

ISLAMIC REVIVAL IN INDONESIA:
FROM PURIFICATION OF RELIGION
TO SOCIAL INNOVATIONS

Muhammad Rahman

We are living in a very unique period of history, when all of these technologies are still in their absolute infancy. We have an opportunity to embrace, understand, and actively design how these technologies are used. Impressive technology does not mean progress, of course, sometimes it can be the opposite, so we have an important role in shaping it for a positive impact and meaningful change.

Peter 'Yaseen' Gould

Introduction

Our world is facing unprecedented economic, environmental, social and cultural challenges due to globalization. This process of trans-border exchange without distance¹ has affected negatively the lives of people in many ways: lack of security, financial and ecological crises, and breakdown of social trust, to mention but a few examples. Our primary institutions, such as state, market and even religious organizations, have not dealt with those challenges adequately. For this reason, people around the world, including Muslims, are striving to find alternative ways by creating new ideas (products, services, models) to improve the communities and the planet. These ideas

range from a meal train for new moms, online matrimonial platform, crowdfunding for social projects, Snapchat sermons, inner city farmers market to halal marketplace, designed to meet social needs and simultaneously re-create social relationships or collaborations². This collaborative feature of social innovations is well matched with interconnectedness and complexity of globalization.

This paper analyses social innovations as an instance of Islamic Revival in Indonesia. It studies the recent development of the Indonesian Muslim modernist movement, *Muhammadiyah* (established in 1912), especially in responding to the current global modernity - to the extension of nation-state system and the development of world capitalist economy. There have been many researchers studying Islamic Revival, but they not necessarily addressed the experiences of the contemporary Muslims and how the character of today's highly developed global societies affects the formulation of the revivalism. For instance, there is an increasingly popular phenomenon of young Muslims leaving established Muslim organizations or mosques. They are called 'Unmosqued'³. Many of them prefer working in NGOs, joining secular political parties or creating their own start-ups to joining the existing organizations. However, this does not mean that they are leaving Islam and not contributing to the society. Muslims around the world, enabled by the advancement of technology, are creating new solutions to tackle the new social problems.

This paper is a general survey and exploratory work on the socio-technical articulation of Islamic Revival in Indonesia. The main argument is that social innovations serve as a channel for the young Muslim generation to be proactive in solving problems and, at the same time, enable them to re-institute their Islamic teaching. Moreover, as we can see from the study case of *Muhammadiyah*⁴ movement of Indonesia, social innovations are a result of

dialectical change⁹ of the insufficiency of previous articulations of Islamic Revival and the increasing complexity of the social world.

In order to support this argument, the paper is divided into two main parts. The first part contains theoretical discussion of social innovations and how it fits into the discourse of Islamic revival. This part captures the phenomenon of the increasing number of young Muslim innovators in Indonesia. It provides three instances of social innovations: Baitul Maal Wat Tamwil (BMT), innovative approach to the Qur'an by Pelangi Mizan, and the Garbage Clinical Insurance. These three examples help us understand the characteristics and mindset of this new Muslim generation in relation to the Islamic Revival. Those social innovations were not produced by Muhammadiyah directly, but these young minds were a by-product of the modern Islamic education system and movement in general. The next part focuses on Muhammadiyah as the Islamic Revivalist movement in Indonesia in order to understand the above mentioned dialectical processes. This case study provides us with a three dimensional aspects of Indonesian Islamic Revivalism which includes social innovations as the latest form of revivalism. Social innovation is neither a liberal nor an Islamist approach, but it is a type of hybridization, defined by Cevik as Muslimism. Finally, the conclusion contains an overall assessment of the implication of social innovations to our understanding of Islamic Revival in general and a trajectory for future research. This study confirms the insufficiency of traditional sociological approach to the studying of Islam and modernity or Islamic revival in general, and suggests a new framework of studying Islamic revival in the global age.

Islamic Revival and Social Innovations

An Amish man in Ohio told me they could build a rocket to the moon if they felt like it, but it was a stupid idea.

John Taylor Gatto

The unprecedented challenges that young Muslims faced have forced them to respond to them creatively. These three examples of social innovations in Indonesia show their approach to problems, which is relatively different than in case of the earlier generations. This section offers a short description and elaboration of the features of these social innovations, then it develops a coherent concept of Islamic social innovation.

The rise of young Muslim innovators

Baitul Mal Wat Tamwil (BMT) – literally the “Social and Business House”, it is the largest, oldest, and the most prominent Islamic microfinance institution in Indonesia. The total BMT holdings are relatively small, with 550 branches and assets of USD 800 million, but it has more than 2.2 million members⁶. Its main functions are to manage charitable funds (e.g. Waqf, Zakat, and Sadaqat) for (non-productive) financing purposes and also to manage members’ savings for micro and SMEs (Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises)⁷. The first BMT was established in 1992, but only after ICMI (the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals) led by BJ Habibie initiated a nationwide program in 1995 BMT developed as a tool for social empowerment and eradication of poverty. BMT is basically one of the latest formulations of Islam’s long engagement with economics. It serves as a bridge between those who emphasise technical Shari’a compliance (the letter of the law, so to speak) in their contract forms,

and those devoted to the social justice mission of Islam (the spirit of the law)⁸. BMT also incorporates a cooperative model which is considered as one of the main foundations of Indonesian economic philosophy. Economy is both a profit-making and social activity. Despite many criticisms of BMT as a social-plus-productive model, many still consider BMT as the most powerful tool for addressing the ultra-poor and compare it to non-Islamic microfinance as it addresses the problem of the lack of business capacity among the ultra-poor. They even find it difficult to survive⁹.

Pelangi Mizan – is an Islamic publishing company that has developed a multiple-intelligences approach to the Qur'an. It focuses on publishing reference books for the whole family. The “Wow Amazing Series”, designed for toddlers, combines text and interactive audio games. It contains stories of the prophets and other stories in the Qur'an. The “Encyclopedia for Muslim Kids” helps to present a Tawhidic perspective to science. It is structured into thematic issues which are important to develop children's understanding of science. “I love My Qur'an” is a product that presents new ways of studying the Qur'an. It combines images and text which are specially designed for kids, and also includes songs, games and adictionary to help kids learn the Qur'an in a fun way. It is not only a highly crafted, but also a well-marketed product. The products are delivered to consumers through a network of social marketing¹⁰. The users are involved in the marketing process by educating others on the benefits of the product. The main aim is to influence social behaviours not for the benefit of the marketer, but for the benefit of the target audience and the general public¹¹. Pelangi Mizan wants to earn profits, but it also educates people on how to study the Qur'an better.

Garbage Clinical Insurance (GCI) – Gamal Albinsaid is a medical doctor who set up a clinic in the City of Ma-

lang, East Java, where the poor can pay for his services with trash. It is a micro health insurance program which uses garbage as financial resources. He set up his first clinic in 2010, and it currently benefits 3,500 poor people and is being replicated in several cities¹². Every month, patients bring in a certain amount of recyclables to the health clinic. When it's recycled, the trash earns the clinic 10,000 Indonesian rupiah, a little less than a dollar. And that's enough to provide the patient with a basic form of insurance that covers two free visits to the clinic a month¹³. Through his innovation, Albinsaid tackles two social problems at the same time: trash management in the city and health insurance for the poor.

These are three examples of social innovations designed by Indonesian young Muslims. They have developed new ways of approaching problems, i.e. they provide solutions that differ from the conventional approach. Perhaps, the theological and legal questions posed by these young generations do not really differ from the past: for instance the questions of *riba* (usury) or *tafsir* (Qur'an exegesis). The jurists of the past had dealt with problems and many of their answers are still relevant today. But the changes driven by technology have permanently altered the nature of our problems and the way we respond to them. The shrinking world has transformed our conception of space: what is distant and what is proximate. But is our world not the same as a century ago when Ibn Battuta travelled across the Muslim land? The current epoch is significantly different. James Rosenau argues that globalization does not mean that the local is missing. Both the local and the global exist and create tensions. Each local manifestation changes the global context, and simultaneously local perceptions are shaped by global influences. That is why he defines this current epoch as distant proximities.

The distant proximities are not physical, they are rather a more subjective appraisal of what people feel or think

is remote, and what they think is close, what is important and what is less important, and what influence they can make and what they cannot. The most significant change is the way the micro agent (individuals) and the macro structure (collectivities or system) interact. This dynamism of distant proximities frees (even forces) individuals to assume greater autonomy, develop new identities and shift allegiance together with the decline of traditions and the fixed system. The notions of “power of small events” or “tipping point” show how individuals can generate micro inputs which lead to a systemic change¹⁴. These transforms how people, including Muslims, interact with each other and organise themselves in a networked world.

For instance, we can see that the contemporary young Muslims are more involved in social problem-solving through different social groups rather than ideological discourse between the traditional line of religious groupings. The slogan of “Islam is the solution” vis a vis democracy, capitalism, and secularism has become rarely heard. Most of them dedicated themselves to a gradual but comprehensive social change. Moreover, they are very well-versed in using technical approaches to solve social problems. In addition to innovative ideas, they also design new systems, as we can see from the three example presented above, where different people with multiple interests come together for a collective impact. These young Muslims focus on the usefulness and meaningfulness of the solution rather than on its ideological, procedural or legalistic processes. The tag-line is “people and planet first” and at the same time, they consider economy, government, and culture to be subservient to that purpose¹⁵. Furthermore, in order to achieve that purpose, they are forming nodes for community of social entrepreneurs, nonprofit organisations, creative individuals and innovators working across sectors. This creates ecosystems

where such forms of collaboration can grow and thrive, generating models that go well beyond those directly involved in order to improve social cohesion as a whole.

These changes are real and have forced Muslims to formulate the idea of revivalism in an unprecedented way. Social innovations within loose but open and dynamic networks have been proposed by this generation as a new approach to achieve social change and simultaneously, re-institute Islamic teachings in their lives. This notion of reviving their religious teaching is important. These young Muslims are not post-modernists who try to reject and undermine orthodoxy. They do not want to re-interpret the sacred texts as many post-modernists would suggest. The difference between them and previous Muslim revivalists is in the way they approach and solve problems. Neslihan Cevik's work on "Muslimism" seems to be relevant to explain the contemporary Islamic Revival. She shows how revivalism in Turkey has manifested itself in Muslims' engagement in the markets, political parties, and civic society while still adhering to the Islamic ideals. The new Islamic form of Turkey encompasses all aspects from economic and political, to cultural expression along with its theological structure¹⁶.

This innovative concept was built on a very rich empirical research of the post-1980 Turkey. Cevik uses the terms 'a guilt-free modernity' and 'Islam without apology' to describe this attitude, which cannot be reduced either to political adaptation or commodification of Islam. "It emerged in everyday life spaces in a quest to establish new institutions and lifestyles that allow Muslims to re-work aspects of modernity"¹⁷.

This hybridity is located analytically and based on the notion of "Islamic three ds", corresponding to major dimensions of the Islamic heritage: *din* (religion), *dunya* (this world), and *dawla* (the state). She analyzes the 3ds based on the ontology, agency, and action. The purpose is

to differentiate Muslimists from Islamists. For instance, in the level of ontology in the dimension of *din*, Islamists perceive Islam as ideology, while Muslimists understand it as identity. At the level of agency of *dunya* dimension, Islamists tend towards comunitarianism, while Muslimists are more focussed on individuation. At the level of action of *dawla* dimension, both approaches are different in terms of how to create social improvement. Islamists have a state-cantered political action, while Muslimists use a broad social action. Islamists (just like secularists) claim to be the guardians of 'traditions', while these Muslimists seek to find innovative ways of dealing with the world¹⁸. Therefore, rather than trying to change the history or present it through a textual approach, these young Muslim innovators are trying to create the future inspired by their understanding of those sacred text.

The paragraphs above discuss the sociological and contextual understanding of the contemporary Islamic revival. Textually, revival or *tajdid* itself refers to a specific meaning in Muslims understanding. *Tajdid* is rooted in the concept of *ijtihad* or independent and creative reasoning. Traditionally *ijtihad* is understood as independent judgement in judicial matters, but Al-Alwani argues that the term should be maintained in its lexical meaning. Therefore, the independent and creative reasoning should not be only limited to legal matters. *Ijtihad* is an issue of *fiqh al-waqi* (real-world *fiqh*) rather than *fiqh al-ahkam* (jurisdiction). It implies a creative effort to solve social problems. Moreover, he suggests that *ijtihad* should be conducted as a collective rather than an individual effort. Collective *ijtihad*, i.e., involvement of experts from different fields is more suitable for our complex world¹⁹. Moreover, collective can be also understood as public and stakeholder involvement. As we can see from the way technology is produced, designers encourage users to participate in the product design process. This collab-

orative process enables designers to improve the product prototype.

The final outcome of *ijtihad* is called *islah* which means social improvement. Islamic Revival does not end with the invention of new ideas, but with adaptation of these ideas in order to improve the society²⁰. Sinanovic defined Islamic Revival as “a broad social phenomenon which includes all those social and political actors whose aim is to re-establish and re-institute Islamic teachings, in their broadest sense, into the societies in which they live”. The main objective has been to engage modernity in ways congruent with Islamic tradition²¹. Thus, Islamic Revival is not simply an equivalent of popular religiosity, furthermore, it is a deep commitment to religiosity that is articulated in order to address the problems or the crisis.

Likewise, all of those three social innovations are taken into account as a solution to the problems. Therefore, they focus on making ideas work and not simply on producing new solutions. Furthermore, collaboration is necessary to make it work. BMT is the latest product of continuous engagement of Islam in the economy, which involves economists, jurists, social activists as well as banking and business practitioners. “I Love My Qur’an” is a result of collaboration between numerous *Mufasssin*, educators, and graphic designers. GCI works when recyclists, doctors, nurses and volunteers combine their expertise. Gamal Albinsaid had to revise his prototype several times before he got the current GCI model.

Unfortunately, the socio-technical articulation is often dismissed by conventional scholars, because it is perceived as deprived of social and political values. The negligence of technical dimension of social change does not exclusively happen in the study of Islamic movements. For instance, a very few anthropologists have studied the technological innovation and its effects on social and cultural systems. Lucy Suchman describes the problem:

By and large, we are taught to view the political and the technological as separate spheres, the former having to do with values, ideology, power, and the like, the latter having to do with physical artefacts exempt from such vagaries of social life...The maintenance of these separate spheres makes it difficult to see how changes to a social system occur through other than simple, one-directional causation. This impedes both the development of successful innovations and the understanding of social change.

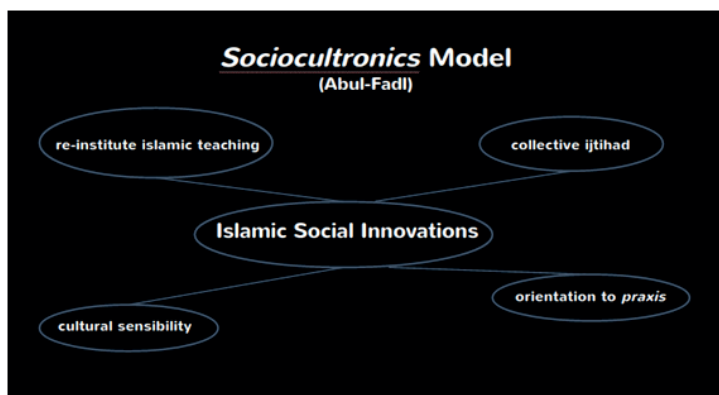
Technology should be understood in broader sense than merely gadgets. It enables human beings to achieve their goals. It can be found in electronic equipment, administrative systems, management, etc.

Furthermore, there is another model that is being developed by Mona Abul-Fadl specifically to understand the architectonic dimension of Islamization of Knowledge as the intellectual manifestation of Islamic Revival. She uses the term *sociocultronics* to describe this dimension. She says²²:

[sociocultronics] carries connotations of social engineering without overlooking the essentially spiritual and intellectual dimensions of the process. It also points to a pragmatic element or to an orientation to *praxis* in the Islamization of Knowledge forum, as opposed to a philosophical or a purely theoretical content.

Of course, Abul-Fadl does not specifically mention social innovations in her work, but the emphasis on the integrality of belief and action suggests that the features of social innovations are congruent with her conception of sociocultronics. She also emphasizes the need for addressing the 'praxis' more than 'theoretical' in reviving

the spiritual and cultural aspects of Islam. Moreover, she reminds us of the importance of socio-cultural sensibility of any intellectual inquiry. Altogether, social innovations as the mode of Islamic revival or so called Islamic social innovations can be defined as a conscious effort of making sense of Islamic teachings and at the same time responding to social problems.



Muhammadiyah:
from purification of religion to social innovations

And let there be [arising] from you a nation inviting to [all that is] good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong, and those will be the successful.

Ali 'Imran: 104

This section provides a brief historical overview and analyses Islamic Revival conducted by Muhammadiyah. The purpose is not to give an exhaustive list of events, but to understand the general transformation of how Muhammadiyah has articulated the idea and practice of revivalism. Historical circumstances are considered to be influential in the manifestation of revivalism; therefore, it is assumed that Muhammadiyah responds differently based on the circumstances or the level of modernity²³.

As we discussed earlier, Islamic social innovations are the Islamic Revival of globalization. Anthony Giddens defines globalization as late modernity and not a post-modern era²⁴. It is the time of a fully developed modernity. Along this line, the paper divides the periods of Indonesian Revivalism into three phases of modernity: low modern, modern, and high modern. The history of Muhammadiyah is analysed in parallel with this categorization.

Ahmad Dahlan started the Muhammadiyah movement by establishing a modern Islamic school in the year of 1908 in Yogyakarta. However, he did not receive formal recognition from the colonial government of the Netherlands Indies until 1912. The school was called modern because it used tables and chairs, blackboard, and taught maths, *Malays*, geography and other secular subjects beside Islamic studies. The teachers and students were wearing pants and ties just like the Dutch²⁵. Muhammadiyah also built health clinics and orphanages as part of its social work. These involvements in improving the society was the manifestation of *tajdid* by Muhammadiyah.

Furthermore, the main focus of Muhammadiyah was to purify (*tanzih or tajrid*) the religious teachings of Islam that were considered to be contaminated by un-Islamic values. This *tanzih* or *tajrid* was inspired by a modernist Salafi thinker Muhammad Abduh, whose theological views can be characterized as “(i) a return to the authentic practices and beliefs of the pious predecessors, the salaf; (ii) monotheism (*tawhīd*); (iii) fighting unbelief actively; (iv) the Qur’an and the Sunnah as the only valid sources of religious authority, (v) ridding Islam of heretical innovations, and (vi) a belief that specific answers to all questions are found in the Quran and the Sunnah”²⁶.

Those were the main articulations of Muhammadiyah revivalism in the early modern period of Indonesia aimed at fighting traditionalism. During this phase, modern

institutions had not yet been well-established. It corresponded to the notion of dual society, in which the traditional and modern societies existed side by side²⁷. The Indonesian Muslims still mostly lived in the traditional society, so for Muhammadiyah the main problem faced by the Muslims was traditionalism. Traditionalism is defined in terms of an 'elitist' approach to religion and rejection of world progress.

During the Al Islam Congress held in 1921 in Cirebon, Ahmad Dahlan stated: "...in order to understand the purpose of the Qur'an we need first to accept the importance of reason and knowledge. Each of Islamic teachings should be proven with reason... therefore in *Muamalah* there is no prohibition for Muslims to interact or work with people from other religions..."²⁸. It is clearly shown that Muhammadiyah was puritanical in the implementation of religion, but embraced modernity in worldly affairs. This was the default attitude of Muhammadiyah under the Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. It can be described as pragmatism or functional rationalism²⁹.

The next phase is the time when modernity (rationalization and individualization) reaches maturity. The nation state, modern market system and other modern institutions were relatively well-established. But during this modern period in Indonesia, Muslims saw economic development without prosperity, policy without accountability, and security without individual freedom. There had been a gap between reality and the promise of modernity. Moreover, many Muslims were excluded from the modernization process. This phase witnessed a series of intense discussions on Islam and democracy, Islam and development, etc. The intellectuals of Muhammadiyah produced numerous scholarly works in order to transcend this harsh social reality. Amien Rais came up with the "Social Tawhid" as an agenda for liberating Indonesian Muslims from injustice. He said:"The essence of Islam

is justice, therefore Muslims should not be complicit in an unjust system". He developed this notion from the understanding of *tawhid*, whereas Muslims are essentially one humanity, so there should not be discrimination and exploitation based on race or social economy. Therefore, the political and economic system should be built on the principle of justice³⁰. Kuntowijoyo elaborates on this issue more in his formulation of Prophetic Social Sciences. He argues that in the Islamic perspective, social science should enable us to transform the society. The term prophetic here refers to the task of the Prophet Muhammad when he ascended into heaven to meet his Lord, but then with this divine inspiration he came back to transform his society. The prophet's tasks can be summed up in three words: liberation, humanization, and transcendence³¹. The Social Tawhid and Prophetic Social Sciences are parallel with the idea of a famous modernist thinker Muhammad Iqbal of India/Pakistan in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*³².

Islam Berkemajuan (Progressive Islam) is the current narrative which marked a substantial shift on how Muhammadiyah view itself within the historical context of Indonesia³³. Muhammadiyah fully embraces the 'project' of Indonesia. The development of Indonesia is not considered separate from the development of Muhammadiyah. For instance, Muhammadiyah activists are involved in the constitutional process which they refer to as *Jihad Konstitusi*. It is an effort to ensure that the spirit of Indonesian Constitution is fully implemented in the national laws and policies. Muhammadiyah activists are also active in creating inclusive Indonesian society through an initiative called *Jihad Kebhinekaan*, and many others³⁴.

These initiatives are social innovations to a certain extent. They emphasise practical solutions rather than theological or ideological ones. It is a revitalization of the spirit of Al-Ma'un (*Fiqh Al-Ma'un*)³⁵. It also shows the need

of Muhammadiyah to collaborate with others in the understanding that the problems are not faced exclusively by Muslims, but by all Indonesians as well. Globalization forced them to readjust their actions to more inclusive and useful ways. By means of Islam Berkemajuan, Muhammadiyah activists address the national culture, middle class, the challenge of transnational Islamic movements, the media, and interfaith relations.

This younger generation of Muhammadiyah activists share similar traits with the Nobel laureate, Muhammad Yunus, who invented microfinance (Grameen Bank) as a method for total eradication of poverty. He uses a social business approach to promote the will and courage of humans in order to empower them. Moreover, he is well-versed in both Eastern and Western cultures and their failures and potential to bring about social improvement³⁶.

In globalized world, the problems are so complex that finding simple solutions is insufficient. The conventional institutions also have difficulties in coping with the challenges, because they were not meant to deal with such complex problems. For instance, the issue of the increase of informal economy. The conventional bank will not address this sector because it is relatively unregulated. It is too risky. Moreover, government also has a negative perception of this sector of economy, while in reality, this is how the poorest gain their income. Thus, this is the reason for Muhammad Yunus to set up microfinance. Grameen bank was designed to solve this problem. The social innovation of Muhammadiyah is still at a very early stage of development. Many of the initiatives are still on paper rather than in reality. Nevertheless, one may argue that this is how Muhammadiyah activities are moving towards this end.

Globalization brings many positive things to life, but at the same time it creates a sense of loss of community. Modernity has brought us the individual freedom and

autonomy, often at the cost of social cohesion. This is not necessarily better than traditional society. We are experiencing anxiety, social tension and alienation. By means of such initiatives, Muhammadiyah is actually striving to re-humanize the society.

In general, since Ahmad Dahlan the Muhammadiyah has been aiming for theological purification (*tajrīd fī al-‘aqīdah*) and social reform (*tajdīd fī al-mu‘āmalah*). Nevertheless, the manifestations have been adjusted according to the circumstances. The matrix below shows the dialectical processes of Muhammadiyah revivalism.

	Type of Society		
	low modern	modern	high modern
Response to modernity	functional rationalism	critical-engagement	modernity without guilt
Notion of crisis	traditionalism	relative deprivation	institutional disjunction & dehumanizing the social
Actor	theologian/jurist	intellectual/activist	social entrepreneur/designer
Mode of articulation	socio-religious	socio-philosophical	socio-technical
Content	Tajdid & Tanzih	Social Tawhid Prophetic Social Science	Fiqh Al-Ma'un Islam Berkemajuan
Typology	Muhammad Abduh	Muhammad Iqbal	Muhammad Yunus

Conclusion

This study argues that social innovations are consistent with the conceptual notions of Islamic Revival. It includes elements of creative reasoning, collaboration, praxis of solving social problems, cultural sensibility, while the most important thing is that social innovations

are the manifestation of aspiration to re-institute the Islamic teachings. These unique features differentiate social innovations from previous articulations of Islamic Revival due to the interconnectedness and complexity of globalization. As the highest level of modernity, globalization creates dynamic interaction between micro-macro structure where individuals have a more prominent role in shaping social world. Nevertheless, the complexity of globalization implies the insufficiency of any individual efforts. Collaboration is the necessary condition to make social change. The combination of individual interests and the rediscovery of the social potential has made social innovations powerful.

Muhammadiyah of Indonesia presents an interesting development of the Islamic Revivalist movement. There has been a consistent message of reviving the religion that transcends historical circumstances, but Muhammadiyah has also shown the ability to adapt and evolve in responding to the changes. The recent development of Muhammadiyah signifies an important shift towards a social innovations approach. Muhammadiyah has become more inclusive and willing to collaborate in addressing national problems without losing its religious identity. This mode approaches religious and social problems in a totally different way than the previous modes. It is neither a liberal nor an Islamist approach. It is a type of hybridization.

This paper is an exploratory effort to understand the importance of social innovations within the context of Islamic Revival. The case of Indonesia confirms the insufficiency of the traditional sociological approach to studying Islam and modernity or the Islamic revival in general, and suggests a new framework of studying Islamic revival in the global age. There is a need for further research that would help us to understand broader trends and to develop, at the same time, a more solid redefi-

nition of Islamic Revival. We need research into social innovations that combines both breadth and depth analyses. Research with enough breadth is the one that captures the phenomenon of young Muslims who proactively participate in this movement, everywhere across the geographical boundaries, while at the same time it does not dismiss the depth of Islam when it discusses Muslims.

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NOTES

1. Jan Aart Scholte, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, page 49.
2. Enzo Manzini and R. Coad, Design, *When Everybody Designs: An Introduction to Design for Social Innovation*, MIT Press, 2015.
3. Ahmed Eid, "UnMosqued: Why Are Young Muslims Leaving American Mosques?", *The Huffington Post*, Updated 17 Dec 2013. Accessed on: 24 July 2016. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/ahmed-eid/young-american-muslims_b_4109256.html
In the case of Indonesia, Kuntowijoyo noticed this transition in Indonesia as early as in the 1980s when young Muslims identified themselves as part of other collectivities outside *Ummah*. He defines them as "Muslim Tanpa Masjid" or Muslims without mosque. They learned more about religion from school (the Muslim students group "Rohis") rather than from traditional *masjid*. Kuntowijoyo attributes this to such social changes as urbanization. Nevertheless, the structural approach of Kuntowijoyo helps to understand the change during the pre-globalization period when micro input (individuals) is less important to the macro community and may not be suitable for the contemporary world. Kuntowijoyo, *Muslim tanpa Masjid: esai-esai agama, budaya, dan politik dalam bingkai strukturalisme transendental*, Mizan, 2001.
4. Muhammadiyah was founded in 1912 by Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan with the purpose to purify the Islamic practice from Bid'ah and Kurafat (non-Islamic practices) and at the same time provided social services to the community. It is a modernist movement whose goal is to re-institute Islamic teaching within the modern context.
5. The term dialectical change comes from Kalevi Holsti who addresses the problem of change in international relations theory. He differentiates four types of change: replacement, addition, dialectical, or transformation. Concerning dialecti-

- cal change, he said: "It creates a new expression but Change does not displace. But it is more than additive, meaning greater complexity. It can represent new forms built upon the old. Thus, there is both novelty and continuity. It can combine the new and the old without total replacement". This type of change is consistent with the findings of the case studies. Kalevi Holsti, 2016. "The Problem of Change in International Relations Theory". In *Kalevi Holsti: A Pioneer in International Relations Theory, Foreign Policy Analysis, History of International Order, and Security Studies*, Springer International Publishing, 2016, pages 37–55.
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 14. James N. Rosenau, *Distant Proximities: Dynamics Beyond Globalization*, Princeton University Press: 2003, pages 6–25.
 15. Ezio Manzini, *Design, When Everybody Designs: An Introduction to Design for Social Innovation*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2015.
 16. Neslihan Cevik, *Muslimism in Turkey and Beyond: Religion in the Modern World*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
 17. Ibid, page 19.

18. Ibid.
19. Taha Jabir Al-Alwani, *Issues in Contemporary Islamic Thought*, Herndon, VA: IIIT, 2005.
20. Ebrahim Moosa and SherAli Tareen, "Revival and Reform," in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, eds. Gerhard Bowering et. al., Princeton Univ. Press: 2015, 462-470.
21. Ermin Sinanović, "Islamic Revival as Development: Discourses on Islam, Modernity, and Democracy since the 1950s." *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 2012, 13 (1), page 6.
22. Mona Abul-Fadl, *Where East Meets West: Appropriating the Islamic Encounter for a Spiritual-Cultural Revival*, *International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT)*: 2010, page 39.
23. Modernity is defined as processes of rationalization and individualization. Rationalization is where reason becomes the main consideration in organizing the society rather than the use of tradition or emotion, while individualization is the emphasis on individual and personal autonomy.
24. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984.
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28. Free translation from Mulkhan, *Jejak Pembaruan Sosial Dan Kemanusiaan Kiai Ahmad Dahlan*. page 6.
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31. Kuntowijoyo and A. E. Priyono, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi*, PT Mizan Publika: 2008.
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33. The Muhammadiyah's 47th congress or muktamar in Makassar, South Sulawesi, 18-22 Syawwal 1436 H or 3-7 August 2015, came up with the theme of "Enlightenment Movement toward A Progressive Indonesia". It shows the inclusive spirit of Islamic Revivals. It is a document written by Muhammadiyah intellectuals and published by the Center for Dialogue and Cooperation among Civilizations (CDCC).
34. Muhammad Ali, 2015. "The Muhammadiyah's 47th Congress and 'Islam Berkemajuan.'" *Studia Islamika*. journal.uinjkt.ac.id. <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika/article/view/1978>.
35. Fiqh Al-Ma'un stresses the importance of action rather than theological and ideological debates. The famous story of Ahmad Dahlan who taught only one chapter of the Qur'an, chapter of Al-Ma'un, for several weeks which irritated his students. Why did they get stuck in this chapter and did not move on? Ahmad Dahlan replied to the complain, "Have you done what this chapter commands you: feed the hungry, help the orphans?"
36. Muhammad Yunus, <http://www.muhammadyunus.org/index.php/professor-yunus/vision>

