A contest of being more religious the muslim millennial preachers in the contemporary Indonesia

by Masduki Masduki

IAIN SALATIGA

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BEING MUSLIM IN A DISRUPTED MILLENNIAL AGE

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FOREWORD

Assalamualaikum wr. wb.

Praise be to Allah SWT for His blessings and grace that this conference can be held this year. Shalawat and salam always be handed over to our Prophet Muhammad SAW.

The first International Conference on Islam and Muslim Societies (ICONIS) was organized as the effort of the IAIN Salatiga Graduate Program to realize the vision as one of the "Referral Center of Islamic Studies" in Central Java and Indonesia. We continue to work hard on the road map to achieve the milestones of that vision. This conference is also an annual program that will be continuously implemented as a meeting place for scholars from various fields of social sciences and humanities who have concern for Islamic studies. We benefit from this conference as a vehicle to build collaborative networks between researchers and universities, as well as capturing quality articles for the publication of Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies (IJIMS). Thanks to God's grace and systematic work (patience), this journal has been indexed by Scopus since August 13, 2017, and indexed by Scimago Journal Ranking (SJR) on the next 9 months, exactly on June 2018.

The theme of this conference is "Being Muslim in a Disrupted Millenial Age". The conference was motivated by the real challenges of the millenial generation and era. Indonesia is predicted to get demographic bonus in 2020-2045. According to the calculations of the National Family Planning Board (BKKBN) RI, in the decade, as many as 70 percent of Indonesian citizens are in the productive age, which is between 15 to 64 years. Only 30 percent are unproductive, for instance under 14 years and over 65 years old. Of course, demographic bonuses have an impact on the increasing number of young people, or more specifically, millennial generation.

According to Neil Howe and William Strauss in the book *Millennials Rising: The Next Great Generation* (2000), millennial generation are those born between 1982 and 20 years later. This means that this year, they are between 15 to 35 years old. Neil and William call the millennial as the generation that determines the future. In Indonesian context, the millennial lifestyle has had a profound influence on various aspects of personal and public life; social, cultural, economic, political and even religious. The most noticeable aspect is the increasing role of social media, which is mainly driven by the millennial generation. The role of social media, for example, has far-reaching impacts on the creative economy, with the increasing variety of digital entrepreneurship-based professions utilizing online sites, youtube, instagram, twitter and facebook. While in politics, social media becomes the personal space of branding and attention seekers that characterize millennials. Interestingly, in many parts of the world, research on millennial generation has grown considerably. In addition to the above books, some of the more popular ones were the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) and University of Berkeley research in 2011 about the millennial generation of America; The Pew Research Center Review entitled *Millennials: A Portrait of Generation Next* (2010). Similarly the Texas-US based Center for Generational

Kinetics through the intense genhq.com site is doing recent research on Millennial and Z generations.

Similar research focusing on Muslim millennials is done by the Tabah Foundation of the United Arab Emirates entitled *Muslim Millennial Attitudes on Religion and Religious Leadership* (2016); The work of British Muslim writer Shelina Zahra Janmohamed *Generation M: Young Muslims Changing the World* (2016) is also interesting. In Indonesia, research and publications on millennial generations begin, but it is still difficult to find specific references to Muslim millennials. In fact, Indonesia is a country with the largest Muslim population in the world. According to the latest data of the Cetral Intelligence Agency, the number of Indonesian Muslims reaches a range of 225 million, far beyond Muslim countries such as Iran, Turkey, Egypt, and countries in the Arabian Peninsula. The proportion of Indonesian Muslims is also very significant, namely 87.2% of the total population of Indonesia. Given that fact, Muslim millennial of Indonesia has a very strategic position in the future. Millennial Muslims in this country can lift the image of Indonesian Islam to become a world reference in realizing a peaceful and harmonious society. Actually, the image has been recognized world widely. Two decades ago, various international media praised Indonesian Islam as an ideal portrait of Muslim society. Newsweek in 1996 labeled Islam Indonesia as "Islam with a smiling face". Newsweek is so fascinated with the style of religious people in Indonesia, calling it: *everyone was kind; everyone was moderate; everyone respected humanistic values and a harmonious life*. Interestingly, six years ago, precisely in 2011, Indonesianist Martin van Bruinessen reviewed the label in his paper with a question: What happened to the smiling face of Indonesian Islam? Martin seemed restless with the Indonesian Islamic movement, which was originally identical with the vision of nationality and humanity, into a movement that tends to be more political and partisan.

This is where Muslim millennial Indonesia can take on the role. Today, around us, the narrative of hatred seems so real. It is laid out clearly through utterances, arguments, and comments on the mass lines crammed with verbal and visual violence. With such great potential, Indonesian Muslim youth are given a choice: To let the hate narrative expand its space, or to present a counter-narrative, through viralization of virtues as the part of millennial-style. This is the significance of organizing this annual conference.

In this conference, there are 54 papers with 65 presenters coming from various institutions in Indonesia and collaborators from the George Washington University and Aligarh Muslim University India. On behalf of the rector IAIN Salatiga and committee of ICONIS, I would like to extend our warmest welcome to all keynote speakers and presenters from UIN Gunung Djati Bandung, Akademi Akuntansi YKPN Yogyakarta, IAIN Bengkulu, IAIN Bukit Tinggi, IAIN Kudus, IAIN Madura, IAIN Palu, IAIN Pekalongan, IAIN ponorogo, IAIN Purwokerto, IAIN Salatiga, IAIN Samarinda, IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo, IAIN Surakarta, IAIN Tulungagung, ITS Surabaya, Institute of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies Yogyakarta, SMART Indonesia, STEBIS IGM, STKIP PGRI Gunung Pangilun, UIN Imam Bonjol Padang, UIN Sunan Ampel, UIN Walisongo, Universitas Ahmad Dahlan Yogyakarta, Universitas Airlangga Surabaya, Universitas

Aisiyah, Universitas Andalas Padang, Universitas Brawijaya Malang, UGM, Universitas Ibrahimi Situbondo, Universitas Islam Makassar, UIN Mataran, UIN Sultan Kasim Riau, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, Universitas Muhammadiyah Prof. Dr. Hamka, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, Universitas Negeri Semarang, Universitas Negeri Surabaya, Universitas Padjadjaran, Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta, Universitas Pancasila, Universitas Syiah Kuala Aceh, Universitas Tadulako Sulawesi, and Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta.

Finally, we hope that in the coming years, this conference can be accessed and followed by more scholars from abroad so as to have a strong resonance on the issues being discussed.

Wassalamualaikum wr. wb.

Zakiyuddin Baidhawy
Director of Postgraduate Program
IAIN Salatiga

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A contest of being more religious: the muslim millennial preachers in the contemporary Indonesia

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Abstract

The modernization and globalization does not reduce the role of religion in human life nowadays. Even, religion is symbolically blended with modern and other non-religious elements. Against this, this article will explore the rise of millennial preachers in Indonesia in line with the progress of digital communication. This study demonstrates how digital media have become a discursive arena of being more religious in contemporary Indonesia. These millennial preachers commonly use social media as a means of da'wa but they reject non-Muslims' social and cultural ways. Their exclusive approach of being a Muslim has been an indication that they contest the common practice of Indonesian Muslims who are long known as 'moderate Muslims'. This article finds that these Muslim preachers are not purely apolitical in practice. They are basically preaching the importance of political Islam. In this context, being more religious is not only intended for Islamizing a Muslim but it is more relevant to be connected to Islamizing the state. This is due to the fact that they are wary with the coming of global culture reducing Muslims' moral through digital media. Secondly, they are working with a political group to challenge the 'secular' government. This means that they do not only have religious motives but also they have political motives. However, the popularity of Muslim millennial preachers in Indonesia provides two important impacts on Indonesian Islam. The first is that it supports the diversity and fluidity of Islamic preaching in Indonesia. The second is that it challenges the traditional religious authority of Indonesian Islam.

Introduction

The distinction between the religious and the non-religious is not relevant nowadays. The religious and the more-religious have been germane in explaining the contemporary development of Muslim societies[1]. Bayat further states that " this "over-religiosity", nowadays couched in various terms such as fundamentalism, revivalism, conservatism, fanaticism or extremism, appears to represent a global trend, which involves most of the world's major creeds."[2] This means that the modernization and globalization does not reduce the role of religion in human life nowadays. Even, religion is symbolically blended with modernity and globalization.

It is not surprising that there are many Islamic preachers who use electronic and social media such as television, Facebook and You Tube for their instruments of preaching (da'wa). This is in line with the contemporary development of Indonesian Millennial Muslims who are very active in using and consuming electronic and social media. Recent

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[1] Asef Bayat, Islam and Democracy : What is the Real Question?, Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press, 2007, p. 5
[2] *Ibid.*

survey done by the CSIS (2017) shows that 79,3 % millennial people consume television daily. This study also shows that 54.3% millennial generations use social media every day. In Western Countries such as in the United States of America, this preaching is called televangelism. Shaima El Naggar[3] explains that televangelism is a symbol of integrating religion and entertainment which results the celebrity culture. Shaima further says "In a similar way to public figures such as popular artists and politicians, televangelists have become 'media celebrities' with thousands of fans and followers on social media networks."[4] The impact of this is that social media networks have become a discursive arena of being more religious.

However, this paper will not focus on the preachers' effort to catch as many as admirers or fans. Thus, this article does not discuss about the contest of preachers in terms of their dakwah content in Indonesian public sphere. Rather, this research focuses on the contest of making Indonesian state to be Islamic state through dakwah. Being more religious in this paper then refers to the desire and hope to Islamize the recent practices of Muslims which is ultimately aimed at Islamizing the state. This paper defines Muslim Millennial preachers referring to Muslim preachers who use social and digital media as their medium of dakwah. Therefore, the millennial preachers are not limited to the age's preachers categorized as millennial generations. This is because age categorization could constrain the study which may not successfully provide the contest of being more religious as desired. This article will delineate the contest of Islamic preaching in Indonesia by focusing on Islamic preachers who use electronic and digital media, particularly social media. The reason of choosing the Islamic preachers who use these media is that these media are used by millennial Muslims. Thus, their preaching is intended for millennial Muslims.

This article will be divided into three sections. The first section discusses about the political motives of Islamic preachers in Indonesia to make a greater Islamization in Indonesia especially in the state level. A short history of dakwah and political Islam connection is also provided. The second section deals with the dominant authority of millennial preachers. The third section deals with the hybrid identity of Muslim millennial preachers. The paper is ended with a conclusion.

Da'wa for Politics? ; A Contest of Being More Religious

Historically, Indonesian dakwah can be traced back during the early day of Islamization in Indonesia. The spread of Islam has been identified as peaceful and accommodative with local cultures. This has been recorded by Jusuf Wanandi[5] who states "Islam arrived in Indonesia in the twelfth century through the traders and merchants from Gujarat, Southwest India, who had themselves been converted earlier. Thus, the introduction of Islam to Indonesia had been peaceful, through trade over many generations, and not through conquest and occupation as it had been in the Middle East or North Africa. This *penetration pacifique* of several centuries began in the market places around the coastal areas and gradually moved inland. A major development occurred at the end of the Hindu Kingdom of Majapahit in East Java, when the king was converted and Islam's influence grew from the fifteenth century onwards".

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[3] Shaima El Naggar, The Impact of Digitization on the Religious Sphere : Televangelism as an Example, IJIMS (Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies) Vol. 4 No. 2 December 2014 (189-211).
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Jususf Wanandi, Islam in Indonesia : Its History, Developments and Future Challenges, in *Asia-Pacific Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2, 2002P.105

The dakwah has been successfully indigenized so that Islam then has been accepted without any great violence. This dakwah was not much connected with politics. The preachers such as Sunan Kalijaga and other saints (known as wali sanga or nine saints) did not try to establish Islamic caliphate or motivate their Muslim followers to create Islamic caliphate or Islamic state. Even, these nine saints have been known as the symbol of cultural Islam, not political Islam. Cultural Islam refers to the importance of Islamizing Muslim society while political Islam focuses on Islamizing the state or making an Islamic state.

In similar vein, M.C Ricklefs labels the above dakwah the 'mystic synthesis'. He mentions that there are three characteristics of this mystic synthesis: (1) A strong sense of Islamic identity.(2) Observance of the five pillar of the faith. (3) Acceptance of the reality of multiple local spiritual forces.[6] This indicates that the dakwah process which was accommodative and 'soft' could not be separated from the role of preachers who were from the Sufism tradition.

However, with the coming of contending modernity and global Islamic reform, the mystic syhthesis "came under challenge"[7]. This is a part of Islamic preachers' role in Islamizing Muslim society. The establishment of Muhammadiyah in Yogyakarta by Ahmad Dahlan was an attempt to reform Islamic understanding of Muslim society from any element of mystic synthesis.

Furthermore, after the independence of Indonesia, dakwah has been also connected with politics. The desire to establish Islamic state is sponsored and motivated by Islamic preachers. The failure of Muslim politicians in promoting and establishing Islamic – Sharia based in Indonesia has changed their struggle and strategy to Islamize Indonesian state. The result of 1955 general election in Indonesia was unsatisfactory for the Islamic state promoters. The Islamic parties' votes were behind the secular party group.

The political struggle through general election was not the only channel to implement the goal of Islamizing the state. Some Islamists took the gun to make Islamic state such as the DI/TII rebellion in West Java and PRRI in Sumatra. Indonesian government responded the PRRI rebellion in 1958 by banning the Masyumi party which was suspected as having alliance with the PRRI.[8]

Subsequent to the rise of the New Order, the Indonesian military viewed political Islam negatively. This is not strange, since the military were of the opinion that political Islam had great potency to create instability. Because the New Order was focused on economic development, it needed national stability. Therefore, the New Order constructed a new political framework, under which four old Islamic parties (NU, Parmusi, PSII, Perti) became Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) or the United Development Party.[9] This political party was obliged to replace Islam with Pancasila as its ideological basis. Furthermore, prior to the general election in 1987, this party also changed its symbol from the *Ka'bah*[10] to the Star.[11]

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[6] M.C Riklefs, Religion, Politics and Social Dynamics in Java : Historical and Contemporary Rhymes in Expressing Islam : Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia (Greg Fealy and Sally White), ISEAS : Singapore, 2008), p. 115

[7] Ibid, p. 116

[8] Faisal Ismail, *Islam and Pancasila: Indonesian Politics 1945-1995*, (Jakarta: Departemen Agama, 2001), p. 131.

[9] Bachtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003) p. 49. See also, Umaidi Riadi, *Strategi PPP 1973-1982: Suatu Study Tentang Kekuatan Politik Islam Tingkat Nasional* (Jakarta:Integrita Press, 1984),; Syaifuddin Zuhri, et.al, *PPP, NU dan MI : Gejolak wadah Politik Islam* (Jakarta: Integrita Press, 1984.

[10] *Ka'bah* is a holy shrine in Mecca towards which all Muslims in the world orient their faces during their five daily prayers. This symbol was very important in attracting Muslim to choose PPP.

There were two main Muslim groups, with regard to their response to the New Order's policy towards political Islam. The first group was that of scriptualistic Islam. This was represented by an organization called the DDII or *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia* (Indonesian Council for Islamic Mission). This group felt that Islam should be practiced in all of Indonesia (*kaffah*).[12] This meant that Islamic teaching would formally be governed by the state. Besides the DDII, there were other radical groups promoting political Islam. One of these radical groups was a religious group in the port area of Tanjung Priok. Because of its radical nature, the government attacked this group and killed some of its members.[13]

The second group responding to the New Order's policy was that of cultural Islam. This group felt that Islam could be realized in a cultural fashion. This group was against Islam being governed formally by the state.[14] Abdurrahman Wahid was a prominent figure in this group. He said that "[...] using religious politics is a dangerous tendency. Let the government govern and let the religious groups take care of their own affairs."[15]

There was a common perception in Indonesian Muslim thought that establishing an Islamic party in Indonesia was impossible, under the New Order administration. Therefore, the first group thought that Islamic parties were no longer important tools for pursuing Muslim political interests under the New Order government. The DDII for instance has been used for the goal of Islamizing the state by several Islamists and well-known Muslim preachers such as Mohammad Nastir. The Dakwah then was used as the instrument for several Muslim preachers to propagate the superiority of Islamic values compared to Western values.

After the fall of Soeharto the link between dakwah and politics can be seen from the establishment of PK which now turns to be PKS. This political party has a close connection with the Tabiyah movement in Indonesian higher education. The Tarbiyah movement is a social and political movement emphasizing on the Dakwah strategies for establishing the Islamic state based on the Hasan al-Banna's idea. The rise of the Tarbiyah movement can be linked to two important factors. The first is the new order's oppression to political Islam. Because Muslims cannot channel their aspirations through political Islam, they then chose to use the Trabiyah movement as the best way to implement their goal. The second factor is the global influences, especially from the Middle East. This is related to the influence of Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt and Salafi movement in Saudi Arabia.
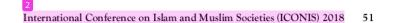
The dakwah trajectories during the New Order cannot be separated from the desire of Muslim groups to implement Islamic state in Indonesia. Because the political parties have not been effective for gaining support from Muslims to establish Islamic state, they then use Dakwah to propagate and teach about the superiority of Islam over Western values. M. Nastir as the main figure of the DDII views that dakwah and politics cannot be separated.[16]

Nowadays, with the rise of digital media, Muslim preachers have still regarded the importance of dakwah to realize the state's Islamization in Indonesia. In this case, the

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[11] M Nasir Tamara, " Sejarah Politik Islam Orde Baru" in *Prisma,* no. 5 (1988), p. 49.

[12] Taufiq Nugroho, *Pasang Surut Islam dan Negara Pancasila* (Yogyakarta: PADMA, 20030, pp.64-69 .

[13] This group was informally led by Amir Biki. This group organised religious lectures critical of the New Order policies. Because of this, the military attacked this group and killed many people. This tragedy was called *Peristiwa Tanjung Priok.*

[14] Taufiq Nugroh, *Pasang Surut Islam dan Negara Pancasila,* pp. 60-64.

[15] Adam Schwarz, *A Nation in Waiting : Indonesia in the 1990s* (San Fransisco: Westview Press, 1994), p. 162 .

[16] Aay Muhammad Furqon, Partai Keadilan Sejahtera : Ideologi dan Praksis Politik Kaum Muda Muslim Kontemporer, (Teraju : Jakarta, 2004), p. 125

dakwah can be seen as the process and instrument for political Islam. As the process, the dakwah is the teaching the importance of Islamic values. Most preachers propagate the Umma to participate in every general election actively. Muslims are demanded to vote Islamic parties or pious Muslims to be their representatives. They are prohibited to vote non-Islamic parties which do not fight for the Muslims' interest.

Dakwah as the instrument can be seen from the Jihadi's dakwah strategy. The Jihadi members use the dakwah as the instrument to implement Islamic state. Ken Ward reveals that " dakwah and education are thus to be the means by which the Muslim community is brought to an appropriate conception of Jihad. This is in line with PUPJI, the 'general struggle Guidelines of JI' which its central leadership board produced in 1996. It defines dakwah and education as the first steps in JI's strategy for creating an Islamic state"[17]. The dakwah as the instrument of establishing the state is slightly different from the Muslims who regard the dakwah as the process for political Islam. The first is really attempting at making Islamic state in Indonesia. Secondly, Muslims who use the dakwah as the instrument for Islamizing the state are characterized by their concern on non-oratory dakwah. This does not mean that they are not using oratory dakwah. They may use oratory dakwah but their preaching is not as massive as non-oratory dakwah. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia which is now prohibited in Indonesia previously used printed media for Islamizing the state. However, dakwah as the process for political Islam still in the process of negotiation between promoting Pancasila and Islam as the state ideology. Its preachers are truly conservative but not radical as the Jihadi's group.

In this paper, the focus is given to the Dakwah as the process of islamizing the state which may ultimately be aimed at establishing the state. Dakwah as the process in the context of political Islam still cannot be predicted its direction in future. Its dynamics and development may be much influenced by Indonesian government's policy. The dakwah in this context can be seen as the 'protest' for the economic uncertainty, corruption and other social problems in Indonesia. It is not strange that in this group, preachers may join with 'secular' groups which are also critical to the government. Since the corruption and other social problems cannot be solved even worsened by the government's policy, the preachers such as Ustadz Abdul Shomad may always be popular. Their preacher content will be received well by Millennial Muslim but they will always be regarded as the 'mischievous' preacher by Indonesian government. This is because the preaching content to some extent is promoting the importance of Islamic values over other values including the implementation of Islamic law. They promote these values under economic deprivation and job scarcity in Indonesia. This makes Islamic values as the officious solution for these economic problems.

The main issue promoted by Muslim millennial preachers can be generally categorized as follows; first, they preach about the importance of selecting or choosing pious Muslim leaders. They propagate about the obligation of Muslims to come and vote the candidates who are pious during the Election Day so that they can channel their political aspiration of implementing Islamic law. When the DPR (representatives), DPRD (local representatives), regents, governors and president are pious Muslims, they believe that an Islamic state can easily established in Indonesia without violence.

Second, these millennial preachers ask their congregations to come and conduct five daily prayers in the mosque. For these preachers, mosque is central for establishing the best umma (global Islamic community) in this globalizing world. It is not only as a place of

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[17]Ken Ward, Indonesian Terrorism : From Jihad to Dakwah ? in Expressing Islam : Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia (Greg Fealy and Sally White), ISEAS : Singapore, 2008), p. 214

worship but it is also as the center for social, cultural and political movements. Mosque is not only intended for religious activities. It is also desired for the use of 'secular' activities for the umma benefits.

Third, these millennial preachers are challenging the government's policy which is not beneficial for Muslims in Indonesia. The issue of communism and Chinese immigrants is one important topic which is always delivered during their preaching. For them, the Jokowi government tends to be accommodative with Chinese people both immigrants and non-immigrants.

The above explanation indicates that Dakwah actually is not immune from political motives. However, both the dakwah as the instrument and process for political Islam still negotiate with local, national and global political landscapes. Furthermore, one should consider that the above distinctions of dakwah in Indonesia cannot reveal the real practices of dakwah in connection with political Islam. Indonesian preachers are basically diverse in their educational backgrounds and preaching content. This diversity proves that Islamic preaching in Indonesia is not monolithic. Some of them preach and propagate Islam without attempting at touching political Islam. They are preaching for Islamizing Muslim societies, not Islamizing the state.

The Dominant Authority of Millennial Preachers
There are two cases which can be seen as the example of the dominant authority of millennial preachers in Indonesia. The first case is the issue of 200 official preachers decided by the government in May 2018. Shortly after the 200 official preacher's recommendation from Indonesian government issued, this government's recommendation has been contested, especially on social media. The issue proposed by the opponents is that the government only selects the preachers which are 'soft' toward government. They also criticize the inclusion of 'liberal' preachers like Abdul Muqsith Ghazali. Most of the opponents on Social Media are millennial Muslims. They respond negatively to the decision issued by the ministry of religious affairs. They also disapprove with the decision which does not enlist the millennial and famous preachers in Indonesia.

Some Islamic preachers (Ustadz or Da'i) who have a lot of 'fans' such as Ustadz Abdul Shomad, Ustadz Felix Saw, Ustadz Zulkarnain and many others are not included on the list issued. The reason behind their exclusion from the list is clear; these three preachers are preaching about the state's islamization and of course they are critical to the government. The list issued by the government indicates that Indonesian government has been worried with the development and prospect of Indonesian dakwah. The political nuance on dakwah actually can be divided into two general descriptions. The first is related to political Islam which is the concern of this paper while the second is closely in connection to the fear of the recent government to the rise of opposition groups in Indonesian politics. The government may think about the potential of the opposition groups to increase their votes in next general election challenging the ruling party. Preachers like Ustad Shomad may not join any opposition groups but Ustad Zulkarnain can work with the opposition groups. The 212 mass demonstrations put the dakwah on the real political contest which has ultimately become a warning to the Jokowi's government. The collaboration of Muslim preachers who work with the opposition groups has successfully defeated the candidate supported by the government. This becomes the early warning for the government so that it has always tried to control the dakwah.

The second case is the debate about the dakwah's way between Ahmad Mustofa Bisri and Hasan Haikal. The contest can be seen from the social media, namely Facebook. On the issue of the ways to conduct the dakwah, Hasan Haikal defines the word 'Sadidan" in the Qur'an as 'hard or violently'. He also explains the word 'baligha' in the Qur'an as 'piercing the heart'. These definitions are contested by Ahmad Mustofa Bisri who has been known for long time as moderate preacher. He prefers defining the word 'sadidan' in the Qur'an as 'good or well' while the word 'baligha' is defined 'touching the heart'. [18] The first preacher denotes the importance of hard or even violent way to conduct dakwah. The model of this dakwah is accurately done by the FPI (Front Pembela Islam or Islamic Defender Front). The FPI followers might propose the implementation of Islamic law through violent actions. They refine Muslim's tradition and culture without considering the good way or 'sadidan'. The word in the Qur'an has been manipulated to support their dakwah actions. This dakwah strategy basically deconstructs the dakwah strategy which was instigated by the previous preachers of Indonesian Islam like the nine saints. They contest the meaning of more religious as being Islamic zero tolerance.

The above two cases are an indication of the popularity of preachers who are close to millennial Muslims. They have the potential to change the dominant authority of traditional preachers who may not use social media. The traditional preachers are characterized to their concern on developing 'moderate' Islam, not attempting at Islamizing the state. Their concern is Islamizing Muslim societies, not the state. However, some traditional preachers now have been conscious about their potential role which may be replaced by 'new' millennial preachers. Ahmad Mustofa Bisri for instance is actively using Facebook to preach the importance of 'moderate' Islam. He may consider that the face of Indonesian Islam which is moderate and tolerant should not be replaced by the global Islam influencing the millennial preachers who may not be tolerant and moderate.

The dominant authority of millennial preachers will not simply replace the authority of traditional preachers. These millennial preachers are only making the multiplicity of Indonesian preachers' authority. Traditional Muslim preachers already established religious authority through their preaching, education institution and their roles in the society. Some of them live in *Kampung* or villages as the living model. Sometimes they preach with local languages. Because many of them do not use social media, their authority may be reduced. Based on theory of structuration's Anthony Giddens,[19] their authority can be kept when they are able to 'capitalize' language through social media. The authority of preachers during this millennial age very much depends on the popularity, while the authority needs the capitalization of language both through oral and written language. It is difficult to gain popularity when one does not have access on social media during this time. The traditional preachers however have the authority because they have religious knowledge, behavior and moral as the role model in daily life. Their authority is genuinely produced from the depth of religious knowledge owned.

The authority of millennial preachers however is based on their capability of capitalizing social media through their language and performance. Social media are crucial because they provide the 'intimate' interaction between the preachers and their followers. The preachers are not only able to preach through their videos of preaching but also they can update their status regarding their daily lives. Their followers can comment and make interaction anytime and anywhere. This makes dakwah being owned by anyone, not only

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[18] *See, Facebook Status of* Ahmad Mustofa Bisri uploaded on 6 June 2018.
[19] See, Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society : Outline of the Theory of Society, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984

monopolized by those who have religious knowledge. Every Muslims can preach on Facebook and You Tube widely. Dakwah then has been more diverse in terms of preaching content and preachers.

From the preaching content, the issue is not only related to religion but also to 'secular' domains. Dakwah is secularized so that it becomes 'not sacred'. Because it is not 'sacred', dakwah produces wrath or anger for those who dislike it. Dakwah does not produce tranquility as hoped and desired in the Qur'an and Hadith. Dakwah can be linked easily with political issues, economic and others. Even, dakwah is manipulated for the 'unknown' interest which produces 'hoaxes'. Jonru is the best example for this case. Before he was sentenced and sent to jail, he had been actively demonstrating the 'disguised' dakwah. As the millennial preacher, he had a lot of fans and followers on his Facebook. His authority is so dominant so that his status is responded by thousands of his followers. His authority is produced from the capitalization of language through Facebook. His followers regard that what is said by him is 'true' so that hoaxes could be easily regarded as the true information. Some of his 'hate speech' is received well by millennial Muslims. The intention of Islamizing the state sometimes is the highest goal for several preachers without considering the information shared. His performance is also respectable. He has long bread and wears Islamic fashion. The government finally sent him to jail based on several reasons. Firstly, he has a great authority on Facebook challenging the government's authority. When he publishes any comments regarding government's policy, his followers trust to his status rather than to the government. Secondly, Indonesian government considers that the issue proposed and updated by Jonru can potentially reduce the people's trust to the government. Indonesian government understands that there is still economic discrepancy among people. This becomes the fertile terrain for hoaxes spread by him.

From the preachers, as mentioned earlier, due to the rise of social media, everyone can be a preacher. This has shaped the so-called 'democratization' of preachers in Indonesian dakwah. Every year, a new millennial preacher may be born through social media coming from any educational background and any regions. The capability of both Islamic oratory and using social media play a crucial role for the rise of new millennial preachers in Indonesia. One should look into these millennial preachers' oratory carefully on how they are able to make a distinction with other preachers. This distinction is crucial for the preachers to popularize their oratory. As the impact of social media, a new millennial preacher will appear but another preacher will diminish in the Indonesian dakwah public sphere. When one mentions Ustad felix Siau, he or she can state the identity which is close to him; on how he preaches, his fashion, and others.

The Hybrid Preachers
Globalization and identity is inter-related nowadays. With the advance of technology as well as globalization, identity of human beings is always in a process. It is not stable and fixed. Globalization as the product of modernity has successfully connected people around the globe in a short period of time. Interaction of Muslims around the globe has become easier. This creates inter-cultural and inter-idea exchanges among Muslims in the world. This has been accurately described by John Tomlison as follows " the globalization of mundane experience may make a stable sense of "local" cultural identity (including national identity) increasingly difficult to maintain, as our daily lives become more and

more interwoven with, and penetrated by, influences and experiences that have their origins far away"[20]

Furthermore, with the invention and innovation of social media, Muslims are able to share Islamic knowledge and teachings anytime and anywhere freely. Information shared through digital media has been accessed by other Muslims so that it causes the identity of Muslims who access the digital media is negotiable and in the making. Global media demonstrates two impacts on Muslim identity.

The first impact is that non-Islamic elements as long as do not contradict with Islamic values are received and practiced by Muslims in their daily lives. Modernity is the best example here. Muslims reluctantly receive modernity though it is Western or non-Muslim products. However, as we will show later, modernity is always suspected by Muslim millennial preachers as having dangerous values for Muslim identity. While these preachers also use modern instruments made by Western companies, they reject the Western ways. They always propagate the superiority of Islamic values over the Western values. This is actually an indication on how they are being selective to be a Muslim under globalization threat. Muslim preachers anticipate and wary to the impact which can deconstructs the Muslim identity.

This second impact is that Muslim preachers take benefit of being active on digital media to learn further about Islamic teachings and Islamic world. They actively learn about Islamic traditions and culture practiced in other regions in the world. Through *googling*, Muslim preachers can know the 'true' Islam which can be shared to their congregations or followers. Furthermore, Muslim preachers who have educational background from countries like Egypt and Saudi Arabia are abundant. They are basically trained in these countries with or without scholarship. The training and education gotten in these countries support the preachers to actively preach and propagate the 'genuine' Islam which is not practiced by Muslims in Indonesia. They purify the tradition and culture which contradicts with the 'genuine' Islam coming from the Middle East.

These two impacts support the idea that globalization has been establishing the hybrid identity of Muslim preachers. Their interaction with social media has enabled them to be modern and Islamic. Modern in this case refers to their use of digital media for preaching. Islamic in this case refers to their attempt at learning Islam from other Muslim countries. The rise of digital media as the impact of globalization emphasizes the hybridity of identity of Muslim preachers. Hybridity in this case refers to Jan Nederveen Pieterse[21] who states that "one of the original notions of hybridity is syncretism". This indicates that Muslim preachers' identity patterns are more complex, as they assert local Islamic loyalties but they also want to share global Islamic values.

In this context, a Muslim millennial preacher is difficult to be categorized into traditionalist, modernist, salafist, and others. This is because in a millennial preacher could be found traditionalist and salafist as well. Ustadz Abdul Shomad for instance has been categorized as traditionalist-based preacher. It is true when one learns from his cultural background which is close to Nahdatul Ulama, a traditional Muslim organization and the biggest Muslim organization in Indonesia. However, when one looks carefully into his preaching content and social interaction as well as his educational background in higher education; (he graduated from Egypt and Morocco), he cannot be easily attributed as traditionalist preacher. In fact, his preaching content is reflecting both traditionalist and salafist idea or, perhaps, other Islamic ideas. His support toward the state's Islamization or

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[20] John Tomlison, Localization and Culture, Cambridge: 1999, Polity Press, hal. 113
[21] Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Globalization as Hybridization, *International Sociology* 1994 9: 161

establishing an Islamic state as proposed by HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) and traditionalist's Islamic practices such as the *tahlilan* is an indication of his hybrid Islamic identity. The first is closely related to the global Islamic Salafi influence while the latter is related to local Islamic tradition as practiced by Nahdlatul Ulama followers.

However, Muslim millennial preachers actually share similar support of establishing an Islamic state or at least the larger state's Islamization. It is actually rational when one looks into Muslim's daily lives nowadays. Many Muslims, though living under economic deprivation, have been consuming and practicing religious teachings. More and more Muslims are attending mosques and going to the Holy Lands to pilgrimage. Islamic films, songs and soap operas are easily distributed and consumed. This changing condition actually was started from the 1990's New Order regime. Robert W Hefner states:

" when, on December 6, 1990, President Soeharto beat a large mosque drum (*bedug*) to open the first national conference of the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals, he shattered in one fell swoop one of the most enduring stereotypes of New Order politics. Here, after all, was a man long regarded as a staunch defender of Javanist mysticism and *Pancasila* pluralism giving his blessing to an elite Muslim organization openly dedicated to the Islamization of Indonesian society. Most observers were aware that the president had made a few concessions to Muslims in the late 1980s. But no one had expected Soeharto to depart so boldly from the ground rules of New Order politics by sponsoring a Muslim lobby in the state. With this action, it was said, the president was doing more than increasing Muslim participation in elite politics. He was "playing the Muslim" card against those in the military and prodemocracy movement who had begun to challenge his rule. New Order politics would never be the same."

Whatever Soeharto's motives, one should understand that since at that time, Islam has been potential as the alliance in Indonesian politics. Soeharto may use Islam to gain support from Muslim groups for keeping his authoritarian regime. However, the main point is that, during his late period of presidency, he was conscious about the potential forces of Muslim group. Even nowadays, as the impact of the greater Islamization done by millennial preachers many Indonesian Muslims have been changing from being religious to the so-called 'conservative turn'[22] or being more religious. Similar to Soeharto's era, Islam now has been potentially used for political interest and purpose. With the growing Islamization and the rise of millennial preachers, some politicians, both secular and Islamic parties, have tried to work with these preachers.

Although these millennial preachers are willing and have desire to Islamize the state, this goal could not be easily implemented. In this globalization era, their hybrid identity can be beneficial for this goal but it also can obstruct this mission. Since they use modern instruments such as digital media, their interaction is not only limited to accessing Islamic values and teachings. These millennial preachers may access and learn about non-Islamic values such as Western economic and politics. As a result, these preachers have multiple understandings of Islam as well as non-Islam. As long as these values do not contradict with Islam, these preachers may want to implement these values. It is unsurprising that many millennial preachers then produce economic innovations to gain profits from relevant sources. While they are preaching, their staffs sell their works. Ustadz Yusuf Mansur for instance established Paytren, an innovation of digital application in the

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[22]See, Martin van Bruinnesen,

economic sector. Ustadz Abdul Shomad sells his books during his 'road' preaching and publishes his videos on You Tube.

Besides in the economic sector, these millennial preachers also can work with secular political parties as mentioned earlier in this paper. This collaboration can be seen from the 212 demonstrations in Jakarta before the Jakarta governor in which Ustadz Habib Rizieq was the prominent leader of this action. This collaboration indicates that, as long as, the minimal target of Islamization can be accomplished; the preachers can work with any political groups. Working with secular political groups may reduce the state's Islamization as targeted. However, it is better than there is no any Islamization project. This is because dakwah is continues process without ending. These millennial preachers will always attempt at Islamizing the state since they believe that Islam and Dakwah cannot be separated.

However, their hybrid identity may at least reduce their attempt at Islamizing the state. The negotiation with multiple elements such as economic profit, popular culture, national and global political landscape can lessen the preachers' efforts of this project. The best example of this is PKS (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera or Prosperous Justice Party) which now turns to be 'softer' and 'accommodative' by accepting Pancasila as the final ideology of Indonesia. The reason behind this changing political attitude is that PKS needs to get more votes from Indonesian people. This decision is partly due to its negotiation with its political interest in the general election, not purely for dakwah motives. Popular culture is also able to moderate the state's Islamization project in Indonesia by Muslim millennial preachers. The rise of Islamic movies and songs in Indonesia can reduce the 'hard' dakwah since dakwah then is working with capitalism. The reason behind the making and distribution of Islamic movies cannot be purely intended for purification of Islamic tradition and culture. There is also a profit motive in it.

Conclusion

Dakwah is actually not immune from politics. The desire and hope to Islamize the state from Muslims can be traced back from the early day of Indonesian independence. Although they failed to implement this goal, during the Old Order and New Order, dakwah for politics is evident. A famous Muslim politician, Mohammad Nastir, turned to be a famous preacher working with other figures to establish DDII (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia). This is because establishing Islamic parties was prohibited at that time. After the fall of New Order, the freedom of Indonesian politics has supported the rise of Islamic parties. However, their failure to gain majority votes in the election has caused the desire and hope to Islamize the state through dakwah.

Nowadays, with the rise and popularity of digital media, many Muslim preachers are born, popularized and admired by Millennial Muslims. In this paper, they are called Millennial Muslim preachers. Dakwah in the hand of these preachers have become more complicated, blurred and dynamic. The popularity of Muslim millennial preachers in Indonesia provides two important impacts on Indonesian Islam. The first is that it supports the diversity and fluidity of Islamic preaching in Indonesia. The second is that it challenges the traditional religious authority of Indonesian Islam.

After, or perhaps when, the failure of political Islam through democratic arena, dakwah has been always connected with political Islam as their preaching content discreetly supports the state's Islamization or making an Islamic state in Indonesia. As described in this paper, their dakwah actually is still in the process of making an Islamic state. This process however has been hampered by two main factors. The first factor is internal. It is

related to their hybrid identity caused by their interaction with multiple elements of globalization, capitalism, politics, economy and many others. Dakwah for political Islam can be distorted and reduced by the preachers' economic motives for instance. The second is the government's control. Although Indonesia now is a democratic country, there is still a suspicion toward political Islam. This control is also related to the rise of high distrust among people to the Jokowi's government. The inability of government to reduce poverty and provide jobs for people can potentially give a fertile terrain of dakwah for political Islam. As a result, the future trajectories of dakwah for political Islam in Indonesia done by Muslim millennial preachers will always be negotiated. Social media have become a negotiation arena for this contest.

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A contest of being more religious the muslim millennial preachers in the contemporary Indonesia