

REFERENCES

- Abbas, Hassan, and Zahra Hassan, “Contrary to Western Understanding, Islam Is a Liberal Faith”, *The Unpopulist*, Feb 23, 2024
- Abidin, M. Z., & Hafizah, Y. (2019). Conflict and Integration in The Salafi-Wahabi Purification Movement in South Kalimantan. *Wawasan: Jurnal Ilmiah Agama Dan Sosial Budaya*, 4(2), 191–201. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jw.v4i2.6194>. silvia
- Adeni, Silviatul Hasanah, “Considering the Moderate Da’wah Path of the Purist Salafism: Rodja TV Community Case,” Icoresh Paper, 2019. idham
- Adinugraha, Hendri Hermawan, Mila Sartika, Ahmad Hasan Asy’ari Ulama’i, “Halal Lifestyle di Indonesia”, *An-Nisbah: Jurnal Ekonomi Syariah*, Volume 05, Nomor 02, April 2019.
- Afrianty, Dina, *Women and Sharia Law in Northern Indonesia: Local Women’s NGOs and the Reform of Islamic Law in Aceh*, Routledge, New York, 2015.
- Agustina, Isna Fitria, et al., “Political Hoaxes in the Post-Truth Era: An Islamic Political Analysis,”. *Al Istimbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam*, (2023), 8(2), 645-666. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.29240/jhi.v8i2.8457>
- Ahmed, Rumei, *Narratives of Islamic Legal Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Ahok: Udah Tionghoa, Nonmuslim, dari Belitung Pula, <https://metro.tempo.co/read/609807/ahok-udah-tionghoa-nonmuslim-dari-belitung-pula/full&view=ok>, retrieved on May 5th, 2021.
- Akbar, Hikmatul, Noorhaidi Hasan, and Dicky Sofjan, “Sacred Text Narratives and Religious Violence: The Case of Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in Indonesia,” *Jurnal Afkaruna*, Vol. 19 No. 2 December 2023 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18196/afkaruna.v19i2.16884>.
- Al Makin, (2017). *Plurality, Religiosity, and Patriotism: Critical Insights into Indonesia and Islam* (Vol. 5). Suka Press.
- Al-Amin, Ainur Rofiq, *Khilafah HTI dalam Timbangan [HTI Caliphate Reconsidered]*, Jakarta: Pustaka Harakatuna, 2017.
- Alamri, Ibtisam Ali, *The Hijab Between Men and Women in Saudi Society*, A Dissertation, The University of Leeds, 2023.

- Alamsyah, et al., “The Politicization of Religion in Indonesia (The Use of Hadith on Jihad and Hijra in General Election in Indonesia)”, *International Journal of Religion*, Volume: 5, Number 11, 2024, pp. 6022 – 6030, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.61707/9gk37d81>
- Albarran, Javier. (2021). The Almohads and the “Qur’anization” of War Narrative and Ritual. *Religions* 12: 876. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12100876>
- Al-Ghazali, Shaykh Muhammad, Translated from the Arabic by Ashur A. Shamis, Revised by Zaynab Alawiye, *A Thematic Commentary on The Qur’an*, International Institute of Islamic Thought, Herndon- Virginia, 2000.
- Alhirthani, Mahmoud Mohammad, *Edward Said in Arabic Narrativity and Paratextual Framing*, PhD Thesis, University, Manchester, 2009.
- Alif, Naufaldi, Laily Maftukhatul, and Majidatun Ahmala, “Akulturasi Budaya Jawa dan Islam Melalui Dakwah Sunan Kalijaga,” *Al Adalah*, October 2020, 23(2):143-162, DOI: 10.35719/aladalah.v23i2.32
- Al-Jabali, Khaled Hassan, and Adlleh Qasim Shehada Eid, Conflicting Historical Texts in Tariq bin Ziyad's Life, *Journal of Ecohumanism* 2024 Volume: 3, No: 4, pp. 857 – 870 ISSN: 2752-6798 (Print) | ISSN 2752-6801 (Online) <https://ecohumanism.co.uk/joe/ecohumanism> DOI: <https://doi.org/10.62754/joe.v3i4.3488>.
- Allen, Roger, *Selected Studies In Modern Arabic Narrative: History, Genre, Translation*, (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2019).
- Almanhaj, “Obligations Follow Understanding The Salafush Shalih” <https://almanhaj.or.id/25612-kewajiban-mengikuti-pemahaman-salafush-shalih.html>
- Altwaiji, Mubarak. (2021). The rise of fundamentalist narratives - a post-9/11 legacy? Toward understanding American fundamentalist discourse, *Cogent Social Sciences*, 7:1, 1970441, DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2021.1970441
- Alvian, Rizky Alif, and Irfan Ardhani, “The Politics of Moderate Islam in Indonesia, Between International Pressure and Domestic Contestations,” *Al-Jāmi‘ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 61, no. 1 (2023), pp. 19-57, doi: 10.14421/ajis.2023.611.19-57.
- Amanullah, Mahasin Haikal, and Muhammad Adip Fanani. (2024). Sunni-Shia Views of the Status of ‘Adalah’s Companions of the Prophet. *LECTURES: Journal of Islamic and Education Studies*, 3(2), 83–101. <https://doi.org/10.58355/lectures.v3i2.86>.
- American Foreign Policy Council, *Hizb Ut Tahrir – Ata Abu Rashta, Leader, Word Almanac of Islamism*, 2012.

- Aminah, St, et al., “Countering Radicalism through Increasing Peaceful Da’wah, to Indonesia Student” *The Seybold Report*, Vol 17 (7), DOI 10.5281/zenodo.6891866.
- Aminuddin, Ahsani Taqwim, “Counter-Narrative of Terrorism and Religion Violence in Islamic Boarding School” *Bappenas Working Papers*, 48 Vol II No. 1 – Maret 2019.
- Aminulloh, Akhirul, et al.. “The 2019 Indonesian Presidential Election: Propaganda in Post-Truth”. *Nyimak Journal of Communication*, (2021), 5(1): 135–150.
- Ammar, Khashan, “The Quran’s Prohibition of Khamr (Intoxicants): A Historical and Legal Analysis for the Sake of Contemporary Islamic Economics”, *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies*, 9 (March 2016), pp.97–112.
- Aprianoro, Muhamad Subhi, and Rizki Dwi Putra Rosadi, “Political Interpretation of the Caliphate Verse in The Qur’an by Sunni and Shia,” *Proceeding of the 4th International Conference on Islamic studies – ICIS*, Pekalongan Indonesia, 2021.
- Arif, M. Q. 'Ainul, & Wardhani, E. M. (2023). Indonesian Islamic Populism and Global Framing: A Content Analysis of the 212 Demonstration by the Greatpowers’ News Agencies. *The Journal of Society and Media*, 6(2), 486–507. <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v6n2.p486-507>
- Arifianto, Alexander, “Invisible Islamism in Indonesia’s 2024 elections”, *East Asia Forum*, 22 July 2023.
- Arifianto, Alexander, “The State of Political Islam in Indonesia,” *Asia Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (October 2020), pp. 111-132.
- As’ad, *Politik Identitas dan Gerakan Sosial Islam: Studi atas Frot Pembela Islam*, (Tangerang: Transwacana Press, 2016)
- Asad, Talal, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).
- Asad, Talal, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995).
- Aspinall, Edward, and Greg Fealy, *Soeharto's New Order and its Legacy: Essays in honour of Harold Crouch*, ANU ePress, Canberra Australia, 2010, DOI: 10.26530/OAPEN_459541.
- Asroni, Ahmad, “Pemikiran Ahmad Syafii Maarif Tentang Negara Dan Syariat Islam Di Indonesia [Ahmad Syafii Maarif’s Thoughts on the State and Islamic Sharia in Indonesia],” *Millah* 10, no. 2 (2011), 361.

- Aswar, Hasbi, "Secular Perspective on The Islamic Political Discourses in Indonesia: A Critical Analysis Article," *Jurnal Kajian Peradaban Islam*, June 2021, 4(2):2021, DOI: 10.47076/jkps.v4i2.64.
- Aswar, Hasbi, et al., "Pertarungan Narasi Islam dalam Pemilihan Presiden Tahun 2019," *Politea: Jurnal Pemikiran Politik Islam*, Vol. 5, No. 2 Tahun 2022, DOI : 10.21043/politea.v5i2.17265
- Aziz, Abdul, and Debi Arlianto, "Islam Nusantara: Ambiguity, Cultural Strategy or Originality (A Historical Studies)," *Batuthah: Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, Vol. 02 No. 01 (2023): 12-30.
- Azra, Azyumardi, *Indonesia, Islam, and Democracy: Dynamics in a Global Context*, Jakarta: Equinox Publishing, 2006.
- Baeq, Daniel Shinjong, and Sam Kim, *Prophets in the Qur'an and the Bible*, WIPF and Stock Publishers, Eugene, Oregon, May 2022.
- Bartsch, Hans Werner, (ed.), *Kerygma and Myth by Rudolf Bultmann and Five Critics (1953)*, (London: S.P.C.K., HarperCollins, 2000).
- Basya, M. Hilaly, "The concept of religious pluralism in Indonesia: a study of the MUI's fatwaand the debate among Muslimscholars," *IJIMS, Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Volume 1, Number 1, June 2011: 69-93
- Basya, M. Hilaly, *Religious Leaders and Democratic Transition in Post-New Order Indonesia: A Study on the Role of Muhammadiyah Scholars in Reducing Radical Islamic Movements*, Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, 2010.
- Batam Today. (2017). "FPI Minta Kepolisian Konsisten Memberantas Segala Jenis Judi di Bintan" (15/12/2017) <http://m.batamtoday.com/berita102482-FPI-Minta-Kepolisian-Konsisten-Memberantas-Segala-Jenis-Judi-di-Bintan.html>, accessed 17 November 2018.
- Benda, Harry J., *The Crescent and The Rising Sun : Indonesian Islam Under The Japanese Occupation 1942-1945*, The Hague, Amsterdam, 1958.
- Benford, Robert and Snow, David. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 26. 611–639. 10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611.
- Benford, Robert D., and David A. Snow, *Annual Review of Sociology Volume 26, 2000, Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment*, Vol. 26:611-639 (Volume publication date August 2000) <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611>.

- Berger, Peter L., *The Sacred Canopy, Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 2011.)
- Bogdan, Robert, and Sari Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education*, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1992), p. 21.
- Bubalo, Anthony, and Gregory Fealy, *Joining the caravan? The Middle East, Islamism and Indonesia*, Lowy Institute Papers, 12 March 2005.
- Burdah, Ibnu, "Growing Exclusion of The Majority: The "Triumph of Wahhabism" and Its Threat to Indonesian Islam in the Democratic Society", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Volume 17, Number 01, June 2023.
- Burhani, Ahmad Najib, 2018. "Plural Islam and Contestation of Religious Authority in Indonesia" In *Islam in Indonesia: Negotiating Modernity*, edited by Norshahril Saat, pp. 140–63. Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute.
- Burhanuddin, Jajat, and Kees van Dijk, *Islam in Indonesia, Contrasting Images and Interpretation*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2013.
- Bustomi, Rafdi Ghufuran, *Analisis Framing Pemberitaan Kasus Demo 212 Di Media Online CNNIndonesia.com dan Metrotvnews.com*. Skripsi(S1) thesis, Universitas Pasundan Bandung, 2017.
- Cevik, Neslihan, *Muslimism in Turkey in Beyond: Religion in the Modern World*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Chaplin, Chris, (2018) "Salafi Islamic piety as civic activism: Wahdah Islamiyah and differentiated citizenship in Indonesia," *Citizenship Studies*, 22 (2). pp. 208-223. DOI: 10.1080/13621025.2018.1445488
- Chin,Neo Chai, and Lewa Pardomuan, No 'fuss about each other's religion': Where lies Indonesia's guard against extremism? *CNA Insider*, 03 Jun 2023.
- CNN Indonesia. (2018). "Sweeping Laskar FPI di Pamekasan Atas Koordinasi Mabes LPI" (22/01/2018), <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20180122160831-20-270747/sweeping-laskar-fpi-di-pamekasan-atas-koordinasi-mabes-lpi> , accessed 19 November 2018.
- Crouch, Melissa. (2009). *Indonesia, Militant Islam, and Ahmadiyah: Origins and Implications*. Melbourne: Melbourne University School of Law Islam, Syari'ah and Governance Background Paper Series.
- Crow, Karim Douglas, "David Levering Lewis - God's Crucible: Islam and the Making of Europe, 570-1215", *ICR Journal*, 1(2):367-371, December 2009, DOI: 10.52282/icr.v1i2.756.

- Danial, “Corak Penafsiran Al-Qur’an Periode Klasik Hingga Modern”, *Hikmah*, Vol. Xv, No. 2, 2019.
- Dastmalchian, Amir, Hick’s Theory of Religion and the Traditional Islamic Narrative, *Sophia – Springer Science*, (2013), DOI 10.1007/s11841-013-0374-0
- Dijkink, Gertjan. 2006. Olivier Roy, Globalized Islam. The Search for a New Ummah. *GeoJournal*. 67. 10.1007/s10708-007-9064-1.
- Dilthey, Wilhelm, “on Historical Understanding and Interpretation of Sacred Text, which was carefully examined and commented”, on by Schmidt, on Lawrence K. Schmidt, *Understanding Hermeneutics*, (Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited, 2010).
- Djidin, M., and Sahiron Syamsuddin, “Indonesian Interpretation Of The Qur’an On Khilāfah: The Case Of Quraish Shihab And Yudian Wahyudi On Qur’an 2: 30-38,” *Al-Jāmi ‘ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 57, no. 1 (2019), pp.143-166, doi: 10.14421/ajis.2019.57143-166
- Djuyandi, Yusa, and Rahmah Ramadhani, “The Effectiveness of Political Identity in Post 212 Movement”, *Central European Journal of International and Security Studies - CEJISS*, 2019, Issue 13, no. 4: 456–468.
- Donner, Fred M., *Narratives of Islamic Origins The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, (Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc. 1998),
- Dorsey, James M., Indonesia Set to Take on China and Claim Leadership of “Moderate” Islam, *BESA Center Perspectives Paper*, No. 1,902, January 25, 2021.
- Duderija, Adis, and Ghulam Rasool, "Bilal Philips as a Proponent of Neo-Traditional Salafism and His Significance for Understanding Salafism in the West," *Religions*, 2019, vol 10, number 371; doi:10.3390/rel10060371.
- Duile, Timo, “Islam, Politics, and Cyber Tribalism in Indonesia A Case Study on the Front Pembela Islam”, *International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, Vol. 48/ 2017 3–4, pp. 249–272.
- Dupret, Baudouin, Barbara Drieskens, and Annelies Moors (eds.), *Narratives of Truth in Islamic Law*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).
- Dzukroni, Arisy Abror, and Muhammad Tareh Aziz, “Quo Vadis Modern Salafism: Re-Questioning Salafi's Moderation Value on Social Media,” *ISLAMIKA INSIDE: Jurnal Keislaman dan Humaniora*,
- El Fadl, Khaled Abou, *Speaking in God’s Name: Islamic Law, Authority and Woman*, (London: Oneworld Publications, 2014).

- El Fadl, Khaled Abou. (2014). *Speaking in God's Name: Islamic Law, Authority and Woman*, London: Oneworld Publications.
- Entman, Robert M. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Entman, Robert M., "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication*, Vol 43, No. 4, 1993.
- Eriyanto, *Analisis Framing: Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media*, LKis, Yogyakarta, 2011.
- Esposito, John L., John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001.
- Euben, Roxanne L., *Enemy in the Mirror: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Limits of Modern Rationalism: A Work of Comparative Political Theory*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)
- Farih, Amin, "Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan Kontribusinya dalam Memperjuangkan Kemerdekaan Dan Mempertahankan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI)", *Walisono: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, Vol. 24 No. 2, November 2016, 251-284, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21580/ws.2016.24.2.969251>
- Fealy, Greg, and Sally White (eds.), *Expressing Islam, Religious Life, and Politics in Indonesia*, (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2008), p. 2.
- Fealy, Greg, *Bigger than Ahok: Explaining The December 2nd Mass Rally*, <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/bigger-than-ahok-explaining-jakartas-2-december-mass-rally/>, retrieved May 4th, 2021.
- Febriansyah, Denny, and Dawoud Sudqi el-Alami, Moderate Islam vis-a-vis Salafism in Indonesia: An Ideological Competition, *Walisono: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, Vol. 29 No.1 (2021) pp. 55-78, DOI: 10.21580/ws.29.1.7212.
- Febriyanto, "Framing Structure in Radical Islamic Group Social Movements: Case Study Of Jama'Ah Ansharu Khilafah Daulah Nusantara (JADKN) and Jamaah Ansharusy Syariah (JAS)," *Berumpun, International Journal of Social, Politics, and Humanities*, Vol. 3 No. 2 October 2020, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33019/berumpun.v3i1.34>
- Firdaus, Muhamad Nurul, and Lusi Andriyani, Politik Atas Identitas Agama, dan Etnis di Indonesia, *Jurnal Politik Indonesia dan Global*, Volume 2 No. 2, Oktober 2021. wilson

- Firestone, Reuven, "Thamud," in Jane D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of The Qur'an*, 5:252-254. (London: Brill, 2006).
- Firestone, Reuven, (2006). "Thamud," in Jane D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of The Qur'an*, 5:252-254. London: Brill.
- Firestone, Reuven, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis*. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1990).
- Flashback of the 212 Action*, <https://www.tempo.co/arsip/kilas-balik-aksi-212-tujuh-tahun-lalu-apa-bedanya-dengan-munajat-kubro-212-tahun-ini--113444>
- Formichi, Chiara, (2014). Violence, sectarianism, and Politics of Religion: Articulations of Anti-Shi'a discourse in Indonesia, *Indonesia*, Number 98, October 2014, pp. 1-27 (Article). Published by Southeast Asia Prigram, Cornell University. DOI: 10.1353/ind.2014.0016
- Fouracre, Paul J., *The Age of Charles Martel*, Longman, Harlow, 2000.
- Fuadi, Salis Irvan, Siti Rohmah, and Robingun Suyud El Syam, "Inclusiveness Of Islamic Studies West and East," *International Journal of Education and Literature (IJEL)*, Vol. 2 No.3 December 2023, Page 111-124.
- Gadamer, Hans Georg, *Truth and Method*, Translated by J. Weinsheimer and D. G. Marshall. (New York: Crossroad, 2004).
- Goffman, Erving, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, New York: Harper and Row, 1974.
- Grim, Brian J. and Roger Finke. (2011). *The Price of Freedom Denied: Religious Prosecution and Conflict in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gueorguiev, Dimitar D., Paul J. Schuler, and Kai Ostwald, "Rematch: Islamic Politics, Mobilization, and The Indonesian Presidential Election", March 2019, *Political Science*, 70 (2):1-13, DOI: 10.1080/00323187.2019.1584733
- Guidelines for Choosing a Leader in Islam, These Basic Requirements Must Be Met*, <https://www.dompetdhuafa.org/memilih-pemimpin-dalam-islam>
- Gunawan, Tedi, "Melacak Pemikiran Gerakan Salafi Dan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Serta Perang Pemikiran Keduanya di Yogyakarta", *Islamadina: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, Volume 23, No. 1, Maret 2022: 115-132, DOI: 10.30595/islamadina.v23i1.10119

- Guth, James L., (2011), "Obama, Religious Politics and the Culture Wars", in Steven E. Schier (ed.), *Transforming America: Barack Obama in the White House*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, p. 77-100.
- Hadi, Ahmad Muntahal (ed.) (2017). *Sidogiri Menolak Pemikiran KH Said Aqil Siroj*, Sidogiri: Penerbit Sidogiri.
- Hadi, Fatkhul, "A Literature Approach of The Story in the Qur'an (Study About Muhammad Ahmad Khalafullah's Interpretation on the Story of Ashab Al-Kahf)," *Journal Intellectual Sufism Research (JISR)* , Vol. 3 No. 2 (2021), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52032/jisr.v3i2.96>.
- Hakim, Yusup Rahman, Arry Bainus, and Arfin Sudirman, "The Implementation of Counter Narrative Strategy to Stop the Development of Radicalism among Youth" *CEJISS*, No 4, 2019.
- HalloRiau.com. (2018). *Berantas Prostitusi, Satpol PP Pekanbaru Gandeng FPI* (30/07/2018), <http://m.halloriau.com/read-104082-2018-07-30-berantas-prostitusi-satpol-pp-pekanbaru-gandeng-fpi.html> , accessed 19 November 2018.
- Halverson, Jeffry R., H. L. Goodall, Jr., and Steven R. Corman, *Master Narratives of Islamist Extremism*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011).
- Hamdeh, Emad, "Salafism and Traditionalism: Scholarly Authority in Modern Islam", *American Journal of Islam and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.
- Hanafi, Imam, et al., (2023). "Exploring The Compatibility of Sharia Law and Democratic Values in Indonesia's Democracy", *SIBATIK JOURNAL: Jurnal Ilmiah Bidang Sosial, Ekonomi, Budaya, Teknologi, Dan Pendidikan*, 2(10), 3169–3186. <https://doi.org/10.54443/sibatik.v2i10.1404>
- Hanafi, Yusuf, et al., "Sentiment prevalence on *Jihad*, Caliphate, and *Bid'ah* among Indonesian students: Focusing on moderate-radical muslim group tension," *Cogent Social Sciences*, Volume 8, 2022 - Issue 1, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2054532>
- Hanifuddin, Muhammad, "Rahasia Dakwah Salafi dan Jamaah Tabligh Diterima Kalangan Artis," *NU Jatim Online*, 23 September 2020.
- Harian Jogja, *Demo di Jogja: Ribuan Orang Demo Ahok di Titik Nol Kilometer*, Jum'at, 28 Oktober 2016.
- Hariyanto, Didik, Ferry Adhi Dharma, Ishak Yussof, and Fajar Muharram, "The Hyperreality of Identity Politics on Social Media", *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, Volume 8 Nomor 1 (2024) 19-40, DOI: [10.15575/cjik.v8i1.28356](https://doi.org/10.15575/cjik.v8i1.28356).

- Harnish, David. (2021). Tolerance of Ambiguity: Negotiating Religion and Sustaining the Lingsar Festival and Its Performing Arts in Lombok, Indonesia. *Religions* 12: 626. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080626>
- Hasan, Noorhaidi, "Interactions Between Quietists and Jihadists In Indonesia: Polemics and Blurred Boundaries," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, Volume 11, Number 2, 2023 (PP: 353-382) <https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/QIJI>.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi, *Laskar Jihad: Islam, Militancy, and the Quest for Identity in Post-New Order Indonesia*, SEAP Publications, Ithaca, New York, 2006.
- Hasan, Noorhaidi, *Salafism in Indonesia: Transnational Islam, Violent Activism, and Cultural Resistance*, Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia, Routledge, London, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315628837>.
- Hassan, Maqbool, "Unity of Muslim Ummah, It's Need, Importance and Suggestions", *International Multilingual Journal of Contemporary Research*, June 2015, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 26-32. DOI: 10.15640/imjcr.v3n1a3
- Hatherell, Michael, and Alistair Welsh, "Rebel with a Cause: Ahok and Charismatic Leadership in Indonesia," *Asian Studies Review*, Issue 2, Volume 41, 2017.
- Hazbun, Geraldine, *Narratives of The Islamic Conquest from Medieval Spain*
- Hefner, Robert W., *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2000.
- Hefner, Robert W., "Sharia Law and Muslim Ethical Imaginaries in Modern Indonesia," in Timothy P. Daniels, *Sharia Dynamics: Islamic Law and Sociopolitical Processes*, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017).
- Herdiansah, Ari Ganjar, Danis Tri Wahidin and Anugrah Saputra, (2023) "Beyond Disbandment of Islamist Organization: Examining The Adaptive Resistance Of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *Jurnal Wacana Politik*, Vol. 8, No. 2, October 2023, pp. 235 – 246. DOI: 10.24198/jwp.v8i2.49870
- Herdiansah, Ari Ganjar, Dian Arifiyati Putri, Latip Ashari, Rini Maduratmi, "The Islam Defence Action: A Challenge of Islamic Movement to Democratic Transition in the Post 2014 Indonesia", *Wacana* Vol. 20, No. 2 (2017), p. 63.
- Heryanto, Ariel, "Indonesian Middle-Class Opposition in the 1990s," in Garry Rodan, *Political Oppositions in Industrializing Asia*, London: Routledge, 1996.
- Hidayah, Husnul, Suadi Sa'ad, and Andi Rosa, "Transnational Islamic Movements in Indonesia," *Profetika, Jurnal Studi Islam*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 2024, pp. 55-66, <https://doi.org/10.23917/profetika.v25i01.2494>

- Hidayat, Komaruddin, *Agama untuk Peradaban: Membumikan Etos Agama dalam Kehidupan*, Pustaka Alvabet, Tangerang Selatan, 2019.
- Hilmy, Masdar, "The Politics of Retaliation: The Backlash of Radical Islamists to Deradicalization Project in Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 2013, DOI: 10.14421/ajis.2013.511.129-158.
- Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, *Democracy in Crisis, How the Islamic Political System ensures Good Governance*, a Pamphlet, May 6th 2010.
- Hosen, Nadirsyah (2012). "Hilal and Halal: How to Manage Islamic Pluralism in Indonesia?" *Asian Journal of Comparative Law*, 7:1–18.
- Hourani, Albert, *A History of the Arab Peoples*, Faber, London, 2005.
- HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), *Khilafah adalah Solusi [Caliphate is the Solution]*, translated by A. Faiz. Bogor: Pustaka Thariqul Izzah, 2003.
- Huntington, Samuel. (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.
- Ibn Katsir, Ismail, *Tafsir Ibnu Katsir*, (scrutinized by Dr. Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Abdurahman bin Ishaq Alu Syaikh), (Jakarta: Pustaka Imam Syafii, 2009).
- Inayatillah, Kamaruddin, and M. Anzaikhan, "The History of Moderate Islam in Indonesia and Its Influence on the Content of National Education, *Journal of Al-Tamaddun*, Vol. 17 (2), 2022, 213-226 <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol17no2.17>
- Institute For Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC), "After Ahok: The Islamist Agenda In Indonesia," *IPAC Report* No. 44, Issued 6 April 2018.
- International Conference at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative and International Private Law, *Succession in Islamic Law*, Hamburg 30–31 March 2023.
- Interview with Arif Zaini, a Jakartanese with NU cultural basic*, Jakarta 30 November 2019.
- Irawan, "Al-Tawassut wa al-I'tidal: Menjawab Tantangan Liberalisme dan Konservatisme Islam", *Jurnal Afkaruna*, Vol. 14 No. 1 Juni 2018, DOI 10.18196/AIJIS.2018.0080.49-74
- Irawan, Andi Muhammad, "Islam and The State in Indonesia: A Short Historical Narrative Introduction," *Australian Folklore* 28, 2013.

- Irham, “Pesantren Manhaj Salafi: Pendidikan Islam Model Baru di Indonesia”, *Ulul Albab*, Volume 17, No.1 Tahun 2016.
- Ismail, Ahmad Munawar, and Mohd Farhan Firas, “Environmental Degradation and Radical Solution from Islamic Perspective”, *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, Volume 26, Dec 2024.
- Jabar, Ilham Abdul, *Review of the hadith of the 73 groups*, <https://jabar.nu.or.id/ngalogat/telaah-hadits-73-golongan-dalam-islam-kitab-faishal-al-tafriqah-karya-imam-al-ghazali-HZE94>.
- Jalal, Asran, *Organisasi Salafi di Indonesia: Studi Ideologi Dan Pemikiran Politik Front Pembela Islam, Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia dan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*, Penelitian Sekolah Pasca Sarjan Universitas Nasional, Jakarta, 2019.
- Jokowi is more prominent on social media, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/maho6f/foke-unggul-di-spanduk-jokowi-lebih-eksis-di-media-sosial>
- Joseph, John E., *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2004.
- Jubba, Hasse, et al., (2022). The contestation between conservative and moderate Muslims in promoting Islamic moderatism in Indonesia. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2116162>
- Juhari, Imam Bonjol, and Riyadzul Malikah, Controversy over the Interpretation of the HTI Caliphate Political System, *AL-MANAR: Journal of Al-Quran and Hadith Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2021, pp. 41-52.
- Juliansyahzen, Muhammad Iqbal, “Ideologization of Hijrah in Social Media: Digital Activism, Religious Commodification, and Conservative Domination,” *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2023), pp. 155-180 DOI: 10.20885/millah.vol22.iss1.art6
- Kanafi, Imam, and Syamsul Bakhri, “Youth Narratives of Moderate Islam: Study of Islamic Philosophy For Indonesian Millennials”, *Religia*, Vol. 26 No. 2 Oktober 2023.
- Karim, Syahrir, and Anggriani Alamsyah, “Analisis Framing: Konstruksi Pemberitaan Islam dan Politik Pada Harian Amanah 2017,” *Jurnal Politik Profetik*, Volume 6, No. 2 Tahun 2018.
- Kartini, Indriana, “Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and The Idea of Restoring Islamic Caliphate,” *Masyarakat Indonesia*, Vol. 41 (1), Juni 2015.

- Keeler, Ahmed Paul, *Rethinking Islam & The West: A New Narrative for the Age of Crises*, (Cambridge: Equilibra Press, 2019).
- Khamdan, Muh, Wiharyani Wiharyani, and Nadiah Abidin, “National Islam in The Contestation Of Ideology And Politics in Indonesia”, *Ulul Albab Jurnal Studi Islam*, 25(2), December 2024, DOI: 10.18860/ua.v25i2.26951
- Khan, Sadiq, The London mayor's views on sustainability, *Future Hospital Journal*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.7861/FUTUREHOSP.5-2-84>
- Khan, Zafarullah, *Islam in the Contemporary World: A New Narrative*, (Islamabad: National Book Foundation, 2016).
- Kiblat.net (2013). *Warga Kendal Setuju FPI Tutup Lokalisasi Pelacuran*, (30/07/13) <https://www.kiblat.net/2013/07/30/warga-kendal-setuju-fpi-tutup-lokalisasi-pelacuran/>, accessed 19 November 2018.
- Kovacs, Amanda, *Saudi Arabia Exporting Salafi Education and Radicalizing Indonesia's Muslims*, GIGA – German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Number 7, 2014.
- Krismono, “Salafisme di Indonesia: Ideologi, Politik Negara, dan Fragmentasi”, *Millah*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, Februari 2017.
- Kumala, Nur, “The Contextual Qur’anic Interpretation of Jihad”, *AQWAL Journal of Qur’an and Hadis Studies*, Vol. 2 No. 2 2021.
- Kurzman, Charles (1998). “*Liberal Islam and Its Islamic Context*”. In Kurzman, Charles (ed.). *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 1–26.
- Laffan, Michael, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Pas*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2011.
- Lahaji, Ahmad Faisal, “Caliphate no in Indonesia: Nurcholish Madjid and Yudian Wahyudi critiques toward Islamic State discourse in Indonesian Islam,” *Cogent Social Sciences*, Volume 9, Issue 2, 2023. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2023.2278207>.
- Lakoff, George, *Don't Think of an Elephant!: Know Your Values and Frame the Debate*, Chelsea Green Publishing, London, 2004.
- Lindsey, Tim., and Helen Pausacker (eds.) (2016) *Religion, Law and Intolerance in Indonesia*. London: Routledge.
- Lowin, Shari L., *The Making of a Forefather: Abraham in Islamic and Jewish Exegetical Narratives*, (Leiden: BRILL, 2006).

- Madali, Endang, “Pandangan Hukum Islam Terhadap Intoleransi Salafi Wahabi”, *Nurani Hukum: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Vol. 3 No. 2, (Desember, 2020), hlm. 30-48. DOI: 10.51825/nhk.v3i2.9107.
- Madali, Endang, “Reformisme Hukum: Pengamalan Agama Perspektif Salafi Wahabi”, *Jurnal Res Justitia: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum*, Volume 1 Nomor 1 Januari 2021, DOI Issue : 10.46306/rj.v1i1.
- Majid, Abdul, Mahdalena Nasrun, Novizal Wendry, Ruslan Sangaji, and Abdul Hakim, “Salafi, Hadith, and Islamic Law,” *AHKAM*, Volume 23, Number 1, 2023.
- Makhasin Luthfi, and Bowo Sugiarto, “Contending Views and Power Struggle within Islam: The Clash of Religious Discourse and Citizenship in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 5 (3), December 2020, pp. 391-407, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v5i3.25692>.
- Maksum, Ali, et al, Redefining the Islamic defenders front's (FPI) identity after its dissolution by the Indonesian government, *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 13(2):399-426, December 2023, hikatoDOI: 10.18326/ijims.v13i2.399-426 2023.
- Malik, Abdul, “New variants of ultra-conservative Islamic schools in Indonesia: A study on Islamic school endeavor with Islamic group movement,” *Power and Education*, 2024, Vol. 16(1) 14–28, DOI: 10.1177/17577438231163042.
- Mandaville, Peter, *Islam and Politics (3rd edition)*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2020.
- Marzuki, Marzuki, Benni Setiawan, and Sun Choirol Ummah, Counter-narratives of religious radicalism through mosque-based Islamic education to build inclusive religiosity in Indonesia, *Jurnal Kependidikan*, Vol 7, No 1 (2023), doi: 10.21831/jk.v7i1.60058
- Maulana, Tiyo, Wahyu Hidayat, Zulheldi, and Darni Yusna, The Position of Sunnah as A Source of Islamic Law in A New Perspective in Its Types, *Jurnal Muqaranah*, Vol. 5 No. 2, Desember 2021.
- Maunah, Alfi, “Radicalism Among Indonesia’s Young Generation: How to Overcome It?” *Indonesian Journal of Counter Terrorism and National Security*, Volume 1 Issue 2 (July-December, 2022), pp. 247-266 <https://doi.org/10.15294/ijctns.v1i2.59803>.
- Meijer, Roel, (ed), *Global Salafism; Islam’s New Religious Movement*, (London: C. Hurst Company, 2009).
- Menchick, Jeremy, (2007). Illiberal but not Intolerant: Understanding the Indonesian Council of Ulama, *Inside Indonesia* 90: Oct-Dec 2007.

- Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and The Profane The Nature of Religion* Translated by Willard R. Trask, (New York: Harvest Book, 1987).
- Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, The Islamic Texts Society, Cambridge, 2013.
- Moleong, Lexy J., *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*, (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya. 2007).
- Moyaert, Marianne, *Fragile Identities: Towards a Theology of Interreligious Hospitality*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011).
- Muammar, “Reaction of the Aswaja Group to the Wahhabism Movement in Aceh”, *Journal Al-Fikrah*, Volume: 12, Number: 1, 2023.
- Mudhofi, and Abdul Karim, “Transformation of new media in Aswaja al-Nahdliyyah da'wah: Strategies and challenges in the contestation of religious authority in Indonesia,” *Islamic Communication Journal* Vol. 9, No. 1 (2024), 133-146 <https://doi.org/10.21580/icj.2024.9.1.22071>
- Muhtadi, Burhanuddin, “The Quest for Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia”, July 2009, *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 37(4):623-645, DOI: 10.1163/156853109X460219
- Mulyadi, Filosofi Islam Nusantara, *Perspektif Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas*, Unimal Press, Lhokseumawe, 2018.
- Munabari, Fahlesa, Nadia Utami Larasati, and Rizky Ihsan, "Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia: The Caliphate, Sharia, NKRI, Democracy, and the Nation-State," *Jurnal Politik*: Vol. 5: Iss. 2, Article 5, 2020, DOI: 10.7454/jp.v5i2.1016
- Munabari, Fahlesa, Reconciling sharia with “Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia”: The ideology and framing strategies of the Indonesian Forum of Islamic Society (FUI), *International Area Studies Review*, 1–22, 2017, DOI: 10.1177/2233865917699066, p. 11.
- Musa, Muhammad Maskur, Muhammad Minanur Rahman, and Rizki Fauzi, “Reflection of Gus Dur Thoughts and Movements in The View of Cirebon Figures,” *Al Qalam*, 40(2):130-144, December 2023, DOI: 10.32678/alqalam.v40i2.7064 ,
- Muthohirin, Nafik, Mohammad Kamaludin, and Fahrudin Mukhlis, “Salafi Madrasas: Ideology, Transformation, and Implication for Multiculturalism in Indonesia”, *Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan Studi Keagamaan*, Volume 10 Nomor 1 2022, (81-100). DOI: 10.21043/fikrah.v8i1.14380.

- Muzakki, Kiki Adnan, "Salafi's Textualism in Understanding Qur'an and Hadith", *Journal of Qur'ān and Hadīth Studies*, 8(1), 2019. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15408/quhas.v8i1.13378>.
- Muzammil, Iffah, 2013. "Global Salafisme Antara Gerakan Dan Kekerasan," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, Volume 3 Nomor 1 Juni 2013.
- Nugroho, Stefani, "Jakarta's 2017 Gubernatorial Election and the Future of Indonesian Politics", *Education About ASIA*, Volume 23, Number 1, Spring 2018.
- Nur'aeni, Ulvah, and Arfian Hikmat Ramdan, "Ideological Contestation on Youtube Between Salafi and Nahdhatul 'Ulama in Indonesia", *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol 7, No 1 (2023), DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v7i1.15244>
- Nurmila, Nina, *Women, Islam and Everyday Life: Renegotiating Polygamy in Indonesia*, Routledge, London, 2011.
- Nuryana, Arief, and St. Tri Guntur Narwaya, "Discourse on the Disbandment of Front Pembela Islam and Renegotiation of Democratic Ideas," *Journal Communication Spectrum: Capturing New Perspectives in Communication*, Vol. 13(1) pp. 60-71, (2023) DOI: 10.36782/jcs.v13i1.2402
- Nusi, Arfan, Nurul Ilmi Idrus, Hamka Naping, and Lahaji, "Post-traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama and Neo-modernist Muhammadiyah: A Study of Local Muslim Thoughts in Gorontalo," *IJSSHR*, Volume 05 Issue 05 May 2022, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47191/ijsshr/v5-i5-24>.
- Opendoors, *Indonesia: Collective violence trending upward*, Open Doors Indonesia, 12 July 2022.
- Osman, Mohamed Nawab Mohamed, "Reviving the Caliphate in the Nusantara: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's Mobilization Strategy and Its Impact in Indonesia", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 2010, 22(4): 601–622.
- Pabbajah, Mustaqim, et al., *Internet of Religion: Islam and New Media Construction of Religious Movements in Indonesia*, January 2020, DOI 10.4108/eai.1-10-2019.2291750
- Padela, Aasim I., Shaheen Nageeb, Milkie Vu, and Michael T. Quinn, "The Development and Validation of a Modesty Measure for Diverse Muslim Populations", *Journal of Religion and Health*, 58(7), April 2019. DOI: 10.1007/s10943-018-0734-8.
- Paelani Setia and M. Taufiq Rahman, "Kekhilafahan Islam, Globalisasi dan Gerilya Maya: Studi Kasus Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia", *Fikrah: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah dan*

Studi Keagamaan, Volume 9 Nomor 2 2021, (241-264), DOI: 10.21043/fikrah.v8i1.11603.

Parhan, Muhamad, Riris Hari Nugraha, and Mohammad Rindu Fajar Islamy, "Model of Religious Moderation in Universities: Alternative Solution to Liberal, Literal and Radical Islam," *Edukasia Islamika Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, Vol.7 No.1 June 2022, hlm. 1-23, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.28918/jei.v7i1.5218>,

Parjiman, "Khaled Aboe El Fadl: Against Authoritarianism Teachers Talk To God", *IJISH*, Vol. 2. No 1, April 2019 p. 22-31.

Peters, Francis E., *Jesus and Muhammad, Parallel Tracks, Parallel Lives*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2011.

Peterson, Daniel, *Islam, Blasphemy, and Human Rights in Indonesia: The Trial of Ahok*, (London: Routledge, 2020), p.32.

Porta, Donatella Della, and Alice Mattoni (eds), *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis*, Colchester : ECPR Press, 2014, Studies in European Political Science Series, pp. 1-18. as

Pradipta, A. L., Hidayah, N. W., Haya, A. N., Ervani, C., & Kristanto, D. (2018). "Analisis Bingkai Pemberitaan Aksi Bela Islam 2 Desember 2016 (Aksi 212) Di Media Massa BBC (Indonesia) & Republika", July 2018, *INFORMASI*, 48(1):109, DOI: 10.21831/informasi.v48i1.20203

Praditya, Yosua, (2024) "When Cultural Expressions Exploited by The Right-Wing Groups: A Comparative Analysis Between The Case Of Indonesia And Germany," *Journal of Terrorism Studies*, Vol. 6: No. 1, Article 3.

Pratama, Dito Alif, "Islam and Neo-Modernism in Indonesia: Revisiting Nurcholish Madjid and Abdurrahman Wahid's Thought on Civil Society," *Al'Adalah*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2023).

Qodir, Zuly, Krismono, and Irwan Abdullah, "Salafism in Rural Java: The Struggles of Indonesian Islam Since The Fall of The New Order," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies (QIJIS)*, Volume 11, Number 2, 2023, pp. 247-278.

Radicalism movement, <https://bkpsdmd.babelprov.go.id/content/gerakan-radikalisme-tumbuh-subur-tanpa-henti-di-indonesia>

Rahman, Fazlur, *Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic Fundamentalism*, (London: Oneworld Publications, 2003).

Rahman, Muh Fudhail, et al., (2023). Strategic Efforts of Bincangsyariah.Com And Islami.Co Editorials In Spreading Counter-Narrative Extremism On The

- Internet. *Al-Balagh: Jurnal Dakwah Dan Komunikasi*, 8(2), 249–282.
<https://doi.org/10.22515/albalagh.v8i2.7582>
- Rahmawati, Kholifah, and Heriyanto, (2023) "Contra Radicalism Through the Interpreting Verse of Jihad (Case Study on NU Online Platform)," *Journal of Terrorism Studies*: Vol. 5: No. 2, Article 6. DOI: 10.7454/jts.v5i2.1068
- Rajafi, Ahmad, Suyatno Ladiqi, and Naili Adilah Hamhij, "Hacking The Salafi-Wahabi Movement In Manado – Indonesia," *International Journal of Psychosocial Rehabilitation*, June 2020, 24(6):2020, DOI: 10.37200/IJPR/V24I6/PR261205
- Ramage, Douglas E. 1997. *Politics in Indonesia: Democracy, Islam and the Ideology of Tolerance*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Rasyad, The Concept of the Caliph in the Qur'an, *Al Mu'ashirah Scientific Journal: Multi-Perspective Media for the Study of the Qur'an and Hadith*, Vol. 19, No. 1, January 2022, Pages: 20-31
- Religion and nationalism 'winning tools' for the 2019 presidential election?*
<https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-42340266>
- Republika. *Informasi*, 48(1), 109-124.
<https://doi.org/10.21831/informasi.v48i1.20203>
- Republika.co.id. (2015). *Prostitusi Online Marak, FPI: Pemerintah Jangan Diam Saja!* (23/04/2015) <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/15/04/23/nn8u1s-prostitusi-emonline-emmarak-fpi-pemerintah-jangan-diam-saja>, accessed 19 November 2018.
- Reuters, *Indonesian provincial vote suggests religion card weakening*.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/world/indonesian-provincial-vote-suggests-religion-card-weakening-idUSBRE926090/>
- Richardson, J. (2011). Minority Religions and the Context of Violence. In J. Lewis (Ed.), *Violence and New Religious Movements*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin, *Islamisation and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, C. 1930 to the Present*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2012.
- Ridwan, "Religion and Peacebuilding: A Preliminary Study on Transnational Islam and Communal Harmony in Papua", *HARMONI, Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius*, Vol. 17 No. 2, Juli – Desember, 2018.

- Rijal, Syamsul, "Crafting Hizbiyyin in Contemporary Indonesia, Da'wah and Recruitment of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia in South Sulawesi", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, Volume 05, Number 01, June 2011.
- Rismawan, Yuda, Deni Miharja, and Husnul Qodim, "Al-Firqah an-Najiyah dalam Pandangan Hadis: Studi Takhrij dan Syarah," *The 2nd Conference on Ushuluddin Studies*, Gunung Djati Conference Series, Volume 8 (2022).
- Romli, Lili, "Electoral Power Structure of Islamic Parties in Reform Era Indonesia", *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review*, 5 (2), August 2020, pp. 192-213 DOI:<https://doi.org/10.15294/ipsr.v5i2.22865>.
- Rosyid, Muhammad, and Bhirawa Anoraga, "More Than a Tafsīr, Convergence, Contestation, and Deradicalization of Quranic Interpretations on Website," *Ṣuḥuf*, Vol. 16, No. 2, Desember 2023: 419-439.
- Roy, Olivier, *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004.
- Safi, Omid, ed. (2003). *Progressive Muslims: on justice, gender and pluralism*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.
- Said, Edward, *Covering Islam: How The Media and The Experts Determine How We See The Rest of The World*, Random House, New York, 1997.
- Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, London, 2019. (reprinted of 1978 book)
- Saraswati, Muninggar Sri, "Social Media and the Political Campaign Industry in Indonesia", *Jurnal Komunikasi ISKI*, Vol. 03 (01), 2018. 51-65, <http://dx.doi.org/10.25008/jkiski.v3i1.124>
- Sarwan, Sarwan, 2023. *Back to Muslim Identify: Framing The Khilafah Ideology on Social Media*. International Conference on Islam, Law And Society (INCOILS), 25 April 2023.
- Sarwono, Jonathan Suseno, "CaliphateTok: How Islamic State (IS) Leverages Social Media in Indonesia and the Power of Counter-Narratives," *Global Network on Extremism and Technology*, 28th November 2024.
- Schimmel, Annemarie, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Univ of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2011.
- Schmidt, Lawrence K., *Understanding Hermeneutics*, (Durham: Acumen Publishing Limited, 2010).

- Schmidt, Leonie, (2021). Aesthetics of authority: ‘Islam Nusantara’ and Islamic ‘radicalism’ in Indonesian film and social media. *Religion*, 51(2), 237–258.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0048721X.2020.1868387>
- Setiawati, Rini, Rahmat Hidayat, and Moh. Mukri, “Radicalism and Salafism in Indonesia: Development and Movement of Transnational Ideology,” *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, DOI: <http://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v24i2.24412> Volume 24, Number 2, December 2024, pp. 227-256
- Setijadi, Charlotte, *The Jakarta Election Continues: What Next for Embattled Governor Ahok?*, PERSPECTIVE, ISEAS – YUSOF ISHAK INSTITUTE, ISSUE 18, Singapore, 21 March 2017.
- Setiyono, Joko, and Sulaiman Rasyid, S., 2022, ‘Counter-narrative strategies in deradicalisation: A content analysis of Indonesia’s anti-terrorism laws’, *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 78(1), a7791. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v78i1.7791>
- Sharia Bylaws in Indonesia: Between Local Wisdom, Electoral Politics and Threats to Diversity*, (2019), <https://islamic-center.or.id/syariah-bylaws-in-indonesia-between-local-wisdom,electoral-politics-and-threats-to-diversity-1/>
- Sharia regulations in Indonesia*, (2019), <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-49332135>,
- Simonsen, Sandra, “Discursive Blame Attribution Strategies in Migration News Frames: How Blame For Perceived Migration-Related Problems is Mediated in Journalistic Framing”, *Discourse, Context & Media*, Volume 58, April 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2024.100772>.
- Snow, D., and Benford, R. (1992) Master Frames and Cycles of Protest. In: Morris, A. and Mueller, C.M., Eds., *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, Yale University Press, New Haven.
- Suara Muhammadiyah, *Massa Jalan Kaki Teruskan Long March ke Jakarta*, 1 Desember 2016, <https://web.suaramuhammadiyah.id/2016/12/01/massa-jalan-kaki-teruskan-long-march-ke-jakarta/#:~:text=BANDUNG%2C%20Suara%20Muhammadiyah%2C%2D%20Massa,para%20santri%20dari%20Ciamis%20ini>.
- Subando, Joko, and Muhammad Kurniawan Budi Wibowo, “Construction of the Khilafah State According to Taqiuddin An-Nabhani: Foundation for Development of Perception Measurement Instruments about the Khilafah”, *Ishlah: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin, Adab dan Dakwah*, Vol. 5 No. 1, Juni 2023.

- Sugara, Robi, et al., *A Cross-country Report on Trends of Extremism in South and South-East Asia*, INFID, Jakarta, 2018.
- Suhli, and Mohammad Hatta, "Measuring The Probability of Prohibition of The Spread of Wahhabism in Indonesia Based on Positive Law," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam*, Volume 12, Nomor 2, Oktober 2022.
- Sukamta, "Debate on Muhkamat and Mutasyabihat: A Study of Quraish Shihab' Thought", *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization*, Volume 5, Number 1 (2022), Pages: 11-37
- Sunaryanto, Sofyan Rizal, and Edi Mulyono, "Reading the Ideology of Salafi Da'wah: Media Technology Perspective," *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Volume 23, Number 1, June 2023, pp. 21-46, DOI: <http://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v23i1.14466>
- Survey: Foke Versus Jokowi, Narrowly Lost
<https://metro.tempo.co/read/429964/survei-foke-versus-jokowi-kalah-tipis>
- Suryana, A'an, *Islamist Figures and Their Limited Role in Indonesia's 2024 Presidential Election*, ISEAS – YUSOF ISHAK INSTITUTE, ISSUE: 2024 No. 31, Singapore, 29 April 2024
- Suryana, A'an, and Nur Syafiqah Mohd Taufek, "Indonesian Islam beyond Habib Rizieq Shihab: Deconstructing Islamism and Populism", *Fulcrum, Analysis on Southeast Asia*, 27 April 2021.
- Susanto, Nanang Hasan, and Maghfur Ahmad, "Thoughts and Influence of the Islamic Defenders Front in Indonesia", *Religious Studies and Theology*, 41(1), September 2022, DOI: 10.1558/rst.21391.
- Syah, Muhammad Kautsar Thariq, (2022), *Sejarah Dakwah Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia di Bogor dari tahun 2010-2017. (History of the Da'wah of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia in Bogor from 2010-2017.)* Sarjana thesis, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung.
- Syahputra, Iswandi, "Social Media Activities and the 212 Movement: The Indonesian Ulema Council's Perspective", *Al-Jami'ah Journal of Islamic Studies*, December 2020, 58(2):323-354, DOI: 10.14421/ajis.2020.582.323-354
- Syam, Firdaus, Fachruddin Majeri Mangunjaya, Ajeng Rizqi Rahmanillah, and Robi Nurhadi (2020). Narrative and the Politics of Identity: Patterns of the Spread and Acceptance of Radicalism and Terrorism in Indonesia, *Religions* 2020, 11, 290; doi:10.3390/rel11060290

- Syamsir, A., Septiadi, M. A., Nurhakiki, M. I., al-Habsy, M. I., & Hidayah, M. R. A. (2021). Salafi Puritanism in Indonesia. *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah*, 11(2), 134–149. <https://doi.org/10.15575/ijik.v11i2.13199>.
- Syarif, Zainuddin, Syafiq A. Mughni and Abd Hannan, (2020). *Post-truth and Islamophobia in the contestation of contemporary Indonesian politics, Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* Vol. 10, no. 2 (2020), pp. 199-225, doi: 10.18326/ijims.v10i2. 199-225
- Syechbubakr, Ahmad Syarif, “The politics of fighting intolerance”, *Indonesia at Melbourne*, 12 March 2019.
- Tabroni, Roni, and Idham Idham, 2023. “From radical labels to moderate Islam: the transformation of the Salafism movement in Indonesia,” *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 13, no. 2 (2023), pp. 279-306, doi : 10.18326/ijims.v13i2. 279-306 , DOI:10.18326/ijims.v13i2. 279-306.
- Tan, Ta Sen, *Cheng Ho and Islam in Southeast Asia*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2009.
- Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2002.
- Tempo.Co (2016). *Cari Kaum LGBT, FPI Sweeping Rumah Kos di Bandung*, (27/01/2016)<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/739964/cari-kaum-lgbt-fpi-sweeping-rumah-kos-di-bandung/full&view=ok> accessed 18 November 2018.
- The Economist, *Indonesia Wants to Export Moderate Islam*, 16 August 2023.
- The Noble Qur'an (1995), *Open Source of Tarteel Team*, <http://quran.com>, retrieved 12 April 2022.
- The Spread of Terrorist Ideology*,
<https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20220128122556-12-752421/bnpt-ungkap-lima-provinsi-rawan-penyebaran-ideologi-terorisme>
- Top 5 Most Populous Countries, *World Population Review*, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/countries>, 2024.
- Tottoli, Roberto (2001). "Ad," in Jane D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of The Qur'an*, 1: 21-22, London: Brill.
- Tottoli, Roberto, “Ad,” in Jane D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of The Qur'an*, 1: 21-22, (London: Brill, 2001)
- Tribun Batam (2014). *FPI: Jika Judi Tidak Tutup, Kami Akan Tutup dengan Cara Sendiri*, (25/06/2014) <http://batam.tribunnews.com/2014/06/25/fpi-jika-judi->

tidak-tutup-kami-akan-tutup-dengan-cara-sendiri, accessed 17 November 2018.

Tribun Jatim.com (2018). *Suarakan Penolakan LGBT, FPI Surabaya Gelar Demo di Depan Gedung Grahadi*, (18/10/2018)
<http://jatim.tribunnews.com/2018/10/18/suarakan-penolakan-lgbt-fpi-surabaya-gelar-demo-di-depan-gedung-grahadi>, accessed 18 November 2018

Tsauro, Ahalla, and Firmanda Taufiq, 2023, "What Neo-FPI offers toward the Muslim Community: Exploring a New Face of Islamic Activism and Populism in Indonesia," *At-Ta'fikir: Jurnal Pendidikan, Hukum dan Sosial Keagamaan*, Vol.16, No.2, May-November 2023, DOI:10.32505/at.v16i2.7365

Umam, Khaerul, Reni Qurroti Aeni and Feni Astuti, "Counter Narrative Policy to Handling Radicalism in Indonesia", *Khazanah Sosial*, Vol 4, No 4 (2022).

Ummah, Atik Hidayatul, (2020). Digital Media and Counter Narrative of Radicalism. *Jurnal Theologia*, 31(2), 233–256.
<https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2020.31.2.6762>

Usman, et al., "Radicalism in Indonesia: Modelling and Legal Construction", *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies*, Volume 8 Issue 2 (2023), pp. 755-802.
<https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v8i2.71520>

van Bruinessen, Martin, (2022). Chris Chaplin, Salafism and the State: Islamic Activism and National Identity in Contemporary Indonesia. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 53(3), 476-479.
<https://doi.org/10.11588/iqas.2022.3.20564>

Vasapollo, Samuele, *The Intersection of Tradition and Modernity in the Islamic world*, ASERI – Master in Middle Eastern Studies, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, 2020.

Wahid, Din, July 2015. "Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia," *Wacana Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia*, 15(2):367, DOI: 10.17510/wacana.v15i2.413

Wahid, Din, The Challenge of Democracy in Indonesia: The Case of Salafi Movement, *Islamika Indonesiana*, 1:1 (2014).

Wahyudi, Yudian, (eds), *Gerakan Wahabi di Indonesia (Dialog dan Kritik)*, Bina Harfa, Yogyakarta, 2009.

Waty, Reni Rentika, and Kamarudin, "The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) As an Opposition Force in The Joko Widodo's Era in 2014-2020," *JIK*, 2021, Vol. 11 No. 2: 118-133, DOI: 10.15575/ijik.v11i2.13147

- Weintraub, Andrew N., (ed), *Islam and Popular Culture in Indonesia and Malaysia*, Routledge, New York, 2011.
- Weng, Hew Wai, “The Art of Dakwah: Social Media, Visual Persuasion and the Islamist Propagation of Felix Siauw”. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 46(1Bub34): 61–79, 2018.
- Wibisono, Ali Abdullah, Rachel Kumendong, and Iwa Maulana, (2024). Indonesia’s Handling of Terrorists’ Cyber Activities: How Repressive Measures Still Fall Short.” *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/23477970241298764>
- Widodo, Agus, “The Methods and Criterion of Origen and Maximus Confessor’s Exegesis in Interpreting Scriptures’ Verses on Violence: Its Relevance to Prevent Radicalism and Fundamentalism”, *Journal of Asian Orientation in Theology*, Vol. 02, No. 01, February 2020: 01-26 DOI: 10.24071/jaot.2020.020101.
- Wiktorowicz, Quintan, *Radical Islam Rising: Muslim Extremism in the West*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, 2005.
- Willemse, Karin, *One Foot in Heaven: Narratives on Gender and Islam in Darfur*, West-Sudan, (Leiden: BRILL, 2007).
- Wilson, Ian, *Morality Racketeering: Vigilantism and Populist Islamic Militancy in Indonesia*, 2014. In : *Between Dissent and Power: The transformation of Islamic Politics in the Middle East and Asia*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK.
- Woodward, Mark, et al., (2013), Mariani Yahya, Inayah Rohmaniyah, Diana Murtaugh Coleman, Chris Lundry, Ali Amin (2013) The Islamic Defenders Front: Demonization, Violence and the State in Indonesia, *Cont Islam* (2014) 8:153–171. DOI 10.1007/s11562-013-0288-1.
- Yilmaz , Ihsan, and Greg Barton, “The Islamic Defenders Front: The Face of Indonesia’s Far-Right Islamism,” *European Center for Populism Studies*, May 7, 2021.
- Yilmaz, Ihsan, and Albayrak, Ismail. (2021). Instrumentalization of Religious Conspiracy Theories in Politics of Victimhood: Narrative of Turkey’s Directorate of Religious Affairs, *Religions* 12: 841. doi.org/10.3390/rel12100841
- Yilmaz, Ihsan, Nicholas Morieson, and Hasnan Bachtiar, Civilizational Populism in Indonesia: The Case of Front Pembela Islam (FPI), *Religions* 2022, 13(12), 1208; <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13121208>
- Yuliawati, Elly, and Ispawati Asri, Religious Moderation: An Analysis of Understanding, Internet and Social Media Exposure and Social Interaction

Systems, *Jurnal The Messenger*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2022), pp. 158-179 P-ISSN: 2086-1559, E-ISSN: 2527-2810 DOI: 10.26623/themessenger.v14i2.2812

Yuniendel, Ratna Kasni, and Devi Syukri Azhari, "The Development of Science in Islam and Its Impact on Islamic Education," *Edu Cendikia: Jurnal Ilmiah Kependidikan*, Volume: 4 Nomor 02, Agustus 2024, DOI: 10.47709/educendikia.v4i02.4328

Zaman, M. Raquibuz (2008) "Usury (Riba) and the place of bank interest in Islamic banking and finance," *International Journal of Banking and Finance*: Vol. 6: Iss. 1, Article 1.