

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abdalla, U. A. (2002, November 18). Menyegarkan Kembali Pemahaman Islam. *Kompas*.
- Adar, S., & Turkmen, G. (2019). Populism Beyond the West: Dissonant Diversities and Fragmented Politics. *New Diversities*, 21(2).
- Ahnaf, M. I., & Salim, H. (2017). *Krisis Keistimewaan: Kekerasan terhadap Minoritas di Yogyakarta*. CRCS.
- Alamsyah, A. R., & Hadiz, V. R. (2017). Three Islamist generations, one Islamic state: the Darul Islam movement and Indonesian social transformation. *Critical Asian Studies*, 49(1), 54–72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2016.1260887>
- Al-Anani, K. (2015). Upended Path: The Rise and Fall of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood. *Middle East Journal*, 69(4), 527–543.
- Al-Anshari, F. (2002). *Saya Teroris? (Sebuah Pledoi)*. Penerbit Republika.
- Amini, M. (2011). Komunis di Kota Santri: Politik Lokal Kotagede pada 1950-1960-an. In S. van Bemmelen & R. Raben (Eds.), *Antara Daerah dan Negara: Indonesia Tahun 1950-an, Pembongkaran Narasi Besar Integrasi Bangsa* (1st ed.). Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Anugrah, I., & Izzati, F. F. (2017). Aksi Massa dalam Perspektif Islam Progresif. In D. Mulyanto & C. H. Pontoh (Eds.), *Bela Islam atau Bela Oligarki? Pertalian Agama, Politik, dan Kapitalisme di Indonesia*. Pustaka IndoPROGRESS & Islam Bergerak.
- Arrobi, M. Z. (2018). Vigilantism as “Twilight Institution”: Islamic Vigilante Groups and the State in Post-Suharto Yogyakarta. In *PCD Journal: Vol. VI* (Issue 2).
- Asmawati, R. I. (2016). Dari Medan Perang Berburu Lapangan Pekerjaan: Pengangguran Revolusi di Yogyakarta Tahun 1950-an. *Lembaran Sejarah*, 12(1), 3–21.
- Aspinall, E. (2017). Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47(2), 314–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2016.1205648>
- Azca, M. N. (2011). *AFTER JIHAD: A Biographical Approach to Passionate Politics in Indonesia* (Vol. 1).
- Azca, M. N., & Arrobi, M. Z. (2020). The Politics of Religious and Cultural Authority: Contestations and Co-existence of Sultanate and Islamic Movements in the Post-Suharto Yogyakarta and Ternate. In N. Saat & A. N. Burhani (Eds.), *The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional Authority in Indonesia* (pp. 296–316). ISEAS Publishing .



- Azca, M. N., Ikhwan, H., & Arrobi, M. Z. (2019). A tale of two royal cities: The narratives of islamists' intolerance in Yogyakarta and Solo. *Al-Jami'ah*, 57(1), 25–50.
<https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2019.571.25-50>
- Azra, A. (1994). The Indies Chinese and the Sarekat Islam: An Account of the Anti-Chinese Riots in Colonial Indonesia. *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, 1(1).
- Baker, J. (2000). *Laskar Jihad dan Mobilisasi Umat Islam dalam Konflik Maluku*.
- Benda, H. J. (1958). *The Crescent and the Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam Under the Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945*. W. van Hoeve.
- Bernstein, H. (2011). “Farewells to the peasantry?” and its relevance to recent South African debates. *Transformation: Critical Perspectives On Southern Africa*, 75(1).
- Bernstein, H. (2020). *Dinamika Kelas dalam Perubahan Agraria* (Revisi, Vol. 2). INSISTPress.
- Boland, B. J. (1982). The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia. In *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*. Springer Dordrecht. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-7895-2>
- Bonikowski, B. (2017). Ethno-nationalist populism and the mobilization of collective resentment. *British Journal of Sociology*, 68, S181–S213. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12325>
- BPS Yogyakarta. (2013). *Direktori Hotel dan Akomodasi Lain Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*.
- BPS Yogyakarta. (2015). *Statistik Ketenagakerjaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 2014-2015*.
- BPS Yogyakarta. (2023). *Direktori Hotel dan Akomodasi Lain Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*.
- BPS Yogyakarta. (2024). *Hasil Survei Angkatan Kerja Nasional*.
- Burki, S. Javed., & Perry, Guillermo. (1998). *Beyond the Washington consensus : institutions matter*. World Bank.
- Burns, R. B. (2000). *Introduction to Research Methods*. SAGE Publications.
- Bush, R. (2009). *Nahdlatul Ulama and the Struggle for Power within Islam and Politics in Indonesia*. ISEAS Publishing.
- Cahyono, H. (1992). *Peranan Ulama dalam Golkar 1971-1980: Dari Pemilu Sampai Malari*. Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Choiruzzad, S. A. B. (2013). More Gain, More Pain: The Development of Indonesia's Islamic Economy Movement (1980s–2012). *Indonesia*, 2013(95), 125–172.
<https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.95.0125>
- CNN Indonesia. (2019, April 8). *Kronologi Bentrok Simpatisan PDIP dengan FPI Yogyakarta*. CNN Indonesia . <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20190408084702-12-384170/kronologi-bentro-k-simpatisan-pdip-dengan-fpi-yogyakarta>



- Cribb, R. (2004). The Indonesian Massacres. In S. Totten, W. S. Parsons, & I. W. Charny (Eds.), *Century of Genocide* (2nd ed., p. 507). Routledge.
- Demir, M. (2020, April). What Went Wrong in Turkey? *ECPS Book Reviews*.
www.populismstudies.org
- Dinçşahin, Ş. (2012). A Symptomatic Analysis of the Justice and Development Party's Populism in Turkey, 2007-2010. *Government and Opposition*, 47(4), 618–640.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2012.01377.x>
- Dwicahyo, S. (2022). *Dalil Penghalau Sang Batil: Kampanye Antikomunisme oleh Partai Politik Islam di Indonesia, 1950an-1960an*. Bangkalan.
- Ely, C. (2022). *Russian Populism: A History*. Bloomsbury.
- Fachriansyah, R. (2020, December 7). *Six alleged Rizieq sympathizers shot dead following purported attack on Jakarta Police*. The Jakarta Post.
<https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/12/07/six-alleged-rizieq-sympathizers-shot-dead-following-attack-on-jakarta-police.html>
- Findlay, Ronald., & O'Rourke, K. H. . (2009). *Power and plenty : trade, war, and the world economy in the second millennium*. Princeton University Press.
- Formichi, C. (2010). Pan-Islam and Religious Nationalism: The Case of Kartosuwiryo and Negara Islam Indonesia. *Cornell University Press*, 90, 125–146.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20798235>
- Formichi, C. (2012). *Islam and the Making of the Nation: Kartosuwiryo and Political Islam in 20th century Indonesia*. KITLV Press.
- Fuentes, J. F. (2020). Populism: The Timeline of a Concept. *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 15(1), 47–68. <https://doi.org/10.2307/27139204>
- Gani, J. K. (2023). Anti-colonial connectivity between Islamicate movements in the Middle East and South Asia: the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamati Islam. *Postcolonial Studies*, 26(1), 55–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2023.2127660>
- Gerring, J. (2004). What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good for? *The American Political Science Review*, 98(2), 341–354.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks-International Publishers Co (1971)* (1st ed.). International Publisher.
- Gubbay, J. (1997). A Marxist Critique of Weberian Class Analyses. *Sociology*, 31(1), 73–89.
- Habibi, M. (2013). Gerakan Buruh Pasca Soeharto: Politik Jalanan di Tengah Himpitan Pasar Kerja Fleksibel. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik*, 16, 200–216.
- Habibi, M. (2016). *Surplus Pekerja di Kapitalisme Pinggiran* (1st ed.). Marjin Kiri.



- Habibi, M. (2021a). Laju Kapital dan Dinamika Kelas Ekonomi Informal Perkotaan. *Prisma: Jurnal Pemikiran Sosial Ekonomi*, 40, 13–29.
- Habibi, M. (2021b). Masters of the countryside and their enemies: Class dynamics of agrarian change in rural Java. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 21(4), 720–746.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/joac.12433>
- Habibi, M. (2022). Extracting labour from the neighbour: class dynamics of agrarian change in Sumatran oil palm. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1–31.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2022.2026330>
- Habibi, M. (2023). *Capitalism and Agrarian Change: Class, Production and Reproduction in Indonesia* (1st ed., Vol. 1). Routledge.
- Habibi, M., & Juliawan, B. H. (2018). Creating Surplus Labour: Neo-Liberal Transformations and the Development of Relative Surplus Population in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48(4), 649–670. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2018.1429007>
- Hadiz, V. R. (2008). Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia: Menuju Suatu Pemahaman Sosiologis. *IndoPROGRESS*, 38(4).
- Hadiz, V. R. (2010). *Localising Power in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia: A Southeast Asia Perspective*. Stanford University Press.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2011). Indonesian Political Islam: Capitalist Development and the Legacies of the Cold War. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 30(1), 3–38.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2014a). A New Islamic Populism and the Contradictions of Development. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 44(1), 125–143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2013.832790>
- Hadiz, V. R. (2014b). The Organizational Vehicles of Islamic Political Dissent: Social Bases, Genealogies and Strategies . In K. B. Teik, V. R. Hadiz, & Y. Nakanishi (Eds.), *Between Dissent and Power The Transformation of Islamic Politics in the Middle East and Asia* (1st ed., pp. 42–65). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2016). *Islamic Populism in Indonesia and the Middle East* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2017a). Indonesia’s year of democratic setbacks: towards a new phase of deepening illiberalism? *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 53(3), 261–278.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2017.1410311>
- Hadiz, V. R. (2017b, October 20). *Behind Indonesia’s illiberal turn*. New Mandala.
<https://www.newmandala.org/indonesia-illiberal/>



- Hadiz, V. R. (2018). *Imagine All the People? Mobilising Islamic Populism for Right-Wing Politics in Indonesia*. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 48(4), 566–583.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2018.1433225>
- Hadiz, V. R., & Chrysogelos, A. (2017). Populism in world politics. *International Political Science Review / Revue Internationale de Science Politique*, 38(4, Special Issue: Populism in World Politics), 399–411. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26940300>
- Hadiz, V. R., & Rakhmani, I. (2017, December 21). *Marketing morality in Indonesia's democracy*. Asian Studies Association of Australia. <https://asaa.asn.au/marketing-morality-indonesias-democracy/>
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2013). The Political Economy of Oligarchy and the Reorganization of Power in Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 96, 12–26.
- Hadiz, V. R., & Robison, R. (2017). Competing populisms in post-authoritarian Indonesia. *Political Science Review*, 38(4), 488–502. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26940306>
- Haekal, L. (2023). Satu Tubuh, Dua Formasi Identitas: Anggota Laskar Partai dalam Kelindan Relative Surplus Population dan Lumpenproletariat. *Politika: Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 14(2), 209–234. <https://doi.org/10.14710/politika.14.2.2023.209-234>
- Hakim, L. N. (2023). *Islamism and the Quest for Hegemony in Indonesia*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Halliday, F. (2000). *Nation and Religion in the Middle East*. Lynne Rienner Pub.
- Harian Jogja. (2024, October 3). *PHRI dan GIPI Dukung Aturan Miras Diperkuat untuk Mendukung Sektor Pariwisata DIY*. Harian Jogja.
<https://jogjapolitan.harianjogja.com/read/2024/10/03/510/1190276/phri-dan-gipi-dukung-aturan-miras-diperkuat-untuk-mendukung-sektor-pariwisata-diy>
- Harminanto, F. X. (2024, October 13). *Konvoi Perdamaian Indonesia di Yogyakarta, Ribuan Massa Kembali Serukan Bela Palestina*. Kedaulatan Rakyat Jogja.
<https://www.krjogja.com/yogyakarta/1245190980/konvoi-perdamaian-indonesia-di-yogyakarta-ribuan-massa-kembali-serukan-bela-palestina>
- Harriss-White, B. (2022). Petty commodity production. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 50(1), 295–314. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2022.2138354>
- Hasan, N. (2002). Faith and Politics: The Rise of the Laskar Jihad in the Era of Transition in Indonesia. *Cornell University Press*, 73, 145–169. <https://about.jstor.org/terms>
- Hasan, N. (2006). *Laskar Jihad Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia*. Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications.



- Hasan, N. (2010). The failure of the Wahhabi campaign transnational Islam and the Salafi madrasa in post-9/11 Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 18(4), 675–705.
<https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2010.0015>
- Hasanuddin, U. (2024, November 26). *Sejumlah Ormas dan Mahasiswa Kembali Suarakan Tolak Peredaran Miras di DIY*. Harianjogja.Com.
<https://jogjapolitan.harianjogja.com/read/2024/11/26/511/1196079/sejumlah-ormas-dan-mahasiswa-kembali-suarakan-tolak-peredaran-miras-di-diy>
- Hasibuan, D., & Alvian, R. A. (2017). The Islamic Fundamentalist's Politics of Dissents and the Emergence of Urban Citizenship in Yogyakarta. *PCD Journal*, 1, 57.
- Hefner, R. W. (2000). *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia* (1st ed.). Princeton University Press.
- Hilmy, M. (2010). *Islamism and Democracy in Indonesia: Piety and Pragmatism*. ISEAS.
- Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. (2009). *Manifesto Hizbut Tahrir untuk Indonesia*.
- Humas Pemda DIY. (2024a, October 29). *Sri Sultan Instruksikan Kabupaten/Kota Keluarkan Regulasi Peredaran Miras*. Portal Pemerintah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta.
<https://jogjaproov.go.id/berita/detail-berita/sri-sultan-instruksikan-kabupatenkota-keluarkan-regulasi-peredaran-miras>
- Humas Pemda DIY. (2024b, November 5). *FUI DIY Dukung Penuh Ingub No. 5 Tahun 2024*. Portal Pemerintah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. <https://jogjaproov.go.id/berita/detail-berita/fui-diy-dukung-penuh-ingub-no-5-tahun-2024>
- Husin, L. H. (2014). *Gerakan Mahasiswa sebagai Kelompok Penekan: Studi Kasus Keluarga Mahasiswa UGM dari Masa Orde Lama hingga Pasca-Reformasi* (1st ed.). Penerbit PolGov.
- INFID. (2016). *Studi Tentang Toleransi dan Radiklaisme di Indonesia: Pembelajaran dari 4 Daerah Tasikmalaya, Jogjakarta, Bojonegoro, dan Kupang*.
- Ingleston, J. (1981). Worker Consciousness and Labour Unions in Colonial Java. *Pacific Affairs*, 54(3), 485–501. <https://about.jstor.org/terms>
- Ingleston, J. (1988). Urban Java during the Depression. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 19(2), 292–309. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463400000576>
- Jacoby, T. (2017). Culturalism and the Rise of the Islamic State: Faith, Sectarianism and Violence. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(7), 1655–1673.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1282818>



- Jaffrey, S. (2021). Right-Wing Populism and Vigilante Violence in Asia. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 56(2), 223–249. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-021-09336-7>
- Jones, S. (2010). New Order Repression and the Birth of Jemaah Islamiyah. In E. Aspinall & G. Fealy (Eds.), *Soeharto's New Order and Its Legacy: Essays in Honour of Harold Crouch*. ANU Press.
- JPNN. (2024, December 6). *Merespons Demo Papua di Jogja, Front Jihad Islam Turun ke Jalan*. JPNN. <https://jogja.jpnn.com/jogja-terkini/10183/merespons-demo-papua-di-jogja-front-jihad-islam-turun-ke-jalan?page=2>
- Juliawan, B. H. (2011). Street-level politics: Labour protests in post-authoritarian Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 41(3), 349–370. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2011.582706>
- Kahin, A. R. (2012). *Islam, Nationalism and Democracy: A Political Biography of Mohammad Natsir*. NUS Press.
- Kaltwasser, C. R., Taggart, P., Espejo, P. O., & Ostiguy, P. (2016). *The Oxford Handbook of Populism* (C. R. Kaltwasser, P. Taggart, P. O. Espejo, & P. Ostiguy, Eds.; Vol. 1). Oxford University Press.
- Kamim, A. B. M. (2023a). Pembangunan dan Ekonomi Politik Turisme Massal di Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. *Jurnal Wacana Kinerja: Kajian Praktis-Akademis Kinerja Dan Administrasi Pelayanan Publik*, 26(1), 51. <https://doi.org/10.31845/jwk.v26i1.791>
- Kamim, A. B. Muh. (2023b, December 11). *Parkir: Menjual Ruang di Tengah Karut-marut Trasnportasi dan Turisme di Yogyakarta*. IndoPROGRESS. <https://indoprogress.com/2023/12/menjual-ruang-di-tengah-karut-marut-transportasi-dan-turisme-yogyakarta/>
- Kompas.com. (2012, May 9). *Ditolak, Acara Irshad Manji di UGM Batal*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/05/09/10090016/~Regional~Jawa>
- Korver, A. P. E. (1985). *Sarekat Islam: Gerakan Ratu Adil?* Temprint.
- Kumar, D. (2011, March). *Political Islam: A Marxist Analysis*. International Socialist Review. <https://isreview.org/issue/76/political-islam-marxist-analysis/>
- Kumparan.com. (2020, December 30). *FPI dan HTI, Ormas yang Dibubarkan di Era Pemerintahan Jokowi*. Kumparan.Com. <https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/fpi-dan-hti-ormas-yang-dibubarkan-di-era-pemerintahan-jokowi-lusekNqvI3A/2>
- Kurniawan, K. M. (2018). *Kuasa & Kepentingan: Hubungan Gali & Parpol di Yogyakarta 1977-1982*. Dialog Pustaka.



- Kwartanada, D. (2002). Competition, Patriotism and Collaboration: The Chinese Businessmen of Yogyakarta between the 1930s and 1945. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 257–277.
- Laclau, E. (2005). *On Populist Reason*. Verso.
- Lanti, I. G., Ebih, A., & Dermawan, W. (2019). *Examining the Growth of Islamic Conservatism in Indonesia: the Case of West Java*. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/344034896>
- Latief, H. (2022). The Masyumi Networks and the Proliferation of Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia (1945-1965). *Brill*, 178(4), 477–502. <https://doi.org/10.2307/48696835>
- Li, T. M. (2013). Jobless growth and relative surplus populations. *Anthropology Today*, 29(3), 1–2.
- Liddle, R. W. (1996). The Islamic Turn in Indonesia: A Political Explanation. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 55(3), 613–634.
- Madinier, R. (2015). *ISLAM and POLITICS in INDONESIA: The Masyumi Party Between Democracy and Integralism*. NUS Press. www.nus.edu.sg/nuspress
- Magalhães, P. T. (2022). Charisma and Democracy: Max Weber on the Riddle of Political Change in Modern Societies. *Topoi*, 41(1), 69–78. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11245-021-09761-2>
- Maknun, Moch. L. (2016). Idealisme Kelompok Keagamaan dalam Konstelasi Kebangsaan: Analisis Wacana Kritis Bahan Literatur Front Jihad Islam (FJI) Yogyakarta. In J. T. Haryanto (Ed.), *Radikalisme dan Kebangsaan: Gerakan Sosia dan Literatur Organisasi Keagamaan Islam* (1st ed., pp. 203–228). CV. Arti Bumi Intiran.
- Manggasari, E. R. (2019). Kota Sebelum Mesin: Yogyakarta Periode 1950an-1970an. *Lembaran Sejarah*, 15(2), 121–143.
- Markou, G. (2020). Left-wing Populism and Anti-imperialism: The Paradigm of SYRIZA. *Kairos: A Journal of Critical Symposium*, 5(1).
- Marx, K. (1887). *Capital* (F. Engels, Ed.; S. Moore & E. Aveling, Trans.; Vol. 1). Progress Publishers.
- McGregor, K., Melvin, J., & Pohlman, A. (2018). New Interpretation of the Causes, Dynamics, and Legacies of the Indonesian Genocide. In K. McGregor, J. Melvin, & A. Pohlman (Eds.), *The Indonesian Genocide of 1965: Causes, Dynamics, and Legacies*. Palgrave Macmillan. <http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14582>
- McVey, R. T. (1965). *The Rise of Indonesian Communism*. Cornell University Press.
- Megawati, E. (2014). *Propaganda Khilafah Islamiyah di Era Demokrasi: Studi Kasus Strategi Komunikasi Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta daiam*

Mempropagandakan Khilafah Islamiyah di Era Demokrasi [Skripsi]. Universitas Gadjah Mada.

- Mietzner, M. (2009). *Military Politics, Islam, and the State in Indonesia: From Turbulent Transition to Democratic Consolidation*. ISEAS Publishing.
- Mietzner, M. (2015). *Reinventing Asian Populism: Jokowi's Rise, Democracy, and Political Contestation in Indonesia*.
- Mietzner, M. (2018). Fighting illiberalism with illiberalism: Islamist populism and democratic deconsolidation in Indonesia. *Pacific Affairs*, 91(2), 261–282.
<https://doi.org/10.5509/2018912261>
- Mietzner, M. (2020). Rival populisms and the democratic crisis in Indonesia: chauvinists, Islamists and technocrats. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 74(4), 420–438.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2020.1725426>
- Mietzner, M., & Muhtadi, B. (2018). Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation. *Asian Studies Review*, 42(3), 479–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1473335>
- Mietzner, M., Muhtadi, B., & Halida, R. (2020). Entrepreneurs of Grievance: Drivers and effects of Indonesia's islamist mobilization. In *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Vol. 174, Issues 2–3). Brill Academic Publishers.
<https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-17402026>
- Miichi, K. (2019). Urban Sufi and politics in contemporary Indonesia. *South East Asia Research*, 27(3), 225–237. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26843416>
- Millie, J. (2012, February 4). *One year after the Cikeusik tragedy*. Inside Indonesia.
<https://www.insideindonesia.org/archive/articles/one-year-after-the-cikeusik-tragedy>
- Moffitt, Benjamin. (2016). *The global rise of populism : performance, political style, and representation*. Stanford University Press.
- Morelock, J. (2018). Introduction. In J. Morelock (Ed.), *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*. University of Westminster Press.
- Mudde, C. (2004). The populist zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 542–563.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x>
- Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2015). Political Islam and Religious Violence in Post-New Order. *MASYARAKAT: Jurnal Sosiologi*, 20, 1–22.
<https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/mjshttps://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/mjs/vol20/iss1/2>



- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2017). Islamic Militias and Capitalist Development in Post-Authoritarian Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 47(4), 495–514.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2017.1336564>
- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2018, January 23). *Aliansi Populis Islam yang Terfragmentasi*. IndoPROGRESS. <https://indoprogress.com/2018/01/aliansi-populis-islam-yang-terfragmentasi/>
- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2020). Islamic populism and Indonesia's illiberal democracy. In T. Power & E. Warburton (Eds.), *Democracy in Indonesia: From Stagnation to Regression?* ISEAS Publishing.
- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2022). *State of Disorder: Privatised Violence and the State in Indonesia*. Springer Nature. <https://link.springer.com/bookseries/16279>
- Mudzakkir, A. (2014, January 30). *Islam dan Liberalisme di Indonesia Pasca 1965*. Indoprogress. <https://indoprogress.com/2014/01/islam-dan-liberalisme-di-indonesia-pasca-1965/>
- Muhsin, I. (2012). Gerakan penegakan syariah: Studi gerakan sosial Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia di DIY. *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan*, 12(2).
- Mujani, S. (2022). Behavioural Approaches to Muslim Politics: The State of the Art. *Muslim Politics Review*, 1(1), 41–57. <https://journal.uiii.ac.id/index.php/mpr>
- Munjid, A. (2009). Militant and Liberal Islam: The Unwanted Twin Children of Modernization-Indonesian Experience. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 3(1), 35–68.
- Murtadho, R. (2017). Aksi Bela Islam: Antara Bela Agama dan Bela Oligarki . In D. Mulyanto & C. H. Pontoh (Eds.), *Bela Islam atau Bela Oligarki? Pertalian Agama, Politik, dan Kapitalisme di Indonesia*. Pustaka IndoPROGRESS dan Islam Bergerak.
- Nakamura, M. (2012). *The Crescent Arises over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town, c.1910s-2010* (2nd ed.). ISEAS Publishing.
- Nathan, A. (2022, January 26). *Fetisisme Usaha Kecil ala Populisme Ekonomi yang Tak Selalu Indah*. IndoPROGRESS. <https://indoprogress.com/2022/01/fetisisme-usaha-kecil-ala-populisme-ekonomi-yang-tidak-selalu-indah/>
- Olsson, S. (2021). Hizb ut-Tahrir's caliphal counter-narrative. *Religions*, 12(7).
<https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12070486>
- Ostiguy, P. (2009). *The High and the Low in Politics: A Two-Dimensional Political Space for Comparative Analysis and Electoral*. <https://doi.org/10.7274/26126035.v1>
- Panizza, F. (2005). *Populism and the mirror of democracy*. Verso.



- PKS Yogyakarta. (2023, November 6). *Aksi Simpati untuk Palestina, Caleg PKS Gelar Khotmil Qur'an dan Do'a Bersama*. PKS Yogyakarta. <https://jogja.pks.id/2023/11/aksi-simpat-untuk-palestina-caleg-pks-gelar-khotmil-quran-dan-doa-bersama.html>
- Platt, M., Davies, S. G., & Bennett, L. R. (2018). Contestations of Gender, Sexuality and Morality in Contemporary Indonesia. In *Asian Studies Review* (Vol. 42, Issue 1, pp. 1–15). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1409698>
- Porter, D. J. (2002). *Managing Politics and Islam in Indonesia*. RoutledgeCurzon.
- Post, P. (1996). *The formation of the pribumi business elite in Indonesia, 1930s-1940s* (Vol. 152).
- Qodir, Z., Sing, B., & Misran, M. (2023). Vigilante groups in Indonesia since the 2019 election: actors, movements, agency, and networking. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 31(3), 287–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2023.2285928>
- Raharjo, H. (2019). *Metamorfosis Sarekat Islam: Gerakan Politik Islam dan Munculnya Kesadaran Nasional* (1st ed.). Media Pressindo.
- Rakhmani, I. (2017). Mainstreaming Islam in Indonesia: Television, Identity, and the Middle Class. In *Mainstreaming Islam in Indonesia: Television, Identity, and the Middle Class*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-54880-1>
- Rakhmani, I., & Saraswati, M. S. (2021). Authoritarian Populism in Indonesia: The Role of the Political Campaign Industry in Engineering Consent and Coercion. *Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*, 40(3), 436–460.
- Ridha, M. (2017, July 7). *Sekali lagi tentang “Merebut Populisme” (Bagian 2)*. IndoPROGRESS. <https://indoprogress.com/2017/08/sekali-lagi-tentang-merebut-populisme-bagian-2/>
- Ritchie, J., & Lewis, J. (2003). *Qualitative research practice : a guide for social science students and researchers*. Sage Publications.
- Robison, R. (1988). Authoritarian States, Capital-Ownning Classes, and the Politics of Newly Industrializing Countries: The Case of Indonesia. *World Politics*, 41(1), 52–74. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2010479>
- Robison, R. (2009). *Indonesia: The Rise of Capital* (1st ed., Vol. 1). Equinox Publishing.
- Robison, R., & Hadiz, V. R. (2004). *Reorganising Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Markets*. RoutledgeCurzon.
- Robison, R., & Hadiz, V. R. (2020). Populism in Southeast Asia: a vehicle for reform or a tool for despots? In T. Carroll, S. Hameiri, & L. Jones (Eds.), *The Political Economy of*

- Rock-Singer, A. (2020). Practices of piety: An alternative approach to the study of Islamic movements. *Religions*, 11(10), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11100520>
- Roosa, J. (2006). *Pretext for Mass Murder: The September 30th Movement & Suharto's Coup D'etat in Indonesia* (Vol. 1). The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Rozaki, A., Bramantyo, Purnomo, J., Kurniawan, N. I., Eko, S., Zamroni, S., & Hariyanto, T. (2003). *Membongkar Mitos Keistimewaan Yogyakarta* (A. Rozaki & T. Hariyanto, Eds.). Institute for Research and Empowerment.
- Ruwaifi. (2016). Bom Waktu Komunisme. *Asy-Syariah*, 1, Edisi Khusus, 3–12.
- Saefullah, H. (2020). Jihad Against the Ghazwul Fikri: Actors and Mobilization Strategies of the Islamic Underground Movement. In N. Saat & A. N. Burhani (Eds.), *The New Santri: Challenges to Traditional Religious Authority in Indonesia* (pp. 1–369). ISEAS Publishing.
- Sangadji, A. (2021). Neoliberalisme Pengalaman Indonesia. In C. H. Pontoh (Ed.), *Neoliberalisme: Konsep dan Praktiknya di Indonesia* (pp. 116–182). Pustaka IndoPROGRESS.
- Santoso, J. D. (2017). *Gerakan Politik Islam: Studi Tentang Mobilisasi Sumber Daya Pada Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah (FUI) Yogyakarta* [Skripsi]. Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Satya, P. A. N. I. P. (2013). *Perbandingan Kekerasan dalam Strategi Gerakan Front Pembela Islam dan Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia di Provinsi Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Savirani, A. (2020). POST-ELECTION POLITICS IN INDONESIA: Between Economic Growth and Increased Islamic Conservatism. *Source: Southeast Asian Affairs*, 137–154. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26938888>
- Scoones, I., Edelman, M., Borras Jr, S. M., Hall, R., Wolford, W., & White, B. (2021). Emancipatory rural politics: confronting authoritarian populism . In I. Scoones, M. Edelman, S. M. Borras Jr, R. Hall, W. Wolford, & B. White (Eds.), *Authoritarian Populism and the Rural World*. Routledge.
- Sebastian, L. C., Hasyim, S., & Arifianto, A. R. (2021). Intoduction: Rising Islamic conservatism in Indonesia: Islamic groups and identity politics. In L. C. Sebastian, S. Hasyim, & A. R. Arifianto (Eds.), *Rising Islamic Conservatism in Indonesia: Islamic Groups and Identity Politics* (pp. 1–13). Routledge.



- Setiawan, K. (2016, March 3). *The fear of communism still haunts Indonesia*. Indonesia at Melbourne. <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/belok-kiri-fest-fear-of-communism-still-haunts-indonesia/>
- Sheingate, A., & Greer, A. (2021). Populism, Politicization and Policy Change in US and UK Agro-food Policies. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 23(5–6), 544–560. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13876988.2020.1749518>
- Shiraishi, T. (1990). *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926* (1st ed.). Cornell University Press.
- Sidel, J. T. (2006). *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press.
- Sidel, J. T. (2021). *Republicanism, Communism, Islam: Cosmopolitan Origins of Revolution in Southeast Asia*. Cornell University Press.
- Sidik, F., & Habibi, M. (2023). A Prize for the Village Ruling Class: “Village Funds” and Class Dynamics in Rural Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2023.2193968>
- Sodik, M., & Sujibto, B. (2019). The NU’s Youths among The Radical Movements in Yogyakarta. *1st Annual Internatioal Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities*.
- Soesastro, M. H. (1989). The Political Economy of Deregulation in Indonesia. *Asian Survey*, 29(9), 853–869.
- Solahudin. (2011). *NII Sampai Ji: Salafy Jihadisme di Indonesia*. Komunitas Bambu.
- Stavrakakis, Y., Kioupiolis, A., Katsambekis, G., Nikisianis, N., & Siomos, T. (2016). Contemporary Left-wing Populism in Latin America: Leadership, Horizontalism, and Postdemocracy in Chávez’s Venezuela. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 58(3), 51–76. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2016.00318.x>
- Sunardi, S. (2019). Islamic Populism: Asymmetrical, Multi-Class Coalition-Based Social Mobilization. *Jurnal Politik*, 4(2), 18. <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v4i2.1048>
- Supriatma, M. (2017, December 17). *Pasang Naik Populisme Kanan?* IndoPROGRESS. <https://indoprogress.com/2017/12/pasang-naik-populisme-kanan/>
- Susilo, J. (2021). *Neoliberalisasi Pendidikan Tinggi Restrukturalisasi Institusi dan Perlawanan Gerakan Mahasiswa Studi Pasca PTNBH 2012-2020*. Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Suwarno. (2015). Muhammadiyah dan Masyumi di Yogyakarta, 1945-1960. *Patrawidya*, 16(3), 407–428.



Syaifulah, K., Prasodjo, N. W., & Sunito, S. (2022). Islamic Populism in Rural Indonesia: An Agrarian Change Approach. *Sodality: Jurnal Sosiologi Pedesaan*, 10(2), 129–143.

<https://doi.org/10.22500/10202241093>

Temby, Q. (2010). Imagining an Islamic State in Indonesia: From Darul Islam to Jemaah Islamiyah. *Cornell University Press*, 89, 1–36. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20798213>

tempo.co. (2012, May 9). *Buntut Diskusi Irshad Manji, Majelis Mujahidin Serang LKiS*.

Tempo.Co. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/402825/buntut-diskusi-irshad-manji-majelis-mujahidin-serang-lkis>

tempo.co. (2016, December 1). *Demo 212, Sekitar 1.000 Warga Yogya ke Jakarta*. Tempo.Co. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/824626/demo-212-sekitar-1-000-warga-yogya-ke-jakarta>

tempo.co. (2020, October 10). *Rizieq Shihab Calls for Moral Revolution upon Arrival Home*. Tempo.Co. <https://en.tempo.co/read/1404050/rizieq-shihab-calls-for-moral-revolution-upon-arrival-home>

tirto.id. (2019, February 28). *Respons PPP Khittah & PDIP Soal Ricuh Kedatangan Prabowo di Yogya*. Tirto.Id. <https://tirto.id/respons-ppp-khittah-pdip-soal-ricuh-kedatangan-prabowo-di-yogya-dhXJ>

tirto.id. (2020, October 13). *Sejumlah Ormas Islam Tolak UU Cipta Kerja*. Tirto.Id. <https://tirto.id/sejumlah-ormas-islam-tolak-uu-cipta-kerja-f5Ur>

Tjandraningsih, I. (2013). State-Sponsored Precarious Work in Indonesia. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(4), 403–419. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764212466236>

Umar, A. R. M. (2017, December 14). *Populisme Sayap Kanan dan Transformasi Ekonomi-Politik Global: Tambahan untuk Perdebatan*. IndoPROGRESS. <https://indoprogress.com/2017/12/populisme-sayap-kanan-dan-transformasi-ekonomi-politik-global-tambahan-untuk-perdebatan/>

van Bruinessen, M. (2002). Genealogies of Islamic radicalism in post-Suharto Indonesia. *Source: South East Asia Research*, 10(2), 117–154.

van Bruinessen, M. (2013a). Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the “Conservative Turn” of the Early Twenty-First Century. In *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining “Conservative Turn”* (pp. 1–20). ISEAS Publishing.

van Bruinessen, M. (2013b). Overview of Muslim Organizations, Associations and Movements In Indonesia. In M. van Bruinessen (Ed.), *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the “Conservative Turn.”* ISEAS.

van Dijk, K. (2002). *A Country in Despair: Indonesia Between 1997 and 2000*. KITLV Press.



- van Dijk, K. (2007). *The Nederland Indies and The Great War, 1914-1918*. KITLV Press.
- van Klinken, G. (2007). *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars* (New York). Routledge.
- VOA Indonesia. (2012, May 9). *Diskusi Irshad Manji di Yogyakarta Dibubarkan*.
https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/diskusi_irshad_manji_di_yogya_dibubarkan/416845.html
- Warburton, E. (2016). Jokowi and the New Developmentalism. *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 52(3), 297–320. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2016.1249262>
- Warburton, E. (2018). A New Developmentalism in Indonesia? *Journal of Southeast Asian Economies*, 35(3, Special Issue: The Indonesian Economy in Transition: Policy Challenges in the Jokowi Era and Beyond (Part II)), 355–368. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26545318>
- Warburton, E. (2020). How polarised is Indonesia and why does it matter? In T. Power & T. Warburton (Eds.), *Democracy in Indonesia: From Stagnation to Regression?* (1st ed., pp. 63–80). ISEAS Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Warburton, E., & Gammon, L. (2017, May 5). *Class dismissed? Economic fairness and identity politics in Indonesia*. New Mandala. <https://www.newmandala.org/economic-injustice-identity-politics-indonesia/>
- wartaekonomi.co.id. (2020, October 9). *FPI ke Pemerintah: UU Cipta Kerja Cuma Manjakan Aseng dan Asing!* Wartaekonomi.Co.Id. <https://wartaekonomi.co.id/read308262/fpi-ke-pemerintah-uu-cipta-kerja-cuma-manjakan-aseng-dan-asing>
- Weber, M. (1978). *Max Weber: Selections in Translation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wertheim, W. F. (1955). Changes in Indonesia's Social Stratification. *Pacific Affairs*, 28(1), 41–52. <https://about.jstor.org/terms>
- Weyland, K. (2001). *Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics*. 34(1), 1–22.
- Wicaksono, P. (2024, October 29). *Ribuan Santri Datangi Polda DIY, Minta Kasus Penusukan dan Pengeroyokan di Prawirotaman Disusut Tuntas*. Tempo.Co.
<https://www.tempo.co/hukum/ribuan-santri-datangi-polda-diy-minta-kasus-penusukan-dan-pengeroyokan-di-prawirotaman-diusut-tuntas-1161086>
- Widayanto, A. (2017). Violence in Contemporary Indonesian Islamist Scholarship: Habib Rizieq Syihab and “enjoining good and forbidding evil.” In *Islamic Peace Ethics: Legitimate and Illegitimate Violence in Contemporary Islamic Thought* (1st ed., pp. 87–112). Nomos. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv941t4z.8>



- Widian, R., Satya, P. A. N. I. P., & Yazid, S. (2022). Religion in Indonesia's Elections: An Implementation of a Populist Strategy? *Politics and Religion*, 16(2), 351–373.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048321000195>
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2001). The New Global Threat: Transnational Salafis and Jihad. *Middle East Policy*, 8(4), 18–38.
- Wilson, I. D. (2014a). Morality Racketeering: Vigilantism and Populist Islamic Militancy in Indonesia. In K. B. Teik, V. R. Hadiz, & Y. Nakanishi (Eds.), *Between Dissent and Power The Transformation of Islamic Politics in the Middle East and Asia*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wilson, I. D. (2014b). RESISTING DEMOCRACY: Front Pembela Islam and Indonesia's 2014 Elections. In *ISEAS Perspective*. ISEAS Publishing.
<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814620840-007>
- Wilson, I. D. (2017, May 2). *Ian Wilson and Marcus Mietzner on the Jakarta election*. New Mandala. <https://www.newmandala.org/video-debrief-jakarta-election/>
- Wilson, I. D. (2018). Resisting Democracy: Front Pembela Islam and Indonesia's 2014 Elections. In *ISEAS Perspective*. ISEAS Publishing.
<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814620840-007>
- Wilson, I. D. (2019). *Politik Jatah Preman: Ormas dan Kuasa Jalanan di Indonesia Pasca Orde Baru* (2nd ed.). Marjin Kiri.
- Woodward, M., Yahya, M., Rohmaniyah, I., Coleman, D. M., Lundry, C., & Amin, A. (2014). The Islamic Defenders Front: Demonization, Violence and the State in Indonesia. *Contemporary Islam*, 8(2), 153–171. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-013-0288-1>
- Yasih, D. W. P., & Hadiz, V. R. (2023). Precarity and Islamism in Indonesia: the contradictions of neoliberalism. *Critical Asian Studies*, 55(1), 83–104.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2022.2145980>
- Yasih, D. W. P., & Rakhmani, I. (2024). Maintaining Life Under Neoliberal Capitalism: A Case Study of Muslimah Laborers in Solo Raya, Indonesia. *Studia Islamika*, 31(3).
- Yilmaz, I., & Barton, G. (2021). *Populism, Violence, and Vigilantism in Indonesia: Rizieq Shihab and His Far-Right Islamist Populism*. www.populismstudies.org
- Yilmaz, I., & Morieson, N. (2021). A systematic literature review of populism, religion and emotions. *Religions*, 12(4). <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12040272>