

Bibliography

- Abadi TV. (2020). *Habib Luthfi - Hindari Perpecahan Jangan Saling Menyalakan Kita Bangun Bangsa Ini Bersama - sama*. www.youtube.com.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OExMyKqdjAk>
- Abdullah, H. (1930). *Perkembangan Ilmu-ilmu Tarekat dan Tokoh-tokohnya Di Nusantara*. Al-Ikhlâs.
- Afad, M. N. (2015). Konstruksi identitas nahdhatul ulama' dalam peringatan maulid kanzus sholawat di kota pekalongan skripsi. *Fakultas Ilmu Sosial Universitas Negeri Semarang*.
- Afandi, A. H. (2020). *Kontroversi Politik Kiai Tarekat: Studi Pergeseran Orientasi Politik Kiai Tarekat Qodiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah*. Scopindo Media Pustaka.
- Ahmad, M., Aziz, A., Afad, M. N., Muniroh, S. M., & Qodim, H. (2021). The Sufi order against religious radicalism in Indonesia. *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 77(4), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i4.6417>
- Al-Andalusi, A. H. (2002). *Tafsir al-Bahr al-Muhit* (4th ed.). Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah.
- Al-Baghawi, A. M. al-H. bin M. (1997). *Tafsir al-Baghawi* (2nd ed.). Dar at-Taybah.
- Al-Qurthubi, S. (n.d.). *Tafsir al-Qurthubi* (4th ed.). Dar 'Alam al-Kutub.
- Alatas, I. F. (2016). *ALIGNING THE SUNNA AND THE JAM Ā' A : RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY AND ISLAMIC SOCIAL FORMATION IN CONTEMPORARY CENTRAL JAVA , INDONESIA*. ProQuest LLC.

- Almawardi. (2004). Alahkam Alsulthaniyyah wa Alwilayatu Aldiniyyah. In A. Anwar (Ed.), *Avonturisme NU: Menjajaki Akar Konflik, Kepentingan-Politik Kaum Nahdhiyyin*. Humaniora.
- Almunsyidin. (2020). *Padang Bulan 2 - vocal : M. Nizar Arju, Almunsyidin*.
[www.youtube.com. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2SYK1F7MG5w](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2SYK1F7MG5w)
- Assegaf, M. A. (2020). *Cahaya Dari Nusantara: Maulana Habib Luthfi Bin Yahya (Catatan Kekaguman dan Kecintaan Seorang Santri)* (1st ed.). Penerbit Abna' Seiwan.
- Asy'ari, M. H. (n.d.). *Muqaddimah al-Qanun al-Asasi li Jam'iyah Nahdlah al-Ulama'*. Maktabah at-Turats al-Islami.
- Azra, M. (1999). *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*. Mizan.
- Bangkitmedia. (2019). *Sejarah JATMAN dari Masa Ke Masa (1958-2018)*.
<https://bangkitmedia.com/sejarah-JATMAN-dari-masa-ke-masa-1958-2018/>
- Baso, A. (2001). Neo-Modernisme Islam vs Post-Tradisionalisme Islam. *Jurnal Tashwirul Afkar*, 10(1).
- Bayat, A. (2005). Islamism and Social Movement Theory. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(6), 891–908. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4017816>
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611–639.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611>
- Berman, S. (2003). Islamism, Revolution, and Civil Society. *Perspectives on*

Politics, 1(2), 257–272.

Bizawie, Z. M. (2014). *Laskar Ulama-Santri & Resolusi Jihad: Garda Depan*

Menegakkan Indonesia (1945-1949) (2nd ed.). Pustaka Compass.

Blaikie, N. (2000). *Designing Social Research: The Logic of Anticipation*. Polity Press.

BNPT. (n.d.). *Tugas Pokok dan Fungsi*. Retrieved July 11, 2021, from

<https://www.bnpt.go.id/tupoksi>

BNPT. (2021). *BNPT Libatkan Pemuka Agama dalam Mencegah Radikal*

Terorisme di Kalangan Milenial. <https://web.bnpt.go.id/bnpt-libatkan-pemuka-agama-dalam-mencegah-radikal-terorisme-di-kalangan-milenial>

Brookings. (2018). *Positive branding and soft power: The promotion of Sufism in the war on terror*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/12/13/positive-branding-and-soft-power-the-promotion-of-sufism-in-the-war-on-terror/>

Bruinessen, Martin van. (1991). The Tariqa Khalwatiyya in South Celebes. In H. A. Poeze & P. Schoorl (Eds.), *Excursies in Celebes*. KITLV Press.

Bruinessen, Martin van. (1992). *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia (Survei Historis, Geografis, dan Sosiologis)*. Penerbit Mizan.

Bruinessen, Martin van. (1994). Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya influence in early Indonesian Islam. *Land- En Volkenkunde*, 150(2), 305–329.

Bruinessen, Martin van. (1998). Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia. *Die Welt Des Islams*, 38(2), 192–219.

- Bruinessen, Martin van. (2008a). *NU: Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa, Pencarian Wacana Baru* (5th ed.). LkiS Yogyakarta.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. (2008b). Wali, Politisi dan Birokrat Sufi: Antara Tasawuf dan Politik Masa Orde Baru di Indonesia. In M. V. Bruinessen & J. D. Howell (Eds.), *Urban Sufism*. Gading Publishing.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. (2009). Sufism, "Popular" Islam and the Encounter with Modernity. In M. K. Masud, A. Salvatore, & M. van Bruinessen (Eds.), *Islam and Modernity: Key Issues and Debates*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. (2012). *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*. Gading Publishing.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. (2013). Introduction: Contemporary developments in Indonesian Islam and the "conservative turn" of the early twenty-first century. *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the "Conservative Turn," January 2013*, 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1355/9789814414579-005>
- Bruinessen, Martin van, & Howell, J. D. (2008). Sufisme dan "Modern" dalam Islam. In *Urban Sufism*. Rajawali Pers.
- Burhanudin, M. (2015). *No Title*. [https://unnes.ac.id/berita/handarbeni-perwujudan-cinta-negeri.html#:~:text=Handarbeni berarti ikut merasakan dan,dan tanggung jawab atas kepemilikannya](https://unnes.ac.id/berita/handarbeni-perwujudan-cinta-negeri.html#:~:text=Handarbeni%20berarti%20ikut%20merasakan%20dan,dan%20tanggung%20jawab%20atas%20kepemilikannya.).
- Bush, R. (2000). Redefining 'Political Islam' in Indonesia: Nahdlatul Ulama and Khittah. *Studia Islamika*, 7(2).
- Cahyani, I. (2019). *KEBANGSAAN PEMUDA TAREKAT (Konstruksi*

Nasionalisme Mahasiswa Ahlith Thariqah Al-Mu'tabaroh An- Nahdhiyah)

TESIS [UIN Sunan Ampel]. <http://digilib.uinsby.ac.id/id/eprint/36147>

Carey, P. (2011). *Kuasa Ramalan: Pangeran Diponegoro dan Akhir Tatanan*

Lama di Jawa 1785 – 1855 (2nd ed.). KPG.

Coedes, G. (1975). *The Indianized States Of Southeast Asia* (W. F. Vella (ed.)).

ANU Press.

Davis, G., McAdam, D., Scott, W., & Zald, M. (2005). *Social Movements and*

Organization Theory (G. Davis, D. McAdam, W. Scott, & M. Zald (eds.)).

Cambridge University Press.

<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791000>

Detikcom. (2019). *Blak-blakan Habib Luthfi bin Yahya: NKRI Itu Syariah!*

[www.youtube.com. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEo4vUKOo9k](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fEo4vUKOo9k)

Dirajo, D. S. (1955). *Mustiko Adat Alam Minangkabau*. Kementrian PP&K.

Edwards, B., & McCarthy, J. D. (2004). Resources and Social Movement

Mobilization. In D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, & H. Kriesi (Eds.), *The Blackwell*

Companion to Social Movements. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470999103>

Fealy, G. (2003). *Ijtihad Politik Ulama: Sejarah NU 1952-1967*. LkiS

Yogyakarta.

Fealy, G., & Bubalo, A. (2007). *Jejak Kafilah: Pengaruh Radikalisme Timur*

Tengah di Indonesia. Mizan.

Fuchs, C. (2006). The Self-Organization of Social Movements. *Systemic Practice*

and Action Research, 19(1), 101–137. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11213-005->

9006-0

Ganjar Pranowo. (2020a). *DEKLARASI KEBHINEKAAN BERSAMA HABIB LUTHFI BIN YAHYA DAN RATUSAN TOKOH LINTAS AGAMA*.

www.youtube.com.

Ganjar Pranowo. (2020b). *DEKLARASI KEBHINEKAAN BERSAMA HABIB LUTHFI BIN YAHYA DAN RATUSAN TOKOH LINTAS AGAMA*.

www.youtube.com.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R5TliULcNC4&t=163s>

Geertz, C. (1971). *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia* (Phoenix Ed). The University of Chicago Press.

Gellner, E. (1981). *Muslim Society*. Cambridge University Press.

Gibb, H. A. R. (1955). An Interpretation of Islamic History II. *MW*, 2(45).

Gross, J.-A. (1990). Multiple Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaikh. In M. Gaborieau, A. Popovic, & T. Zarcone (Eds.), *Naqsyabandis: Historical Developments and Present Situation of a Muslim Mystical Order*. Isis.

Hadi, A. (2018). *Kebangkitan Kaum Sufi Kontemporer Indonesia: JATMAN (Jam'iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Mu'tabaroh Nahdliyah)* (1st ed.). Pustaka Amanah.

Hoffman, V. J. (2009). *Sufism, Mystics and Saints in Modern Egypt*. University of South Carolina Press.

Howell, J. D. (2008). Modernitas dan Spiritualitas Islam dalam Jaringan Baru Sufi Indonesia. In Martin van Bruinessen & J. D. Howell (Eds.), *Urban Sufism* (1st ed.).

Inayah, J. (2017). Nasionalisme Mahabbah Ar-Rasul: Studi Pemikiran Habib

- Muhammad Luthfi Bin Yahya 1960 M - 2016 M [IAIN Syekh Nurjati Cirebon]. In *JURNAL YAQZHAN: Analisis Filsafat, Agama dan Kemanusiaan* (Vol. 3, Issue 2). <https://doi.org/10.24235/jy.v3i2.5481>
- Indonesia, C. (2020). *Habib Luthfi, Tokoh Islam Berpengaruh Dunia Jadi Wantimpres*. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191213165610-20-456799/habib-luthfi-tokoh-islam-berpengaruh-dunia-jadi-wantimpres>
- Jamil, M. M. (2005). *Tarekat dan Dinamika Sosial Politik; Tafsir Sosial Sufi Nusantara*. Pustaka Pelajar.
- JATMAN. (2018). *Pedoman Dasar*. <https://JATMAN.or.id/pedoman-dasar/>
- JATMAN. (2020). *Tasawuf Merupakan Vaksin Ideologi Radikalisme dan Terorisme*. <https://JATMAN.or.id/tasawuf-merupakan-vaksin-ideologi-radikalisme-dan-terorisme/>
- Johns, A. H. (1961). Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History. *JSEAH*, 2(2), 10–23.
- JPNN. (2020). *Habib Luthfi Hanya Penasihat Menag, Bukan Pejabat Struktural Kemenag*. <https://www.jpnn.com/news/habib-luthfi-hanya-penasihat-menag-bukan-pejabat-struktural-kemenag>
- Kafid, N. (2020). Sufisme dalam dinamika kehidupan masyarakat muslim kontemporer. *Mimbar*, 37(1), 23–32.
- Kartodirjo, S. (1966). *The Peasant's Revolt of Banten in 1888*. Nijhoff.
- Kementrian Agama. (2014). *Radikalisme Agama Tantangan Kebangsaan* (J. Zarkasyi & T. Al-Asyhar (eds.)). Direktorat Jenderal Bimas Islam Kemenag

RI.

- Khanafi, I. (2014). *TAREKAT KEBANGSAAN: Kajian Antropologi Sufi Terhadap Pemikiran Nasionalisme Habib Luthfie*. *Jurnal Penelitian*, 10(2).
<https://doi.org/10.28918/jupe.v10i2.367>
- Kitschelt, H. (1986). Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest : Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(1), 57–85. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/193981> Protest : Anti-Nuclear Movem
- Kladersmans, B. (2009). Mobilization and Participation: Social Psychological Expansions Of Resource Mobilization Theory. *American Sociological Association*, 49(5). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2095417>
- Kriesi, H. (2002). *New Social Movements in Western Europe*. UCL Press.
- Larana, E. (1995). *New Social Movement From Ideology to Identity*. Temple University.
- Lavine, M. (2009). From Scholarly Dialogue to Social Movement: Considerations and Implications for Peace through Commerce. *Journal Of Buisness Ethic*, 89(4). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40605391>
- Locher, D. A. (2002). *Collective behavior*. Prentice Hall.
- Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia. (2007). Naskah Akademis: Undang-Undang Terorisme. In *Mahkamah Agung Republik Indonesia*. Badan Litbang Diklat Kumdil Mahkamah Agung RI.
- Masyhuri, A. (2006). *Permasalahan Thariqah: Hasil Kesepakatan Mukhtamar & Musyawarah Besar Jam 'iyyah Ahlith Thariqah Al-Mu 'tabarah Nahdlatul*

Ulama (1957-2005) (2nd ed.). Khalista.

MATAN. (2020). *SOP, Juknis dan Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Tertib*

Administrasi Mahasiswa Ahlith Thoriqoh Al Mu'tabarrah An Nahdliyah

Tahun 2020.

Mc Cright, A. M., & Dunlap, R. E. (2008). The Nature and Social Bases of
Progressive Social Movement Ideology: Examining Public Opinion toward
Social Movements. *Wiley Midwest Sociological Society Stable.*

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40220114>

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1996). *Comparative Perspectives
on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and
Cultural Framings*. Cambridge University Press.

<https://doi.org/http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803987>

McCarthy, J. D., & Wolfson, M. (1996). Resource Mobilization by Local Social
Movement Organizations: Agency, Strategy, and Organization in the
Movement Against Drinking and Driving. *American Sociological Review*,
61(6), 1070. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2096309>

McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1971). Resource Mobilization and Social
Movement: A Partial Theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6).
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2777934>

Meuleman, J. H. (1994). The Role of Islam in Indonesian and Algerian History.
Studia Islamika, 1(2).

Milner, A. . (1983). Islam and The Muslim State. In M. B. Hooker (Ed.), *Islam in
South-East Asia*. Brill.

Mirola, W. (2003). Religious Protest and Economic Conflict: Possibilities and Constraints on Religious Resource Mobilization and Coalitions in Detroit's Newspaper Strike. *Sociology of Religion*, 64(4), 443–461.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3712335>

MT Darul Hasyimi Jogja. (2020a). *[LIVE] KLIWONAN / 11 September 2020*.
www.youtube.com.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JTzsI3RZaHs&t=9337s>

MT Darul Hasyimi Jogja. (2020b). *Tabligh Akbar Haul ke-137 Habib Umar bin Thoha bin Yahya bersama Habib Luthfi*. www.youtube.com.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9gVX1bdKyCg&t=11792s>

Muchlison. (2019). *Kaleidoskop 2019: Habib Luthfi Pimpin Forum Sufi Dunia*.
<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/115077/kaleidoskop-2019--habib-luthfi-pimpin-forum-sufi-dunia>

Mulyati, S. (2017). *Tasawuf Nusantara: Rangkaian Mutiara Sufi Terkemuka*. Prenadamedia Group.

Munabari, F. (2017). Reconciling sharia with 'Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia': The ideology and framing strategies of the Indonesian Forum of Islamic Society. *International Area Studies Review*, 20(3).

Munawar-Rahman, B. (2010). *Argumen Islam untuk Liberalisme: Islam Progresif dan Perkembangan Diskursusnya*. Grasindo.

Ni'am, S. (2016). Tasawuf di Tengah Perubahan Sosial (Studi tentang Peran Tarekat dalam Dinamika Sosial-Politik di Indonesia). *Harmoni: Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius*, 15(2).

NU Channel. (2019a). *HABIB LUTHFI BIN YAHYA: NKRI ADALAH AMANAT*

ALLAH SWT. www.youtube.com. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6d-KfnBRL80&t=578s>

NU Channel. (2019b). *LIVE) PERINGATAN HARI PAHLAWAN DAN*

TASYAKURAN BERSAMA HABIB LUTHFI BIN YAHYA.

www.youtube.com. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zg7ogEMwnYA>

NU Channel. (2020a). *(LIVE) DIALOG LINTAS AGAMA / HARI KESAKTIAN*

PANCASILA Bersama HABIB LUTHFI BIN YAHYA. www.youtube.com.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HgV_757vzhk

NU Channel. (2020b). *HABIB LUTHFI BIN YAHYA : TEGAS !!! KECAM KERAS*

KELOMPOK PEMECAH BELAH INDONESIA !! www.youtube.com.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zuWIeNYNuaw>

Pakar, S. I. (2016). *Tasawuf di Nusantara: Tadarus, Tasawuf dan tarekat.*

Akarsatu.

PBNU. (1985). *Hasil Mukhtamar Nahdlatul Ulama ke-27 Situbondo: Nahdlatul*

Ulama kembali ke Khittah 1926. Sumber Barokah.

Polda Metro Jaya. (2020). *WEBINAR SILATURAHMI NASIONAL LINTAS*

AGAMA. www.youtube.com.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z1aEgNmn8fQ>

Porta, D. Della. (2009). *Democracy in Social Movements.* Palgrave Mac Millan.

Porta, D. Della, & Tarrow, S. (2004). *Transnational Protest and Global Activism.*

Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Pubinfo. (n.d.). *BNPT - Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme.* Retrieved

July 14, 2021, from <http://www.pubinfo.id/instansi-342-bnpt--badan-nasional-penanggulangan-terorisme.html>

Qodir, Z. (2014). *Radikalisme Agama di Indonesia: Pertautan Ideologi Politik Kontemporer dan Kekuasaan* (J. Hasse (ed.)). Pustaka Pelajar.

[http://repository.umy.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/28248/Bab I Pendahuluan.pdf?sequence=1](http://repository.umy.ac.id/bitstream/handle/123456789/28248/Bab%20I%20Pendahuluan.pdf?sequence=1)

Republik Indonesia. (2018). Undang-Undang Nomor 5 Tahun 2018 tentang Perubahan Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2003 tentang Penetapan Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang Nomor 1 Tahun 2002 tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme Menjadi Undang-Undang. In *Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia*.

Robinson, G. E. (2004). Hamas as Social Movement. In Q. Wiktorowicz (Ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Indiana University Press.

Rose, F. (1997). Toward a Class-Cultural Theory of Social Movements: Reinterpreting New Social Movements. *Sociological Forum*, 12(3).
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/685057>

Salem Press. (2011). *Theories of Social Movements*. Salem Press Incorporated.

Sedgwick, M. (2015). Sufis as “Good Muslims”: Sufism in the Battle against Jihadi Salafism. In L. Ridgeon (Ed.), *Sufis and Salafis in the Contemporary Age*. Bloomsbury Academic. <https://doi.org/10.5040/9781474219334>

Shodiq, M. (2016). *Tarekat Shiddiqiyyah Di Tengah Masyarakat Urban Surabaya*. Pustaka Idea.

- Silva, E. (2015). Social Movements, Protest, and Policy. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 100(New Directions in Latin American and Caribbean Studies), 27–39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43673535>
- Sirah Ulama. (2020). *HABIB LUTHFI – Konsep Ekonomi dan Budaya Bangsa Indonesia / Ruh Nasionalisme dan Merah Putih*. www.youtube.com.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XgeKawDf-Y0>
- Siroj, S. A. (2006). *Tasawuf Sebagai Kritik Sosial: Mengedepankan Islam sebagai Inspirasi, Bukan Aspirasi* (A. Baso (ed.); 1st ed.). Penerbit Mizan.
- Snow, D. A. (2004). *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (D. A. Snow, S. A. Soule, & H. Kriesi (eds.)). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470999103>
- Stolley, K. S. (2005). *The Basics of Sociology*. Greenwood Press.
- Sukmana, O. (2016). *Konsep dan Teori Gerakan Sosial*. Intrans Publishing.
- Sztompka, P. (2008). *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*. Prenadamedia Group.
- Thohir, A. (2015). *Gerakan Politik Kaum Tarekat: Peran dan Dinamika Tarekat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah di Pulau Jawa* (1st ed.). CV. Hilmi Inti Perdana.
- Tim Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI. (2018). *Ensiklopedi Islam Nusantara: Edisi Budaya*. Kementerian Agama RI.
- Tridircio, F. (2012). *Social Movement Theory And Far Right Organization* [University Detroit Michigan].
<http://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1480&context>

=oa_dissertations

Triwibowo, D. (2006). *Gerakan Sosial Wahana Civil Society Bagi Demokrasi*.

LP3ES.

Turmudi, E. (2004). *Perselingkuhan Kiai dan Kekuasaan* (2nd ed.). LkiS

Yogyakarta.

Ummah, S. C. (2012). AKAR RADIKALISME ISLAM DI INDONESIA.

HUMANIKA, 12(1), 112–124. <https://doi.org/10.21831/hum.v12i1.3657>

UNNES. (2020). *Upacara Penghargaan Dr.(H.c.) Habib Luthfi bin Yahya*.

www.youtube.com.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OdYWVdY1idg&t=7046s>

Vander Zanden, J. W. (1959). Resistance and Social Movements. *Social Forces*,

37(4), 312–315. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2574178>

Wahid, A. (1985). *Nahdlatul Ulama Kembali ke 'khittah' 1926*. Penerbit Risalah

Bandung.

Wantimpres. (2021). *Wawancara Bapak M. Luthfi Ali Yahya, Anggota*

Wantimpres. www.youtube.com.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kdqsGynRafQ&t=87s>

Wardini, A. (2020). *Habib Luthfi: Kunci Kekuatan Bangsa Adalah Menjaga*

Keberagaman. Koropak. [https://news.koropak.co.id/13014/habib-luthfi-](https://news.koropak.co.id/13014/habib-luthfi-kunci-kekuatan-bangsa-adalah-menjaga-keberagaman)

[kunci-kekuatan-bangsa-adalah-menjaga-keberagaman](https://news.koropak.co.id/13014/habib-luthfi-kunci-kekuatan-bangsa-adalah-menjaga-keberagaman)

Waskito, T. (2018). GENEALOGI REVOLUSI PARADIGMA PEMIKIRAN

KEISLAMAN NAHDLATUL ULAMA. *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*

Dan Filsafat, 15(2), 201. <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v15i2.1382>

- Wickham, C. R. (2004). Interests, ideas, and Islamist outreach in Egypt. In Q. Wiktorowicz (Ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (pp. 231–249). Indiana University Press.
- Wikrotowicz, Q. (2004). *Islamic Activism A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Indiana University Press.
- Woodward, M., Umar, M. S., Rohmaniyah, I., & Yahya, M. (2013). Salafi Violence and Sufi Tolerance? Rethinking Conventional Wisdom. *Terrorism Research Initiative*, 7(6), 58–78.
- Yahya, H. L. Bin, Alimi, M. Y., & Baedhowi. (2020). *Reconstruction of Islamic Da ' wah Thought to Inculcate Piety and Nationalism : The Da ' wah Thoughts of Habib Lutfi*. 70. <https://doi.org/10.15294/komunitas.v12i1.24455>
- Yahya, H. L. Bin, Muttaqin, M., & Muchsin, I. A. (2020). Musical expression of sholawat art in multicultural societies: A study of composition forms. *Harmonia: Journal of Arts Research and Education*, 20(2), 242–251. <https://doi.org/10.15294/harmonia.v20i2.27776>
- Zaid, M. (2012). Islam Wahidiyah: Ajaran dan Pengamalan Shalawat Wahidiyah dalam Mainstream Islam Masyarakat Madura. *Al-Ihkam*, 7(2), 383–400.
- Zidane, M. (2006). *Mengenal Tarekat ala Habib Luthfi Bin Yahya* (M. Zidane (ed.)). Hayat Publishing.
- Zirakzadeh, C. E. (2006). *Social Movement In Politic: A Comparative Study*. Palgrave MC Millan.