involves ‘worship’ as its slogan (jargon). In the practice of shalat sunnah tarawih for example, the UGM’s mosque chooses eleven rakaats, including tarawih and witir prayers. It seems that the choice seems to be based more on prophetic practice than follow the companions of the prophet who practiced 23 rakaats in tarawih and witir prayers. Related to tarawih prayers, the Sunni campus mosque refers to the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, narrated by Aisha (the wife of the Prophet), “Mohammed never” pray (Sunnah) in the month of Ramadan and the others more than eleven raka’at.” It is widely practiced by Muhammadiyah. The Muslim Indonesia analysts in particular, then label that performing 11 rakaats of tarawih is considered as Muhammadiyah followers, while choosing the 23 rakaats is Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) followers.

In connection with the politics, the mosque of UGM is a phenomena because it was in the old campus and it has the faculty of Social and Political Sciences. However, the campus mosque activists tend to be allergic to politics, though in fact they are political. They are actually involved in practical politics as a staunch supporter of Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) or the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS), especially those who are affiliated with the Union Action of Indonesian Muslim Students (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia, KAMMI). They argue that “Political indeed a good thing, but for the benefit of mankind”.

The head of campus mosque caretakers (takmirs) emphasized that the mosque was not competent to respond to this. The political question is out of the responsibilities and duties of the mosque. The mosque has nothing to deal with politics, it should take care of the issue of worship instead. This is consistent with the function of the mosque which is to spiritually communicate with God (munajah). Politics is not a matter of religion and the mosque only deals with building faith of the people. By saying this, it is claimed that between Islam and politics are separable. This is where the contradiction of the managers mosque UGM was beginning looks obvious.

The mosque of UGM is not so much engaged in economic problems, but social actions for helping poor people at Eid (idul fitri), Ramadan, the distribution of rice, the distribution of sacrificial meat, and clean water. According to one of the mosques caretakers, the assistance is provided not only when there is a religious event, but also a social one.

On the issue of culture, it seems that The head of campus mosque caretakers (takmirs) did not give his response to cope with. According to him, any activity should be in line with the Qur’an and the Hadith. In connection with any culture that is not associated with ritual worship is not the

---

5. Hadith transmitted by Aisyah r.a., in “Bulughul Maram” (translation) Muh. Syarif Sukandi. Bandung: al-Ma’arif, 1978, p. 141.

6. KAMMI is one of the organizations that respond the state (1998) condition due to a crisis of multi-dimensional that trying to create the madani society. The organization is confined to Muslim students only and has aspires to make Islam more down to earth.
authority of the mosque. In this case, the mosque is only dealing with religious activities. Yet, when asked about Islam and Javanese, he firmly said that there is Muslim Javanese (Muslim Kejawan), and it is not a problem because, for him, it is the result of acculturation.

This shows that, first, the mosque is used by certain groups as a space to promote the development of an ideology, though it only involves the members of the group. Second, various religious (Islamic) activities increasingly spread on campus which in one side can be regarded as the sign of the dynamics of campus Islamic movement. Yet, in another side, it indicates the increasingly lack of control of the student activities which leads to the formation of an exclusive group.

In this mosque, every Friday is filled by a variety of topics addressed in the speech leading to ‘invite’ people to return to the Qur’an. Instead, there was a preacher who does not hesitate to say that the institutions which promote religious pluralism are the agents of colonialists (the West) who are now trying to reaching the campus. This shows that, the purification of Islamic movement on campus, especially on the non-religious campus has been intensified which indirectly also provides spaces for a certain group to develop and voice up their ideology in the spirit of freedom of expression on campus.

**Halaqah: Internalization Forum of Understanding Islam**

The other place used by students beside mosque is the yard or the campus area. The yard with the cool weather was used as a place for discussion. At any given time (specifically afternoon), there can be found a few small groups (halaqah) consisting of three people who are guided by a mentor (the instructor). In the courtyard of the Graduate School, for example, some groups can be found on a daily basis. They sat down to talk with a small circle of same-sex, while for other types also form a circle not far from the cycle of the other group. According to one of them, they use a yard as a discussion place due to the difficulty to find another place on campus. Then, this beautiful campus provides an environment of tranquility in the discussion. The other reason is that the use of the place is free of charge. Also, it is easy to reach friends or members of the study group itself.7

Themes of the study within this small groups are faith, morals, worship, *mu'amalath* while themes on philosophy and mysticism are barely discussed. The study also focuses on the Qur’an and the Hadits by which it internalizes understanding. Beyond that, they regard it as an act violating the rules. SH said that research done for all this time is always aimed at establishing an Islamic personality based on understanding derived from al-Qur’an and the Hadis of the Prophet. He said further that everything should be in reference to the two sources of Islam.8 Meanwhile, the methods applied in discussion are question and answer, tutorial and lecture.

The intensive discussions involve students by expressing their concern about the lack of Islamic knowledge acquired over the years. With their non-religious background, they take the time to seriously participate in various studies. They are even eager to set up a short time to continue participating in religious activities such as a book review, bazaar, charity, and social activities. At the end of the discussion, the theme for next discussion is determined. Themes of discussion are very various, ranging from how to live in an Islamic way. Furthermore, the themes being faced by Muslims in recent issues, such as the issue of pluralism, equality, justice, leadership of the countr, are discussed.

This forum (halaqah) can also be viewed in three ways. First, as a means to internalize the process of its members. In general, members of the halaqah come from non-religious background.

---

7. Interview with TF (23 years old, student of Engineering Faculty), August 12, 2012 in the yard of postgraduate school of UGM.
8. Interview with SH (24 year old) at UGM, October 2012. In fact, some people think that life (religion) is the holy book of life that does not directly relate to the scriptures is not a religion. It is obvious when talking about science, the so-called science is only found in the scriptures. Thus, the social sciences, such as sociology, anthropology, and as they are not religious domain (Sobary, 2006: 23).

---
Second, it is a forum to examine the solidarity of Islamic group in a micro scale. The Muslim students consciously or not, are actually in the middle of the ideological debate, especially with the presence of the forum in the name of particular religion. Third, it is a forum against any “non-Islamic group” or “secular Islam.” Thus, there are two trends here, on the one hand there is a desire to learn about Islam, and the other, is to implement Islamic values. The forum as such in some corner of the campus is easy to find. It usually has small groups were attended by several people.9

Nonetheless, there are two contradictory things by looking at the routine activities such as the establishment of the study group forum. First it indicates a strong desire among them to understand Islam better. Yet, they are not supported by the adequate space and facilities. As the result, they have to find ways and means of self-learning system outside the campus. Second, it pictures that there can be a system in which the perpetrators transform the religious beliefs into a consciousness. The system evidently shows that religious practices are seen as a system which should be distinguished from the non-religious practice (Mashad, 2000: 126). This spirit was also born of their concern for the condition of the Muslims who have the moral decay of the social consequences of the influence of other ideologies (secular, etc.) and should be returned to the original path (Islam).

The rise of limited review forums like is also due to the lack of allocation of Islamic studies at the faculty. Although this has been recognized by the university to include curriculum design and teaching on religious courses under the umbrella Subject Personality Development (MPK). The time allocation for the courses is very limited, only 2 hours within a week. This means the students, with their non-religious background, feel so. Consequently, they try to find another way to fill the gap.

Differentiation of Campus Islamic Movement

There are differences in the Islamic movement occurring in every faculty at non-religious campuses. The difference is caused by the type of each faculty, especially in response to various developments and the emerging face of the Islamic world. At the faculty of social sciences, for example, Islamists campus leads more on a consolidation in forming Islamic identity to strengthen the identity. Meanwhile, at the faculty of natural sciences (science) precisely occurs the opposite. They reinforced how knowledge is internalized in Islamic life which should be started from us.

At certain faculties such as Mathematics and Science, Pharmacy, Engineering, for example, there are students who always use identities characterizing a particular group by using Arabic term which directly shows their self-existence being different with other groups. From this view, the notion emerged that those students at the faculty of natural sciences are more ‘Islamic’ than others from the social sciences. Shidqi Ahmad as quoted by Erham Nudi Wiranto (2010) pointed out that there are many akhwat-akhuwat (Muslim sisters) who studied at the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Pharmacy, Engineering, and at some other natural science faculty. This indicates that the intensity of the Islamists among students of natural sciences is more intensive and nuanced than the Islamic movement at the faculty of social sciences-humanities.

On the information boards in corners of the faculties like in the Faculty of Medicine UGM found the announcement of talks and seminars on Islam. In fact, a similar announcement can also be found at the other campuses’ mosques beside UGM, such as UNY and UII, which also shows that the distribution of announcement of UGM study group can also be easily accessed in other places because communication networks and group publications are well linked.

---

9. HF (22) said that the members of the group usually consist of 5 to 7 people come from multi background. According to him, he joined one of the study group (JS and Muslim Forum ISIPOL) because the invitation of his friend. The members of the group come from MIPA Faculty, Tecique, etc. In its study forum, HF share opinion regarding contemporary issues. Even, he also make friendship with other student from different background, but very careful if there is any political issue.
Speakers in the talks are typically graduates from Saudi Arabia and Yaman who has a network of alumni in Indonesia. The theme was very popular around the current religious phenomena which tends to affect daily lives and praxis. It is also free of charge where everyone are invited to join the event, although the invitation is strictly limited to Muslims. From here we can see that the management of the activities of the study group was very neat for it does not only spread its purpose to understand Islam, but also how they should attract interest and sympathy of other students to join the group.

The different view happens in the graduate school. The presence of the CRCS provides regular discussions of different colors with a wide range of discussions. In regular discussions every Wednesday, for example, issues and themes of discussion no longer revolves around the study of basic Islam. At the CRCS, religions are not only studied and understood as a doctrine, but as an object of scientific research (academic) so that religion can be viewed from various perspectives (multi-disciplinary). At this point, the study of religion (Islam) in the CRCS with different religious studies conducted in the campus mosque, halaqah and faculties.

At the regular discussions, CRCS responds to a variety of religious issues from the perspective of science. Religion, again, is seen as an object of scientific study, which involves a variety of perspectives to criticize for. Religious has been reviewed academically resulting understanding which is not only doctrinal, but more comprehensive even to the very technical as how religion is understood and practiced by the transvestities and others. It is certainly, on the one hand, provides a new perspective on religion. But, on the other hand, it brings out controversy, especially for people who think that it is excessive. As an academic study, religion can surely be investigated and studied with “value-free”, so an understanding of the religious person can experience transformation from doctrine to academic.

The Typologies of the Campus Islamic Movement

Starting from a mosque, the Islamic movement, especially at the UGM has spread to the other faculties. The spread of Islamic movements within the campus can not be separated from the history of the early establishment of the mosque itself. The mosque in early Islam became the center of the dynamics of the Muslims.

However, the campus mosque was “controlled” by certain groups that make the spirit of struggle was different from other mosques in general. The UGM’s mosque as described in another part of this discussion, has been a birthplace of Campus Propaganda Institute (Lembaga Dakwah Kampus, LDK), which coordinates all activities of the propaganda. From this, we can see how a propaganda journey on campus does tend to be “closed.” In line with the condition, the mosque Nurul Huda UNS (State University of Solo) centralizes a mission which favors neo-fundamentalime (al-Makassary, et al, 2010: 261). This is due to fact that all the dynamics of the mosque has been regulated and controlled. There are three types of activities here: First is the regular (daily) activities such as praying five times. Second is the incidental activities such as Ramadan. And third is the long-term nature of such studies on a regular basis, usually called ‘canteen’ and jurisprudence for women. It is commonly called ‘Kafenita’. The Friday sermon and its preachers are scheduled as part of the programmed activities. It is as described earlier in this section, in accordance with the mission of establishing the mosque as a center of Islamic studies, not of any other interest.

The above description shows that the spread of Islam on campus tends to be exclusively enjoyed and followed by certain circles or groups. This trend is also not free from criticism of people within the campus. As happened at the university, for example, the university is considerably failed in

10. This shows that in every activities done by one of the study groups very much prioritize the Islamic group. It also reflects that the tendency of the exclusive movement is clearly visible, even though it is only supported by one indicator which is the restriction of participants or audience that only Muslims.
controlling the Islamic movement on campus. It is also seen in some cases as in the case of rejection of Irshad Mandji in a discussion. In fact, the campus is an autonomous institution at which the rights to freedom of expression and thought can be freely made. So, there is a tendency in which the presence of the Islamic propaganda institute (lembaga dakwah) centralized in mosque also affects the dynamics of Islam on campus and even influences the independence of academic freedom of the university, as we look upon the case of Irshad Mandji.

**Understanding and Islamic Model:**
**Response to the Contemporary Issues**

The Islamic model understood and developed on campus is a model of Islam as a whole (kaffah) which does not only touch the aspect of worship, but all aspects of life, including social, cultural, economic, political, and so on. As for the response to the social, economic, political and cultural problems responses that given by the Islamic campus is positive and constructive. The way to respond varies by dialogue on the raised issues, through media owned by the Islamic institutions on campus, or through other propaganda programs (Syiar). The activists of campus mosque understand Islam as kaffah in its literal meaning. This, for them, implies that things associated with the political, economic, cultural, and life should be Islamic which means in accordance with the scripture. If not, there is no need to be done and followed. The Islamists of UGM understand Islam as a complete and final religion and everything must be based on the holy book Quran, not from another source.

Thus, it is a simple fact about the understanding of Islam and its practice. Although not directly say that it is necessary to discuss political, economic, cultural and other issues, but the campus Mosque has a serious concern in those matters. Moreover, the activist of the campus Mosque consists of activists and KAMMI and Hizbuttahrir. Therefore, it is actually very reasonable if the campus Mosque can be seen as a center of education to discuss issues of social, economic, political, cultural and contemporary issues that developed within the community. The presence of this kind of student organization represents the spirit of “a new Islamic” that reflects “totality” and “sincerity”, both in its goal and in terms of social and political behavior. They really have a desire to reflect the portrait of an ideal young Muslim generation, as a pious generation, who uphold Islamic morality in all aspects of life (kaffah).

The Islamic Movement on campus seriously addresses secularism, pluralism, and liberalism. The activists publicly acknowledge that there are disagreements about secularism, pluralism, and liberalism. In response to these problems, they understand the problems as part of the ‘guests’ action’ who do not believe in the teachings of Islam of kaffah. The “guests” try to find excuses in order to get a place. In fact, the teachings of Islam are perfectly clear and there is no any shortfall, but some Muslims do not even believe it. This is a war of ideas between people with Muslims and Muslims versus people who do not like Islam. For this reason, the Islamic movement on campus seriously responded by launching the counter thinking with those who carry the issues of pluralism, liberalism and secularism. Three of these issues, according to them, are big problems and even bigger if not handled soon and carelessly. Muslims will be scattered as what they confessed. Therefore, he said, Muslims should be careful with the campaign of pluralism, liberalism and secularism for it is very dangerous to the integrity of Islam as a whole.

The presence of prayer group and religious forum as shown on campus of the non-religious university, as described above, at least has stressed three significant points. First, it has emerged and raised a high awareness about the importance of Islamic studies which is sustainable and institutionalized within a university. The lack of Islamic knowledge could be fulfilled by these kinds of activities. Second, there has been a strengthening of understanding on the importance of solidity and solidarity among the people on

---

11. Interview with R (24) at UNY Mosque, October 8, 2012.
campus. It particularly responds to development
and dynamics of the community which continue
to progress very rapidly. Third, there is a
systematic effort built intentionally to obliterate
stigmatization of non-religion campus as often
regarded as a platform to fertilize secular thoughts
which give more space for human reason than the
involvement of religion.

The existence of the research/study forum
(halaqah) at the non-religious university, on one
hand shows the high sensitivity to the importance
of enhancing the knowledge and discourse on
issues of Islam which are less sufficient than in
the religious universities. On the other hand, the
presence of these forums also indicates a ‘struggle’
even a fight between one group against the
others. Prayer forums at university and faculty
indicate a tendency toward how to understand and
how to apply Islam in a simple manner, but what
is shown by other groups such as JS takes a slightly
different path.

The emergence of groups proposing the
Islamic Shari’a, in Haedar Nashir (2006), carries
the ideology of Islam as a result of ‘negligence’ to
accommodate the country’s interests. The country
is considered in favor of the secular ideology
and ignores Islam. These groups represent
Islam literally, formalistic, and doctrinaire.
More interestingly, in the midst of the writhing
movements appear CRCS which comes to give
a new color in the dynamics of religious studies
at UGM. It tries to voice up a priority to respect
others for the sake of humanity.

**Resistant to the View of the Modernists**

Rejecting the modernists view in this case is
defined as a view of the anti-everything perceived
as West. West here is translated as the United
States, Israel and their allies, especially European
countries. West in the eyes of the Islamist activists
is the main rival to blame for the destruction of
Muslim countries such as Palestine, Iraq, and
Afghanistan in which it is considered as Western
design to destroy the power of the Islamic radical
Islamic forces. This is due to an understanding
that they are the only one that able to compete
with Western hegemony.

The modernity understood as something that
comes from the West is rejected by radical groups
in the Muslim world. This is because modernity
is considered a form of Westernization. Bassam
Tibi (1994: 10-11) claims that the world of Islam
in facing Westernization, has took the culture-
defensive attitude. This culture is viewed by
Arnold Hottinger, a German journalist, as an
attitude by which that almost all the “literalist”
Muslim in modern times hold tight. It seems that
fundamentalism is something created. It was
created from their hatred to the West.

Activists of Islamic mission criticize the United
States of America as “a grey state” because on one
hand they fight for the values of human rights,
but on the other they deny human rights. They
say that discrimination against women in hijab
and men with beards in the West is an example of
the denial of the human rights. The siding of the
West to Israel has increasingly made the activists
have more hatred towards the West. The activist
thought that the land of Palestine officially belongs
to the Palestinian people. It is therefore, for them,
Israel’s annexation of Palestinian land was illegal.

The view above shows that Muslims around
the world are required to remain solid and united
against Western hegemony as any damage that
befell Muslims in the entire world is caused by
the greed of the West. In the view of the campus
propaganda activists, the West systematically
attempts to break the mentality of the Muslims so
that they can deviate from the teachings of their
religion. According to them, one of the efforts is
issued by promoting the views of liberalism and
pluralism.

Resentment against modernity (the West) by
the activists has intensified by the fact that they
make the magazine entitled “Voice of Islam” which
contains themes on anti-Western and is sold freely
in the campus. The Magazine is of the magazines
concerned in the dissemination of anti-Western.
One of its articles of the latest issue, the edition 144
of June 5-19, 2012, is entitled *Save the Children
from the Dangerous of Sepilis, ‘Selamatkan Anak
Dari Bahaya Sepilis.’*
Campus propaganda activists argue that Muslims do not need to extoll western civilization because today they were on the verge of collapse. They state Muslims should remain optimistic although the stigma is still often addressed to Islam, such as Islamic terrorists, Islam oppressing women. It is, for them, considered to be a process and trial from God to achieve success. In their opinion, a person who is successful in the process will always face many trials and forgings.

**Self-Closing to the Interpretation of Religious Text**

Reinterpretation of the text is one of the issues discussed by many Muslims up to this day. Muslim intellectuals are pushing the importance of reinterpretation of religious texts as a form of response to their critical stagnation on Islamic theology in responding the challenges of contemporary world, such as Islam fundamentalism, discrimination against women, and the increasing of intolerance in society.

The groups that emphasize the urgency of reinterpreting the text of Quran are, for them, considered as liberals. They are liberal because they “dare” to reinterpret religious texts that have been final in the hands of the previous righteous people (salafushshalih). Nevertheless, some intellectuals are often rejected by the so-called liberal because of the negative connotation of the term (Safi, 2003: 17).

One of the efforts often made by them to denote liberal intellectuals is by showing a passage written by the liberal intellectuals. For instance they state that the liberal intellectuals always lead to the importance of reinterpreting the verses related to gender issues, especially with regard to women. They will say for example that, Nazaruddin Umar (2009) who is labelled by them as a liberal intellectual said in his work: “That negative image of women in the Islamic world and the Middle East in general is that women seem to be the second human, can not be separated with the understanding of religious texts, including to the Quran and hadith. We’re so confident that God is just ... and infinitely wise.”

However, the activists refused the view that Islam is a doctrine legalizing oppression for women. They said that Islam is a religion which upholds the dignity of women. They pointed out that in the eyes of God, men and women have the same degree. The campus propaganda activists also experience a very large concern over the spread of interpretation based on lust, because it has deviated from the interpretation that has been set by salafushshalih. According to them, Islam is a very fair teaching. The fairness of Islam, according to them, does not mean that each party has to get something similar, but it means that each party should get something in proportion to their responsibilities to which it aspires. They added that Muslims should not follow a gender perspective echoed by the West. Today it is even more terrible, as some Western countries legalize the same-sex marriage which in their views denies human nature.

Still, according them, interpretation of the Qur’an for this group is an activity that should not be done. Whatever written in the text is what should be well done and well practiced. Interpreting the text means not only denying the truth, but also giving other meaning to it. Thus, what is in the text literally is the final one.

**Closing the Room for Dialogue**

Being closed for dialogue in this regard is meant to do the purification of Islam. Purification in this case is defined as an understanding that everything has to be purified based upon the Qur’an and the practices of the Prophet Muhammad. To perform the purification, the activists implement the teachings of the consolidation of power by strengthening their pilgrims, textual interpretation of the text, and following the way of dressing which is considered prophetic, like wearing jungkring, baju koko, having beard, etc.

One of the sticking characteristics of radical groups in religiosity is that they consider themselves as the most correct and authentic one in understanding religion. They departed from the hadith of the Prophet that one day Muslims would
split into many groups i.e., 73 groups, and only one of them will survive. The survivors are their group as they claim. The hadith is understood textually without taking any proper theoretical approach of interpretation or hermeneutics. For them, the argument has been very clear and unnecessary to interpret. Therefore, they do not open any space for dialogue with the other groups; group of sorcery and the need to be straightened out.

To counter these views promoted by the liberals, the campus propaganda activist do many attempts such as making group discussions and holding seminars. In fact, the discussions and seminars drive them to exclusivity for having another dialogue as evidenced by their refusal to attending our invitation for seminars and discussions with the liberal Muslim thinker, Ulil Abshar Abdallah.

This previous view shows that the strengthening of consolidation in the congregation is very urgent to be done for they believe that the liberals backed up by the great power, the West. One of the hot issues attracting public attention lately is the launching of a movie entitled “Innocence of Muslims.” The majority of Muslims have considered that the movie insults the Prophet Muhammad. This then sparked protests from almost all Muslims throughout the world. In an attempt to protest against the release of the movie, the propaganda campus activists who are under the Jamaah Shalahuddin attempted to protest by inviting the Embassy of the United States of America to attend their discussions. But until now, the embassy has not given any response to the invitation.

In essence, they will continue to be the forefront of the fight against parties that want to destroy Islam. They want to understand how Islam is practiced without departing from the essence and by who promoted the values of morality and humanity. Similarly, the passion to return to the legal / law is a form of longing of success as in the early days of Islam until the various activities are performed to support these ideals.

**CONCLUSION**

The Islamic Movement Campus widely emerged stresses that there are efforts made by various groups to keep putting, even polarizing the fikr (dimension of ratio) and zikr (dimensions of conscience) on campus. Various forums and worship groups, like liqa’, halaqah, so on and so forth are no longer considered as a new phenomena, but a social fact which also contributes to the emergence of various forms of response to the problem of humanity. It also indicates a tendency for introducing new religious models on campus that has very minimal space for the development of Islamic studies. The growth and expansion of the study groups also give an overview that there is the strengthening of the Islamic movement on campuses which are often labeled as seculars.

The intensity of religious studies at non-religious campuses can also be understood as a new form of creativity of students to cover up their lack of knowledge and understanding of the religion (Islam), as well as the lack of religious knowledge programmed by universities. The presence of various agencies, boards, or Islamic study groups on campus also has an impact on the dynamics of the campus that always changes. On campuses’ mosques, at certain times such as Ramadan, they are very active in holding many programs. Sermons and lectures on the campuses’ mosque are typically common to support their activities. The sermons and lectures usually stress on purification, authenticity, and back to devout Muslims (Islam Kaffah). Meanwhile, at the same time students also continue to have meetings on Islamic studies at the campus area which indicates the existence of their movement in the midst of the debate and discussion on scientific approaches rather than religious ones.

A brief description above shows several things. Först, the form of Islam taking place on campus is more proney directed to do a ‘counter’ to the scientific development which are considered to have more distance from religion itself. It can be seen from the tendency of strengthening intensive studies, lectures, and religious activities.
on campus. The form of Islamization on campus is how to strengthen the activists’ programs through various groups and religious activities which do not involve other groups and close dialogues. The development of religious (Islamic) activities, on one hand, can be seen as a model of activities which provides a space for students to reduce their shortage of knowledge. On the other, it raises understanding and attitude of exclusivity on campus which tend to deny the existence of others. Indeed, if campuses play roles in control such activities, the campuses can be set free from development and dissemination of the exclusivity.

Second, the question of humanity which becomes the main concern to the Islamic movement on campus is how to strengthen the capacity of individuals and groups to form a community in dealing with various issues considered as contradictory to Islam. Injustice, democracy, liberalization, and global issues are not the focus of the available study. However, the early stage is how to provide sufficient understanding as to what is outlined in the scriptures without adding or deleting anything of it. Political, social, economic, and cultural problems have been ‘neglected’ since the focus on the religious (Islamic) response is also aimed to change the value system of the non-religious to be religious.

Third, the development of Islamic movement is the one which leads to the formation of attitudes (character) and understanding aimed to be the castle of Islam through various Islamic studies intensively promoted. However, this development is likely to be an exclusive one which makes the study is only done and provided by a specific group. This also produces understanding stirring to claims that non-Muslims’ discourses (political, social, economic, and cultural) have failed to address the issues so that the only Muslims are considered to be the most capable of providing solutions to the various problems faced by mankind in the present and in the future.

Nevertheless, the presence of various forms of Islamic movement on campus is a form of students’ creativity. They, to some extent, are able to demonstrate their Islamic identity. Also, it is a form of criticism to the system of religious (Islamic) course which allocates very less time on a non-religious campus. It is therefore important to reform the system of the religious course which is more proportional and does not collide with the religious courses on religious campuses. Thus, in the future, it is expected that the system will be able to accommodate the interests of particular students, and also will be able to answer the students’ curiosity on Islamic studies.

REFERENCES
Afadhal, M. 2005. Gerakan Islam Kampus. Jakarta: Lakspeedam NU.
Aziz, Muhammad Abdul. 2002. Islam dan Negara. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
Giddens, Anthony. 2010. Teori Strukturasi, Dasar-dasar Pembentukan Struktur Sosial Masyarakat. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
J. Moleong, Lexy. 2002. Penelitian Kualitatif. Bandung: Rosda Karya.
Kartodirjo, Sartono. 1984. Pemberontakan Petani Banten. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
Madjid, Nurcholish. 2009. Kaki Langit Peradaban Islam. Jakarta: Paramadina-Dian Rakyat.
al-Makassary, dkk. 2010. Benih-benih Islam Radikal di Masjid: Studi Kasus Jakarta dan Solo. Jakarta: Center for Study of Religion and Culture.
Marty, Martin E dan R. Scott Appleby (ed.). 1994. The Fundamentalism Project Vol. 4, Accounting for Fundamentalism: The Dinamic Character of Movements. Chicago London: The University of Chicago Press.
Mashad, Dhurorudin. 2000. “Usroh dan Kebangkitan Islam ala Kampus”, dalam M. Hamdan Basyar, Islam dan Dinamika Islam Politik. Jakarta: PPW-LIPI.
Muhibullah. 2006. Respons Islam Kampus terhadap Perubahan Sosial. Jakarta: PPB Jakarta.
Nasher, Haedar. 2006. "Gerakan Islam Syariah", dalam Jurnal Maarif: Arus Pemikiran Islam dan Sosial. Vol. 1, No. 02 November. Jakarta: Maarif Institute.

_____. 2007. Islam Syariah: Reproduksi Gerakan Syariat di Indonesia. Jakarta: PSAP.

_____. 2007. Manifestasi Gerakan Tarbiyah; Bagaimana Sikap Muhammadiyah? Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah.

Putra, Fadillah dkk. 2006. Gerakan Sosial: Konsep, Strategi, Aktor, Hambatan, dan Tantangan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia. Malang: Averrous.

Qodir, Zuly. 2009. Gerakan Sosial Islam: Manifesto Kaum Beriman. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

_____. 2010. Islam Liberal: Varian-varian Liberalisme Islam di Indonesia 1991-2002. Yogyakarta: LKIS.

Rahardjo, Dawam. 1999. Gerakan Keagamaan Dalam Penguatan Civil Society: Analisis Perbandingan Visi dan Misi LSM dan Ormas Berbasis Keagamaan. Jakarta: Lembaga Studi Agama dan Filsafat (LSAF).

Rahmat, M. Imdadun. 2005. Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur ke Indonesia. Jakarta: Erlangga.

_____. 2008. Ideologi Politik PKS: Dari Masjid Kampus ke Gedung Parlemen. Yogyakarta: LKIS.

S. Yunanto. 2002. Islam Militan di Indonesia dan Asia Tenggara. Jakarta: Ridep Institute.

Situmorang, Abdul Wahib. 2007. Gerakan Sosial: Studi Kasus Beberapa Perlawanan. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.

Sugiharto, Bambang I. 2001. Postmodernisme: Tantangan Bagi Filsafat. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.

Suharko. 2006. Gerakan Sosial. Jakarta: Seri Modul Simpul Demokrasi Komunitas Indonesia untuk Demokrasi.

Sukandi, Muh. Sjarif. 1987. “Bulughul Maram” (terjemahan). Bandung: al-Ma’arif

Tarrow, Sydney. 1998. Power in Movement Social Movement and contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taufani. 2012. Ideologi Islamisasi vs Kekerasan: Studi Respon Gerakan Dakwah Kampus terhadap Ideologi Kekerasan di Senat Fakultas Teknik Universitas Hasanuddin. Tesis: Center for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies, Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta.

Wiranto, Erham Budi. 2010. “Islamic Fundamentalism among Students at Natural Sciences and Social Sciences of Gadjah Mada University”, Tesis. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS), Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM.