

Moch Nur Ichwan and Muhammad Wildan (eds), *Islamisme dan Pos-Islamisme dalam Dinamika Politik Indonesia Kontemporer*. Yogyakarta: SUKA-Press, 2019, xii + 494 pp. ISBN: 9786237258018, price: IDR 82,000.00 (paperback).

Political Islam in Indonesia has rapidly increased since the early post-New Order years. The growing number of Islamists in the country is an obvious result of ordinary Muslims turning to Islam as a reference to regulate their lives (Sakai and Fauzia 2014). While the Islamist movement in Indonesia has been largely influenced by transnational features, the brisk spread of the local-based movement is determined by its effective use of local repertoires of reasoning (local history, *adat*, rituals, and memory), rather than through scriptural arguments (Alimi 2014). An additional role is played by the pervasive preaching programs on television and other media that offer opportunities for Muslims to independently gain Islamic knowledge for ethical self-improvement (Muzakki 2008; Howell 2008). Consequently, instead of directly engaging themselves in political religious movements, many Muslims in Indonesia are seeking to perform an Islamic way of life in a secular world (Sakai and Fauzia 2014).

Both political religious movements and Islamic ways of life are the focuses of the collection of scholarly essays here under review, which brings together seventeen chapters, including the introduction and epilogue, to examine the developments of a wide range of sociocultural and political issues of Islam in Indonesia. *Islamisme dan Pos-Islamisme dalam Dinamika Politik Indonesia Kontemporer* (Islamism and Post-Islamism in the Dynamics of Contemporary Indonesian Politics) is a thought-provoking edited volume that is loaded with fascinating case studies with an eye to theories and practices. Together, the chapters make a convincing point that political Islam in Indonesia, frequently regarded as the ideology of power politics, is increasingly hostile to democracy, other faiths (including to other Islamic schools and branches), and rival interpretations.

The editors define political Islam as an understanding and practice of Islam, which positions Islam as a political ideology and uses it for political power and politics of social domination (p. 2). They follow scholars such as Olivier Roy (1999) and especially Asef Bayat (2007) in constructing the terms of Islamism and post-Islamism, particularly in how the editors collect essays that deal not only with the establishment of an Islamic state, but also with the reinforcement of Islamic society (pp. 5–7). The volume's chapters are as diverse as the phenomena they seek to describe. They contain details of investigation of various studies—Islamic studies, politics, sociology, and anthropology—conducted by each author. All of them study and analyze the existence and dynamics of Islamism and post-Islamism in Indonesia, particularly in the post-

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New Order period. The volume is a bold and daring attempt to delve into the burgeoning of political Islam in a Muslim region that has often been regarded as “peripheral” compared to the “center” of the Islamic world in the Middle East.

This volume tackles issues from the headlines, such as Chapter 2 by Zulfadli who sketches the strengthening of Islamism in Indonesia following the fall of Suharto; the identity politics of the Tarbiyah movement in the forms of KAMMI (United Action of Indonesian Muslim Students) and PKS (Prosperous Justice Party) in Chapter 8 by Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar; and the Islamists’ attempts in incorporating Islamic values and human rights and faith and freedom in Surakarta (Chapter 10 by Muzayyin Ahyar). It also brings forward issues from the sidelines, such as dynamic Islamist movements in university campuses (Chapter 5 by Mohammad Zaki Arrobi); Titis Thoriquttyas portrays the lively swing of Tarbiyah-influenced *Sekolah Islam Terpadu* (Integrated Islamic Schools) towards democracy in Chapter 9; M. Zainal Anwar describes post-Islamism expressions in sharia-based economic segments in Chapter 11; and Ihab Habudin looks at the transformation of mosques and problematizes exclusive identities in Chapter 16.

In charting the rise of Islamism among religious organizations, the book provides the readers with four case studies: the increasing influence of religious conservatism and Islamism in Muhammadiyah, Indonesia’s second largest Islamic organization, that is narrated in Chapter 12 by Muhammad Wildan; Fauzia Gustarina Cempaka Timur and Yanyan M. Yani account for the role of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Indonesia’s largest Islamic organization, in counter-radicalization among the youth in Depok in Chapter 13; Ja’far examines the growing trend of Islamism in Al Jam’iyatul Washliyah, a mainstream Islamic organization in Medan in Chapter 14; and Suryo Adi Sahfutra reports on the non-political religious proselytism (*dakwah*) of Tablighi Jamaat in North Sumatra in Chapter 15.

This book also takes two cases from the emancipation of feminism. One deals with the efforts of several wives of terrorists who pull their husbands out of terrorism networks (Chapter 6 by Umi Najikhah Fikriyah), and the other one, as shown by Dien Vidia Rosa and Hery Prasetyo, focuses on women as the subjects of post-Islamism who negotiate with Islamic reform movements. Finally, this volume includes two discussions on Islamism and social media. One explores the contestation of radicalist ideas in social media through internet memes (Chapter 3 by Akhriyadi Sofian), and the other one is an account by Anggalih Bayu Muh. Kamim that investigates the phenomenon of Islamism in social media through analyzing a Twitter account named the *Muslim Cyber Army* in Chapter 4.

Throughout the chapters, the state and politics are explored, yet the emphasis is put on the citizens and how socio-religious groups or individual actors have shaped the state and the characters of Islamism and post-Islamism in Indonesia. The range of topics in each chapter is quite laudable. Nevertheless, with the exception of only a few chapters, one may be surprised that less attention has been given to areas outside Java. There are also no basic arguments that are coherently maintained in each chapter. Each chapter, with a variety of topics and approaches, is the result of research with its own arguments. While the individual chapters provide evocative data, and the discussions point to broad trends, there are very few connections in this volume between the chapters. This is a clear shortcoming related to the book's organization. It would have been useful to include a theoretical discussion chapter to enhance internal coherence and more importantly, to contribute to scholarly debates about the concepts and implementations of Islamism and post-Islamism outside the Middle East—for instance, to respond to the argument proposed by Andreas Ufen, who suggests that Islamization does not necessarily denote the rise of Islamism. In fact, in many instances, Islamization in Southeast Asia signifies the strengthening of a conservative Islam, not of Islamists (Ufen 2009).

These issues are the only distractions from an otherwise brilliant volume. As a whole, the edited collection provides a firm scholarly update on questions of political Islam in contemporary Indonesian scenes. Throughout, it accentuates the major areas of concern between political religious movements and Islamic ways of life of the implementations of political Islam in Indonesia. Overall, this is not the ideal publication for undergraduate students, as the book is mostly suited for graduate students and scholars of Islamic studies, politics, sociology, and anthropology. This volume is a valuable and timely addition that complements existing scholarship.

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