

**Negotiating Islamic Identity Among Urban Middle-Class  
Muslims: Cases from Islamic Private Tutoring  
Institutions in Jakarta, Indonesia**

**A Thesis**

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the  
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of**

**Master of Arts (M.A)**



**Universitas  
Islam Internasional  
Indonesia**

by:

Alviani Rachma

01212110015

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

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## ABSTRACT

Name : Alviani Rachma  
Programme : Islamic Studies  
Tittle : Negotiating Islamic Identity among Urban Middle-Class Muslims:  
Cases from Islamic Private Tutoring Institutions in Jakarta, Indonesia

This study delves into the intricate religious identity challenges faced by urban middle-class Muslims as they navigate their roles as modern Muslims. The increasing prevalence of secularism as the impact of modernity, Islamism phenomena in the urban city, and Islamic revivalism's impacts offers educated Muslims an opportunity to establish non-formal Islamic education platforms in the form of Islamic private tutoring institutions through intellectual discourse, aiming to influence urban middle-class Muslim families in shaping their children's Islamic identity. To achieve its objectives, this study employs Brekhus' concepts of "marked identity" and "unmarked identity". It demonstrates how the marked identity group can exert influence over the unmarked identity group under certain circumstances. Employing qualitative research methods and socio-political approaches, this investigation conducts in-depth interviews and close observation of two prominent non-formal Islamic education namely *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs* both located in Jakarta. This study argues that Islamic private tutoring institutions as non-formal Islamic education have a role in shaping urban middle-class Muslims' Islamic identity amid modernity. The ability of educated Muslims to revive Islamic knowledge in a modern way provides a complete picture of Islam which attracted urban middle-class Muslim families. This process not only fosters a sense of modern Muslim identity but also instills a moderate Islamic identity aligned with the values of the Qur'an and Sunnah. It sheds light on the complexities of Muslim dilemmas in shaping their distinct religious identity.

**Keywords:** *Islamic identity, urban middle-class Muslim, Islamic revivalism, non-formal Islamic education*

## الملاخص

الاسم : ألفياني رحمة

الكلية : الدراسات الإسلامية

العنوان : التفاوض بشأن الهوية الإسلامية بين مسلمي الطبقة الوسطى في المناطق الحضرية: حالات من مؤسسات التدريس الإسلامية الخاصة في جاكرتا ، إندونيسيا

هذه الدراسة تتعمق في التحديات المعقدة لهوية الدين التي تواجهها المسلمون من الطبقة الوسطى الحضرية أثناء تنقلهم في أدوارهم كمسلمين حديثين. زيادة انتشار العلمانية نتيجة تأثير الحداثة، وظاهرة الإسلامية في المدينة الحضرية، وتأثيرات إحياء الإسلام تقدم للمسلمين المتعلمين فرصة لإقامة منصات تعليم إسلامي غير رسمية في شكل مؤسسات التعليم الخاصة بالتعليم الإسلامي من خلال الحوار الفكري، بهدف التأثير على أسر المسلمين من الطبقة الوسطى الحضرية في تشكيل هوية أطفالهم الإسلامية من أجل تحقيق أهدافها، تستخدم هذه مفاهيم "هوية مميزة" و "هوية غير مميزة" المقترحة من قبل بريكوس (Brekhus). وتوضح كيف يمكن لمجموعة الهوية المميزة أن تؤثر على مجموعة الهوية غير المميزة في ظروف معينة. باستخدام أساليب البحث النوعي النهج الاجتماعي السياسي، تجري هذه الدراسة مقابلات عميقة ومراقبة دقيقة لمؤسستين بارزتين للتعليم الإسلامي غير الرسمي وهما Alif Iqra و Iqralabs وكليهما يقع في جاكرتا. تفترض هذه الدراسة أن مؤسسات التعليم الخاصة بالتعليم الإسلامي غير الرسمي لها دور في تشكيل هوية المسلمين من الطبقة الوسطى الحضرية وسط التحديات الحديثة. قدرة المسلمون المتعلمين على إحياء المعرفة الإسلامية بطريقة حديثة تقدم صورة شاملة للإسلام جذبت أسر المسلمون من الطبقة الوسطى الحضرية. هذه العملية لا تعزز فقط إحساسا بالهوية المسلمة الحديثة بل تنشر أيضا هوية إلامية معتدلة تتوافق مع قيم القرآن والسنة. إنها تسلط الضوء على تعقيدات الصراعات التي يواجهها المسلمون في تشكيل هويتهم الدينية المميزة.

**الكلمات الرئيسية:** الهوية الإسلامية، المسلمون من الطبقة الوسطى الحضرية، إحياء إسلامي، التعليم الإسلامي غير الرسمي

## TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

### IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

#### CONSONANTS

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ء	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k or ñ	k or n
ب	b	b	b	b or p	ژ	—	zh	j	j				or y	or y
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s				or ğ	or ğ
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	گ	—	g	g	g
ث	th	ṯ	ṯ	s	ص	ṣ	ṣ	ş	s	ل	l	l	l	l
ج	j	j	c	c	ج	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	z	م	m	m	m	m
چ	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	t	ن	n	n	n	n
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	z	ه	h	h	h <sup>1</sup>	h <sup>1</sup>
خ	kh	kh	h	h	ع	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	—	و	w	v or u	v	v
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g or ğ	g or ğ	ي	y	y	y	y
ذ	dh	ḏ	ḏ	z	ف	f	f	f	f	ة	a <sup>2</sup>			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	ḳ	k	ال	ʾ <sup>3</sup>			

<sup>1</sup> When h is not final. <sup>2</sup> In construct state: at. <sup>3</sup> For the article, al- and -l-.

#### VOWELS

	ARABIC AND PERSIAN	OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH
<i>Long</i>	ا or آ ā	ā ū ī } words of Arabic and Persian origin only
	و ū	
	ي ī	
<i>Doubled</i>	ئِـئِـ iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)
	ئِـئِـ uww (final form ū)	uvv
<i>Diphthongs</i>	اَؤْ au or aw	ev
	اِئِـ ai or ay	ey
<i>Short</i>	ا a	a or e
	و u	u or ü / o or ö
	ي i	ı or i

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background

Muslims face some difficulties in dealing with modernity and their own identity. They require a new identification model that will act as a constructive response to the challenges of globalization and enrich the multi-cultural space, particularly for those who live in cosmopolitan cities, where the situation promises Muslims "a good life" with a flourishing democracy, a freedom right for workers including Muslim women, improving education, health, and living conditions, and with technological advances eradicating the distance,<sup>1</sup> in the city such as Jakarta. The disconnection from the traditional and rural results in the disappearance of historical values. Religion, in particular, manifests a secularization.<sup>2</sup> The new urban Muslims became free from theology and religion as forms of social authority, as well as the old traditional mode of living. They are now presented with new opportunities, new sources of income, and the freedom to remake themselves and their world. Modern features such as capitalism and nationalism have generated a toxic mixture of urban middle-class Muslim identity.<sup>3</sup>

Generally, the nature of modernity bears positive and negative results, which tend to lead to other changes, like globalization. Ariel Heryanto argues how Islam and Muslims in modern times express their hobbies in popular cultures, such as loving contemporary K-pop music and drama which are mushrooming in social media, and

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> Sherine Hafez, "An Islam of Her Own: Reconsidering Religion and Secularism in Women's Islamic Movements," *Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press*, 2011, 1–189.

<sup>3</sup> Jan A. Ali, "Modernity, Its Crisis and Islamic Revivalism," *Religions* 14, no. 1 (2022): 15.

an increasing growth of “screen cultures” that privilege personal experience.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, many Muslim communities sound the spirit of *Hijra* in social media, presenting a new concept of da’wa Islam.<sup>5</sup> In particular, the Muslim middle class continues to experience a revival. The lifestyle displayed is to unite Islam with the bourgeois lifestyle class. Greg Fealy and Sally White argue that Indonesian Muslims express and communicate their faith beyond the five pillars of faith in various ways, such as transmitting their lifestyle into a better and more religious person, by changing their appearance to become more modest and more covered, buying *halāl* products, observing the voluntary prayers, joining charitable works for Islamic foundation, and other activities that put a serious effort to practice all Islamic teaching in daily life.<sup>6</sup> The consumptive lifestyle became the identity of the Muslim middle class which commonly has a great economic and cultural impact.

However, in the field of Muslim education, the majority of urban middle-class Muslim families have shifted their methods of educating their children about Islamic knowledge, where the Islamic identity is formed, assigning the importance of Islamic education to a secondary position and emphasizing intellectualism through a prestigious private school as their primary children's education. Bernheimer and Rippin mention that Islamic countries have been introduced to Western educational institutions as an effort to produce the bureaucrats and administrators required to support the needs of the state, which is resulting in a secularized system in most educational policy.<sup>7</sup> Some evidence can be seen through the increasing Western-

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<sup>4</sup> Ariel Heryanto, *Identity and Pleasure: The Politics of Indonesian Screen Culture* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2014), 166.

<sup>5</sup> Dian Ayuningtyas and Tuti Hidayati, “Understanding the Current Trend of Hijrah: Between Self-Existence and Religious Understanding,” *Jurnal Risalah* 8, no. 2 (2022).

<sup>6</sup> Greg Fealy and Sally White, *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> Teresa Bernheimer and Andrew Rippin, *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices*, 5th ed. (New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2019), 277.

oriented at school which confronts the intellectuality over religious study.<sup>8</sup> In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Muhammad Sirozi reports that the decrease in Islamic teaching understanding happened among upper-class Muslim families' children, because of the limited time of teaching religious lessons either in public or private schools which are only taught once or twice a week.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, this phenomenon is supported by the presence of numerous international schools in urban Indonesia. The GESS (Gulf Educational Supplies and Solutions) in 2018 reported that Indonesia maintains its position as the premier destination for international schools in Southeast Asia. It leads by 198 international schools, followed by Thailand (192), Malaysia (187), Singapore (119), and Vietnam (118). They commonly used international curricula such as International Baccalaureate (IB), Cambridge International Examinations (CIE), and Western association schools and Colleges (WASC).<sup>10</sup>

The increasing presence of international schools as high-class schools promises Muslim families a bright future, as it becomes one of the reasons to alter the Muslim family tradition of sending their children to Islamic schools, such as an integrated Islamic school, *madrasah*,<sup>11</sup> or even *pesantren*.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, this condition has resulted in a greater erosion of Muslim identity, particularly in the future identity of children, which has lost its stability and integrity. Shukri Ahmad mentioned that Muslim identity becomes altered and weakened by several factors such as Westernization culture, economics, education in the state school system, and the

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<sup>8</sup> Mustafa Emre Çağlar, "Why Does Intellectuality Weaken Faith and Sometimes Foster It?" *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications* 7, no. 1 (2020): 88, <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-020-00567-y>.

<sup>9</sup> Muhammad Sirozi, *Islamic Education in the Dynamics of Political Islam* (Palembang: Noerfikri Group, 2016), 26.

<sup>10</sup> The Jakarta Post Asia News Network, "Indonesia Tops Destination for International Schools in Southeast Asia: Report," *nationthailand*, 2018, <https://www.nationthailand.com/in-focus/30352190>.

<sup>11</sup> *Madrasah* is historically known as an Islamic college or Islamic institution of higher learning; it refers to an Islamic day school in Indonesia.

<sup>12</sup> *Pesantren* is the oldest form of an Islamic school in Indonesia, it caters mostly to rural area children to transmit the classical Islamic sciences.

society itself, which can devalue other cultures and lifestyles.<sup>13</sup> Muslim parents are alarmed by the issue of radical changes in state education, mass literacy that existed in the new media, and the emergence of new public spheres, which modernization effectively brought to light. It altered the attitudes of affluent Muslim families toward existing Islamic institutions.

Similarly, to most studies on Islamic identity and Muslim society in Indonesia that tend to focus on modern, urban, and Muslim practices, this study focuses on the complex religious identity of urban middle-class Muslim families in negotiating themselves as modern Muslims through the landscape of non-formal Islamic education, which by means, the highly complex of the modern era not only resulting secularization impact but also enlightening Muslims' education at the same time. It creates fundamental changes in the intellectual discourse which possibly affects the religious identity of the urban middle-class. Urban-based and educated Muslims are increasingly free to explore new activities in the fields of culture, art, intellectuals, and law to shape their identity.<sup>14</sup> As well as global Islamic revival in reshaping the Muslim tradition, creating new public spaces in which Islamic teachings are contested.<sup>15</sup>

The increasing number of Islamic private tutoring institutions among urban middle-class Muslims and educating Muslims is indicating that the Islamism phenomena happening in the urban area developing in many fields, including education. Islamization lifestyle resulted in parents having Islamic nuance in their daily practices, such as enrolling their children into Islamic private tutoring

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<sup>13</sup> Shukri Ahmad and Rukhaiyah Wahab, "Modernization and Islamic Education: Muslim Women's Identity in Britania," 2018.

<sup>14</sup> Annidaul Aula, "Religion, Media and Piety Construction: A Study of the Web Series Entitled Ustad Millennial," *DINIKA: Academic Journal of Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (July 18, 2022): 99–134, <https://doi.org/10.22515/dinika.v7i1.5177>.

<sup>15</sup> James B. Hoesterey, "Prophetic Cosmopolitanism: Islam, Pop Psychology, and Civic Virtue in Indonesia," *City & Society* 24, no. 1 (2012): 38–61, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-744X.2012.01067.x>.

institutions. Examining the overlapping secularization with the existing Islamism, it is showing how the upheaval of urban middle-class Muslims' identity and their lifestyle in modern times are interdependent. The hypes of educated Muslims which came from the hand of Islamic revivalism trajectory in building the Islamic sector influence the identity of urban middle-class Muslims, as well as the result of intellectual discourse which comes from the non-formal Islamic education in embedding Islamic moral values among urban Muslims. I contend that urban middle-class Muslims through non-formal Islamic education have been shaping the discourse of Islamic identity for the future generation. The ability of educated Muslims to revive Islamic knowledge provides the public, particularly urban middle-class Muslims, with a complete picture of Islam.

This study takes the case of *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs* institutions. These institutions offer normative Islamic teaching which mixes the tradition of learning Qur'an activities or calls by *mengaji* with the teaching of Islamic basics values in a modern way. An advanced level of education and the rise of sophisticated technology contributes to the emergence of the public sphere and it is becoming increasingly booming in Jakarta, due to a picture-perfect example of an older area characterized by the abundance of middle-class Muslims, the shifting culture of Islamic lifestyle, the high need of the understanding Islamic values, and beliefs toward Islam among urban middle-class Muslims amid modernization.<sup>16</sup> It offers Muslim children an opportunity to learn about their faith, as well as their academic performance. The way of institution teaching is similar to the common private tutoring, but it specifically teaches Islamic knowledge. The tutor typically uses a combination of traditional

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<sup>16</sup> Yanwar Pribadi and Muhammad Adlin Sila, "Intertwining Beauty and Piety: Cosmetics, Beauty Treatments, and Ḥalāl Lifestyle in Urban Indonesia," *Ulumuna* 27, no. 1 (2023): 33–64.

methods and modern teaching to teach the children about Islamic history, culture, beliefs, and Qur'an either online or offline, and individual or grouping.<sup>17</sup>

By dealing with the Islamic private tutoring institution in solving the negotiating Islamic identity problem of the Muslim family, this study investigates how these institutions commodify Islamic education in urban areas until it then influences the Islamic identity of Muslim family children. Most of the students are children who come from wealthy families and are schooling at public schools with limited time to learn about their religion. In addition, the needs for teacher qualification are quite selective, where all the teachers should pass the teacher's training for more than a week. Therefore, this study focuses on the Islamic identity of urban middle-class Muslims, this study offers a broader analysis of how Islam, Islamic revivalism, and Islamic education flourish in mutually beneficial relationships to urban middle-class Muslims.

## **1.2. Research Objectives**

The objectivity to be achieved in this study are:

1. To discover the shifting of urban middle-class Muslims' conditions amid modern times, specifically to their identity as Muslims, and explore the phenomena of Islamism among the Muslim society
2. To trace back the role and the impact of educated Muslims under the movement of Islamic revivalists and their result in the Muslim's education.
3. To explore the effort of Islamic private tutoring institutions as non-formal Islamic education in negotiating the generation of urban middle-class Muslim families.

## **1.3. Research Question**

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<sup>17</sup> Zaki Badawi, "Traditional Islamic Education - Its Aims and Purposes in the Present Day," ICIT Digital Library, 2014, <https://www.icit-digital.org/articles/traditional-islamic-education-its-aims-and-purposes-in-the-present-day>.

Departing from the explanation above, I try to analyze some problems to get deep detail of the research. Therefore, it will be differentiated into some questions:

1. How do urban middle-class Muslim families adapt to modernity problems to maintain their Islamic identity?
2. What are the factors that support the existence of the urban educated Muslim to flourishing Islamic teaching to the urban middle-class Muslim families?
3. How far is the impact of non-formal Islamic education's role in influencing Muslim families to negotiate between their Islamic identity and modernity?

#### **1.4. Literature Review**

##### **1.4.1. Identity Negotiation among Muslims**

To raise the question of negotiating identity is already explaining that identity is not static, but negotiable.<sup>18</sup> However, this is not the way the identity should be conceptualized. In particular the religious identity for Muslims in the modern world, according to Jade Zuriet and Svetlana Lyausheva, religious identity as a Muslim can be based on the degree of severity and intensity of religious worldviews, such as from low and weakly expressed to intolerant, fanatical, and radical. They mention that a variety of identity levels as a Muslim is the riskiest for multi-ethnic and multi-religious where at this point, identity and Islamic identity are identical concepts.<sup>19</sup> Meanwhile, T. Zulfikar explains that Muslim identity is constructed through the interplay of various discourses, such as religious text, the interpretations of the text and Islamic tradition by religious clerics and members of the *ummah*, Muslim ethnic

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<sup>18</sup> Joseph Chinyong Liow, review of *Review of Modern Muslim Identities: Negotiating Religion and Ethnicity in Malaysia*. NIAS Monographs, 119, by Gerard Hoffstaedter, *Pacific Affairs* 85, no. 4 (2012): 855–57.

<sup>19</sup> Jade Zuriet and Svetlana Lyausheva, “Muslim Identity in the Conceptual Field of Modern Religious Studies,” ed. B. Yazyev, *SHS Web of Conferences* 72 (2019): 02008.

cultures, social, economic, and political issue in the home and the host country.<sup>20</sup> The factors mentioned show that Muslim identity such as in Australia become constructed due to their ways of being Muslim are multiple, shifting, and contextual. However, most of the literature treats the meaning of identity as a way of how individuals and groups define themselves and their relations to others, while according to Jillian Schwedler, studies on Islamic identity present non-monolithic views of Islam, which often follow the trend, and cite the identity as a mobilizing political force.<sup>21</sup>

However, the negotiation of identity becomes an important issue due to its never-ending process always relating to conflicts, differences, and similarities. Some research on this topic has been conducted in Indonesia. Zuly Qodir & Haedar Nashir discuss the middle-class Muslim community in Yogyakarta, focusing on how they form their piety identity differently than those outside the community, such as poor Muslims.<sup>22</sup> Through individual pious activities such as studying of holy Qur'an, sacrificing animals during *ied adha*, *infaq*, and *sadaqah*, and going to hajj and umrah, these classify Muslim identities based on employment, education, and ownership. They believe that religious behavior forms their identities as Muslims differently as it consists of social bounding motivation which helps them identify their piety identity.

In addition, identity negotiation becomes a problem within the context of inter-religion, by looking at how Christian and Muslim students negotiate each identity as Muslims and non-Muslims in Langka, Aceh.<sup>23</sup> With the pattern of functional

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<sup>20</sup> T Zulfikar, "Understanding Muslim Identity Through Multiple Lenses: Insights from a Minority Group in Australia," *ARICIS* 1 (2016).

<sup>21</sup> Jillian Schwedler, "Islamic Identity: Myth, Menace, or Mobilizer?," *SAIS Review* 21, no. 2 (2001): 1–17.

<sup>22</sup> Zuly Qodir and Haedar Nashir, "Forming Muslim Middle Class' Piety and Identity InYogyakarta," in *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Sustainable Innovation 2019 – Humanity, Education and Social Sciences (IcoSIHESS 2019)* (Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Sustainable Innovation 2019 – Humanity, Education and Social Sciences (IcoSIHESS 2019), Yogyakarta, Indonesia: Atlantis Press, 2019).

<sup>23</sup> Mawardi et al., "Identity Negotiation of Christian and Muslim Students in Interaction between Religious in Langsa, Aceh," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 43, no. 2 (2019): 261.

biculturalism that shows respect toward different identities, the discussion discovers that their differences do not necessarily have implications whereas they found comfortability in different cultural and structural systems as evidenced by their actions and behavior in social life. It causes tolerance and harmonious interaction between Christian and Muslim students. Meanwhile, within the inter-ethnic context in Madura, Medhy Aginta Hidayat & Mohtazul Fari investigate identity negotiation among ethnic Chinese in Madura.<sup>24</sup> They discover an unequal relationship in which the ethnic minority frequently has to sacrifice themselves to act like they have lived in Madura for a long time. Some examples include changing their Chinese names to native Madurese names, practicing Madurese cultural traditions in daily life, and embracing Islam as their new religion, demonstrating how Chinese in Madura struggle to negotiate identities with the addition, by concealing their master identity and emphasizing other minor identities.

Whereas identity negotiation also happens among young Muslims in the city of Antwerp, west European, where Muslims count as a minority population. Ariadne Driezen and his group analyze how young Muslims negotiate the tension between their religious identification and the broader cultural framework of individualism.<sup>25</sup> Within the school context, they demonstrate complex boundary work and creatively draw on the cultural elements of religious individualism in negotiating their multiple identifications. In doing religious negotiation, young Muslims have to relate to a society that only perceives them as agents when they adapt to the mainstream definition of how religious identification should be expressed, such as wearing a headscarf for girls, praying in private places, and having interaction with non-Muslim

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<sup>24</sup> Medhy Aginta Hidayat and Mohtazul Farid, "Strangers at Home: Identity Negotiation Practices among Ethnic Chinese in Madura, Indonesia," *The Journal of Society and Media* 5, no. 1 (2021): 19.

<sup>25</sup> Ariadne Driezen, Gert Verschraegen, and Noel Clycq, "Negotiating a Contested Identity: Religious Individualism among Muslim Youth in a Super-Diverse City," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 82 (2021): 25–36.

teachers and peers. Their identities as Muslims create themselves to be religious individualism due to the Western stigma toward Islam. However, this research shortly reflects on how young Muslims identify their religious identity with the school condition, which is within a small area, instead of drawing their negotiation identity in concrete real life as the Muslim minority in the West European.

#### **1.4.2. Muslim Education within Urban Middle-Class Muslims**

The advancement of urban middle-class Muslims' education nowadays has led to several changes. The example of *Sekolah Islam* among middle-class Muslims presented by Yanwar Pribadi in Serang, Banten, demonstrates that the institution's school is not only capable of preparing Muslim children for life in the modern world but also promoting religious conservatism and certain Islamic identity politics that are marked by anti-pluralist, intolerant religious attitudes, and have a detrimental effect on the student's development and Islam in Indonesia.<sup>26</sup> This can happen as many urban middle-class Muslims think that being a Muslim in the modern world means balancing modernity and piety at the same time. In addition to the existence of urban *pengajian* in the city of Banten, this kind of informal Islamic teaching has inspired urban middle-class Muslims with no background in Islamic education to learn about Islam, combining the essence of pop and "true" Islam in a one-time. It successfully makes a religious authority and fragments the ummah.<sup>27</sup> However, the existence of private Islamic schools, such as international Islamic schools aims to inculcate Islamic morals and values and to enhance the moral and spiritual development of students.<sup>28</sup> Even though, somehow the advent of Western education in Muslim countries cause Islamic education to have been confronted with several crises such as

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<sup>26</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, "Sekolah Islam (Islamic Schools) as Symbols of Indonesia's Urban Muslim Identity," *TRANS: Trans-Regional and -National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 2021, 1–16.

<sup>27</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, "Pop and 'True' Islam in Urban Pengajian: The Making of Religious Authority" (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2022).

<sup>28</sup> Manar Eissa and Madihah Khalid, "Development of Character and Life Skills through Islamic Methods of Teaching Acquired Science Subjects at Islamic International Schools in Malaysia," *IJUM Journal of Educational Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 3–17.

dualism. The educational dualism in the contemporary Muslim world has considerably failed to produce an integrated Islamic personality.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, the emergence of Westernization forms an elite Islamic school that might be seen as an excellent school that has a high-quality standard of their graduates, well-motivated ideology, social-historical, and physiology, decreasing the quality of Islamic knowledge.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, the effect is not merely experienced by the student, but also by the Islamic teachers themselves. The case in Qatar mentioned that Islamic Studies teachers at Qatar International schools can turn their religion into social capital through the international schooling system, but they were unable to do the same with their cultural capital.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, instructors of Islamic studies have a positive outlook on their profession in a global context.

Within the private context, Islamic education is a main matter for children as it reforms and constructs children's life to develop a balanced relationship between individuals, society, and the world based on ethical concepts. Some Muslim parents prefer to put their children into Islamic private tutoring as they can be more flexible in asking questions and focusing on the subjects.<sup>32</sup> It can be seen how the institution of *Tahsin Kak Uqoy* applies the Qur'an learning system by using sensory activities through seeing, hearing, touching, and feeling. This system results in the children easily understanding the Qur'an and being involved in digesting, processing, experiencing, understanding, tasting, and practicing the content of the Qur'an with

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<sup>29</sup> Omar Fatmah Hussein, "Influence of Dualism on Implementation of Islamic Integrated Curriculum in Muslim Pre-Schools in Nairobi County" (Thesis Master in Education, Kenya, University of Nairobi, 2016).

<sup>30</sup> Amaliyah, "Elite School Policies; Superior Islamic School," *Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 9, no. 02 (2020): 410.

<sup>31</sup> Mohammed Adly Gamal, "Teaching Islam in an International School: A Bourdieusian Analysis," *Religions* 11, no. 7 (2020): 338.

<sup>32</sup> Diah Putri Fatmala, "The Role of Private Tutoring on The Learning Achievements of ABK Students at the Colomadu State Extraordinary School," *Departement of Islamic Education Faculty of Islamic Studies of Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta*, 2019.

fun learning.<sup>33</sup> Besides, Islamic studies teachers' purpose is to influence children to become the child who loves their religion, obey their God and implements the value of Islam in every activity. The effect of learning Islam with high academic standards results in Muslim children being prepared to face the modern world.<sup>34</sup>

The concern of some authors about negotiating identity among Muslims conducted in many contexts clearly shows that the case of religious identity should be negotiated in this modern time, either between inter-religious, ethnic, or even minority scales. This is due to creating tolerance for each other and having harmonicity in daily life. Whereas in the life of advanced Muslim education, the issues might arise in any type of Muslim school since things are not always as they are seen. Even though their concentration has been on middle-class Muslim education, none have yet addressed how to solve problems of modern global education among elite Muslim or even middle to upper-class Muslim education, which may affect religious identity. Additionally, most of the studies come from formal education that is considered to be mandatory schools for Muslims, which are not considered as non-formal education progress that has been flourishing today. Therefore, I will take the gap to complete the discussion of negotiating the urban middle-class Muslim families, in particular, Jakarta, by finding the solution through the emerging non-formal Islamic education such as Islamic private tutoring institutions.

### **1.5. Theoretical Framework**

The practice of identity negotiation refers to more effort of individuals to find a balance between an individual's desire to appear in front of others and an individual's desire to fulfill the ideal of their own identity. For that, a significant process of

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<sup>33</sup> Nur Shofiyah and Masruchan Masruchan, "Paradigma Kontemporer Sistem Pembelajaran Al-Qur'an Pada Anak Usia Dini Di Lembaga Tahsin Qur'an Kak Uqoy Private," *An-Nisa': Jurnal Kajian Perempuan Dan Keislaman* 14, no. 1 (2021): 29–42.

<sup>34</sup> Pribadi, "Sekolah Islam (Islamic Schools) as Symbols of Indonesia's Urban Muslim Identity."

identity negotiation practices mark by the absence of external actors and the emergence of internal awareness to get a sense of belonging and a different environment. Therefore, during the research process, I use Brekhus's concepts of 'marked identity' and 'unmarked identity'.<sup>35</sup> With his theoretical thought to understand the issue of identity negotiation and the dynamic and complex structure of social identities. He argues that recent studies on identity show that the context and setting-dependent some individuals use time and space to accentuate and express their identity, traveling to a specific identity to play up their identity by subcultural standards.<sup>36</sup> In addition, between 'marked' and 'unmarked' might have variable saliencies across time and space, and the individual can play either up or down different aspects of themselves in different settings. Marked identity refers to how social actors actively perceive one side of contrast while disregarding the other as epistemologically problematic. In this light, marked identities are always more narrowly specified and densely articulated than unmarked identities,<sup>37</sup> several identity attributes are intentionally highlighted by individuals in their daily lives, whereas unmarked identity is the concept that there are also intentional identity attributes that are intentionally hidden or covered during the course of social life.

The concept of marked identity and unmarked identity consists of 'identity commuters', 'identity lifestylers', and 'identity integrators'.<sup>38</sup> He explained that identity commuters tend to travel to identity-specific spaces to involve themselves in an identity subculture. Meanwhile, 'identity lifestylers' refers to a person who chooses a particular identity and organizes their lives, activities, auxiliary characteristics, and social networks around that identity as their central essence and treats identity as a

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<sup>35</sup> Wayne Brekhus, "A Sociology of the Unmarked: Redirecting Our Focus," *Sociological Theory* 16, no. 1 (1998): 34–51.

<sup>36</sup> Wayne H. Brekhus, "Trends in the Qualitative Study of Social Identities," *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 3 (2008): 1059–78.

<sup>37</sup> Wayne Brekhus, "The Rutgers School: A Zerubavelian Culturalist Cognitive Sociology," *European Journal of Social Theory* 10, no. 3 (2007).

<sup>38</sup> Brekhus, "Trends in the Qualitative Study of Social Identities."

noun. Unlike identity integrators, who prefer to view themselves as a constellation of multiple dimensions and attributes, identity singularity is rejected by identity integrators. Thus, in this case, I define identity commuters as urban middle-class Muslims, identity lifestylers as educated Muslims, and identity integrators as urban middle-class Muslims who evolve in the non-formal Islamic education activity, each description will be explained in each topic.

## 1.6. Research Significance

The significance of this research lies in its exploration of Islamic identity as a fundamental mechanism of socialization within the context of the Islamic religion, manifesting in both integration and disintegration potential. By focusing on the negotiation of identities among urban middle-class Muslim families and educated Muslims, this study contributes to and complements existing literature by other scholars.<sup>39</sup> It thus offers contemporary insight into how urban middle-class Muslim society engages with modern life, particularly concerning the prospects of their children's future.

The utilization of Islamic private tutoring institutions as a case study for non-formal Islamic education, resulting from the evolution of various forms of Islamic education in Indonesia, provides valuable information to scholars regarding the development of Islamic education. These institutions have garnered significant attention from urban middle-class Muslim society as trustworthy establishments to impart safe Islamic education to their children and cultivate their Islamic identities. The research also highlights the diversity of Islamic education, which is not limited to traditional Islamic boarding schools or *pesantren*, *madrasahs*, and integrated Islamic

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<sup>39</sup> Moch Fakhruroji, "Muslims Learning Islam on the Internet," in *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*, ed. Mark Woodward and Ronald Lukens-Bull (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 1–17, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73653-2\\_70-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73653-2_70-1); Zulfikar, "Understanding Muslim Identity Through Multiple Lenses: Insights from a Minority Group in Australia"; Zuriet and Lyausheva, "Muslim Identity in the Conceptual Field of Modern Religious Studies"; Mawardi et al., "Identity Negotiation of Christian and Muslim Students in Interaction between Religious in Langsa, Aceh."

schools, but also encompasses newer institution that serves as reliable sources for embedding religious knowledge in the form of non-formal Islamic education.

Moreover, this study contributed to the expansions of modern education research, moving beyond formal Islamic education in the context of Islamic revivalism, as previously explored by other researchers. The historical influence of Islamic revivalism has demonstrated the Muslim generation's inclination towards intellectual pursuits. The narratives of Islamic revivalist have emerged as a source of inspiration for Muslims seeking to embrace modernity, education, and open-mindedness. The evident observation reveals that the strong aspiration for higher education has had a considerable influence on Muslims, enabling them to attain improved and more accessible of Islamic education, not only in the field of formal Islamic education, but also non-formal Islamic education. As modernization increasingly influences the lifestyle choices of urban middle-class Muslims and fosters a heightened demand for Islamic identity, the research provides valuable insights into how non-formal learning platforms, such as Islamic private tutoring institutions, aid these families in navigating modernity and shaping their children's identities in the digital age.

The findings of this research have practical implications, as urban middle-class Muslim families may recognize the significance of enrolling their children in additional Islamic private tutoring classes even if they already attend private or public schools. Consequently, this research sheds light on critical aspects of urban middle-class Muslim lifestyle, Islamic revivalism, and the emergence of non-formal Islamic education process that undeniably influence the identity of urban middle-class Muslim families and their children. These areas represent essential facets of study that many researchers may not have previously investigated, making this research a valuable contribution to the academic field.

## **1.7. Research Methodology**

This study employs socio-political qualitative research with observation and semi-in-depth interviews. As Creswell, (2009) mentioned that the research approach is carried out by revealing the hidden meaning behind the subjective experience of individuals. In addition, one important thing of this approach is the process of 'bracketing out', in which I try as far as possible to abandon personal experiences and guesses during the research. This study starts with field research to gain an early understanding of the location and the subject of the study. The observation is in two Islamic private tutoring institutions located in Ciputat, near the district in Jakarta, which are *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs* institutions. The choice of these two institutions is based on the availability of the management and the permission to be researched. The subject of this study divides into three categories, the management of the institution, the tutors, and the mother of the children. In this case, I do some interviews 12 people, which consist of 2 mainboards of each institution, 2 tutors of *Alif iqra*, and 1 tutor from *Iqralabs*, 5 mothers from the total informant that I meet to be interviewed either formally or not. However, the Muslim families who involve in this research consciously focus on the middle-class Muslim family who registered as a member of one of these institutions mentioned, and determined by having a formal school at the international school, and living in Jakarta.

The data collecting process for this research will be conducted in two ways, from the primary data resources through field observations and in-depth interviews, as well as from secondary data sources through literature references. The field observation is based on the institution's permission during May until June 2023, meanwhile in-depth interview designs in semi-structured with the help of digital recorded. Data analysis in this research carries out through three stages. First, reading the data, making code, and labeling the themes that emerge most in the in-depth interview process. In the first stage, the research carries out the process of reading the interview transcript repeatedly to find the most frequently emerging themes, then uses it as the basis for coding. Second, sorting the data according to the most relevant

themes appeared to answer the research problem formulation. In this stage, the researcher has a right to filter the data by removing some information that did not answer the question. Third, interpreting and synthesizing the result of in-depth interview and observation from the finding phenomenon in the field. In this stage, the research will compile a scheme of the forms of identity negotiation carry out by Muslim families for their child through the Islamic private tutoring institution. Then finally, the research concludes and compiles a report on research finding regarding the practices of identities negotiating among upper-class Muslim family families though Islamic private tutoring institutions in Jakarta.

While the data Analysis is conducted by classifying the strategy used by the private tutoring institution and identifying ideology and identity of the institution. Selecting the answer from the interview to know whether the data provided were sufficient or not. Interpreting and verifying the data of observation and the data from interview. Drawing conclusion based on the result of the data that have been analyzed.

### **1.8. Thesis Outlines**

This research contains several chapters. First, introduction. This covers an introductory explanation to the study such as background of the research, research problem, research question and its objectivity, literature review, theoretical framework, and methodology. Second, the explanation of urban middle-class Muslim identity, including their lifestyle and the increasing phenomenon of Islamism in urban city. Third, the explanation starts with the history Islamic revivalism which resulted numerous educated Muslims due to their intellectual discourse, as well as the beginning of the flourishing non-formal Islamic education in the kind of Islamic private tutoring institutions, by taking the case of *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs*. of the position of the Islamic private tutoring institution as non-formal Islamic education. Fourth, the result of negotiating identity of the generation of urban middle-class Muslim between being modern and Muslim, it starts with the opinion of mothers

toward the existence of Islamic private tutoring institution and followed by the effort of the institution and the mothers to maintain the children faith and identity in the midst of modernity, and closed with a specific case called as filtering radicalism as one of the efforts in order to enter the urban middle-class Muslim families in embedding religious knowledge to their children. Lastly, it sums up the conclusion and trajectory of this study.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN URBAN MIDDLE-CLASS MUSLIMS

#### 2.1. Introduction

The discussion on the middle-class Muslims began to be studied academically in the last decades.<sup>40</sup> However, the broader term of “urban” middle-class Muslims encompasses all Muslims who reside in urban areas and belong to the middle-class socioeconomic, whether urban born-Muslims and those who may have migrated from rural areas to urban centers. Its emphasis on the religious identity of the individuals who are Muslims and their shared middle-class socioeconomic status. Their existence is not simply viewed as a group of people who live normally, but rather as a group of religious individuals who influence the political, economic, religious, and market environment. They grow rapidly in big cities in the early 1990s and characterize by high consumption patterns, leisure, and a higher emphasis on education as the main mechanism for securing position and wealth.<sup>41</sup> Their purchasing power is arguably high enough to encourage the state and capital owners to co-opt their social power for political and market resilience.

Modern urban middle-class Muslims are complexly considered, developed, and identified from various societies and traditions, where the traditions and

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<sup>40</sup> Moeflich Hasbullah, “Cultural Presentation of the Muslims Middle Class in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Studia Islamica* 7, no. 2 (2000), [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269557932\\_Cultural\\_Presentation\\_of\\_the\\_Muslims\\_Middle\\_Class\\_in\\_Contemporary\\_Indonesia/link/6384665048124c2bc67b080e/download](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269557932_Cultural_Presentation_of_the_Muslims_Middle_Class_in_Contemporary_Indonesia/link/6384665048124c2bc67b080e/download); Siti Nur Hidayah, “Pesantren for Middle-Class Muslimss in Indonesia (Between Religious Commodification and Pious Neoliberalism),” *QIJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 9, no. 1 (July 30, 2021): 209–44, <https://doi.org/10.21043/qijis.v9i1.7641>; Yanwar Pribadi, “Pop and ‘True’ Islam in Urban Pengajian: The Making of Religious Authority” (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2022), <http://repository.uinbanten.ac.id/7973/>.

<sup>41</sup> Abdul Malik, Muh. Irwan, and Syamsul Wathani, “*Halal* Product and Formal Piety Muslims Middle-Class Life in the Analysis of Religious Reception Theory,” *SANGKEP: Jurnal Kajian Sosial Keagamaan* 5, no. 1 (2022): 3.

societies are not merely serving as an Islamic space, but are also used to accelerate religiosity regardless of dialogue identity and popular culture. Even incrementally, it becomes a symbol of elitism associated with the path to success.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, its distinctiveness is multicultural, with more rational mindsets, higher economic demands, and dynamic religious orientations, making their lives more complicated than in rural settlements due to metropolitan complexities and different social intensities, which also influenced their materialism.

The current demographic shift, which is significantly oriented toward urban middle-class Muslims caused a remarkable change in the social composition of countries. The topic of political piety, religious commodification, Islamic populism and Islamism became intricately intertwined in many Indonesian Islamic organization after the fall of the new order government in 1998s.<sup>43</sup> Numerous Islamic movements develops within the framework of the political movement, in opposition to the economy and capitalism in the body level of middle-class families, which stems from rapid economic development and educational transformation. These factors have increased percapita income and standard of living in urban areas. For them, this is not only resulting in the creation of a “middle-rank” class but also the mobilization of marginalized some groups such as the *santri* who have embraced the cultural initiative.<sup>44</sup>

In terms of its social psychology, the urban middle-class Muslims are in the midst of a spiritual and moral collapse. Due to their closeness to modernity, they are aware that while being born into an Islamic community, they do not adhere to Islamic values. Even though in the late 1980s, Indonesia witnessed the resurgence of Islam as a significant social force, which coincided with the growth of the urban

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<sup>42</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan, “The Making of Public Islam: Piety, Agency, and Commodification on the Landscape of the Indonesian Public Sphere,” *Contemporary Islam* 3, no. 3 (2009): 1.

<sup>43</sup> Pribadi, “Pop and ‘True’ Islam in Urban Pengajian,” 213; Hasan, “The Making of Public Islam.”

<sup>44</sup> Hasbullah, “Cultural Presentation of the Muslims Middle Class in Contemporary Indonesia,” 6.

population, the emergence of the urban middle-class Muslims, the dramatic rise in educational attainment, and the emergence of new educated Islamic leaders that essentialized an Islamic vision with Indonesian expression, such as Abdurrahman Wahid of NU's leader, Amien Rais as *Muhammadiyah's* leader, and Nurcholis Majid as a former leader of student association and liberal Islamic leader (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI*).<sup>45</sup> However, instead of envisioning the culmination of Indonesia's Islamic revival, which is moderate socially and politically and neither extremist nor conservative, it does not mean to affect the religiosity of urban Muslims middle class.

It is interesting to note that despite the intertwining of politics and Islam in contemporary Indonesia, as well as the complexity of democratization, identity politics, and the creation of civil society, I argue that Muslims' use of Islam as a rule of law increase significantly in this modern time. Their identity as Muslims reverberates through the tendency of middle-class, urban, and metropolitan Indonesians to adopt Islamic symbols to claim distinctiveness and moral justification for their hedonistic lifestyle. The emergence of digital media makes it possible for Muslims to learn Islam on their own as it offers mobility and spiritual safety to the human family. Such as in middle-class Muslims in Jakarta, one of the urban areas in Indonesia, which has been a focal point for social development. It is considered to be a central location for both cultural and economic development. Middle-class Muslims can be looked at as a transitional class that lies between lower-class and upper-class Muslims due to their presence in Jakarta and the area surrounding it. They become a victim of digital transformations as well as observers of the process of identity and religious change. They are those who help Islamic consumerism flourish under the banner of Islam while also bearing witness to the westernization

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<sup>45</sup> Aryanta Nugraha, "Moderate Islam as New Identity in Indonesian Foreign Policy: Between Global Role Aspiration and Co-Religious Solidarity," *JICSA (Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia)* 1, no. 1 (2012), <https://doi.org/10.24252/jicsa.v1i1.712>.

and secularization movements. Therefore, the general middle-class Muslims life in urban areas serves as the foundation for the study.

As this study follows the concepts of Brekhus, I define urban middle-class Muslims as Muslim commuters, that is, as individuals who deliberately cross the line between religious identity and non-religious identity or neutral identity in their social life and appearance. Identity mobility, or the ability to travel from place to place and blend in anywhere, is essential for commuters. As stated, an individual's identity can change over the duration of their lifetime.<sup>46</sup> They divide their social life into distinct geographical and temporal zones. On a weekly, daily, or even hourly basis, Muslim commuters are effectively shifting between a "generic identity" and a "Muslim identity." Rather than a permanent master status, Muslim commuters activate their Muslimness as a temporary master status in identity settings that apply it, such as at mosques and Muslim organizations environment. Muslim commuters are more likely to wear casual or Western-style clothing, such as jeans, a formal shirt, a jacket, or a polo, during their daily working hours, while wearing traditional Muslim clothes for Friday prayer and other special Islamic days.<sup>47</sup>

Thus, this chapter focuses on providing an answer to my first inquiry of how modern urban middle-class Muslims negotiate their Islamic identities. As identity commuters, in an endeavor to re-Islamize individual perceptions of identity as Muslims, I primarily concentrate on the literature history of Islamic identity and urban Muslim culture. The distinctive modernization generates the degree to which the issue of Islamic identity and Islamization are taken hold as evident. Religious symbols have exploded in number as people have realized how important religion is to their lifestyle and social status. It serves as the most crucial turning point in the intricate dynamics of how they negotiated and displayed their Islamic identity and modernity.

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<sup>46</sup> Justin T Sokol, "Identity Development Throughout the Lifetime: An Examination of Eriksonian Theory," *Graduate Journal of Counselling Psychology* 1, no. 2 (2009): 4.

<sup>47</sup> Brekhus, "Trends in the Qualitative Study of Social Identities."

## 2.2. Islamic Identity of Urban Middle-Class Muslims

Religion is becoming a capital in the execution of various social, economic, and spiritual transformations, which are crucial elements of the important factors of the existing time, space, and public structure. When this practice is expressed in different areas, a distinguished identity emerges between urban and rural Muslims. In this instance, the urban group emphasizes the dynamic, open, rational, nature of metropolitan Islam.<sup>48</sup> In addition, they possess the five characteristics, such as living in an increasingly diverse discourse of thought and ideology, more fractured cultural bonds, a more rational Islamic mentality, greater economic demands, and a diminishing role for the mass organization.<sup>49</sup> This suggests that the Islamic manifestation of urban Muslims differs from rural Muslims because of the diversity of educational background and also religion and public background.<sup>50</sup> Meanwhile, the Islamic culture is consistently captivating. It maintains its identity over many centuries while simultaneously developing and evolving. Examining Islamic urbanism, Islamic issues alternate between attempts to identify what is common in Islamic life and what is unique to each locale, the conflicting viewpoints appear to be the result of the distinctive characteristic that geography, culture, and history have bestowed upon each.

Since the advent of Islam, it has been a major concern, particularly with regard to the Islamic identity. Identity is typically used to define and describe a person's sense of self, group affiliations, structural position, assigned and achieved statuses. However, in modern society, it is more frequently seen as an evolving process of

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<sup>48</sup> Lilik Purwandi, "The Potrait of Urban Muslims Indonesia: Gairah Religiusitas Masyarakat Kota," *Alvara Research Center*, 2015.

<sup>49</sup> Purwandi; Deri Wanto et al., "Asserting Religiosity in Indonesian Muslims Urban Communities through Islamic Education: An Experience of Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization* 12, no. 2 (October 11, 2022): 116–35, <https://doi.org/10.32350/jitc.122.09>.

<sup>50</sup> Purwandi, "The Potrait of Urban Muslims Indonesia: Gairah Religiusitas Masyarakat Kota."

"becoming" than as a static state that does not change over time for a variety of reasons, including individual experiences and more significant social shifts.<sup>51</sup> Global politics' rise has had a significant impact on how Muslims define their identities, whether they are radical or moderate.<sup>52</sup> When determining their religious affiliation, they will look for trustworthy references and sources. In essence, the link between Islam and the state or vice versa barely separates Indonesian Islam from its identity. According to Clifford Geertz definition of political Islam, the identity of Indonesian Muslims should be viewed in terms of the struggle between the *priyayi* (elites) and the *santri* (devout Muslims) to gain political dominance.<sup>53</sup>

Multiple criteria are used to ascertain the Islamic identity of Muslims. As a prime example, Jillian Schwedler states that religion in this instance is exemplified by weekly or even daily practices that effectively place one's faith at the center of his or her identity.<sup>54</sup> As well as Bernard Lewis, a prominent Orientalist scholar, he believes that Islamic identity is shaped by practice. Fundamentally, Muslims worldwide are united at the very least in their belief in the sanctity of the Qur'an and their faith of the five pillars of Islam: the profession of faith (*shahadah*), daily prayer five times, payment of religious taxes, fasting during Ramadan, and the opportunity to perform the Hajj.<sup>55</sup> Muslim identity entails the shared basic values and norm of the Islamic faith. Others believe that Islamic identity was formed based on a single location within intricate social relations. An illustration is the prominence of Bosnian Muslim identity. It arose as a result of extraordinary political circumstances and grew dramatically when Bosnians were targeted collectively beginning in

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<sup>51</sup> Lori Peek, "Becoming Muslims: The Development of a Religious Identity," *Sociology of Religion* 66, no. 3 (2005): 217, <https://doi.org/10.2307/4153097>.

<sup>52</sup> Asef Bayat and Linda Herrera, eds., *Being Young and Muslims: New Cultural Politics in the Global South and North* (New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>53</sup> Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960).

<sup>54</sup> Jillian Schwedler, "Islamic Identity: Myth, Menace, or Mobilizer?" *The John Hopkins University Press* 21, no. 2 (2001): 2.

<sup>55</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*, First Edition (Schocken, 2001), 6.

1992.<sup>56</sup> Here the pronouncement of Islamic identity represents not greater piety but a means of identifying collectively amid the declining salience Bosnian Muslim identity. Thus, it is essential to note where Islamic identity is formed, but it is even more crucial to determine whose conception of Islamic identity resonated and why.

Along with the democratic progress, the secular-moderate, Islamic identity is dominated by the Indonesian politic,<sup>57</sup> but it does not mean that the contest of Islamic identity between moderate and radical is resolved. Both groups are still struggling to win the heart and minds of the society. Although it is clear that the moderate groups are outnumbered the radical groups, the latter still operates in the fingers of the society to influence the nature over the religion and politics and gains support from conservative Islamic groups. The contestation among groups become a part of “normal” politics in Indonesia. The announcement of moderate Islam as Indonesian identity, therefore, it can be understood as conservative approach to mainstreaming the moderate Islam view in shaping the institutions, national interest and Indonesian’s action in international affairs.<sup>58</sup>

Moreover, when political history began to be documented in 1970s, the modernist and traditionalist movements received the majority of attention. While modernists have a tendency to be restrictive, traditionalists have always been inclusive and accommodate. The political upheaval and new order administration of 1998 revitalized Muslims' ability to express themselves publicly. Despite the fact that the majority of Indonesians practice Islam, they coexist peacefully in a multicultural society with followers of other faiths.<sup>59</sup> There are hardly any visible differences to differentiate the Muslim and others, but one thing that is the easiest

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<sup>56</sup> Schwedler, “Islamic Identity,” 2001, 4.

<sup>57</sup> Alexander R. Arifianto, “The State of Political Islam in Indonesia: The Historical Antecedent and Future Prospects,” *Asia Policy* 15, no. 4 (2020): 111–32.

<sup>58</sup> Nugraha, “Moderate Islam as New Identity in Indonesian Foreign Policy.”

<sup>59</sup> Triyo Supriyatno et al., “Philosophy of Islamic Values and Life: A Review of the Methodology of Cultivating Islamic Values Towards Modern Culture,” *International Journal of Cultural and Religious Studies* 1, no. 1 (October 18, 2021): 2, <https://doi.org/10.32996/ijcrs.2021.1.1.1>.

way to recognize Muslim identity in Indonesia is wearing the hijab, as most Muslim women do.<sup>60</sup>

The performance of the middle-class Muslims group's identity is intimately related to their performers. When performing, they can exhibit a variety of phenomenologically identifiable religious symbols, such as those associated with clothes, travel, and leisure activities. It can be more specific in two areas:<sup>61</sup> first, integrating Islamic advancements such as the *sharī'a* banks, *ḥalāl* food, *ḥalāl* tourism, *ḥalāl* stores, *sharī'a* hotels, and others with social piety or formal piety in public spaces. Second, transforming daily lifestyle that displays formal piety, such as wearing Islamic pants, beards (in some groups), long headscarf, fashion and makeup. Recent study mentions that the increasing of *ḥalāl* consumerism of Muslims in Indonesia becomes increasingly visible and develops rapidly as well it reforms continuous economic growth in the country.<sup>62</sup>

In the part of educated middle-class Muslims, the most symbolic identity can be seen through the creation of ICMI (Muslim organization of Indonesian Intellectuals) in 1990, which brought to the power center and became a symbol of modernity.<sup>63</sup> Since identity can be derived from a variety of factors, including religion, class, language, and gender, the middle-class Muslims start reaffirming their social identity as of the 1980s through other codes of class, including religious dress (head covers, the veil), music preference (religious song), language (modernist Islam media), and fashion (the elite's prestigious religious teaching trend). Initially, the presence of Islam as a social and political movement in Indonesia needs to be clarified. Islam in this country is not monolithic. There are various streams of

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<sup>60</sup> Muhammad Latif Fauzi, "Traditional Islam in Javanese Society: The Roles of Kyai and Pesantren in Preserving Islamic Tradition and Negotiating Modernity," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 6 (2012): 4.

<sup>61</sup> Malik, Irwan, and Wathani, "*Halal* Product and Formal Piety Muslims Middle-Class Life in the Analysis of Religious Reception Theory."

<sup>62</sup> Pribadi and Sila, "Intertwining Beauty and Piety," 36.

<sup>63</sup> Hasbullah, "Cultural Presentation of the Muslims Middle Class in Contemporary Indonesia."

identities visible in distinct social and political associations. Many Islamic institutions and organizations use moderate techniques. In essence, they strive to create an Islam that can be received by the Muslim society, creating an enlightened inspiration that encourages the next generation of Muslims to be better people.

For the Islamic teaching, they have succeeded in transforming knowledge into western and secular ideas or vice versa.<sup>64</sup> Then, after the growth of radical Islam and conservative organizations over the past ten years, moderate Islam becomes a topic of common public discourse.<sup>65</sup> Tolerance, modernity, progressivism, pro-democracy, proximity to secularism, and anti-violence in religious practices as well as social and political life are considered moderate characteristics, while those who lack these qualities are characterized as radical or fundamental, especially among millennials and young people as urban Muslims.

In a nutshell, the identity is comprised of so many complexities and differences that it is essentially analytically pointless. This is not to say that Islamic identity is an inconsequential category, but it is clear that it has great significance for those who view themselves as members of a larger community. As a result of the fact that Islamic identity is the product of numerous historical, political, and social processes.

### **2.3. Islamization of Urban Middle-Class Muslims' lifestyle**

In this context, I contend that the process of Islamization in Indonesia significantly influences the construction of Islamic identity among urban middle-class Muslims., wherein a substantial proportion, they demonstrate a strong inclination towards active engagement in Islamic activities. Moreover, this phenomenon serves as a contributing factor to the burgeoning growth of the Islamic

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<sup>64</sup> Ai Fatimah Nur Fuad, "Muslimss in Britain: Questioning Islamic and National Identity," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslims Societies* 2, no. 2 (December 1, 2012): 215–40, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v2i2.215-240>.

<sup>65</sup> Nugraha, "Moderate Islam as New Identity in Indonesian Foreign Policy."

education sectors. Islamism or political Islam is seen as a significant threat to Indonesia's current secular democratic system.<sup>66</sup> Salwa Ismail defines the term of Islamic and Islamization interchangeably to signify a process of changing the nature of the social sphere through religious symbols, signs, and actions.<sup>67</sup> In her eyes, all Muslims who believe and follow Islamic practices are actors in the Islamization project. It is generally understood to refer to political activism and discourse with the overarching goal of Islamizing the secular state and society through the exploitation of religious symbols and identities.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, Islamic fundamentalism and purification movements centered on the Qur'an and *Sunnah* in Indonesia are influenced by the growing population of urban middle-class Muslims, who actively participate of Islamization and, in turn, contribute to the amplification of Islamic education sectors.

Their existences obscure Indonesian Islam's appearance, which has earlier taken on the color of a tolerant, inclusive, and friendly.<sup>69</sup> It is distinguished by modern developments, the major Islamic organizations in Indonesia, NU and *Muhammadiyah*, which serve as models and defenders of moderate Islam, are perceived as being overwhelmed by the rise of fundamentalism or purification movements. This is understandable because, historically, Islam arrives in Indonesia through a process of cultural acculturation, resulting in a style of Islam that, for decades, tend to be dynamic and flexible in its principles. Like the Islamization of Java in the past, it enters through the cultural forms of *wayang* and *gamelan*

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<sup>66</sup> Schwedler, "Islamic Identity," 2001, 6.

<sup>67</sup> Salwa Ismail, "Being Muslim: Islam, Islamism and Identity Politics," *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4 (2004): 614–31.

<sup>68</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan, "Islam in Provincial Indonesia: Middle Class, Lifestyle, and Democracy," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 49, no. 1 (June 29, 2011): 127, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2011.491.119-157>.

<sup>69</sup> Yusa' Farchan, "The Trend of Hijrah: New Construction of Urban Millennial Muslims Identity In Indonesia," *The Sociology of Islam* 1, no. 2 (2021): 2.

employed by *Sunan Kalijaga* to disseminate the message of Islam.<sup>70</sup> Islamist actors can primarily be divided into militants, traditionalists, and moderates. Each of these groups frequently has distinctive social roots and patterns of behavior. Militants typically come from lower-middle-class families. They have employed violence as a tactic to address their social and economic issues. Conservatives and moderates are members of the middle classes, with professionals serving as their primary backers. Conservatives place a strong emphasis on moral problems and work to Islamize society.<sup>71</sup>

There has been a significant shift in the routine practices of urban Muslims. Under the influence of purist preachers, a significant number of urban middle-class Muslims began to adopt the actual practices of Arab Muslims.<sup>72</sup> With the “Islam-Arab” model, it is hardly unexpected that Indonesian Islam is hailed for being a moderate Islam with a high level of tolerance. The flourishing sermon groups lead by young *habaib* as new religious market,<sup>73</sup> the changes in consumption, habitus, and a glitzier way of life, which identifies as commercialization due to the increasingly involve religious identity markers, and the growing commodification of Islam as a result of socioeconomic, technological, and cultural shifts, driving moral certainty, spiritual enrichment, and religious identity. It is known to have an individualized form of Islam, transforming the main symbols of Asian religions into economic goods on the "market of faith" where they operate markets that manifested symbolic economic moments.<sup>74</sup> With the intention of emulating the Arab mosque style, marvelous mosques with new architectural styles have been built. A growing

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<sup>70</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, “Indonesian Muslimss in a Globalising World: Westernisation, Arabisation and Indigenising Responses - RSIS,” *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*, 2018, 9.

<sup>71</sup> Ismail, “Being Muslim,” 616.

<sup>72</sup> Bruinessen, “Indonesian Muslims in a Globalising World: Westernisation, Arabisation and Indigenising Responses - RSIS,” 3.

<sup>73</sup> Syamsul Rijal, “Performing Arab Saints and Marketing the Prophet Habaib and Islamic Markets in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Archipel* 99 (2020): 210.

<sup>74</sup> Pribadi and Sila, “Intertwining Beauty and Piety,” 40.

number of individuals are joining luxurious services for hajj and umrah pilgrims, as well as being fashionable. Many of them travel for hajj or umrah not only to fulfill a religious duty, but also to acquire spiritual power and prestige. Thus, these pilgrims and seekers of knowledge were Indonesia's genuine Islamizers. In terms of pleasure, complementing the more traditional Islamic music, *nashid* music praising God and the Prophet Muhammad has topped the national popular music chart.<sup>75</sup> The expression of ideas by middle-class Muslims in these Islamic practices and the proliferation of privileged study groups, which are typically attended by businesspeople, professionals, and artists. This cultural presentation influences their outlook and way of life, which in turn affects how they raise their children.

Variant phenomena illustrate how the urban middle-class Muslims live in the contemporary development. Under the name of *hijrah*, the spirit among urban Muslims is indicative of the contemporary resurrection of Islamic conservatism and fundamentalism in Indonesia. Since the prophet's time, the concept of *hijrah* has changed from being interpreted primarily in terms of geography. Urban Muslim's way of thinking is generally adjusting their attitudes, behavior, lifestyles to reflect Islamic values as the meaning of *hijrah*.<sup>76</sup> What is called as 'self-conversion' but it happened within one religion occurred, having an inspiration to be a better Muslim or 'new born of Muslim'.<sup>77</sup> It is regarded as a component of the effort to revive Indonesian Islam in public or artistic setting. It can be found in numerous mosques in affluent residential district, where different activity of *majlis taklim*<sup>78</sup> emerged and considerably developed. The growth of many Islamic banks and commercial

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<sup>75</sup> Malik, Irwan, and Wathani, "Halal Product and Formal Piety Muslims Middle-Class Life in the Analysis of Religious Reception Theory"; Bruinessen, "Indonesian Muslims in a Globalising World: Westernisation, Arabisation and Indigenising Responses - RSIS."

<sup>76</sup> Ayuningtyas and Hidayati, "Understanding the Current Trend of Hijrah: Between Self-Existence and Religious Understanding."

<sup>77</sup> Syamsul Rijal and Ade Masturi, "Hijrah ke Manhaj Salaf: Ekspresi dan Negoisasi Kesalehan Kaum Muda Urban," *Al-Izzah: Jurnal Hasil-Hasil Penelitian*, no. 0 (2022): 4.

<sup>78</sup> It is an Arabic language. It refers to a gathering to learn about Islamic teaching, and it is actually conducted at the mosques nearby the home.

entities in the economic sphere is considerable as a sign of the Islamization of society.

Likewise, *hijrah* is readily accessible on the Internet. Greg Fealy depicts the reality of urban Muslims by having them listen to their favored preachers, such as Yusuf Mansur, *Ustaz* Abdul Somad (UAS), and AA Gym, and currently the popular Indonesian-Arabian preachers such as Habib Hasan b. Ja'far Assegaf,<sup>79</sup> who garnered a great deal of media attention, or so-called "*ustaz seleb*" using social media and digital technologies.<sup>80</sup> It marks the commencement of a brand-new Indonesian Islamic movement among metropolitan Muslims. With the advancement of information technology, however, an increasing number of urban Muslims are turning to social media to discover new sources of moral education. Expanding the number of Islamic websites and even online fatwas to support the *hijrah* movement in order to serve as a resource for urban Muslims experiencing a spiritual crisis as a result of the *hijrah's* pervasive provocation in virtual public space. Both the #*pemudahijrah* campaign initiated by *Ustaz* Hanan Attaki and the content da'wah by Felix Siaw, who emphasized the significance of *hijrah* as a requirement for every Muslim to achieve the ideals of the Islamic caliphate,<sup>81</sup> as well as *hijrah* among celebrities, are quite easy to locate on Instagram. This demonstrated the growing religiosity in public spaces, which has even influenced the popular culture of urban Muslim populations. The ongoing digital transition in Indonesia has impacted all facets of existence, including spirituality and religion.

Briefly, it has taken urban middle-class Muslims' life, where an identity of a "devout Muslim" will arise. From a sociological perspective, it has to do with the production and consumption patterns that make up society's fundamental economy.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Rijal, "Performing Arab Saints and Marketing the Prophet Habaib and Islamic Markets in Contemporary Indonesia," 1.

<sup>80</sup> Fealy and White, *Expressing Islam : Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*.

<sup>81</sup> Ayuningtyas and Hidayati, "Understanding the Current Trend of Hijrah: Between Self-Existence and Religious Understanding," 5.

<sup>82</sup> Pribadi and Sila, "Intertwining Beauty and Piety."

As the hype-consumers of the urban Muslim, being a productive consumer of *ḥalāl* label as a part of the *hijrah* lifestyle is uncommon. They oversell the usage of *ḥalāl* or Islamic products in a variety of industries, including banking, food, and fashion. Some clothing such as *abaya* and kaftans for women and *jalabiyya*, *jubba*, *koko*, *kurtas*, *tawb*, and trousers until the ankle are frequent ways for an urban middle class member to identify themselves as *hijrah* people. Other *ḥalāl* lifestyle is preferring to have daily transaction with Islamic banks to avoid paying interest or *riba* which against the Islamic teaching, even some of them are cutting off their own access to various banking services, whether conventional or *sharī'a* bank. And as a part of their daily routine, they start consuming more and more Islamic herbal goods, such as dates, *habbatus sauda*, *saffran*, figs, olive oil, and others.

In sum, what deserve the public attention in the context of islamization of urban middle class lifestyle is how capitalism agents also work to produce goods or services in accordance with the *hijrah* individual's market. Modern capitalism's producers are very proficient at providing the numerous goods and services that the Muslim population in today's urban areas. The relationship between capitalism and conservatism-fundamentalism, which at some point have many fundamental disagreements, is marked by capitalism's shrewdness in understanding and absorbing the tastes of Indonesian Muslims. In reaction to their identity issue, metropolitan middle-class Muslims created a new model of the Muslim lifestyle. The spiritual component of Muslim civilizations has been diminished by the rapid urbanization and modernizing process. At this time, what is known as spiritual aridity is born in which there is an imbalance between the dimension of the worldly life and the afterlife. Urban populations in many places have led logically to the lame atmosphere of mysticism and spirituality. A few urban Muslim are shocked by the current scenario, where urban modernization frequently gives rise to religious secularism that increases spirituality. Since the majority of urban Muslims in the middle class undertook the *hijrah*, it is similar to finding an answer to look for alternative ideas and practices outside of mainstream Islam that have existed in the past.

## 2.4. Conclusion

All this time, secularism as a product of modernity has attempted to separate religion from the public sphere so that religion has become truly private sphere. In general, Islamic identity poses a threat not to liberal democratic values, but to the hegemonic power structures of global capitalism. Certainly, in this chapter, urban middle-class Muslims made an effort to address their identity, negotiating what actually occurred in their life. In spite of the fact that the narrative domains of Islamic identity are complex, they no longer possess any fundamental mobilizing capacity. Individual piety among them must be acknowledged by others. Due to the aridity of the spiritual dimension among them, filling the void of what they felt is analogous to giving rise to an inner haze. Through the phenomena of Islamic resurgence, the spirit in public spaces is characterized by a pervasive wave of re-Islamization. *Hijrah* exemplified the case among the urban middle class. Engaging third parties in an effort to shape the identity of contemporary Muslims. It is common knowledge that the development of Islamic identity has occurred within a historical context in which foreign factors have frequently played a significant role. It also represents a very dynamic Indonesian representation after the 1998 reform.

In particular, the *hijrah* activity itself is not only a religious phenomenon but directly connected to the consumption and production pattern that are fundamental to Muslim society. The Muslim community in metropolitan areas adopted it as a lifestyle. From the viewpoint of popular culture, modernization, globalization and re-islamization are interconnected and create a new religious pattern where a Muslim might become “modern and pious” at the same time. The preferences of the background identity of preacher’s role model do not really necessary. In other word, although some urban Muslims in the middle class may have inherited the identity of the religious social organization either genetically through their parents or due to the influence of their social and educational environment, the reflection of popular identity such as NU and Muhammadiyah is relatively low. Given that they simply worry about being a devout Muslim, which is still characterized by individual piety,

the majority of the urban middle class may not have strong allegiance or fanaticism toward this religious institution. At this time, Islamic fundamentalism which is considered something out of date in practice is actually embodied in the modern capitalist lifestyle. It strengthened the construction of a new Indonesian urban middle-class Muslims.

## CHAPTER 3

### ISLAMIC REVIVALISM AND NON-FORMAL ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN URBAN CITY

#### 3.1. Introduction

As a result of modernization and globalization, Islam has become more visible and articulate in Indonesia's public sphere. The messages of the Islamic revival have resonated strongly, influencing numerous social and political fields, providing a credible path for upward mobility and a market for commercial products.<sup>83</sup> Initially, many social scientists predicted that as urbanization and industry grew, religion would become “bankrupt”, the rising secularization process resulted Islamic intellectual authority loses, and declining the religious practices.<sup>84</sup> However, it happened as a vice versa, every aspect of Muslim life in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is infused with a religious institution, concept, or symbol. Islamic institution received so much attention. The progressive secularization faded away and disappeared in the modern world. Many areas of the globe have witnessed strong movement of religious revival.<sup>85</sup> The revolution inspired Muslims all over the world to fight for the foundation of Islamic states. The most notable intellectual effort is seen since 1979 through the first international conference on Muslim education held in Mecca, discussing the efforts to modernize Islamic education.<sup>86</sup> The desire of Muslims to infuse their religious teachings into every aspect of life increased after that, leading to

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<sup>83</sup> Hasan, “The Making of Public Islam.”

<sup>84</sup> Erkan Toğuşlu, *Modern Islamic Thinking and Activism Dynamics in the West and in the Middle East: Fethullah Gülen, Tariq Ramadan and Yusuf al-Qaradawi: The Pluralisation of Islamic Knowledge* (Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2014), 33.

<sup>85</sup> Florian Pohl, “Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia,” *Comparative Education Review* 50, no. 3 (2006): 389.

<sup>86</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education* (Jeddah: King Abduaziz University, 1979).

what Esposito refers to as an “Islamic resurgence” in the Muslim world.<sup>87</sup> The contribution is to define current Islamic ethics based on universal principles that allow people to reorganize their everyday lives to match shifting social standards. Finding a legal foundation on which to build a modern state and a modern economy in the context of modern technologies and sciences is the responsibility of Islamic revivalists.

The widespread Islamic revivalist movement is currently experiencing a global upsurge, which is a direct reaction to the changes taking place on a global scale that make up modernity. Like many other movements, the Islamic revival movement may be understood as a reaction against modernity, but at the same time, they are also an expression of modernity. There are two strategies to reach the urban society. The first is to develop an Islamic society from the ground up through community organizing and education, which may become more popular as it gains strength. Other forms of political violence include the direct seizing of the state to topple an unpopular government that is controlled by foreign nations.<sup>88</sup>

The first strategy happened, the newly developing of Urban Muslim, educated Muslims have contributed to the rising consumption of religious culture. They make an informal institution to learn Islamic teaching, more than learning Qur’an.<sup>89</sup> The Muslim revivalist found greatest support primarily among the educated middle-class in the towns. More religious opposition, attempts to impose sharia rule on Muslims and a resurgence of Islamic practices among Muslim. Typically, the leadership of the movement are not the *ulama*, the traditional learned elite, but a new intelligentsia of preachers, community organizers, intellectuals and missionaries. They no longer

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<sup>87</sup> John L. Esposito and Charles J. Adams, *Voices of Resurgent Islam* (Oxford University Press, 1983).

<sup>88</sup> Ira M. Lapidus, “Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 4 (1997): 444–60.

<sup>89</sup> Alviani Rachma, “Modernizing the Tradition: Mengaji among Children of Urban Muslim Families in Indonesia,” *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 21, no. 1 (April 1, 2023): 109–24.

cultivate the historical forms of legal, theological, and philosophical knowledge. Their envision is not return to caliphs, imams, and holy men, nor a revival of historical political concepts, but is a new Islam of commitment to an abstract concept of community and moral authority,<sup>90</sup> which definitely flourish right now, most of Islamic education communities, institutions, or organization are led by the educated Muslims who are intellectuals and missionaries. Their real point is to define a modern Islamic ethic based on generalized values that allow people living in new social conditions to reorganize their daily lives.

As many scholars' works on Islamic revivalism have focused on the study of social movements, discussing their impacts on the national, regional, and global scene.<sup>91</sup> These social movements are often portrayed as subversive and contrary to the modern and secular way of life by insisting on this emphasis from a social movement perspective. The Case in Ghana, the beginning of Islamic revivalism drew impetus through the diplomatic initiatives. It stimulates Arabic literacy and higher Islamic learning through scholarship to many Ghanaian students to study in Egypt.<sup>92</sup> In central Asia, the revivalism has united people from the urban middle and lower strata who are declared as intelligentsia people. It appeared as part of the anti-colonial movement, and took political, economic and cultural in urban areas.<sup>93</sup> In Mauritius, Islamic revivalism constructed the ethnic and religious identity, such as building new mosques, schools, and Islamic centers which are often financed by foreign sources, practicing new elements deriving from Arab culture, embracing and shaking hands

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<sup>90</sup> Malik, Irwan, and Wathani, "Halal Product and Formal Piety Muslim Middle-Class Life in the Analysis of Religious Reception Theory," 447.

<sup>91</sup> Ali, "Modernity, Its Crisis and Islamic Revivalism"; Ermin Sinanovic, "Islamic Revival as Development: Islam, Democracy, Modernity since the 1950s," January 1, 2012; Fahlesa Munabari et al., "Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia: The Caliphate, Sharia, NKRI, Democracy, and the Nation-State," *Jurnal Politik* 5, no. 2 (April 10, 2020): 281, <https://doi.org/10.7454/jp.v5i2.263>.

<sup>92</sup> Yunus Dumbe, *Islamic Revivalism in Contemporary Ghana*, vol. 7 (Södertörns högskola, 2013), 18.

<sup>93</sup> Abduvakhitov Abdujabar, *Islamic Revivalism in Uzbekistan* (Indiana University Press, 1993).

after prayers, and using Islamic architecture for the mosque and its dome.<sup>94</sup> Meanwhile, In Malaysia and Aceh, Indonesia, the case of the spreading of *Jamaah tabligh* is reputed to be the largest of the numerous movements and organization dedicated to the revival, reform, and revitalization of Islam in the twentieth century.<sup>95</sup>

The previous part of the requirement has been satisfied, which is to explain the context of the urban middle-class Muslims in their identity and daily social life as Muslim commuters, highlighting the case of Islamization and *hijrah*. The next part of the requirement is to demonstrate that, consistent with the explanation of negotiating Islamic identity. The presence of Muslim revivalists in the field of non-formal education is indeed influencing the way of life of the urban middle-class Muslims. As I have defined educated Muslims who are aware of their identity, they are Muslim lifestylers who choose their Muslim identities as their primary identity and organize their daily lives around this identity.<sup>96</sup> Everything Muslims do, from what they consume to how they dress, is in accordance with and influenced by their religious beliefs. Among others, Muslim lifestylers are the most publicly visible and most frequently represented description of Muslim individuals in popular culture. They are the most prominent ideal categories in this term. Their distinguishing characteristics can be described in terms of duration, density, and predominance. Some characteristics, such as their attire or manner of dress, may contain religious symbols. As according to Yvonne Boomsma, clothing can be used to present one's self and identity to others in ordinary settings.<sup>97</sup> The male typically wears a fez, or black cap, or *kokoh* dress, whereas the female typically wears a hijab or headscarf. They tend to

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<sup>94</sup> Oddvar Holup, "Islamic Revivalism and Political Opposition among Minority Muslimss in Mauritius," *Ethnology* 35, no. 4 (1996): 285, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3773871>.

<sup>95</sup> Kamaruzzaman Bustamam, "From Islamic Revivalism to Islamic Radicalism in Southeast Asia: A Study of Jama'ah Tabligh in Malaysia and Indonesia," *Cambridge Scholars Publishing*, 2015, 2.

<sup>96</sup> Brekhus, "Trends in the Qualitative Study of Social Identities."

<sup>97</sup> Yvonne Boomsma, "The Fabricated Self-The Role of Clothing in Identity Development" (Faculty of Behavioural, Management, and Social Sciences, Dutch, University of Twente, 2020).

maintain their unity by residing in a Muslim-exclusive space and utilizing a Muslim-exclusive social network. Including mosques, *ḥalāl* markets, and Muslim organizations.

This chapter explains the connection between Islamic revivalists and educated Muslims. These challenges have sparked a new debate over the status and function of religion in education among the majority of Muslims in recent years. As a result of the graduation of contemporary Islamic boarding institutions and higher education, newly educated Muslims in urban areas are integrating their creativity into non-formal education. They are trained to make innovative contributions to the modernization and social transformation processes that the country has undertaken. Educators have increasingly sought new methods to incorporate religious and spiritual topics into contemporary curricula without privileging one religious' tradition over others. Although their lifestyle is catching up other scholars to be studied, it is crucial to examine the awakening of some educated Muslims with regard to constructing the Islamic identity of the next generation, because general skepticism about religion's involvement in education persists in part because of recent conversations located in the public sphere of modern and pluralist society.

In this section, I argue that the roles of Islamic revivalism and Islamic education in confronting modernity are intertwined, and that both have contributed to the formation of the identities of urban middle-class Muslims, particularly through the importance of Islamic education. This section addresses the second question of my research regarding the factors that have contributed to the growth of non-formal Islamic education in urban areas. The collaboration of educated Muslims and the graduation of some modern boarding schools in Indonesia produced a significant interaction between modern, traditional, and religious value systems in the shaping of Muslim life in urban Indonesia, as well as one of the continuity phenomena that occurred among urban middle-class Muslims. Therefore, the discussion started from the specific meaning of Islamic revivalism, then continue with the description of non-

formal Islamic education as it is become a the most solution to embed religious knowledge among urban middle-class Muslims, and the last mentioning the case of Islamic private tutoring institution as the case of non-formal Islamic education.

### **3.2. Islamic Revivalist, A Revival of Islamic Knowledge**

In this perspective, the Islamic revivalist movement, commonly known as Islamic revivalism, is regarded as fundamental religious ideology that advocated for social justice, Islamic identity, and cultural defense its primary objectives are to rejuvenate and restore Islamic teachings and principles within the public domain, accomplished through active engagement in diverse social activities.<sup>98</sup> Concurrently, educated Muslims, driven by a desire for positive transformation, often play a significant role in these revival movement. Notably, among urban middle-class Muslims, it serves as a response to various socio-political, economic, and cultural challenges encountered by Muslim societies. Consequently, they prompt to pursue education and intellectual discourse, seeking a profound comprehension of their faith and its applicability in contemporary context. Moreover, the presence of Islamic revivalists actively involved in the process of modernization entails a reinterpretation of Islamic texts and principles to address contemporary issues. This process facilitated urban middle-class Muslims' ability to harmonize Islamic teachings with modern realities, consequently enhancing their intellectual adaptability.

Textually, revival, known as *tajdid* (in Arabic), alludes to a certain Muslim interpretation. Its foundation is the idea of *ijtihad*, or independent and creative reasoning, which is not just applicable to legal issues but also calls for innovative approaches to resolving social issues.<sup>99</sup> It ultimately adapts the notion to advance

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<sup>98</sup> Bambang Arif Rahman, "Islamic Revival and Cultural Diversity; Pesantren's Configuration in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslims Societies* 12, no. 1 (June 4, 2022): 201–29, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v12i1.201-229>.

<sup>99</sup> Muhammad Rahman, "Islamic Revival in Indonesia: From Purification of Religion to Social Innovations," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2016, 12, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3053461>.

society rather than just creating new concepts. According to Sinanovic,<sup>100</sup> Islamic revivalist is a vast social phenomenon that encompasses all social and political actors whose goal is to restore and re-establish Islamic teachings in their most comprehensive form. Engaging modernity in ways that are consistent with Islamic tradition has been the fundamental goal. Since it is deeply committed to religion and articulated to confront concerns of crisis, it is not merely similar to popular religiosity. Whereas the term Islamic revivalism has been used interchangeably by some scholars with the word's resurgence, reawakening, revitalization, and reassertion as well as non-Muslim scholars.

Numerous reform and revival movements that emerged in response to shifting political and economic circumstances may be found throughout the historical Islamic cultures.<sup>101</sup> The trend of Islamic Revivalism can be traced all the way back to one of the caliphs who made an effort to maintain the integrity of the Muslim *Umayyad* Caliphate by placing a strong emphasis on religion and restoration of the fundamental tenets of Islam. Cases like the 1967 Israel-Saudi Arabian War and the Iranian Revolution have increased the demand for Islamization in Muslim nations. Many studies on Islamic revivalism have recently emphasized the link between the two regions. It is sometimes claimed that the Middle East is where South East Asia's Islamic revivalism originated. By connecting Islamic revivalism to the alleged expansion of Islamic political agendas, the majority of them are interested in identifying the causes of Islamic radicalism in Southeast Asia.<sup>102</sup>

While in Indonesia, the fall of Suharto's government in 1998 sparked an increase in Islamic revivalist activism that led to the implementation of the Sharia

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<sup>100</sup> Sinanovic, "Islamic Revival as Development," 3.

<sup>101</sup> Ira Lapidus, "Islamic Revival and Modernity: The Contemporary Movements and the Historical Paradigms," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40, no. 4 (1997): 444-60.

<sup>102</sup> Bustamam, "From Islamic Revivalism to Islamic Radicalism in Southeast Asia: A Study of Jama'ah Tabligh in Malaysia and Indonesia," 17.

lifestyle and the foundation of a caliphate.<sup>103</sup> It is, according to Salim and Azra known as “formalization of Islam” as there is an increasing amount of pressure to implement Islamic law.<sup>104</sup> At that time, some organizations such as *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI), *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI), *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia* (MMI), and *Forum Umat Islam* (FUI) arose and took part in a number of various collective actions. To avoid the regime’s expression, these movements function covertly, they all agree that it is important to defend Indonesian Muslims’ and Islam’s interests and to revive Islamic teachings and principles both in the private sphere and in the wider community.<sup>105</sup> Other nations, including Egypt and Pakistan, have Islamic revivalist movements called *Ikhwanul Muslimin*<sup>106</sup> and *Jamaat tabligh*<sup>107</sup> that aspire to impose a sharia system on their respective country. They engage in a range of activities, including petitions, statements on media platforms, protests, and widespread mobilization. Munabari sums up the main characteristics of social movements as involvement in sustainable collective action directed at the government, political elites, and their opponents. They usually materialize in the form of mass demonstrations, meetings, rallies, and statements on media platforms, among others, and are extra-institutional or extra-parliament.<sup>108</sup> However, the development of Islamic revivalism in Indonesia created social tension and even horizontal conflicts in Indonesia which tend to chaos the Muslim condition.

The middle class reveals that young intellectuals who receive an adequate education in public universities without sacrificing their Islamic identity are on the

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<sup>103</sup> Munabari et al., “Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia,” 282.

<sup>104</sup> Arskal Salim and Azyumardi Azra, *Shari’a and Politics in Modern Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asia Studies, 2003), 2, <https://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg/publication/262>.

<sup>105</sup> Munabari et al., “Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia,” 282.

<sup>106</sup> Ikhwanul Muslims is generally known as the largest and most influential Islamic movement in the Arab world. The movement is established in 1928 by an Egyptian Islamic intellectual names Hasan al-Banna.

<sup>107</sup> Jamaat al-Islami is established in Lahore, Pakistan, in 1945 by an Islamic intellectual name Abul Ala al-Maududi.

<sup>108</sup> Munabari et al., “Islamic Revivalism in Indonesia,” 284.

rise and play a significant role in the bureaucracy or private sector because they are defined by their level of education and the position they hold.<sup>109</sup> Members of the Islamic revivalist movement are not anti-modernity, but they are generally opposed to Western thought, particularly secular nationalism, material capitalism, socialism, communism, and Westernism. In their efforts to eradicate it, they regard secularism to be the obscenest aspect of modernity. It is a transforming reaction to modernity, which is typically referred to as crisis modernity.<sup>110</sup> Islamic revivalists see the modernization crisis as a worldwide issue, but they also see its effects on the Muslim world, which colonialism demolished and threw into what Hadad calls the socio-economic and political crisis of the Muslim world.<sup>111</sup> This is a reaction to both the crisis that the entire globe is experiencing and the fall of the Muslim world.

In constructing the modern state and economy, the Islamic revivalists are attempting to find a legitimate basis for the context of contemporary technologies and sciences, and for this reason, they appeal to technological and professional students, bureaucrats, engineers, medical personnel, skilled workers, and others with contemporary education. Family and the relations between men and women have also been profoundly impacted by modern states. The new states intervened in family and community affairs to advance the education and employment of women. As Western materialism and its luxuries were made known to people worldwide, the media propagated an image of liberated women and consumer values in terms of income, social services, and even their values and worldviews, women have become less

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<sup>109</sup> R Murray Thomas, "The Islamic Revival and Indonesian Education," *University of California Press* 28, no. 9 (1998).

<sup>110</sup> Ali, "Modernity, Its Crisis and Islamic Revivalism."

<sup>111</sup> Bassam Haddad, "Syria, the Arab Uprisings, and the Political Economy of Authoritarian Resilience," *Interface Journal* 4, no. 1 (2012).

reliant on their fathers and husbands. Massive alterations to the fabric of society were also brought about by a condition of state formation.<sup>112</sup>

In Aceh Indonesia, a city with a strong Islamic culture, numerous Muslims have made efforts to modernize and renew the quality of the existing education, including traditional boarding schools which expanded the education system independently by adhering to the national curriculum, and others who constructed the Islamic Sufism practice as an Islamic spiritual supplement for students in order to broaden its educational method.<sup>113</sup> Turkey and Tunisia were the most committed to secular forms of modern national society, but in almost every case, the establishment of national states meant the disestablishment of Islam. Islamic educational and legal systems were marginalized by the establishment of the secular state, despite the fact that many of them attempted to incorporate or assimilate Islamic loyalties into the national identity.<sup>114</sup> Between the elite of society and the common populace, a vast cultural split has developed. The elites adopted a western way of life, whereas the masses maintained traditional customs. Simultaneously, the lives of the populace were severely disrupted. Colonial and then independent nations contributed to the decline of traditional social cohesion.

In this case, Islamic revivalism has provided people with a source of pride and personal identity not based on a Western point, a viewpoint that cast Indonesians in a subservient role within Dutch colonialism as well as in more recent international relations. The effect of the resurgence has been displayed in Indonesian society as an upsurge in attendance at the Friday services at the mosque, increased diligence in carrying out daily prayers, greater adherence to fasting during the month of

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<sup>112</sup> Ateeq Abdul Rauf, "An Islamic Revivalist Group's Unsuccessful Attempt to Find Meaning on WhatsApp: A Unsuccessful Case Study of Understanding Unsustainable Asymmetrical Logics between Traditional Religion and the Digital Realm," *Religions* 13 (2022).

<sup>113</sup> Rahman, "Islamic Revival and Cultural Diversity; Pesantren's Configuration in Contemporary Aceh, Indonesia."

<sup>114</sup> Rahman, "Islamic Revival in Indonesia," 46.

Ramadhan, a growing number of Qur'an study groups, and increase diligent publication, and more women adopting Muslim dress styles.

### **3.3. Non-formal Islamic Education, A Shadow of Modern Muslims' Education**

The issue of Islamic education has received great attention due to various historical, political, and socio-cultural factors. Charlene Tan defines it as any form of teaching and learning that is based on the principles and values of Islam.<sup>115</sup> Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty, and Robert Hefner describe that Islamic educational system in Indonesia as the most open and innovative in the world for the willingness of Muslim educators to go beyond religious studies to offer marketable skills and general education.<sup>116</sup> The current situation of Islamic education is closely related to local and international development. Like other institutions in the Muslim world, it has struggled with development, modernization, and globalization issues. It confronts internal challenges as well as those posed by the system to communities and societies throughout the Muslim world and beyond. historically, the existence of Islamic education is a means to strengthen the Muslims' legitimacy in the pre-nation state which complicated by the nature of traditional Islamic education which is decentralized, informal, and highly autonomous.<sup>117</sup> Al-Attas states that the purpose of Islamic education for the Muslim societies' development is not to overwhelm Muslims generation only for knowledge, but rather to prepare them for a life of purity and sincerity.<sup>118</sup> As a reaction to modernity, a strong revivalist Islamization movement through the increasing educated Muslims has recently emerged in a number of Muslim countries. They seek to infuse all forms of knowledge with

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<sup>115</sup> Charlene Tan, *Islamic Education and Indoctrination: The Case in Indonesia* (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2011), 4.

<sup>116</sup> Azyumardi Azra, Dina Afrianty, and Robert Hefner, "Pesantren and Madrasa: Muslim Schools and National Ideals in Indonesia," in *Schooling Islam*, 2010, 172–98, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400837458.172>.

<sup>117</sup> Azmil Tayeb, *Islamic Education in Indonesia and Malaysia, Shaping Minds, Saving Souls* (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2018), 16.

<sup>118</sup> Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *The Concept of Education in Islam: A Framework for an Islamic Philosophy of Education* (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 1990).

Islamic values and to halt the secularization and modernization of knowledge, not only for primary education but also for shadow education.<sup>119</sup> Therefore, from a Muslim perspective, it is not surprising to observe the revival of Islam in all spheres of life.

The implication for the educational system is that this revival, particularly among elites and the educated middle-class Muslims, creates a market for modern Islamic education that is in high demand. In countries such as Turkey, Egypt, Pakistan, and Indonesia, a new paradigm of Islamic education institutions is emerging, which offers a combination of high-quality modern education and strong Islamic knowledge. Briefly, some pros and cons occur regarding the existence of Islamic revival. Negatively, it has not really increased Islamic studies in the formal curriculum of the great majority of Indonesian schools. Most of the Qur'anic and Hadith sources are written dominantly on the secular authority, founded on empirical investigation and logical theory. Positively, it gives ways for Muslims to learn a greater amount of basic communication skills, secular science, social science, and vocational studies, which are wider Muslims' mind.

When discussing Islamic education in Indonesia, the most origin and important institution in the Muslim set is the *pesantren*, *pondok*, or *surau*, a residential learning center typically located in a rural setting, directed by a Muslim scholar, and attended by youth and young adults (*santri*) interested in gaining a detailed understanding of the Qur'an and the Sunnah or Hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) and mastering the Arabic language, Islamic law, Muslim traditions and history, with their headmasters, or called as '*kyai*'.<sup>120</sup> Whereas in the urban setting, a lot of integrated Islamic school is built as one of the efforts to

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<sup>119</sup> Aziz Talbani, "Pedagogy, Power, and Discourse: Transformation of Islamic Education," *The University of Chicago Press* 40, no. 1 (1996): 1.

<sup>120</sup> Geertz, *The Religion of Java*.

Islamize society.<sup>121</sup> Lukens-Bull divides Islam in Indonesia as Classicalist and Reformist, where in term of Islamic education, classicalist use classical Islamic text and their affiliation with *pesantren* and the organization *Nahdhatul Ulama*, whereas the Reformist affiliated with the organization *Muhammadiyah* and seek to reform Indonesian Islam.<sup>122</sup>

In their learning and teaching, the themes in each *pesantren's* curriculum are determined exclusively by the scholar in charge's choices and areas of expertise. The central source of truth in an Islamic curriculum is the holy scripture, oftentimes as interpreted by a Muslim scholar or an *imam*.<sup>123</sup> The aims of all such schools are to produce good people in the sense of ones who faithfully guided their lives by Islamic dicta, and closely producing well-informed adherents, the ones who see the universe through the lensed of Muslim doctrine. This is consistent with Murray's assertion that the four main purposes of educational trends in Indonesia are to produce good individuals in social or moral education, competent communicators, well-informed people, and efficient workers.<sup>124</sup> Hence, education is widely recognizes as an important part on how a society engages modernization and globalization in order to create a strong, pious, and faithful Islamic society.

Currently, to gain a bread and complete picture of how Islamic instruction and inculcation take place for Muslims both inside and outside, Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia can be categorized into formal, non-formal, and informal education as well as formal Islamic school can be categorized into government and privately owned, with the possibility of being owned by an Islamic organization.<sup>125</sup> An increasing number of formal Islamic schools such as *madrasahs*, and some

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<sup>121</sup> Noorhaidi Hasan, "Islamizing Formal Education: Integrated Islamic School and a New Trend in Formal Education Institution in Indonesia.," *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies*, 2009.

<sup>122</sup> Ronald A. Lukens-Bull, "Two Sides of the Same Coin: Modernity and Tradition in Islamic Education in Indonesia," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2001): 352.

<sup>123</sup> Thomas, "The Islamic Revival and Indonesian Education," 899.

<sup>124</sup> Thomas, 897.

<sup>125</sup> Tan, *Islamic Education and Indoctrination*, 5.

modern Islamic boarding schools are under the responsible of the Ministry of religious affairs (MORA), while Islamic schools the Ministry of Education. In contrast, non-formal Islamic education consists of traditional *pesantren* based on traditional curriculum (*salafiyah*) that teaches classic Islamic books on daily life, *TPQ (Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an)* that is held in the mosques and some private Islamic tutoring institutions that are proliferating. However, the role of the Ministry is not completely responsible for the Islamic schools because most Islamic schools in Indonesia are privately owned and managed.<sup>126</sup> According the data there are more than 80.000 Islamic schools in Indonesian during 2022, of which approximately 39.000 are *pesantren*,<sup>127</sup> approximately 26.500 are *madrasah*<sup>128</sup>, and the remainder are *Sekolah Islam* and non-formal Islamic education, which the majority are urban-based and offer a high academic standard. However, there are no data provided with the exact number for the total number of non-formal Islamic education in Indonesia.

As time goes by, the type of non-formal Islamic education has rapidly changed in particular its function. Previously, non-formal Islamic education refers to any organized educational activity outside school.<sup>129</sup> Charlene Tan offers *Ji* or *Jamaah Islamiyyah* as a good example of movement that offers organized educational activity outside the schools. In Minangkabau, west Sumatra, non-formal Islamic education is formed into *surau* and *madrasah*, and it is categorized as open system education. Formerly, it functioned as a place for Islamic education institutions and Islamic Sufi activities, but currently, it is used as a center of culture and the activities of Minangkabau people like a place to study Islamic religion such as Al-Qur'an recitation or a place to celebrate Islamic days, and a center for information

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<sup>126</sup> Tayeb, *Islamic Education in Indonesia and Malaysia, Shaping Minds, Saving Souls*, 2.

<sup>127</sup> See: <https://emispendis.kemenag.go.id/pdpontrenv2/>

<sup>128</sup> See:

[https://www.bps.go.id/indikator/indikator/view\\_data\\_pub/0000/api\\_pub/TE9sZfVvdVErcU9Ka0VreVUrNnZEQT09/da\\_04/1](https://www.bps.go.id/indikator/indikator/view_data_pub/0000/api_pub/TE9sZfVvdVErcU9Ka0VreVUrNnZEQT09/da_04/1)

<sup>129</sup> Tan, *Islamic Education and Indoctrination*, 44.

and socialization.<sup>130</sup> Meanwhile, in urban areas like Jakarta, the demand for non-formal Islamic education has led to the establishment of Islamic private tutoring institutions by educated Muslims. These institutions have emerged and influence Muslim families and their children. This need arises from the inadequate of religious knowledge provided in formal schools, where the curriculum often fails to address the complexities of the socially, culturally, religiously, politically, and ideologically diverse world, further exacerbated by scientific and technological advancements.<sup>131</sup> A similar trend is observed in other countries, such as the Netherlands, where non-formal Islamic education within mosques necessitates improvement in the pedagogical system to foster critical deliberation among children, who possess significant capabilities in critical thinking skills.<sup>132</sup>

Typically, the nature of Islamic private tutoring institutions is community-based. It designs to teach children fundamental Islamic and Qur'anic memorization, with an emphasis on Islamic education. The teaching's material is not really different with the common non-formal Islamic education, but it is more concerned with the intensive learning of Islamic understanding and the practicing of reading the holy Qur'an in modern way. It emerges due to the creation of many Muslim students who come from the modern Islamic boarding school. They imply their school's lifestyle and knowledge to modern society in order to create a modern Muslim in accordance with Islamic values. Apparently, this kind of institution is not managed by The Ministry of religious affairs, but it is managed by The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of Republic of Indonesia or called as *Kemendikbud Ristek RI*, as education unit at the community education that organize

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<sup>130</sup> M. Haviz et al., "Profile of Non-Formal Islamic Education in Indonesia: A Case Study of Surau and Madrasah in Minangkabau," *American Journal of Educational Research* 3, no. 8 (2015): 997, <https://doi.org/10.12691/education-3-8-8>.

<sup>131</sup> Hülya Kosar Altinyelken, "Critical Thinking and Non-Formal Islamic Education: Perspectives from Young Muslimss in the Netherlands," *Contemporary Islam* 15, no. 3 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-021-00470-6>.

<sup>132</sup> Altinyelken, 267.

educational pathways outside of formal education than can be carried out in a structures and tiered manner. It purposes is to empower the community through the life skills education and develop children's ability, which classifies as course institute.<sup>133</sup>

This Islamic education's trend is actually privately operated and expensive fees that are only affordable to middle to upper-class Muslims, or even the elites. As one of the educational services, its existence is merely for complementary to formal school. Its existence with noble character is important not only to equip oneself in terms of practicing religious values but also in bringing children to become human beings who are virtuous. Some characteristics generally can be considered of non-formal education, such as centralization of the process on the student, the immediate usefulness of the education for the student's personal and professional growth, and student need and orientation.<sup>134</sup> Despite the fact that significant segments of the educated middle class and elites in these nations continue to adhere to their Westernized ways, at the same time, Islamic education continues to be viewed as a symbol of backwardness.

Henceforth, with the advent of modernity and the process of Westernization, Muslim communities underwent a profound reevaluation of the intrinsic worth of Islamic education. Inevitably, Muslim found themselves necessitated to accede to the ascendancy of Western military, political, and economic prowess. Consequently, an initial condition of socio-political lag prevailed, compelling Muslims to embark upon trajectories of modernization as a paramount concern engaging the Muslim intellectuals. The contemporary sphere of general education now emerges as a conduit to attain societal esteem and influence, overshadowing the erstwhile comprehensive scope of Islamic education in terms of bestowing upon its alumni. Nonetheless, modern general education provides access to prestige and power

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<sup>133</sup> See: <https://referensi.data.kemdikbud.go.id/pustaka/dikmas/klasifikasi>

<sup>134</sup> Widodo and Widya Nusantara, "Building the Character of Children Through Non-Formal Education in School," *Journal of Nonformal Education* 6, no. 1 (2020).

privileges, and Islamic education becoming increasingly limited in what it can give its graduates. However, it is still, the majority of elite and urban middle-class Muslim families focused their own and their children's education on modern public schools rather than enrolling their children to Islamic schools due to the more promising future, but Islamic education among them is given as a second option or become a shadow education through Islamic private tutoring institution as non-formal Islamic education in order to merely introduce what Islam and Islamic values are in the form of Islamic knowledge.

#### **3.4. Islamic Private Tutoring Institution: The case of *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs***

To remain current, particularly in the age of rapid technological breakthroughs, educated Muslims propose various answers to modernization issues. Traditional Islamic institutions (*madrasah*) and mosque-based institutions such as TPA/TPQ are increasingly being faded out in big cities, with some Islamic private tutoring institutions surviving by educated Muslims provided for urban middle-class Muslims. The emergence of modern non-formal Islamic education in the Muslim world did not mean the elimination of Islamic education institutions, which at the time were only focused on teaching Arabic language and Islamic studies, rather, a dual system of education is now in place throughout the Muslim world. In order to go deeply into the case of the Islamic private tutoring institution as a form of non-formal Islamic education, I choose two of the well-known institution among urban Muslims parents, which are *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs*. Without comparing both institutions, I will explain of each institution how they engage among urban Muslim families.

Historically, long before the establishment of the *Alif iqra* institution in 2018, the Alif school in the Jakarta suburb of Bintaro operated as a place to impart Islamic knowledge to children of urban Muslims. However, an offline home private program has been implemented since 2016. By renting the home and setting it up as a modern classroom with well-supplied multimedia to support the instruction, the

Qur'an and Islamic studies are conducted exceptionally well. Then, in 2019, *Alif iqra* is legally launched under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of Republic of Indonesia (*Kemendikbud Ristek RI*), supervised by *PT. Sahabat Alif* Indonesia and owned by *Ustaz Achmad Muzakki* with his spouse.<sup>135</sup> Its mission is to make it easier for parents to locate a qualified Quranic teacher, as its name is an acronym for "Al-Qur'an Learning and Islamic Foundation (*ALIF*)."<sup>136</sup> In its development, *Alif iqra* has branches in major Indonesian cities, including Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Pontianak, Pekanbaru, Makassar, Medan, and Denpasar, as a result of its establishment and the high demand for its services from parents over the academic journey in almost four-year voyage, but in this case, I would like to focus on *Alif iqra* in Jakarta. Its vision is to create a generation with strong religiosity and culture as well its mission is to teach the Al-Qur'an in a pleasant and effective manner, and to facilitate devotional learning with the laudable goal of making the Quran more accessible and understandable among urban Muslim families.<sup>136</sup>

In the meantime, another institution is *Iqralabs*, an islamic private tutoring institution, is a transformation institution from *mengaji.co.id*. Its management under the hand of business men, specifically Muhammad Khodir. Together with his team, he aims to improve the welfare of Qur'anic instructors through remote management using the application *maungaji.co.id*. However, it changes as a result of rebranding the mission to expand their work to make better institution. Since 2019, their efforts have produced a hybrid Qur'an learning service in Indonesia that combines digital applications and offline learning spaces with "in-fun-tive" learning which consist of (innovative, fun, and interactive) to form an Islamic generation.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> See: <https://hayusakola.com/view/k9981026-lkp-kayra-bina-indo>

<sup>136</sup> Some information comes from the management of *Alif iqra* when the field research is conducted, whereas the information on the formal *Alif iqra* website is a compliment to complete the information from the informant.

<sup>137</sup> Same goes for the background information of *Iqralabs*, the information is coming from the management of *Iqralabs* during the field research.

In terms of material teaching, there exists a notable degree of similarity between conventional methods of Qur’anic and Islamic learning, as observed in both traditional Qur’anic learning centers (TPA/TPQ) and Islamic private tutoring institutions. However, it is noteworthy that Islamic private tutoring institutions exhibit a heightened emphasis on the incorporation of contemporary pedagogical strategies and efficient administrative frameworks in the dissemination of Islamic teachings and knowledge. For instance, the case of *Alif iqra* exemplifies this paradigm, its point of learning consists of two parts, first is encompassing Al-Qur’an studies, which ranging from reciting and writing verses through *tilawati* learning method, introducing *hijaiyyah* letter with and without diacritical marks (*harokat*), and memorizing *surahs* in Qur’an and along with daily prayers. The second is entailing the provision of Islamic education, whereby fundamental tenets of Islam are imparted in a manner conducive to children comprehension. This includes the recognition of the presence of Allah’s and Angel’s existence in daily life, understanding the greatness of Prophet stories, and knowing the step of *wudhu* and *shalat*. With loving Qur’an curriculum, is partitioned into discrete proportion: 40% of affectional component or love: manner, seerah, and duas, 20% compliance-oriented subject spanning the obedient from *tawheed* until *fiqh*, 40% cognitive dimension centering the intelligent upon qur’anic studies.

Apart from that, the different type group levels made by *Alif iqra* make it attractive to parents. It divided into lowest level, labeled as “lovely earth” for the children with 2-4 years old, which concentrates on instilling a love for learning through a sensory-immersive milieu coupled with Islamic exposure. Subsequently, the “bright moon” stage, designated for the children aged 4-6 years, equates the inquisitiveness of learners at this juncture to the luminary qualities of the moon, thereby nurturing their curiosity towards religious practices via mentorship and engaging pedagogical methods. Moreover, other stages encompass “sparkling the

stars” for children with 6-12 years old, “shinning sun” for adolescents aged 12-17 years, and the apex tier “high sky”, catering to individuals aged above 17 years.<sup>138</sup>

Whereas *Iqralabs* with a well-known sub-name, called as “a little friend of learning Qur’an” divides its learning into 3 categories of class, learning center, home visit, and online *mengaji*. The curricular offerings encompass a comprehensive blend of indoor and outdoor activities about Islam which targeted to have capability in knowing and reciting Qur’an, memorizing daily prayers, short surah in Qur’an, and cultivating of virtuous conduct and demeanor through theological tenets (*akidah*), ethical comportment (*akhlaq*), and jurisprudential principles (*fiqh*). The class grouping is artfully designated with references to animals mentioned within the Quranic text, comprising the “bee” class catering to children aged 3-4 years, the “hoopoe” class tailored for those aged 4-5 years, and the “sheep” class catering to children aged 5-6 years and beyond. The instructional trajectory commences with an introduction to the *hijaiyyah* script, in tandem with foundational Islamic insights encompassing a spectrum of ethical conduct for daily existence, as gleaned from the narratives chronicling the lives of Prophets and their esteemed associates. Dissemination of knowledge occurs via a pedagogical approach underscored by an infuntive learning methodology, incorporating didactic literature, artistic engagement, craft kits, interactive games, and digital media platforms.<sup>139</sup>

Geographically, the management of these institutions is located in Ciputat, South of Tangerang, a district with a concentration of educational institutions, ranging from the basic institution to the higher Islamic education, such as UIN *Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta* and PTIQ, as well as other Muslim intellectual communities and organizations. The existence of these institution in ciputat is

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<sup>138</sup> See the website of *Alif iqra*: <https://alifiqra.id/>

<sup>139</sup> See the website of *Iqralabs*: <https://iqralabs.co.id/>

seemingly supported what it called “Mazhab Ciputat”,<sup>140</sup> where this place is birthing many numerous intellectual legacies originating from Ciputat and the high level of intellectual activity among Muslims spreads in reference to the large number of Islamic scholars and university students associated with the Islamic University of Jakarta.<sup>141</sup>

The intellectual milieu, marked by a confluence of divergent schools of thought and innovative ideation, finds its genesis in the endeavors of the intellectual vanguard. My interview with the management of *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs*, unveiled a nuanced facet of the Islamic private tutoring institutions, underscored by the active participation of university students who, while pursuing their academic, concurrently seek supplementary remuneration during their formative years. The motivation stems from the realization that a career as a Qur’anic educator significantly influences their economic well-being, with a growing recognition of the heightened value attributed to instructors within non-formal Islamic education.<sup>142</sup> A senior figure of *Alif iqra*, Masmuhah Ocha, mentioned that the majority of tutors who remained in Ciputat are students at a well-known university in Ciputat. In addition to what Avicenna mentioned, there are numerous teachers with bachelor degrees who teach privately or at learning centers. The majority of them are currently serving as private tutors for children. Many of the Qur’anic tutor contributing to this institution come from Islamic boarding school background, either traditionalist or modernist. Evidently, their ideas and views have overtaken their modern counterpart in critical and creative thinking to teach Islamic teachings.

In accordance with the era of technology advancement, it resulted in a further proliferation of ideas and appreciation among those who dedicated to promoting and

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<sup>140</sup> Abuddin Nata, “Islam Madzhab Ciputat Yang Menasional Dan Mendunia,” accessed August 15, 2023, <http://abuddin.lec.uinjkt.ac.id/articles/islam-madzhab-ciputat-yang-menasional-dan-mendunia>.

<sup>141</sup> Carool Kersten, *Islam in Indonesia: The Contest for Society, Ideas, and Values* (United States: Oxford University Press, 2015), 42.

<sup>142</sup> The interview is conducted separately in each office of the institution.

furthering contemporary Islamic teaching. Include how the *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs* initiatives manifestly designed their digital identities to preserve the intellectual capacity of Muslim children from urban middle-class families. An increasing visibility of Islamic guidance and common life issues on social media indicates that the intelligentsia of Indonesia's Muslim population is aware of the importance of Islamic knowledge on media. This is exhibited on the social media strategy of every institution that has designed a solution based on Islamic values for today's Muslim children. An institutional environment that fosters innovative, creative, and critical thinking has a significant impact on the development of Muslim families, thereby enhancing the dynamic of educated Muslims. They appeared to be intellectual omnivores whose interests were not limited to Islamic topics, but also encompassed the Western way of life, as it encompasses a wider spectrum of humanities and social sciences.

As a result, the Islamic private tutoring institution are very much engaged in influencing Islamic moral and values to the Muslim children of urban families. If there is unifying hallmark characterizing these present-day of educated Muslim, then it would be the Islamic private tutoring institution that serves as house and showcase of their knowledge. However, the problem is how far the institution's strategy can keep up in balancing the ideology of Muslims over time.

### **3.5. Conclusion**

An overview demonstration of Islamic revivalism is viewed as a movement to make Islam a relevant source of power and social control, not just as a religion, but as an all-encompassing way of life. Various social, cultural, and political-historical factors must be taken into account when analyzing the relationship between Islamic revivalism and the development of Islamic education, particularly in relation to existing non-formal Islamic education via the establishment of Islamic private tutoring institutions. Despite the fact that Islamic revivalism is not only a shift in Islamic education, it has had a tremendous impact on the influence of educated

Muslims.

This chapter proves that the statement of the strong influence of Islamic revivalism and intellectual discourse in Islamic education successfully contribute to the formation of urban middle-class Muslims. Embedding religious values in the midst of a secularization lifestyle. As Muslim lifestyle, educated Muslims have a suitable place to share their intellectuality not only with the children as teachers but also the colleagues as work partners, making a team to share Islamic knowledge which accordance with the era. However, confronting modernity are much more effected toward the formation of the urban middle-class Muslims' identity. The capacity of educated Muslims to establish such an institution is heavily reliant on local and global progress. Non-formal Islamic education, like Islamic private tutoring institution and other similar institutions in the Muslim world, have struggled to keep up with development, modernization, and globalization. In addition, it offers hope that non-formal Islamic education is not resistant to positive change and modernization.

Several Islamic institutions have demonstrated a willingness and capacity to meet the needs of Muslims from the urban middle class. Educated Muslims, regardless of their ethnicity or religion, could be leaders in the pursuit of a tranquil and secure existence for all humanity. With the proof that the existence of two Islamic private tutoring institutions led by the educated Muslim, who really concern about the quality of Islamic education for the urban middle-class Muslims. Thus, Islamic revivalism has profound implications for the education system, as it is central to the propagation and selective dissemination of Muslim education. Part of the struggle for power to establish, expand, and maintain a particular conception of truth through the control of Islamic teachings is the production of educational materials by educated Muslims.

## CHAPTER 4

### BETWEEN IDENTITY AND EDUCATION: AN EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE ISLAMIC IDENTITY OF URBAN MIDDLE-CLASS MUSLIM

#### 4.1. Introduction

I experienced a vulnerable moment with the management of these two non-formal Islamic educational institutions during the field research to ask for written thoughts regarding the institution's emergence in the contemporary world. Muslim scholars have taken on the challenge of modernizing Islamic education since the beginning of Western colonialization in order to stay up with modernity and globalization as Muslim countries are no longer colonized. In addition, radical fundamentalism as reaction to cultural changes and the threat of militancy and terrorism in the name of Islam as a response to perceives injustices are alarming. The tendency to elevate what is supposed to be the center of the Muslim world has drawn criticism from Muslim intellectuals with traditional background and more familiarity of Islamic study. The messages of the worldwide Islamic awakening have resonated strongly, influencing numerous spheres of social and political life and fostering a sense of community. The dynamic and paradoxes in Islamic public reasoning used by Muslim public intellectuals is much more fragmented due to the secularization and individualization effects on the pluralization and functionalization of Islamic knowledge in Islamic setting, such as schools, mosques and association.<sup>143</sup>

Yet, despite the sense of accomplishment among Indonesian Muslims society as a result of Islamic revivalism and urban Muslim condition in balancing the Islamic identity, as well as the claim of full equality vis-à-vis standards of Muslim

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<sup>143</sup> Toğuşlu, *Modern Islamic Thinking and Activism Dynamics in the West and in the Middle East: Fethullah Gülen, Tariq Ramadan and Yusuf al-Qaradawi: The Pluralisation of Islamic Knowledge*, 33.

education, career opportunities, and socio-economic, and political participation, a markedly significant increase in the number of urban middle-class Muslim who want to know more about Islam has been seen. Introducing the label “Islam with a Smiling Face” through the progress of Islamic education in Indonesia, which consists of inclusivity or being pluralist, progressivity by emphasizing strong rationality, strong autonomy, and modern, by preparing the students to meet the challenges of a globalized world and knowledge-based economy.<sup>144</sup> Thus, the question that these organizations (*Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs*) raise is how far these institutions can influence the Islamic identity of children of urban middle-class Muslim and does negotiating Islamic identity in this circumstance is actually happened, in particular, the situation in Indonesia in the twenty-first century has filled up with the wave of modernity and acceptance of Islam as the Islamism phenomenon has grown.

Drawing on qualitative interviews, the case of *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs* provides numerous examples of urban middle-class Muslim families who, through the lens of their modern educational lifestyle, challenge their Islamic identity. It illustrates the dilemma that occurs when parents with Islamic believe run out of Islamic education options that could affect their children's Islamic identity. What Islamic private tutoring institutions did can be understood in light of the "backward" reputation of Islamic education and the need to balance modernity with Islamic identity. The idea of being modern intellectual generation and religious person summarizes the effort of bringing together different identity purposes originating between family and wider urban middle-class Muslims. I define urban middle-class Muslims who prefer to join these private tutoring institutions as Muslim integrators, individuals who are more likely to merge together their marked identities as a Muslim and their marked identities or generic identities.<sup>145</sup> For instance, their occupation in everyday life

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<sup>144</sup> Tan, *Islamic Education and Indoctrination*, 91.

<sup>145</sup> Brekhus, “Trends in the Qualitative Study of Social Identities.”

situation. They mix together different aspects of identities in one identity presentation and thus attempt to neutralizing the negative stereotype associated with their marked attribute as Muslims. In regards to dressing in everyday life, Muslim integrators like Muslim commuters tend to dress casually, with jeans, formal shirt, sneakers, or other types of shoes, and even sometimes wearing neckties.

In order to comprehend the Islamic identity negotiation, some of the cases take the example of young Muslims. Claire Dwyer's study mentioned that young British Muslims, whose multiple identities are fluid and hybrid due to a blending of cultural influences that are neither exclusively Muslim nor British.<sup>146</sup> Gender, socioeconomic status, and religion also reconfigure mixed and multiple identities.<sup>147</sup> In the meantime, young Canadian Muslims, as reported by Jasmine Zine, they negotiate their identities by adopting their religious identification as the foundation of their sense of self and as a form of resistant to social pressure impacting their distinct way of life.<sup>148</sup> With the statement of Stuart Hall argues that diasporic populations develop identities that encompass national boundaries and fixed categories, which require experiencing and negotiating distinct simultaneously.<sup>149</sup> These studies on Islamic identity shed light on a particular aspect of the transitions influences by their religion and culture, as well as how it affects youth and intergenerational relations.

This case supports the results of my field research on the effect of non-formal Islamic education on identity negotiation among urban middle-class Muslims. Increasingly confronted with the challenging perspectives of Muslim lifestyle and

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<sup>146</sup> Claire Dwyer, "Negotiating Diasporic Identities: Young British South Asian Muslim Women," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 2000, 483.

<sup>147</sup> Michela Franceschelli and Margaret O'Brien, "'Being Modern and Modest': South Asian Young British Muslims Negotiating Multiple Influences on Their Identity," *Ethnicities* 15, no. 5 (2015): 3.

<sup>148</sup> Jasmin Zine, "Muslim Youth in Canadian Schools: Education and the Politics of Religious Identity," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (2001): 400.

<sup>149</sup> Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity: Modernity and Its Future," *Cambridge: Open University Press*, 1992, 275.

education when incorporating moderate religious knowledge. It is imperative to determine under what circumstances private Islamic tutoring institutions can assist urban middle-class Muslims in negotiating their identity. The investigation is carried out by interpreting the majority of my interviews with all of the informants in order to obtain a clearer and more specific view of the answers that I argue that educated Muslims have seen the gap of the existing Islamic education in Indonesia that does not really fit into the children of urban middle-class Muslims in this modern time. As a result, I propose that this case will assist them in discovering the Islamic identity that their generation need, while also providing equal quality of Muslim family situations. Even if modernity has built a small wall to discriminate between different approaches to Islamic understanding among average Muslims. Some of them represent the opinion of negotiating Islamic identity explicitly, while others examine their opinions and behavior on a broader scale. Nonetheless, an analysis of the construct that guides the various approaches of these institutions and the opinions of Muslim families in a society that is still profoundly marked by opportunities would provide society with a deeper understanding of the motivations that guide the non-formal Islamic education to balance Islamic knowledge and negotiate Islamic identity. These insights are contingent upon the realization of a defensible education perspective among urban middle-class Muslims.

My study with these Islamic private tutoring institutions revealed three stages of the effort in negotiating Islamic identity of urban middle-class Muslims. First, knowing how far the role of the institution maintaining the Islamic identity of urban middle-class Muslims, second, following in what kinds of negotiation this institution did for the society. By seeing the case through the problem of radicalism, and the needs to have life balance between being Muslim and modern in the same time. The length of the time taken to proceed through the points differs from person to person, and the interview applies to a particular individual in a specific social and historical of experience context and is not meant to serve as a universal model for all institution and urban middle-class Muslims at all time period.

#### **4.2. Responding to the Existence of Non-Formal Islamic Education**

Islamic private tutoring institutions under the umbrella of non-formal Islamic education have aided Muslim families extraordinarily. Bray and Lykins believed that with greater flexibility and better sequencing of learning, this type of education promotes personal academic growth and contributes to broader economic development via human capital.<sup>150</sup> At one end of the spectrum of private tutoring types is one-on-one tutoring, which is typically administered in the homes of the children's tutors. Alternately, minors may receive services in small, moderate, or large groups. In extreme cases, they may cram into large classes with video-equipped overflow chambers. By being open to a new ideas and latest inventions from a variety of tradition and sources, Islamic private tutoring institution remain adaptable to changing times and places.

The discussion of the parents' reaction to the existence of an Islamic private tutoring institution revealed a favorable attitude. I have the opportunity to converse with a few of the parents about their observations of their children's Islamic education development. Of the 5 families I meet, they mostly agree with the institution's mission to educate modern children in Islam, because the majority of them are raised in the educated family, who most consider to register their children into best reputation school either private or international school, and most of the children are engaged in very little critical reflection when they regarded as “being Muslim”, because their religious identity is taken for granted as part of their everyday lives. Indeed, most of the parents did not consider issue of Islamic identity when their children are kids, considering the kids like everyone else, who simply follow what their parents told them. In addition to learning how to read the Qur'an, they believed it is essential to teach moral values, behavior, and Islamic knowledge

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<sup>150</sup> Mark Bray and Chad Robert Lykins, *Shadow Education: Private Supplementary Tutoring and Its Implications for Policy Makers in Asia*, CERC Monograph Series in Comparative and International Education and Development, no. 9 (Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 2012), 2.

in a modern manner. One of the informants from parents said:

“My child is studying primary school in one of well-known international school in Jakarta. Even though she studied religion (Islam) in school, I feel more relaxed because my role as teacher at home to teach Islam is eased. Her enjoyment of studying religion is made her eager to await her study time, because the learning approach is enjoyable, she does not feel forced to study. The most importantly, she impacts a positive influence on the people around her, like family and her friends. Such as encouraging us (parents) to pray before doing anything, praying together, and giving unreasonable opinions about Islam which absolutely make us amazed.”

Similarly, with the other mothers that I meet personally, said:

“My child is *Alif iqra* student for three years since the beginning 2020, and *mengaji* is the first tutoring class outside her school that I introduce her, and she like it until now. My family is not all Muslim, my mother is Christian, so I honestly regarding my understanding of Islam is only sober. However, alhamdulillah, I got a husband who have good in religious knowledge. Apparently, there are a lot of changes in term of behavior and her habits. She like to read al-Qur’an rather than me (her mother), and sometime she warns me if I am accidently doing something wrong, such as speak loudly. And I realize how my child right now have an ability to differ between good and bad behavior. She can read many short surah in Qur’an such as *Al-Lahab*, *Al-Kautsar*, *Al-Asr*, and other daily praying fluently. I still maintain her to learn *mengaji* with *Alif iqra*, because in her golden age, she will remember most of the good things.”

Although question regarding religious identity is not necessarily important when the participant is coming from urban middle-class Muslim, but still, they

sometimes have difficulties to answer their children's question when they got unexpected question regarding the religio. Due to the high critical thinking that Muslim children have, as reported by Altinyelken research in 2021 that critical thinking is a highly values skill in the twenty first century, and it is incorporation into formal school curricula,<sup>151</sup> which absolutely affected children thought about Islam. Many of the parents pointed out that just because they were born into Islam, they did not mean to not understand the system and practice of Islam deeply. It is similar with other mothers' opinion:

“I know I am Muslim, but I am afraid to teach my child about Islam because of my basic knowledge. Therefore, I am better asking another help to teach my child about Islam. With the one who specifically learn and understand about religion and possible to teach the children in interesting way. Not only because I do not want to be seen as stupid mother because some time, I cannot answer all her critical questions about our believe in Islam, but also it is to safe my child moral behavior. Because I believe learning about religion not only for reading the Qur'an, there are many things beneficial for my child's future, such as attitude, some praying to ease her activities, and her believe with God.”

After some interviews concluded that they aware that with the existing *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs* as examples of private tutoring institution is influencing the children's Islamic education. they fell more relax and safer with the current modern condition which occurred many distractions. Even though most of the parents may not have consciously contemplated their religious identities, the interviewees are well-aware of the modernity pressure. This pressure somewhat, depending on the environment in which the children are raised. From 5 of parents that I meet, 3 of

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<sup>151</sup> Altinyelken, “Critical Thinking and Non-Formal Islamic Education.”

them are afraid with the existing sophisticated technology, such as handphone, and tablet. They realize that addiction to the technology is hard to erase it, therefore, to avoid that problem, they give more skill classes that children like, as well as these private tutoring institutions also struggle to recreate the Islamic teaching to be more creative, fun and enjoyable as children like.

The existence of Islamic private tutoring institutions is an attempt to commercialize the traditional Islamic education tradition of learning *mengaji*, or Qur'anic recitation. Vincent Mosco defines commodification as the transformation of objects valued for their utility into marketable goods.<sup>152</sup> Turner defines the commodification of religion in a religious context as a multifaceted and multidimensional process that converts religious or traditional beliefs into consumable products.<sup>153</sup> It facilitates religious redefinitions as market commodities and spiritual market purchasing and selling. Modernization and commodification do not diminish or undermine religious values, on the contrary, the commodification of religion has provided a panorama of interpretations that are alive and accessible across traditions and religious societies.

### **4.3. Maintaining the Faith and Being Modern**

Being Muslim and modern is in some way questioned by the society whether myth or reality, because western thinkers have asserted that Islam is notably hostile to rational thinking, secularism, and democracy and thus to modernity. The emergence of modernity is attributed to the enlightenment, age of reason, and succeeding intellectual development and industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Shiren T. Hunter, two characteristic of modernity that set it apart from religion are a larger emphasis on the here and now than on the

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<sup>152</sup> Vincent Mosco, *The Political Economy of Communication*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, Inc, 2009).

<sup>153</sup> Bryan S. Turner and Kamaludeen Mohamed Nasir, *The Sociology of Islam: Collected Essays of Bryan S. Turner - 1st Edit* (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2013).

afterlife and a preference for reason over revelation as source of knowledge.<sup>154</sup> Max Weber contends that some religions are more in line with modernity's aspect, such as Protestantism, but Islam is not one of them, despite its concentration on this world and the pursuit of worldly objectives. With the opinion of modernity which is synonymous with Godlessness, or because they consider Islam being irrational and anti-secular.<sup>155</sup> The rise of educational opportunities among urban middle-class Muslims and the global effect of mass media on the formation of Islamic discourse reconcile the modern values and challenges they faced with ethics and morality in Islam.<sup>156</sup> Educated Muslim, they do not mean to breakdown of the monopoly of the traditional ulama over religious interpretation, as they are not autodidacts in practicing and teaching the theology in a classical way or what *ulama* did. They provide adequate economic, social and cultural solutions and alternative to the needs of urban middle-class Muslims.

Prior discourse has extensively examined the reactions of urban middle-class Muslim families toward the existing *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs*. Parents increasingly rely on Islamic private tutoring institutes to imbue their children with religious knowledge, establishing a solid spiritual groundwork for their life. The contemporary practice of children attending the mosque for Qur'an education differs significantly from the traditional approach. In the same way, these institutions noted that they observed the dynamic nature of the era and the manner of life of Muslim families. Consequently, they started to commodify Islamic education for children, aligning it with the prevailing trends of the day.

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<sup>154</sup> Shireen T. Hunter, "Can Islam and Modernity Be Reconciled?," *Insight Turkey* 11, no. 3 (2009): 3.

<sup>155</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Translated by Talcott Parsons (Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2003), 31.

<sup>156</sup> Toğuşlu, *Modern Islamic Thinking and Activism Dynamics in the West and in the Middle East: Fethullah Gülen, Tariq Ramadan and Yusuf al-Qaradawi: The Pluralisation of Islamic Knowledge*, 34.

During the observation I received permission by the management of *Alif Iqra* to participate in one of their activities held at *Mandiri* Tower on a weekend.<sup>157</sup> This presents an opportunity for me to observe the pedagogical approach employed by the members of *Alif Iqra* in imparting Islamic teachings to young children from urban middle-class backgrounds. The endeavor to commodify Islamic education, tailored to their own needs, is readily apparent. On that particular day, the purpose of the activity is to provide supervision and care for the children during the scheduled agenda, which is most likely the monthly meeting of an urban *pengajian* group. The forum is engaged in a discussion regarding the regulations surrounding the consumption of *halāl* products in the context of modernity. Participants express the belief that despite the government's certification of products as *halāl*, caution must still be exercised when considering condiments such as mirin in sushi dishes. In the meantime, the children are engaged in activities within a separate room, whereby they participate in educational pursuits centered around Islamic teachings and engage in games that align with Islamic principles.

It cannot be ignored, and as noted in chapter 2, the growing Islamism among urban middle-class families has had an impact on another field. Not only *hijrah* for adults, but also Islamic education for children. It is apparent that certain private schools are capturing their hearts. It is demonstrated by data from 20 children, 14 of them are almost educated in international or private schools, and who are capable of thinking critically and speaking more than Indonesian language at that age, which is roughly 5-11 years old. According to Lukis Alam, not all formal institutions are able to accept and develop all of a child's potential, such as intelligence, during the learning process. As a result, children grow passively oblivious to their surroundings, uneasy in applying information, talent, and insensitiveness,<sup>158</sup> and

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<sup>157</sup> *Mandiri* tower is an office building located in *Jend. Sudirman* street, Senayan, Jakarta.

<sup>158</sup> Lukis Alam, "Becoming Modern Muslim: New Emerging Trends of Islamic Schools in Yogyakarta," *Ta'dib: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 22, no. 1 (2017): 4.

these are not characteristics of urban middle-class parents who care about their children's capabilities.

In everyday life, the truth often requires mutual understanding. It actually applied based on material teaching, which is becoming a concern among each management. One factor that has potential to subvert the ideological hegemony is the idea of "hidden curriculum".<sup>159</sup> Michael Apple defines the hidden curriculum as norms and values that are implicitly, but effectively taught during the learning time. In the case of *Alif iqra*, they concern to balance the material of Islamic teaching by creating their own curriculum, through the name TST (Teacher Support Teacher) created by academic division. They combining the curriculum of Islamic governance with their own analysis regarding the urban middle-class Muslim habits, such as the attitude to use games as Muslims, the understanding of basic Islamic knowledge with the creative and fun example. In addition to the program of "loving Qur'an" which still been promoted.

Meanwhile *Iqralabs*, where I found differently from *Alif iqra* is the concern of them to the identity of children of urban middle-class Muslim is the emphasizing of Islamic knowledge as they think to construct the Islamic identity in Indonesia is not that hard as in other non-Muslim country. By emphasizing the important of knowing Islam through the concept of Islam is essential for the children's individual. A primary concern to answer basic question about religious identity, such as "what does it mean to be a Muslim? What role models should young Muslims emulate? How should one pray? What the meaning of Qur'an?" and other critical questions. On the day of visiting *Iqralabs* to meet the informant, I meet one of the parents who join the placement test in the learning center. One of the mothers said,

"I try to register my child to learn about Islam here, because I see interesting program that they provide to us, the method of infuntive learning I think is good for children's today as the children need more playing than

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<sup>159</sup> Tayeb, *Islamic Education in Indonesia and Malaysia, Shaping Minds, Saving Souls*, 10.

just sitting in the class. With the colorful environment, I think it will help me and my family to embed Islamic teaching and values to my child. Even though my child is schooling at the nearly private Islamic school, but she did not want, maybe because the environment is bored or the teaching tools is not that interesting.”

Islam is taught with a more substantive approach in private Islamic tutoring institutions. The institution does not require female Muslim students to wear the hijab, but the students demonstrate their willingness to do so by increasing their religious awareness, which is inspired by religious teachings and values embodied in their daily lives. To teach them to cover their hair and attire appropriately in accordance with Islamic values, the tutor employs a variety of instructional methods. They did not force the children to obey this rule, but they did invite them gradually, such as through an Islamic story. Therefore, it should emphasize moral action, which is more important than teaching the religion itself.

“We do not force them to wear hijab to kids. Because the thing that becomes the concern for their kids is not covering *aurah* for the first time, but the willingness to learn Islam, and the attire will follow the time.”<sup>160</sup>

The interview indicates that the Islamic private tutoring institution generally transforms into a representation of Islam as a flexible religion, which evolved as progressive manpower in order to demonstrate an ability to continuously align the function of urban Muslim society with the changing times. For them, being modern Muslim as an action to maintain the faith is not only coming from the appearance. The wearing of the hijab by Muslims, according to Salwa Ismail, may be an

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<sup>160</sup> Masmuhah Ocha, Negotiating Identity for Urban Middle-Class Muslim through Non-Formal Islamic Education, December 5, 2023.

expression of identity politics utilized to communicate a message in the public realm that is not about religion but rather about difference and the right to get attention from others.<sup>161</sup> It makes claims about differences in terms of differences in preferences, way of life, and means of public representation.

Muslims are primarily determined by their religion that itself is understood in narrow terms as embodying fix principles. The key among which is the idea of *shari'a*. It is argued that Muslims are comparatively more devout. Religion continues to play a role in decidedly modern society. In the context of Muslims in Indonesia, Islamic identity is more often associated with religious institution such as us *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah*. However, among the opinion of urban middle-class Muslims, it is not to be a matter for them for being engaged in specific Islamic organization. Most of them are being neutral with to the existence of Islam, since the government are introduced the term of moderate Islam, which the sources are based on Al-Qur'an and *as-Sunnah*.<sup>162</sup> Even though the background of the management of the institution may come from the traditionalist or modernist, but moderate concept attempts to work within the institution. The processes that impact identity building generally in the post-modern age, such as objectification, rationality, and individualization, have influenced how modern Muslims define themselves.<sup>163</sup> Muslims are no longer rely entirely on religious authority to comprehend and make sense of their religion due to the growth of literacy and education. They examine what it means to be a Muslim in the context of today. The high of modernity offers a platform for self-reflection, identity exploration, and identity remaking.

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<sup>161</sup> Ismail, "Being Muslim," 614.

<sup>162</sup> Avicenna, *Negotiating Islamic Identity through Non-Formal Islamic Education*, May 23, 2023.

<sup>163</sup> Dale Eickelman and James Piscatory, "Muslim Politics," *Princeton University Press*, 1996.

#### **4.4. Filtering Radicalism**

The present discourse pertains to a salient concern within Islamic private tutoring institutions, particularly in the context of cultivating a trustworthy environment to negotiate and uphold Islamic identity among the urban middle-class Muslims. An intricate facet that warrants attention is the elucidation of radicalism perspective. It is noteworthy that radicalization has assumed a pervasive global character, transcending societal boundaries. Nevertheless, the manifestation and extent of radicalization exhibit marked variations contingent upon the prevailing socio-economic dynamics of each society. A society endowed with education, enlightenment, and economic prosperity generally experiences a commensurate decrease in the likelihood of extremism, culminating in militancy, radicalization, violence, and terrorism. Conversely, societies grappling with underdevelopment, backwardness, and illiteracy confront a more pronounced challenge of extremism.<sup>164</sup>

Based on the observation, the reasons of radicalism in Islamic education can be obtained from anywhere, including small tiny teaching tools, such as playmates and workbooks. Filtering radicalism is essential among urban middle-class Muslims to facilitate the effective embedding of Islamic teachings. It is articulated to promote moderation, educational integrity, critical thinking, integration of modern values, and preservation of a positive Muslim identity. In the case of religious moderation, it often values moderation, open-mindedness, and intellectual development. It ensures that Islamic knowledge are presented aligns with these values and allowing for a more balanced and comprehensive understanding in faith. Moreover, these institutions concomitantly adhere to governmental regulations aimed at nurturing religious moderation, thereby upholding the unimpeachable integrity of their curricula and forestalling any potential distortion or misinterpretation of Islamic principles that could potentially precipitate extremism.

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<sup>164</sup> Tinka Veldhuis and Jørgen Staun, "Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model," *The Hague, Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael*, 2009, 21.

During the interview, I am intrigued by the strategies employed by the institutional management to cultivate trust within urban middle-class Muslim families. A pivotal modality in this endeavor revolves around meticulous tutor selection and pedagogical material curation. This is particularly salient owing the tutor's role as an external entity gaining ingress into the family domain. Consequently, persistent efforts are invested to ensure that tutor endorsed by the institution possess the requisite qualifications and exhibit commendable decorum. During the recruitment process, the selection committee poses pivotal topics encompass consideration regarding the permissibility of employing music as an instructional aid for imparting rudimentary Islamic knowledge, guidelines pertaining to modest attire, and inquiries concerning the existence of God and the Prophet.

“Yes, radical thinking is one of the fears things in Islam that most of the urban family avoid. Therefore, it become our concern in *Alif iqra* to make them trust with us. It is also one of our efforts to give the rights for all urban Muslim children to learn Islam with a qualified tutor.”<sup>165</sup>

“In *Iqralabs*, the question about radicalism is not often, maybe once or twice a month who questioned about ideology and something related conservative thought. However, we always try to educate with moderate thought, based on the standardization of government.”<sup>166</sup>

The observation time clearly show how careful they are (educated Muslims in the Islamic private tutoring institution) protecting the image of to not being radicalism or becoming a neutral in educating the children of Islamic knowledge, in order to take a part to the construction of Islamic education. However, in particular

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<sup>165</sup> Ocha, Negotiating Islamic Identity for Urban Middle-Class Muslims through Non-Formal Islamic Education.

<sup>166</sup> Avicenna, Negotiating Islamic Identity through Non-Formal Islamic Education.

to Indonesia many young Muslims are being overtaken by the extreme understanding.<sup>167</sup> A subset of the urban middle-class Muslims staunchly opposes radicalism, primarily due to its deleterious impact on societal harmony, frequently instigating inter-group discord that inexorably culminates in discordance and undermines national stability. The Indonesian socio-cultural fabric is emblematic of a rich tapestry encompassing diverse religious, cultural, ethnic, and racial constituents. This intricate mosaic resonates with the foundational Pancasila ideology, whose incongruence with radical manifestation is incontrovertible.

Based on the data, the subject of Islamic education and indoctrination cannot be discussed without bringing up terrorism, a controversial and notoriously difficult-to-define concept in the minds of urban middle-class Muslims who are not particularly concerned with their identity as Muslims.<sup>168</sup> Even Jessica Stern defines it as individuals or groups who commit acts of violence against noncombatants or threaten to do so.<sup>169</sup> In this context, the term "Muslim terrorist" refers to those who demonstrate their Islamic faith by committing acts or making threats in the name of religion. Even The UNESCO executive council issued a decision emphasizing the importance of education as a tool for preventing global violent extremism and terrorism, as well as genocide, racial and religious intolerance, war crimes, and crimes against humanity.<sup>170</sup> When contemplating on the schools' potentials to prepare students for life in Indonesia's modernizing society, western and Indonesian educationalists have long identified problems and challenges for Islamic education,

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<sup>167</sup> Alfi Maunah, "Radicalism Among Indonesia's Young Generation: How to Overcome It?," *Indonesian Journal of Counter Terrorism and National Security* 1, no. 2 (2022).

<sup>168</sup> Tan, *Islamic Education and Indoctrination*, 8.

<sup>169</sup> Jessica Stern, *Terror in the Name of God: Why Religious Militants Kill* (New York, NY: ECC, HarperCollins Publishers, 2004).

<sup>170</sup> UNESCO, "UNESCO. Executive Board; 197th; Decisions Adopted by the Executive Board at Its 197th Session: UNESCO's Role in Promoting Education as a Tools to Prevent Violent Extremism," UNESDOC Digital Library, 2015, 79.

particularly in the *pesantren*.<sup>171</sup> The perception of a substandard education that is underfunded and staffed with teachers of poor quality. It is argued that education is essential for enhancing societal commitment processes and preventing violent extremism, regardless of whether it is provided through the school system, clubs and community organizations, or at home.

The effort to filter radicalism conducted by these institutions is not without the reason. Previous cases such as the spreading issue of radicalism is occurred in the formal education environment, specifically in the subject of PAI (*Pendidikan agama Islam*), or Islamic education subject, as primary source, it is crucial in instilling Islamic values that concerning to good behavior, worship, and socialization with others, it serves as any form of teaching and learning that is based on the principles and values of Islam. Through the PAI's subject, an opinion of radicalism found through the religious militant stories, jihad, war stories on the period of Muhammad's religious companion (*shahabah*), the Islamic reformer figures, and the conflict of interfaith teaching.<sup>172</sup> As this subject teach Islam of *rahmatan lil 'alamiin*, it should not nurture a fanaticism, and weaken the harmony of religion life, and unity of the nation.

In light of the aforementioned cases and their corresponding endeavors, the erudite educated Muslims affiliated with the Islamic private tutoring institution undertake concerted measures to ensure a discernible absence of any radical ideological underpinnings within their pedagogical offerings. This is achieved through an intricate fusion of their acquired academic insights with the officially sanctioned syllabus, which is, in turn, remains responsive to the contemporary challenges faced by the youthful learners. Notably, this approach entails the

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<sup>171</sup> Pohl, "Islamic Education and Civil Society: Reflections on the Pesantren Tradition in Contemporary Indonesia," 391.

<sup>172</sup> Nurhayati Nurhayati and Abdul Hamid, "Radicalism Prevention through Islamic Religious Education Learning at Elementary School," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 6 (2020): 110, <https://doi.org/10.15575/jpi.v6i1.8352>.

incorporation of Islam within a framework of universal human values, meticulously aligned with the precept of the faith. Additionally, it encompasses the introduction of fundamental Islamic norms from an affirming perspective, exemplified by the manner in which concepts such as paradise and hell are conveyed with a positive and non-intimidating connotation suitable for the sensibilities of children. Moreover, this pedagogical extend to address prevalent behavioral paradigms intrinsic to the contemporary milieu, including the prudent employment of technological gadget and engagement with social media platforms.

#### **4.5. Conclusion**

The reason why education can construct the influence the identity of a Muslim because of a close relation between education and social condition. Despite the pervasive sway of Westernization within the urban middle-class Muslims, Islamic education remains an enduring fixture within the composite constrict of Muslim identity. The global Muslim milieu has borne witness

The Westernization of the middle class in the Muslim world gained a strong foothold, however, Islamic education remained a constant component of what constituted the Muslim identity. The entire Muslim world witnessed a renewal and revival of its Islamic identity due to several political and social factors. Fazlur Rahman argued on the contemporary approaches of modern Muslims to knowledge and education, delineating two distinct paradigms: firstly, the acquisition of modern knowledge should be limited to the practical technological sphere, and second, intellectualism.<sup>173</sup> This dichotomy has culminated in a process of specialization and institutionalization tailored to meet the exigencies of intricate and modern societies. This endeavor seeks to cultivate a pedagogical framework that actively nurtures the latent potential, character, intellect, and skill set indispensable for societal cohesion.

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<sup>173</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (University of Chicago Press, 1982).

The emergence of Islamic private tutoring institution appears to provide an alternative to the progress Islamis education in Indonesia, and the respond to the social changes and pressuring modernity. this case, I ensure that it put a high impression to commodify Islamic learning which made by educated Muslim. A difficulty to create formal Islamic school, and long administration made a consequent to build an easiest institution in solving the identity of urban middle class Muslims. It covers the gaps in the field of Islamic education as it is demonstrated by the success of these institutions and the increasing portion of the market that is made up of urban middle-class consumers. Under the moderate ideology, material text teaching, and the trust to counter all the urban middle-class Muslim problems toward the Islamic knowledge of their children. Some examples have been showed to encounter radicalism, such as consolidating, socializing, and internalizing the moderate Islamic values that are tolerant, plural, and democratic through educational institution. Based on moderate Islam concept of *Aswaja*, the institutions are serious in revitalizing and contextualizing the religious understanding with more contextual discourse and internalizes it to their members and urban middle-class Muslims in general.

Islamic private tutoring institution can assist the urban middle-class to negotiate their identity, not only become the modern children, but also modern Muslim children who capable facing the challenge of modernization and globalization. They want to show that this kind of institution has a noble purpose to build children's characteristic who are pious, having a strong faith, and have high moral standards.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### **5.1. Islamic identity's choice of urban middle-class Muslims**

Muslim identity has emerged as a critical topic for urban middle-class Muslims in the field of modern conceptual religious studies. In various cultural and historical contexts, or under the influence of particular life circumstance, religion is no longer an individual's private affair; it becomes a public sphere. As a concentrated expression of the Muslim worldview, it is not only acquired through the process of personal spiritual self-determination, but also under the influence of significant external factors, such as society. Either Islam or Muslim in Jakarta Indonesia, encompass a dynamic and multifaceted landscape that reflects the complex interplay of religious, cultural, social and political dynamics. Jakarta, being an important urban city, in Indonesia, is not always concerning about the economic and political hub of the nation, but also a microcosm of its diverse religious and cultural tapestry. This study has sought to contribute to our understanding of Islamic identity among specific class of Muslims, which is urban middle-class, where majority of them are moderate and inclusive nature.

In the intricate tapestry of urban life, the negotiation of Islamic identity among urban middle-class Muslims emerges as a captivating and intricate narrative, delicately woven between the threads of modernity and religious devotion. Urban middle-class Muslims stand at a crossroads where the ideals of modernity and the tenets of their faith converge. The strand of tradition, vibrant in their practices and values, weave seamlessly with the threads of modernity, where education, technology, and global influences intertwine harmoniously.

With the exploration, their negotiation is a dance, a balance, and a commitment to embracing the essence of being modern Muslims. Modernity and globalization have revitalized the Muslims way of life. It globalized every aspect of

the Muslim way of life, including ideology, education, life choices, and even Islamic tradition. Due to pluralism, Muslim ideology becomes more open-minded and tolerant, and commodifying education, whether Islamic education or public school, becomes more sophisticated.

## **5.2. The creation of Educated Muslims**

Education emerged as a cornerstone, shaping the art of negotiating identity. Most of Islamic institution offer not just knowledge, but a sanctuary for discourse, contemplation, and the forging of a personal faith narrative. In the lives of urban middle-class Muslims, educated Muslims through the Islamist movement have gained public visibility with the essence of “veiling Muslims”, which means veiling symbolized the Islamization of a way of life in accordance with Islamic culture and tradition, from the way of life to the decision of having non-formal Islamic education. Combining Islamic way and the Islamic faith of life has become a reference point for the ideologization of seemingly simple social practice. The creation of educated Muslims to build non-formal Islamic education has veil urban middle-class Muslim family’s lifestyle to nurture Islamic lifestyle in their daily practices. Through the Islamic private tutoring institutions, they teach such as Islamic daily practices, wearing scarves for female children, understanding Islam as their main foundation of life, and some basic social life based on Islamic values, the moral attitude. All these issues demonstrate how Islamists have politicized social and cultural practices in order to criticize the secular way of life.

Numerous private institutions develop in an international style, fostering multiculturalism and enhancing the capabilities of the Muslim generation. On the other hand, given the impending renewal of identity and the shifting definition of every organization, it made challenging for urban middle-class Muslims to decide what type of Muslims they should be. Non-formal Islamic education affects the Islamic identity of urban middle-class Muslims who have been affected by secularism and Westernization, allowing them to mediate how their children's

identities are formed and maintain a balance between being modern and Muslim. I emphasize how Islamism and secularism coexist in the daily lives of the urban middle class, examining the overlapping secularization with the existing Islamism, showing the upheaval of urban middle-class Muslims identity and their lifestyles in modern times.

### **5.3. Islamic Revivalism's Support toward Intellectual discourse**

The emergence of Islamic revivalist to revive Islamic knowledge and the phenomena of Islamism in the majority of urban cities opens the Muslim eyes to self-conversion within Islam, allowing Muslims to better themselves as Muslims. From the viewpoint of the construction and disseminations of urban middle-class Muslims' identity, secularism has changed Muslim lifestyle to a Western culture created cultural distinctions and social stratification in Indonesian Muslim society, moving to urban centers, gaining access to secular education, and the opportunity for upward social mobility. Meanwhile, Islamism represents the re-appropriation of a Muslim identity and values as a basis for an alternative social and political agenda of the state. It is an attempt to provide Muslims with a new guide for their daily lives and new forms of political expression. In a seemingly paradoxical way, the more Muslims have access to urban life, a liberal education, and modern means of expressing themselves politically, the more they appear to seek Islamic sources of references to redefine their-life world. Islamism became to political expression of a conflictual link between urban middle-class Muslims a secular Western modernity.

However, even though Islamic revivalism fits within the history of educated Muslims. Construction of elementary through university-level schools is the consequence of their intellectual debate, which started with the form of ICMI and other similar academic organizations and activities, until it then culminated in the establishment of non-formal Islamic education in the form of Islamic private tuition institutions, which directly contribute to the shaping of Islamic identity of urban middle-class Muslims.

#### **5.4. The Result of *Alif Iqra* and *Iqralabs***

I have demonstrated throughout this study how urban middle-class Muslims are influenced by educated Muslims who have received non-formal Islamic education, with the specific institutions namely *Alif iqra* and *Iqralabs*, and within the responsible of educated Muslims as Muslim lifestylers, it showed how urban middle-class Muslims as Muslim commuters strategically transform into Muslim integrator, which might combine the two style of identity as Muslim commuter and Muslim lifestyler, as this study used a Brekhus' concept of "identity management strategy". In addition to being strongly influenced by personal values, these strategic decisions are also greatly influenced by a variety of external factors, including social, cultural, historical, and occupational factors, as Stuart Hall observes that "all identity is constructed across difference." With these cases, it provides an answer of how they commercialize and combining Islamic knowledge and Islamic tradition in modern way.

When examining the manner in which they support the upbringing of children within the urban middle-class Muslim community, one might infer that prioritizing the cultivation of a respectable Muslim identity takes precedence over fostering a strong Islamic identity characterized by militancy or conservatism Muslims. The preference for embedding Islamic identity values through certain institutions, as opposed to enrolling children in expensive Islamic boarding schools or conventional Islamic schools, is primarily driven by the perceived quality of pedagogical learning and the trust placed by urban middle-class Muslims in urban educated Muslims. This preference stems from the recognition of the increased significance of Islamic identity in the modern era. The present analysis underscores the contrasting and unresolvable perspectives held by Muslim parents regarding this issue, while advocating for the positive impact of Islamic private tutoring establishments on the quality of life experienced by Muslim families belonging to the urban middle-class demographic.

In sum up, having common Islamic identity among the urban middle-class

Muslims, such as being *Nadhlatul Ulama* or *Muhammadiyah* people is not a big issue for them. Their religious identity followed with that the state stated, which is moderate identity I might say that the people inside Islamic private tutoring institution is successfully help embedding moderate identity, through its ideology, material text teaching, and the values to get the trust to counter all the urban middle-class Muslim problems toward the Islamic knowledge of their children. Solving the radicalism problem that have been concerning by urban Middle-class Muslims is solved by applying moderate Islamic values such as tolerant, plural, and democratic through educational institution. Urban middle-class Muslims proved that this kind of institution has the noble goal of developing in youngsters the traits of piety, firm faith, and high moral standards.

### **5.5. Trajectory for other Scholars**

The complex interaction between faith, culture, and modernity is revealed, providing a nuanced comprehension of how urban middle-class Muslims reconcile their religious convictions with the challenges posed by contemporary urban living. This includes the incorporation of capitalist principles into Muslim education within urban settings, as well as the aspirations of modern Muslims to cultivate a more prosperous future generation. This study examines the experiences within Islamic private tutoring institutions, aiming to explore the process of introspection, discussion, and the cultivation of an Islamic identity in the context of Jakarta's metropolitan milieu. Furthermore, this study aims to make a valuable contribution to the ongoing debates around this paradoxical proposition.

When examining the intersection of religious matters and modernity within intellectual discourse, it is pertinent to consider the impact on the Islamic identity of Muslims. One illustrative example that warrants investigation is the role of Islamic private tutoring institutions. As non-formal Islamic education, these institutions can serve as reflections of socio-political trajectories in various Asian countries, including Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, and others. It is my contention

that Muslims in many Asian countries employ Islam, particularly Islamic education, as a means to acquire societal power and political opportunities.

It is important to acknowledge that there are certain instances in Jakarta and Indonesia where modern lifestyles have played a constructive role, leading to an increase in the religious devotion of the urban middle-class Muslim population, many of whom are professionals. In addition to the adherence to moderate Islam, various other prevalent Islamic identities have emerged in the contemporary day. The traditionalist and modernist identity within the organizations of *Nahdlatul Ulama* and *Muhammadiyah* have both played a significant role in preserving the Islamic identity within their respective spheres of influence. The reconstruction and strengthening of urban Muslim lifestyle should be developed in accordance with the current era, so contributing to its progress.

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