

## The Transformation of Political Islam in Indonesia: Adapting to Modernization and Secularization

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### Abstract

Political secularization refers to a set of ideas regarded as instrumental in driving radical changes to the traditional order and the patterns of interaction between the state and religion. What was once regulated by religious-political systems has transformed into a non-sacred, pluralistic interaction, where religious dogmas previously deemed sacred have become profane. This study examines how Islam has adapted to modernization and political secularization in Indonesia. Using a descriptive qualitative research approach, it employs sociological analysis and political theory to explore this adaptation process. The findings reveal that Islam in Indonesia responds to modernization and political secularization in three distinct ways: *Integration*: Islam emerges as an ideological movement, using Islamic principles as central rhetoric for political activism. *Acculturation*: Islam positions itself as a cultural movement, maintaining political influence through cultural engagement. *Agency-structuring*: Islam acts both as a dialogue partner with political power and as an active agent shaping social and political structures.

**Keywords:** Islamic Adaptation; Modernization and Political Secularization; Indonesia

### الملخص

العلمنة السياسية هي حركة سياسية تهدف إلى غرس الاعتقاد بأن التحديث السياسي لا يمكن تحقيقه إلا إذا لعب الدين دورًا فعالًا في إحداث تغييرات جذرية



في النظام التقليدي وأنماط التفاعل بين الدولة والدين. وتحولت أنماط التفاعل التي كانت تنظمها الأنظمة الدينية السياسية في السابق إلى أنماط تفاعل أكثر تعددية وغير مقدسة، حيث أصبحت العقيدة الدينية التي كانت تعتبر مقدسة في السابق، دنيوية في نهاية المطاف. يهدف هذا المقال إلى الكشف عن نمط التكيف الإسلامي مع التحديث السياسي والعلمنة في إندونيسيا. تستخدم هذه الدراسة المنهج الوصفي النوعي ذو المنهج السوسولوجي والفكر السياسي. تظهر نتائج الدراسة أنه في الاستجابة للتحديث السياسي والعلمنة، يظهر الإسلام في إندونيسيا في ثلاثة أطياف من المواقف (التكيفات) التي تميل إلى أن تكون مختلفة. أولاً، (الاندماج) يظهر الإسلام كحركة أيديولوجية من خلال جعل الإسلام لغة الحركة. ثانياً، (الثقافة)، يبدو الإسلام كحركة ثقافية، رغم أنها تركز أكثر على الجوانب الثقافية، إلا أنها لا تزال ذات محتوى سياسي. ثالثاً، (الوكالة-الهيكلة)، يظهر الإسلام كشريك في حوار السلطة، وكذلك كعامل مشارك في الهياكل الاجتماعية والسياسية.

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** التكيف الإسلامي؛ التحديث السياسي والعلمنة. أندونيسيا

#### Abstrak

Sekularisasi politik adalah gerakan politik yang bertujuan menanamkan keyakinan bahwa modernisasi politik yang hanya dapat tercapai jika agama berperan efektif dalam menciptakan perubahan radikal terhadap tatanan dan pola interaksi tradisional antara negara dan agama. Pola interaksi yang sebelumnya diatur oleh sistem-sistem politik-agama bertransformasi menjadi pola interaksi yang lebih pluralis dan non-sakral, di mana dogma agama yang semula dianggap sakral, akhirnya menjadi profan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana pola adaptasi Islam terhadap modernisasi dan sekularisasi politik di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif deskriptif dengan pendekatan sosiologi dan pemikiran politik. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa dalam merespons modernisasi dan sekularisasi politik, Islam di Indonesia tampil dalam tiga spektrum penyikapan (adaptasi) yang cenderung berbeda. *Pertama*, (integrasi), Islam tampil sebagai gerakan ideologis dengan menjadikan Islam sebagai jargon gerakannya. *Kedua*, (akulturasi), Islam tampil sebagai gerakan kultural, meskipun lebih berfokus pada aspek kebudayaan, tetap memiliki muatan politik. *Ketiga*, (strukturisasi-agensi), Islam tampil sebagai mitra dialog kekuasaan, sekaligus sebagai agen yang terlibat dalam struktur sosial dan politik.

**Kata Kunci:** Adaptasi Islam; Modernisasi dan Sekularisasi Politik; Indonesia

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### A. Introduction

Political modernization is a model of social engineering designed to create conditions where political instruments are managed according to scientific and technological principles, enabling the effective, efficient, and professional administration of public affairs. In Indonesia, political modernization is considered essential, providing tools for society and the state to address emerging challenges and formulate public policies in a more progressive and advanced manner. It is closely linked to political secularization, understood as the desacralization of politics—the removal of spiritual or religious elements from the political domain. Yunshik Chang and Donald E. Smith offer a broad definition of political modernization, emphasizing the differentiation and specialization of political institutions and structures. They also highlight the importance of equal rights to power, asserting that political development involves the mass participation of citizens in political affairs. Finally, they underscore the expansion of the political system's capacity to drive social and economic transformation.<sup>1</sup>

Since the establishment of the Old and New Order political regimes in Indonesia, the extensive process of political modernization has fostered transformative ideas, including religious modernization. This concept reflects a new pattern of Islamic adaptation to the challenges posed by political modernization. This adaptation in Islamic politics revolves around two key issues: the transformation of Muslims' religious outlook regarding the conception of the state and nationality, and the role of political engineering in creating an integrative Islamic political system from a national perspective.

This article examines the patterns of Islamic adaptation in Indonesia in response to modernization and political secularization. Using a descriptive qualitative methodology, it integrates approaches from political thought and Islamic political sociology to explore how Islamic practices and institutions have evolved in the context of contemporary political and social transformations.

We argue that four main factors have significantly influenced the process of religious modernization, particularly within Islam, in Indonesia. The first factor is

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<sup>1</sup> Yunshik Chang and Donald Eugene Smith, "Religion and Political Development: An Analytic Study.," *Contemporary Sociology* 1, no. 5 (September 1972): 418, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2062292>.

socio-cultural. Religious modernization in Indonesia arose as a response to the syncretic religious behaviors prevalent in the region. This syncretism developed over centuries of cultural acculturation and assimilation, prompting the emergence of scholars educated in the Middle East who advocated for renewal and purification to eliminate elements such as irrationality, superstition, and heresy. In this context, Clifford Geertz<sup>2</sup> categorized the religious behavior of Javanese (Indonesian) people into three distinct groups: *priyai* (Javanese-Hindu oriented), *santri* (Islamic oriented), and *abangan* (animistic oriented).

Second, political factors have significantly influenced the process of Islamic adaptation to modernization. The arrival of Western imperialists and colonial powers, often accompanied by Christianization efforts, provoked resistance among Indonesian Muslims. Educated individuals, particularly those who studied abroad in the West and the Middle East, began shifting their focus from internal cultural critique to political action against imperialism. This transformation saw these individuals evolve from intellectuals into political actors, spearheading movements aimed at challenging colonial powers.

Third, educational factors were pivotal. The lack of educational progress among Muslims, especially in comparison to advancements in Western nations, captured the attention of Islamic modernists early on. These modernists argued that stagnation in Muslim education stemmed partly from the rigidity of traditional curricula, which emphasized classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*) and moral instruction through Sufi orders (*tarekat*). They contended that advancing the Muslim community required a broader educational framework incorporating developments in science and technology, as seen in Western nations. To address this, Islamic modernists championed the integration of Islamic education with Western-style models, ensuring that religious learning was complemented by secular knowledge.

Fourth, theological factors have played a crucial role in shaping Islamic responses to political and social modernization. One significant challenge faced by contemporary Muslims is the diversity of religious interpretations and the pluralism of faiths. In response, Muslim scholars have revisited Islamic theology, fostering the development of a pluralist Islamic theology that emphasizes inclusivity, mutual understanding, tolerance, and interfaith dialogue.<sup>3</sup> Several studies have examined these theological shifts. For instance, Bachtiar Effendy, in *Islam and the State in Indonesia: Munawir Sjadzali and the Development of a New Theological Underpinning of Political Islam*, highlights the evolving relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia.

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<sup>2</sup> Yusri Mohamad Ramli, "Agama Dalam Tentukur Antropologi Simbolik Clifford Geertz," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 1, no. June (2012): 62–73, <http://www.ukm.my/ijit/IJIT Vol 1 2012/8Yusri.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> Halimah Dja'far, "Modernisasi Keagamaan Islam Di Indonesia (Tela'ah Pemikiran A. Mukti Ali)," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 21, no. 2 (2006).

Effendy observes that, despite periods of both cooperation and conflict, the broader pattern has been one of antagonism and distrust. Increasingly, debates about Islam's role in the state have focused on technical issues such as ideology, the structure of the Indonesian state, the Constitution, elections for heads of state and regional leaders, legislative elections, and public office appointments.<sup>4</sup>

Muhammad Latif also examines this antagonistic relationship in his work *Islam dan Sekularisasi Politik di Indonesia* (Islam and Political Secularization in Indonesia). Latif argues that, throughout Indonesia's history as an independent nation, persistent challenges have arisen in reconciling religious commitments with nationalist ideals, despite their deep interconnection. At various points, the state has positioned Islam in opposition to national values, portraying it as a symbol of exclusivity and resistance to diversity. In some instances, Islam was even regarded as the second most significant political threat after communism, prompting efforts to diminish its influence in the political and institutional landscape. As a result, secularization was enforced, leading to the separation of Islam from political affairs and the exclusion of its adherents from key policy-making processes. Latif further contends that secularization in Indonesia has been implemented through a top-down approach. However, this approach remains fragile due to the strong grassroots support for Islam among many Indonesians.<sup>5</sup>

From another perspective, Masykuri Abdillah, in his work *Hubungan Agama dan Negara dalam Konteks Modernisasi Politik di Era Reformasi* (The Relationship Between Religion and the State in the Context of Political Modernization in the Reformation Era), contends that the relationship between religion and the state in Indonesia is one of intersection—neither fully integrated nor entirely separated. During the Reform era, democratic political modernization has given rise to new political parties, including Islamic parties. However, the expansion of freedom of expression has also sparked disputes and conflicts that pose risks to social harmony and national integration. In this context, Abdillah argues that religion has the potential to function as a positive integrative force, fostering respect for social plurality rather than serving as a disintegrative element that promotes exclusivity.<sup>6</sup>

Additionally, Andi Jufri explores the various paradigms of Islamic politics in Indonesia. According to him, Islam responds to the challenges of modernization and secularization through a range of attitudes, which can be categorized into three main streams.

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<sup>4</sup> Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, vol. 109 (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003).

<sup>5</sup> Mohamad Latief, "Islam Dan Sekularisasi Politik Di Indonesia," *TSAQAFAH* 13, no. 1 (May 31, 2017): 1, <https://doi.org/10.21111/tsaqafah.v13i1.974>.

<sup>6</sup> Masykuri Abdillah, "Hubungan Agama Dan Negara Dalam Konteks Modernisasi Politik Di Era Reformasi," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 13, no. 2 (2013): 247–58, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v13i2.937>.

The first group, with an integralist paradigm, views Islam as both a religion and a state. This perspective holds that Islam governs not only the relationship between humans and God but also the relationships among individuals, including social and political aspects of the state. This is reflected in the doctrine *Inna al-Islām Dīn wa Daulah* (Islam is both a religion and a state). The second group, with a secularist paradigm, argues that religion does not necessitate the establishment of a state. According to this view, religion provides ethical and moral guidance for organizing society and the state but does not mandate the creation of an Islamic government. The theological framework of this group emphasizes that establishing an Islamic state is not a religious duty prescribed by God to the Prophet Muhammad. The third group, with a symbiotic-mutualist paradigm, believes in a reciprocal relationship between religion and the state, where each needs the other. From this viewpoint, the state requires the ethical and moral guidance provided by religion, while religion, in turn, requires the state as an instrument to preserve and uphold its teachings. This symbiotic-mutualistic relationship allows religion and the state to coexist without diminishing the significance of religion or equating state institutions with religious doctrines.<sup>7</sup>

## **B. Literature Review**

### **1. Islam and the Discourse of Modernization**

Political Islam in Indonesia has a long and complex history, evolving through various movements and organizations. From early 20th-century nationalist-Islamist collaborations to the formation of Islamic political parties after independence, political Islam has played a significant role in shaping Indonesian politics. As modernization has progressed across Indonesia, it has brought substantial changes in governance, the economy, culture, and education. These transformations have posed challenges to traditional expressions of political Islam, requiring its adaptation to remain relevant and effective in the face of new realities.

The adaptations of political Islam to modernization can be observed in three main areas. First, democratization has been a key factor. The transition to democracy in Indonesia has created new opportunities for political Islam to engage in the political process. Islamic political groups, which were previously marginalized or excluded, have gained access to electoral politics and governance, enabling them to shape public policies and participate in the nation's democratic processes. This shift has transformed political Islam from a fringe ideology into a key player in national politics.

Second, globalization has played a major role in reshaping political Islam in Indonesia. The increasing interconnectedness of the world has exposed Islamic political movements in Indonesia to new ideas, networks, and influences. This has prompted the reinterpretation of Islamic principles within a global context, as Indonesian Muslim

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<sup>7</sup> A Jufri, "Konsepsi Politik Islam Dan Realitas Relasi Islam Dan Negara Di Indonesia Pascareformasi." 18, no. 2 (2018): 42–55.

leaders and scholars engage with international discourses on democracy, human rights, and secularism. The influence of global trends has urged Indonesian political Islam to reconsider its traditional positions and adapt to the evolving political environment.

Lastly, technological advancements, particularly the rise of digital technologies and social media, have had a profound impact on political Islam in Indonesia. The rapid spread of information through these platforms has allowed Islamic discourses and activism to reach a broader audience, especially among younger generations. Social media has become a crucial tool for mobilizing support, disseminating Islamic political ideas, and organizing grassroots campaigns. This technological shift has made it easier for political Islam to engage with the public and influence political agendas more effectively than before. The concept of modernization itself is multifaceted. Derived from the word "modern," which etymologically refers to the present or recent time—something current or new—modernization can be understood as an effort to bring something up to date, making it more suitable for contemporary needs. It is a process of adaptation, ensuring that societies evolve in line with current realities.<sup>8</sup>

Different scholars have conceptualized modernization in distinct ways. Soejadmoko, a social scientist, defines modernization as a strategy to enhance the capacity of a social system to address new challenges by leveraging science and technology.<sup>9</sup> For Soejadmoko, modernization is not merely about adopting new technologies but about improving a society's ability to cope with the demands of the modern world.<sup>10</sup> This view emphasizes the instrumental role of science and technology in societal progress. In contrast, the anthropologist Koentjaraningrat defines modernization as an attempt to live in harmony with the times and the global context of the present world. For Koentjaraningrat, modernization is a dynamic process that requires societies to adapt and remain relevant within the current global context. This perspective underscores the importance of aligning societal structures and practices with global trends and innovations.

Syamsul Bakri, citing Sztompka, further elaborates on modernization through three distinct approaches:<sup>11</sup> historical, comparative, and analytical. The historical approach defines modernization as westernization, where societies adopt the models of

<sup>8</sup> Albert Sydney Hornby and Anthony Paul Cowie, "Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English," 1977.

<sup>9</sup> Farabi Fakhri, *Authoritarian Modernization in Indonesia's Early Independence Period*, *Authoritarian Modernization in Indonesia's Early Independence Period*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004437722>.

<sup>10</sup> Asnawati Matondang, "The Modernization Impacts for Indonesian Development," *Asian Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities* 8, no. 1 (2019): 4754.

<sup>11</sup> Syamsul Bakri, "Womens Leadership in Islam: A Historical Perspective of a Hadith," *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Literature and Muslim Society* 5, no. 2 (2020): 219–34, <https://doi.org/10.22515/islimus.v5i2.3276>.

Western Europe and America, including their ideas, science, and technology. This approach, often criticized for its ethnocentrism, suggests that non-Western societies imitate the West without fully preserving their own cultural identities. Examples of this can be seen in the modernization efforts led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India, where Western models were adopted as a reference for national development.

The comparative approach, on the other hand, defines modernization as an effort to align standards deemed modern, both by the people and the ruling elite. This approach seeks to avoid ethnocentrism by ensuring that the modernization process is adapted to the specific historical, cultural, and political contexts of a given society. Rather than blindly imitating Western models, it advocates for a more contextual understanding of what modernization entails. Finally, the analytical approach views modernization as an effort to integrate modern societal dimensions into traditional societies, focusing on both cultural and psychological aspects. According to Neil Smelser, as cited by Sztompka, cultural modernization is a multidimensional process that impacts various fields, including economics, politics, education, religion (particularly secularization), family law, and social stratification.<sup>12</sup>

Modernization originated as a Western experience that brought about significant changes across various domains, beginning in the 16th century and culminating in the 18th century. These changes affected social, economic, cultural, political, and ideological spheres. As a result, modernization has often been equated with Westernization. Central to the Western notion of modernization is the shift from "ontological culture" in the Middle Ages to "functional culture." This shift placed humans at the center of the universe (anthropocentrism), where reason became the primary tool for investigating and understanding material phenomena. In this context, modern Western society began to distance itself from the spiritual and dogmatic aspects of life, questioning the relevance and capacity of religion to keep pace with the rapid developments of the modern world. Consequently, modernization in the West has been largely secular, with religion seen as irrelevant to the new, rational worldview.

As Harun Nasution states, modernization in the Western context encompasses ideas, sects, movements, and efforts to change old customs and institutions in response to the challenges and circumstances brought about by modern science and technology. This transformation often led to a conflict between modern scientific ideas and traditional Christian doctrines, a conflict that ultimately resulted in the separation of religion from public life—a process known as secularism.<sup>13</sup>

Given this backdrop, the question arises: What is Islam's stance on

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<sup>12</sup> Syamsul Bakri, "Modernisasi Dan Perubahan Sosial Dalam Lintasan Sejarah Islam," *KALIMAH* 14, no. 2 (September 30, 2016): 173, <https://doi.org/10.21111/klm.v14i2.611>.

<sup>13</sup> Ilham Tompunu and Rusli Malli, "Study Of Harun Nasution ' S," no. 259 (n.d.): 36–58.



modernization and secularization? Nurcholish Madjid, a prominent Indonesian Muslim scholar, describes modernization as synonymous with rationalization. He explains it as a transformation from an outdated, irrational mindset to a rational one, aimed at maximizing efficiency and utility through the application of modern scientific advancements. For Madjid, science represents human understanding of the objective laws that govern both the material and ideal aspects of nature. These laws are consistent and universal, and aligning human behavior with them leads to the optimal use of natural resources. Thus, modernization can be seen as a rational, scientific process that is in harmony with the natural laws of the universe.<sup>14</sup>

Ahmad Hassan, another scholar of Islamic Modernism, argues that this perspective allows Islam to be interpreted through a rational approach, enabling it to adapt to contemporary times.<sup>15</sup> Hassan emphasizes that Islam must not only accommodate but actively engage with the changes occurring in the modern world. Similarly, A. Mukti Ali supports this view but adds an important dimension: he believes that modernization involves efforts to "purify religion" by promoting freedom of thought. For Mukti Ali, this process encourages Muslims to return to the core sources of Islam—the Qur'an and the Sunnah—while advocating for intellectual freedom, as long as such thought does not contradict religious principles.<sup>16</sup>

Bassam Tibi further develops this idea, asserting that Islamic modernists are those who integrate modern science and technology into Islamic thought, while simultaneously mitigating any negative consequences of such integration. In his view, religious modernization is an attempt to reconcile the dynamic nature of human development with Islamic religious values. A central aspect of this reconciliation is the call for a return to the Qur'an and Sunnah, combined with a rational approach to interpreting these texts. This approach encourages *ijtihad* (independent legal reasoning), particularly in matters of *muamalah*—the social and transactional aspects of life. For modernists, *muamalah* represents a primary concern in their efforts to apply Islamic principles in a modern context.<sup>17</sup>

By drawing on elements of Western thought, religious modernization in Islam aims to transition society from a "fatalistic and exclusive" mindset to one that is more "dynamic and inclusive." This shift involves not only the reinterpretation of Islamic teachings but also reflects a broader aspiration to cultivate a society open to progress

<sup>14</sup> Nurcholish Majid, "Tradisi Islam: Peran Dan Fungsinya Dalam Pembangunan Di Indonesia," 1997.

<sup>15</sup> madrasah Aliyah, Fatah Temboro, And Karas Magetan, "Perspektif Politik Islam Indonesia," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam Volume 5*, no. 2 (2015): 361–86.

<sup>16</sup> Yusril Ihza Mahendra, "Modernisme Dan Fundamentalisme Dalam Politik Islam: Perbandingan Partai Masyumi (Indonesia) Dan Partai Jama'at-i-Islami (Pakistan)," (*No Title*), 1999.

<sup>17</sup> Bassam Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*, vol. 9 (Univ of California Press, 2023).

and change, while remaining rooted in core Islamic values.

## 2. Modernization and Shifting of Islamic Political Paradigm

From the 19th century to the early 21st century, Muslim thinkers have made significant intellectual efforts to reconcile Islamic thought with the challenges of modernization, particularly in response to the influence of the West. In Indonesia, this intellectual endeavor was reflected in the reform movements of the 20th and 21st centuries, where Muslim reformers and modernists sought to reconstruct theological understandings within the evolving socio-political context of modern Indonesia. This dynamic process of adaptation highlights the continuous development of Islamic thought.

The idea of modernizing Islam has largely been driven by Muslims' awareness of their perceived inferiority compared to Western nations. Western imperialism, which extended its reach across various Islamic regions, prompted a process of introspection among Muslim intellectuals. This reflection led to a growing recognition of the material and technological advancements that Western nations had achieved, which stood in stark contrast to the perceived stagnation of Islamic societies. However, this awareness was primarily focused on material aspects—such as technology, education, and economics—rather than on broader cultural or spiritual dimensions. As a result, a group of intellectuals emerged advocating for resistance against colonialism and imperialism, often through academic enlightenment, intellectual reform, and, in some cases, more direct actions, including revolutions.

Malek Bennabi, a prominent thinker in the field of Islamic modernization, distinguished between two main currents of the modernization movement within the Islamic world: the reformist and modernist movements.<sup>18</sup> The modernization process in the Islamic world began in earnest during the 19th century with the contributions of several key figures, including al-Tahtawi (1801–1873) in Egypt<sup>19</sup>, Jamaluddin al-Afghani (1839–1897)<sup>20</sup>, Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817–1898) in India<sup>21</sup>, Muhammad

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<sup>18</sup> Ezad Azraai Jamsari et al., “Malek Bennabi and the Development of Human Civilization,” *International Journal of Advanced Research* 11, no. 01 (2023): 1746–54, <https://doi.org/10.21474/ijar01/16201>.

<sup>19</sup> David Thomas and John A. Chesworth, “Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History Volume 18. The Ottoman Empire (1800-1914),” *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History Volume 18. The Ottoman Empire (1800-1914)* 18, no. Cmr 18 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004460270>.

<sup>20</sup> Rendra Khaldun, “The Influence of Jamaluddin Al-Afgani’s Thought on the Pan Islamism and Islamic Modernism Movement in Indonesia,” *Jurnal Ar Ro’Is Mandalika (Armada)* 01, no. 01 (2021): 53–66.

<sup>21</sup> Charles M Ramsey, *God’s Word, Spoken or Otherwise: Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s (1817-1898) Muslim Exegesis of the Bible*, vol. 45 (Brill, 2021).

Abduh (1849–1905) in Egypt<sup>22</sup>, Rashid Rida (1865–1935)<sup>23</sup>, and others. These early reformers focused primarily on internal religious matters, particularly the reform of education and theology, in an effort to adapt Islamic teachings to the realities of modernity. Their work laid the foundation for a broader intellectual movement that aimed to reconcile Islamic values with contemporary needs and to formulate Islamic teachings in ways that would make them more relevant to modern societies.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Muhammad Iqbal (1876–1938), a leading philosopher and poet from India, called on Muslims to awaken from their intellectual and cultural slumber and to engage in the process of *ijtihad* (independent reasoning). Iqbal regarded *ijtihad* as the "basis of dynamism" in Islam.<sup>24</sup> He argued that the teachings of the Qur'an, when understood properly, promote an active and forward-looking approach to life, and that Muslims must harness this dynamism to overcome their historical stagnation. For Iqbal, the low work ethic among Muslims, which he saw as a major factor contributing to their backwardness, needed to be transformed through a renewed engagement with Islamic teachings.

Iqbal did not advocate for merely imitating the outward aspects of Western civilization; rather, he called for a deeper understanding of its essence, particularly its advancements in science and technology.<sup>25</sup> His critique of the West was not aimed at rejecting modernity altogether but at resisting the materialism and moral decay he saw as inherent in Western capitalism and empiricism. Unlike Ahmad Khan, who viewed the West as a model to be emulated, Iqbal took a more critical stance towards Western civilization, especially its materialistic and secular manifestations. For Iqbal, the goal was not to replicate Western values but to create a modernity rooted in Islamic principles—a modernity that would reconcile the dynamism of Islamic teachings with the benefits of modern science and technology.

The modernization of the Western model in the Muslim world was also exemplified in Turkey, where Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) led a profound transformation.<sup>26</sup> Atatürk's secular reforms sought to align Turkey with Western notions of governance, education, and society, marking a significant departure from traditional Islamic political structures. His policies, which included the separation of

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<sup>22</sup> Aasia Yusuf, "Islam and Modernity: Remembering the Contribution of Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905)," *ICR Journal* 3, no. 2 (2012): 355–69.

<sup>23</sup> Telibi Mohamed and Gharbi Elhaouas, "The Political Legitimacy And Doctrinal Maturity Of The Fatimid State," *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture* 40 (2024): 311–26.

<sup>24</sup> Harun Nasution, "Pembaharuan Dalam Islam: Sejarah Pemikiran Dan Gerakan," 1982.

<sup>25</sup> Mukhtasar Syamsuddin, "Hubungan Wahyu Dan Akal Dalam Tradisi Filsafat Islam," *Arete: Jurnal Filsafat* 1, no. 2 (2013).

<sup>26</sup> Emzar Makaradze, "The Role of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Republican Turkey," *Historia i Polityka* 32, no. 32 (39) (2020): 153, <https://doi.org/10.12775/hip.2020.021>.

religion from state affairs, the adoption of Western legal systems, and the promotion of secular education, played a pivotal role in the modernization of Turkey but also sparked intense debate about the role of Islam in the public sphere. In the broader Muslim world, the rise of secularism in the early and mid-20th century led to a diminishing of the influence of traditional religious scholars, especially conservative clerics, who had long held a dominant intellectual position. As Western-style modernization took hold, religious intellectuals began to face challenges in maintaining their authority as secular ideas gained ground. In this context, figures such as Hasan al-Banna (1906–1949) in Egypt and Abu Ala Maududi (1903–1979)<sup>27</sup> in India emerged with a more fundamentalist style of thought, offering a direct response to the perceived threats posed by Westernization and secularism. Both al-Banna and Maududi advocated for a return to the fundamental teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah as the foundation for rebuilding Islamic societies. They argued that true modernization for Muslims could only be achieved through a revival of Islamic principles, rejecting the secularism, Westernism, and imperialism they saw as corrosive influences on Muslim identity and culture.

In the mid-20th century, the issue of modernity began to engage Islamic society on a broader scale. The rapid urbanization of Muslim intellectuals led to a shift in the socio-political paradigm of Muslim communities. The emergence of these intellectual activists in the 1970s was driven by their dissatisfaction with the paradigm of thought and movement espoused by modernist-secularist intellectuals. Similarly, the social and political institutions established by the early modernists, which followed a Western model, were seen as insufficient to accommodate the substance of Islamic interests across the broader scope of life. Additionally, the conservative stance of orthodox Muslim scholars contributed to the problem they sought to address, prompting the proposal of alternatives that included the adoption of new ideas.

In the specific context of the modernization of Islam in Indonesia, Deliar Noer observed that the Islamic religious modernization movement originated in the Minangkabau region. Sheikh Ahmad Khatib (1855–1916) is recognized as a pioneer who introduced renewal ideas from Mecca. However, it is important to note that Sheikh Ahmad Khatib was not the first to advocate for Islamic reform in Minangkabau. The Padri movement had attempted to initiate reforms as early as the 19th century, although they faced significant opposition from the *Adat* (traditional customs) community. The influence of Middle Eastern education played a key role in fostering a spirit of renewal and the purification of faith among Muslims in the region. This movement, which shared key characteristics with the earlier Padri movement, is often referred to as the metamorphosis of the new Padri, commonly known as the "youth." The term "youth" refers to individuals who distanced themselves from the *Adat* group, which opposed the changes they advocated. In contrast, the "Tira" group, composed of ulama who supported the status quo, adhered to traditional practices and customs, opposing the

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<sup>27</sup> A Ilyas Ismail, *True Islam Moral, Intelektual Dan Spiritual* (Mitra Wacana Media, 2013).

reforms championed by the "youth" faction.<sup>28</sup>

The first modernization movement of Islamic religious organizations in Indonesia was initiated by the Jamiat al-Khair association, founded in 1903. This organization primarily focused on education. At the time, educational institutions managed by the Dutch government were often infused with Christian influences, which many Muslims found concerning. In response, Jamiat al-Khair offered an alternative in the form of madrasas (Islamic schools) that provided an education on par with Dutch-run schools, combining both general education and religious instruction.<sup>29</sup> A similar effort was undertaken by the al-Irsyad association (*Jamiat al-Islamiyah al-Irsyad al-Arabia*), founded in 1914. A key figure in this organization was Ahmad Syurkati (1872–1943), a Sudanese-born cleric who traveled extensively to deepen his religious knowledge, particularly in Medina and Mecca, where he lived for an extended period. His contributions were instrumental in the process of modernizing Islam in Indonesia, and he gained widespread respect for his intellectual capacity and commitment to religious reform.<sup>30</sup>

The next phase of religious modernization in Indonesia can be seen through the emergence of several influential Islamic organizations, such as *Muhammadiyah*, *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU), and the Islamic Union. The discussion of *Muhammadiyah* and NU is particularly important, as both organizations were founded by prominent scholars of their time: K.H. Ahmad Dahlan (*Muhammadiyah*) and K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari (*Nahdlatul Ulama*). While both organizations focused on educational, social, and health-related activities, they differed in their approaches and strategies for conducting *da'wah* (Islamic outreach) and educational programs. Although *Muhammadiyah* and NU had distinct methods, it is important to note that both organizations were more committed to addressing issues of ignorance and poverty than to formal political concerns. This emphasis on social welfare and education allowed these organizations to evolve into the mainstream, representing the social power of Islam in Indonesia to this day.

In addition to these organizations, the Islamic religious modernization movement in Indonesia extended into the political sphere with the formation of *Sarekat Islam* (SI), originally called *Sarekat Dagang Islam* (SDI), which was founded in 1912 in Solo by Haji Samanhudi (1868–1956). *Sarekat Islam* is considered the precursor to

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<sup>28</sup> Ahmad Syaifuddin Amin and Maisyatusy Syarifah Syarifah, "Liberal Islam and Its Influences on the Development of Quranic Exegesis in Indonesia and Malaysia," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an Dan Hadis* 22, no. 1 (2021): 137, <https://doi.org/10.14421/qh.2021.2201-07>.

<sup>29</sup> Yosi Nofa and Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor, "Between Traditionalist and Modernist: The Islamic Reformation of Haji Abdul Latif Syakur in Minangkabau in the 20Th Century," *Akademika : Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 28, no. 1 (2023): 85, <https://doi.org/10.32332/akademika.v28i1.5777>.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Kurzman, *Modernist Islam 1840-1940: A Source Book* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

political Islam in Indonesia. After its formation, the Islamic modernization movement increasingly became political rather than purely academic. The ideas and discourses surrounding this movement were heavily influenced by debates over the relationship between Islam and the state. Modernist Muslims sought to realize their religious beliefs through concrete social and political actions, which led to a polemic over the ideological foundation of the state following Indonesia's independence. From the time of Indonesia's independence in 1945 until the late 1960s, Islamic political thought, as articulated by figures like Mohammad Natsir, became the mainstream form of Islamic political ideology.<sup>31</sup>

From the 1970s to the late 1990s, religious discourse in Indonesia evolved into a cultural discourse, prominently featuring figures such as Nurcholish Madjid and Abdul Rahman Wahid. During this period, Islam in Indonesia was characterized by the dynamics of modernization in both thought and movement. New ideas significantly influenced the development of Islamic thought, leading to a notable enthusiasm among Muslim intellectuals to promote the discourse of cultural Islam. This era is often referred to as the "intellectual enthusiasm" period, distinguishing it from the earlier "political enthusiasm" phase.<sup>32</sup> Cultural Islam emerged with a dialectical approach, suggesting that Islam could contribute to and integrate into modern Indonesia by adopting aspects of Western modernity while maintaining a commitment to Islamic identity.<sup>33</sup>

### C. Research Methods

Political Islam has become a crucial topic in contemporary political studies in Indonesia. The country's democratic political structure has provided broader opportunities for political Islamic movements to engage in the political process. The concept of modernization, which brings about significant social, economic, and political changes, has influenced societal order, including political Islam. On the other hand, secularization, as a global trend, has also impacted the way political Islam operates in a society with increasingly diverse beliefs. Previous research has highlighted a noticeable shift in political Islam in Indonesia, with movements that were once more conservative and rigid in their ideological outlook now adopting a more moderate and inclusive approach. This evolution reflects the growing recognition of the need for political Islam to engage with Indonesia's pluralistic society and embrace diversity within the political sphere. Additionally, the Pancasila state ideology, which emphasizes unity in diversity, has provided a strong foundation for political Islam to

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<sup>31</sup> Halimah Dja'far, "Modernisasi Keagamaan Islam Di Indonbsia (Tela'ah Pemikiran A. Mukti Ali)," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 21, no. 2 (2006): 37165.

<sup>32</sup> Amin and Syarifah, "Liberal Islam and Its Influences on the Development of Quranic Exegesis in Indonesia and Malaysia."

<sup>33</sup> M Amin Abdullah, *Dinamika Islam Kultural* (IRCiSoD, 2020).

integrate into Indonesia's pluralistic political system, facilitating its participation in democratic governance while maintaining its religious identity.

This article employs a library research method. The researchers conduct an in-depth review of literature related to the transformation of political Islam in Indonesia, including books, scholarly journals, and articles from various reliable sources. The information and data gathered from these sources are then critically analyzed to understand the changes in political Islam and its adaptation strategies to modernization and secularization. The library research process is carried out systematically, beginning with topic identification, followed by the collection of relevant literature, careful reading and analysis of the content, and concluding with the writing of analysis and conclusions. This approach allows for a thorough understanding of the dynamics of political Islam in Indonesia.

#### ***D. Results and Discussion***

##### **1. Patterns of Islamic Adaptation in Modernization and Political Secularization in Indonesia**

Adaptation is the process by which an individual or group adjusts to the environment in which they are situated. This adjustment can either involve changing oneself to align with the environment or altering the environment to fit personal or group needs. The adaptation process is dynamic, reflecting the constantly changing nature of both the environment and human society. Human adaptation to the environment exemplifies the ongoing interaction between individuals, communities, and their surroundings. As Suparlan suggests, adaptation is essentially a process that fulfills the basic needs of individuals, communities, or nations to ensure their continued survival.<sup>34</sup> In the context of political Islam in Indonesia, adaptation to the forces of modernization and political secularization can be understood as strategic steps taken by Islamic movements to reconcile Islamic norms with the phenomena of modernization and secularization taking place in the country. Strategic adaptation refers to the adjustments made based on practical considerations of benefits and challenges, while normative adaptation involves adjustments made in line with specific religious values and principles. To examine and understand the patterns of Islamic adaptation to modernization and political secularization in Indonesia, several analytical frameworks can be employed. These frameworks allow for a nuanced understanding of how Islamic movements and thought have evolved in response to the dual pressures of modernization and secularization, while also remaining grounded in Islamic tradition and values. The next section explores these patterns of adaptation in greater detail.

###### **a. Integration Pattern**

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<sup>34</sup> Muhamad Chairul Basrun Umanailo, "Talcot Parson and Robert K Merton," *Researchgate.Net*, no. October (2019): 1–5, <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/9pmt3>.

One of the intellectual agendas of Islamic political theorists is to harmonize the demands of Shari'ah with political realities. They aim to construct a framework of analysis that demonstrates the compatibility of religion and politics in Islam. One of the theories they propose in this regard is the theory of integration. This theory is grounded in the belief that Allah is the creator of the universe and, simultaneously, the holder of the highest sovereignty. Therefore, the earth and the social systems within it must be managed according to the instructions found in the Qur'an. This view has given rise to Islamic political thought based on the human obligation to create an ideal society by establishing Islamic political institutions. From this perspective, the concept of integration positions religion and politics (the state) as inseparable, bridging the sacred and the profane.

The concept of integration thus introduces two central themes in Islamic thought, and in Islamic political thought in particular: first, the relationship between revelation and reason; and second, the relationship between religion and politics. The political ideal of Islam reflects the relationship between religion and politics, while also serving as a conclusion drawn from revelation through reason.<sup>35</sup>

Integralist schools believe that Islam is a comprehensive religion that encompasses all aspects of life. According to this perspective, Islam was revealed in a complete and unified form, providing clear and firm concepts for every domain of life. This view leads its followers to believe that Islam offers a total way of life. Some adherents argue that Islam should be the foundation of the state, that Islamic Shari'a must serve as the state constitution, and that political sovereignty belongs to God. Furthermore, they contend that the concept of a nation-state contradicts the idea of the ummah (Islamic community), which transcends political and territorial boundaries.<sup>36</sup>

The consequence of this view is that the modern political system is placed in opposition to Islamic teachings. Followers of this paradigm often seek to reform or even revolutionize the social system by returning to the teachings of Islam and the traditions of the Prophet in their entirety, while rejecting human-made systems. Among the figures who adhere to this paradigm are Khurshid Ahmad,<sup>37</sup> Muhammad Asad,<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Abdurrahman Kasdi, "Karakteristik Politik Islam: Mencari Relevansi Antara Doktrin Dan Realitas Empirik," *Kalam* 9, no. 2 (2017): 305, <https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v9i2.334>.

<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Iqbal, *Pemikiran Politik Islam* (Kencana, 2015).

<sup>37</sup> Ḥuršīd Aḥmad, "Islam: Basic Principles and Characteristics," *Perspectives of Islam* 4 (1974).

<sup>38</sup> Muhammad Asad, *The Principles of State and Government in Islam* (Univ of California Press, 2023).



Muhammad Husayn Fadhlallah,<sup>39</sup> Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966),<sup>40</sup> Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi (1903-1979),<sup>41</sup> and Hasan Turabi. For instance, Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi states that:

*“Islam is neither a mixture of unrelated ideas nor changing forms of behavior. It is an orderly, universal, and permanent system, grounded in a set of clear and definite postulates. Mawdudi articulates this perspective by stating: “This Shari’ah is a complete scheme of life and social order that complements each other, nothing less and nothing more”*<sup>42</sup>

This statement affirms Mawdudi's position in his conceptualization of an Islamic state. For him, Shari'ah does not recognize the separation between religion and politics, or between religion and the state. He asserts that Islamic law encompasses both personal and public life, mandating that the state must be governed according to the principles laid out in the Qur'an and the Hadith. This holistic approach rejects the notion of secular governance, emphasizing that political authority and religious authority must function together within a unified Islamic framework.

#### b. The Political-Cultural Pattern

Cultural Islam can be defined as a channel for Islamic struggles and movements that operates outside the political sphere.<sup>43</sup> In the view of Gus Dur, Cultural Islam represents an Islamic approach that emphasizes everyday Islamic awareness without being strongly tied to any formal political institutions.<sup>44</sup>

Cultural Islam believes that advancing the Indonesian Islamic community does not always require political engagement; it can also be pursued through other means, such as education, *da'wah*, art, culture, and health. In this regard, organizations like NU and *Muhammadiyah* serve as prime examples of this approach.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Shaykh Muhammad Hussayn Fadlallah and Mahmoud Soueid, “Islamic Unity and Political Change. Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Hussayn Fadlallah,” *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 1995, 61–75.

<sup>40</sup> Yahya Bouzarinejad, Shahin Zarpeyma, and Elahe Marandi, “Sayyid Qutb and Political Islam: Islamic Government from the Perspective of Sayyid Qutb.,” *Journal of History, Culture & Art Research/Tarih Kültür Ve Sanat Arastirmalari Dergisi* 5, no. 4 (2016).

<sup>41</sup> A Abul and Maududi Urdu, “Abul A ’ La Maududi Early Life,” no. September (1979).

<sup>42</sup> Abul A’la Maududi, *Political Theory of Islam* (Islamic Publications, 1967).

<sup>43</sup> Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam: Agama Kemanusiaan: Membangun Tradisi Dan Visi Baru Islam Indonesia* (Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1995).

<sup>44</sup> A Hasyim Muzadi, “Membangun NU Pasca Gus Dur: Dari Sunan Bonang Sampai Paman Sam,” (*No Title*), 1999.

<sup>45</sup> Abdul Rahman, Nurlela Nurlela, and Alfin Dwi Rahmawan, “Relasi Islam Kultural Dan Politik Islam Dalam Mewujudkan Masyarakat Madani di Indonesia,” *Supremasi: Jurnal Pemikiran*,

Socio-religious movements in Indonesia typically adopt cultural strategies to distance themselves from direct involvement in practical politics. However, the cultural strategy employed by Islamic movements cannot be completely separated from political influences and motives. For example, when Islam manifested in a cultural format during the New Order era (1980s), this strategy was not an insignificant phenomenon. Donald K. Emmerson noted that the rise of Cultural Islam during the decline of political Islam in Indonesia resulted from a process of co-optation between Islam and the government. This co-optation should not be seen as a struggle between victors and the vanquished, but rather as a process of limited adjustments. Ultimately, Cultural Islam flourished and made a significant impact.<sup>46</sup>

The adoption of a cultural strategy is a deliberate choice. The socio-religious movement does not seek to remove the populace's consciousness from politics entirely. Rather, it refrains from focusing solely on practical politics, which is often temporary, short-term, and narrowly defined within partisan frameworks. In this context, Cultural Islam views power politics as just one avenue for Islamic struggle. There are many other methods for achieving the goals of the Muslim community, including da'wah, education, socio-economic development, and cultural initiatives. As such, Cultural Islam is not an apolitical concept. The adoption of a cultural strategy is a deliberate choice. The socio-religious movement does not seek to remove the populace's consciousness from politics entirely. Rather, it refrains from focusing solely on practical politics, which is often temporary, short-term, and narrowly defined within partisan frameworks. In this context, Cultural Islam views power politics as just one avenue for Islamic struggle. There are many other methods for achieving the goals of the Muslim community, including da'wah, education, socio-economic development, and cultural initiatives. As such, Cultural Islam is not an apolitical concept.

The term "Cultural Islam" can be understood through David Easton's concept of "allocative politics," which refers to the authoritative allocation of specific values in society for the benefit of the community.<sup>47</sup> In the case of Cultural Islam, allocative politics involves the inclusive integration of Islamic values and ethics into the broader societal framework. Allocative politics also signifies the struggle to infuse Islamic values into the political process, based on a constitution that has become a shared consensus. Cultural Islam, therefore, is both penetrative and inclusive; it is not confined to struggles within the realm of politics and power but extends to giving Islam a prominent place in the cultural domain. This approach is a natural consequence of

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*Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial, Hukum Dan Pengajarannya* 15, no. 1 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.26858/supremasi.v15i1.13431>.

<sup>46</sup> Richard Robison, "(Vertical Structures of Identity and Organization) Are the Primary Factors in Generating Social Identity and Action in Postcolonial Indonesia. Two of These Aliran Are Specifically Javanese: The" 37 (1960): 1–29.

<sup>47</sup> David Easton, *The Analysis of Political Structure* (Taylor & Francis, 2024).

Islamic movements choosing to withdraw from direct political involvement in favor of emphasizing da'wah and cultural empowerment.

### c. Structural and Agency Patterns

The process of Islamic modernization requires an adaptation pattern that allows Islamic social movements to be flexible in accommodating and integrating with the political power structure. Structuring is a process by which actors reproduce structures through interactions arising from the use of those structures.<sup>48</sup> Universally, "structure" is interpreted as moral values, traditions, ideal dreams, and even stable social institutions. However, structures can be changed through unintended actions. For example, humans may replace or reproduce social norms differently when they deviate from established norms.<sup>49</sup> This pattern is based on Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration, which balances the roles of actors (humans) with the limited choices within historical and social contexts. According to Giddens, social activities are not merely presented by actors but are continuously created through the mastery of social and political structures.<sup>50</sup>

From this perspective, the escalation and de-escalation of Islamic social movements can be understood as efforts to exploit available political opportunities through proliferation strategies and expansion into more specific social structures via movement actors. In this context, every action taken by Islamic actors and their networks is seen not just as political pragmatism but as a form of human agency within the structure, carried out to fulfill the mission of the Islamic movement. This is reflected in the political agency of mainstream Islamic mass organizations (such as NU and *Muhammadiyah*) as they integrate into the political structure, the bureaucracy, and the educational sector, while continuing to strengthen their position in controlling discourse at the level of civil society.

Islamic political movements and activities are not constraints but can be analyzed as enabling necessities. These movements rely on exploring religious propositions as tools to inspire and motivate people to follow the movement's agenda, serving as a manifestation of moral awareness grounded in religion. The relationship between the Islamic movement and the Islamic community is continually reproduced and maintained. Mass organizations and activists within the Islamic movement act as agents who reproduce activities to express themselves as actors. The behavior of Islamic clerics and intellectuals is understood as directing actions that are considered

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<sup>48</sup> Anthony Giddens, "The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration," *Polity*, 1984.

<sup>49</sup> Zainal Abidin Achmad, "Anatomi Teori Strukturasi Dan Ideologi Jalan Ketiga Anthony Giddens," *Translitera: Jurnal Kajian Komunikasi Dan Studi Media* 9, no. 2 (2020): 45–62, <https://doi.org/10.35457/translitera.v9i2.989>.

<sup>50</sup> Anthony Giddens, "The Constitution of Society (Cambridge)," *Polity* 284 (1984): 1–39.

to lead to truth and ideal conditions—these relationships span various aspects of social, political, and economic life.

This process aims to link the moral commitment of Islam with the practical needs of society through the involvement of "intellectual agents" within the state's political structure. This linkage is understood not simply as a result of political engineering but as a continuation of the modernization process of Islamic education, which has been carried out by Islamic social movements, including Muhammadiyah and NU,<sup>51</sup> from the outset. In this context, the social transformation of Islamic society is directly tied to the character of the state and government policies.

Islamic movements can transmit human resources into the power structure, which was the general pattern used by Islamic social movement actors in the 1980s. For instance, several Islamic organizations, especially Muhammadiyah, appeared to be subordinated to the state. Many of the Muhammadiyah elites in the regions were also administrators within Golkar and civil servants who served the interests of the political regime. This pattern can be interpreted as a strategy of structuration and agency. Ultimately, the adaptation pattern of structuration and agency aims to transform the prophetic essence of Islam within political and state structures.<sup>52</sup>

### **E. Conclusion**

Political modernization and secularization in Indonesia have led to a paradigm shift and a change in political orientation among Muslims. This shift in the Islamic paradigm can be traced from the rationalization and desacralization of Islamic politics that began in the 1970s and continues to the present. Islamic symbols, once considered sacred, are now interpreted as rational and profane. This shift has also contributed to the emergence of new patterns of Islamic adaptation to modernity, particularly in relation to politics and the state. These new adaptation patterns are reflected in the strategies employed by Islamic movements and political actors, which can be categorized into three models: integration, acculturation, and agency-structuring. These models have become landmarks for the dynamic and harmonious relationship between Islam and the state.

Islamic political theorists have long sought to reconcile the demands of Shari'ah with the political realities of their time. They aim to demonstrate that religion and politics are compatible within Islam. One such theory is the theory of integration, which posits that Allah is both the Creator and the supreme sovereign of the universe. According to this view, the earth and its social systems must be governed in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'an. This framework has led to the development of Islamic

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<sup>51</sup> Saleh Fauzan, "Teologi Pembaruan," *Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta*, 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Wael B. Hallaq, "The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament," 2013, 187–92.

political institutions intended to create an ideal society. The concept of integration thus unites religion and politics (the state), bridging the sacred and the profane.

The modernization of Islam necessitates that Islamic social movements accommodate and integrate with the political power structure. Structuring, in this context, refers to how actors reproduce structures through a network of interactions arising from the use of those structures. The structure is typically understood as encompassing moral values, traditions, ideal dreams, and stable social institutions. However, structures can change as a result of unintentional actions. For example, when social norms are abandoned, they are often replaced or reproduced in new forms. This process is grounded in the theory of structuration, which holds that social activities are not merely the actions of individual actors but are continuously created through the mastery of social and political structures.

Finally, the modernization of Islam necessitates that Islamic social movements accommodate and integrate with the political power structure. Structuring, in this context, refers to how actors reproduce structures through a network of interactions that arise from the use of those structures. The structure is typically understood as encompassing moral values, traditions, ideal dreams, and stable social institutions. However, structures can change as a result of unintentional actions. For example, when social norms are abandoned, they are often replaced or reproduced in new forms. This process is grounded in the theory of structuration, which holds that social activities are not merely the actions of individual actors but are continuously created through the mastery of social and political structures.

The escalation and de-escalation of Islamic social movements can thus be interpreted as efforts to capitalize on available political opportunities, using proliferation and expansion strategies to integrate into more specific social structures through movement actors. In this context, the activities of Islamic actors and their networks are seen as more than mere political pragmatism. They are expressions of human agency, driven by the mission of the Islamic movement. This is evident in the political agency exercised by mainstream Islamic mass organizations, such as NU and *Muhammadiyah*, as they engage with the political structure, the bureaucracy, and the educational system, while also strengthening their influence in civil society. Ultimately, the Islamic movement relies on exploring religious propositions as a tool to inspire and motivate people to follow the movement's agenda, grounded in the moral awareness of Islam. The relationship between the Islamic movement and the Muslim community is repeatedly reproduced and maintained, with activists within mass organizations becoming agents who reproduce activities to express their ideals and goals.

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