

Chapter 5: Conclusion: Continuation of *TAJDID* Tradition

At the turn of each century there will arise in this *ummah* those who will call for a religious renewal (the Prophet Muhammad, in Abu Daud, Cairo 1348)

The argument developed in this thesis is that contemporary Islamic resurgence among young people in Bandung, Indonesia, is a continuation of *tajdid* (renewal) tradition in Muslim societies. Current Islamic resurgence is another form of Muslim internal transformation that attempts to maintain the Muslim commitment to the fundamental principles of Islam and to reconstruct an Islamic society in accord with the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* (Traditions of the Prophet). The *tajdid* movement has always been related to two aspects of Muslims' lives -the spiritual and the worldly-which cannot be separated. The former refers to an attempt to purge Islamic teachings and practices of non-Islamic influences and to present it once again in its original pure forms. The latter refers to an endeavour to solve social, economic, political, and cultural problems faced by the Muslim community.

Like previous reformist movements such as the Muhammadiyah movement (founded in 1912) and Persatuan Islam movement (founded in 1923), current Islamic resurgence attempts to call Muslims to return to the basic teaching of Islam, the Qur'an and *sunnah*. The difference is that the contemporary Islamic movement not only promotes purification of Islamic beliefs and rituals from *bid'ah* (innovation), *khurafat* (superstitions) and pre-Islamic traditions and practices but also promotes purification of much wider aspects of Muslims' lives, including economic, social and cultural institutions and practices, from both foreign and native non-Islamic influences.

Similarly, like Muhammadiyah and PERSIS which -directly or not- struggled for Indonesian independence from the Dutch colonial domination, current Islamic movements, also have the same spirit, ie. to free themselves from another form of domination. This refers to the idea that the overwhelming Muslim majority (during the New Order) has always been marginal and under the domination of certain minority groups. It also refers to foreign cultural domination which is believed to threaten Muslim identity.

Like previous Islamic reform movements, the contemporary Islamic movement arose both from within the local tradition of Islam and undoubtedly under the influence of international Islamic movements. Previously, the international influence was limited in terms of ideas and merely spread through personal communication or books which only arrived in Indonesia after long delays.

There was thus a clear time gap between the Islamic movement in Indonesia and other parts of the world. This is very different from the contemporary Islamic movement. Through the advance of electronic mass media international influence is not limited to the slow spread of Islamic ideas. Islamic ideas can spread rapidly and widely regardless of national boundaries. Moreover, this globalisation era enables one movement in one Muslim country not only to spread its ideas but also to establish its branches in other countries. The growth of the global system reinforces the notion of the unity of the Muslim community (*ummah*).

This study examines current Islamic resurgence in three stages of development. The first stage which I called the foundation of the movement, refers to the early emergence of the movement in which certain individuals experienced spiritual dissatisfaction. Through these individuals the idea of dissatisfaction spread widely in particular social, political, economic and cultural conditions. The next stage was the development of the movement in which these individual figures and their followers established various organisations through which the Islamic resurgence ideas spread in aggressive and pervasive ways. The conditions of the early emergence remained similar. Both stages were characterised by emotional and radical features. The third stage was routinisation of the movement, a phase in which social, political, economic and cultural conditions were transformed into more desired conditions. In response to this transformation various Islamic groups changed their original teachings and doctrines to adapt to the new conditions. These new conditions also created a new ground for the emergence of new types of Islamic movements ie. mystic and intellectualistic.

This study confirms the “processual structure” of revitalisation movements of Anthony F.C. Wallace. Islamic resurgence in Bandung, however, seem to be in conflict with his prediction that “Human affairs around the world seems more and more commonly to be decided without reference to supernatural powers.” (1979:428). He further argued that:

... the evolutionary future of religion is extinction. Belief in supernatural beings and in supernatural forces that affected nature without obeying nature's law will erode and become only an interesting historical memory. To be sure, [religious movement] is not likely to occur in the next generation; the process will very likely take several hundred years, and there will always remain individuals or even occasional small cult groups who respond to hallucination, trance and obsession with a supernaturalist interpretation. But as a cultural trait, belief in supernatural powers is doomed to die out, all over the world, as a result of the increasing adequacy and diffusion of scientific knowledge ... the process is inevitable (1966:264–5).

In contrast with Wallace prediction, the forgoing survey shows how modern people in a globalisation era become much more attached to religion not viceversa.

Furthermore, the study of Islamic resurgence among young people in Bandung shows that, as Nakamura says, "Islam [in Indonesia] has been getting stronger" (1983:181). This also confirms Victor Tanja's statement that "the history of Islam in Indonesia is a history of expansion (*perluasan*) of santri civilisation and its influence on religious lives, social and politics in Indonesia. ... Despite the presence of various obstructive factors, the foundation for santri influence, which is gradually broadening, has been built." This broadening influence of santri, in the 1980s, is marked by the process of "santrinisation" or "santrification" of the *priyayi* (Schwarz 1994), also known as *Islamisasi Birokrasi* (Islamisation of bureaucracy). At the same time there are also process of "embourgeoisement of santri" (Mahasin 1990) or the "priyayisation of santri" and the "intellectualisation of santri" (Anwar 1994:212). These processes created what many observers have called a "santri middle class" which has filled various positions from bureaucrats, entrepreneur, academics to NGO activists. At this point, Geertz's dichotomisation of santri and priyayi seems to have been diffused, if indeed it exist (*Ibid.*:214, cf. Harry Chan Silalahi in Hefner 1993:31).

This tendency seems to continue to develop along with the growth of the santri middle class, the renaissance of Muslim intellectuals and the more accommodative attitude of the government toward Islam. This tendency is also associated with a new orientation of Islam in Indonesia, that is, cultural Islam not political or ideological Islam. The future trend of young Muslim activists, along with this general tendency, seems to be more intellectual in its nature but at the same time strictly attached to the fundamental sources of Islam.

The tendency of the Islamic resurgence movement among young people toward a more intellectual nature cannot be separated from the ideas proposed by the Muslim intellectuals movement. The intellectuals endeavour to shift Islamic values as scientific conceptions which balance out various established conceptions, including social and economic conceptions (Anwar 1994:225). This seems to be in conjunction with the concerns of the youth movement of Islamic resurgence which wants to apply Islamic values in all aspects of the Muslims' lives. One of the most important evidence of this was the birth of ICMI in 1990 in which the paths of two movements, of Muslim intellectuals and Muslim youth, converged at the same point.

Islamic resurgence is a global phenomenon throughout the Muslim world; however, it is unique from one culture to another. Unlike Islamic resurgence in the Middle East, Islamic resurgence in Indonesia did not take its form in radical political activism and revolutionary action. There was a tendency toward political and revolutionary activism, but it carried little power. The common tendency rather is more cultural in nature, ie. "an attempt which does not challenge dramatically and in revolutionary terms the established social and cultural system through political and military force. [It is Muslims'] attempt to colour and fill

the established social and cultural building with Islamic spiritual and moral perspectives" (Anwar 1994:226). This Islamic cultural strategy, as Munawir Sjadzali said, "creates a comfort atmosphere, invites sympathy and creates a much better relation between Islamic community and the New Order government (*Mizan* 1990:49–53)."