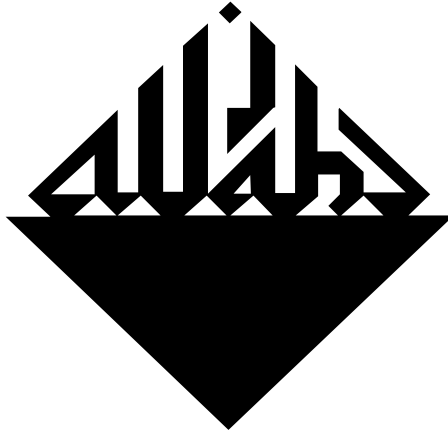


# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 29, Number 1, 2022



---

NAVIGATING AGAINST  
SALAFI-WAHABI EXPANSION IN MALAYSIA:  
THE ROLE OF STATE AND SOCIETY

Kamarulnizam Abdullah

---

WHAT MAKES ISLAMIC MICROFINANCE ISLAMIC?  
A CASE OF INDONESIA'S BAYT AL-MĀL WA AL-TAMWĪL

Hyung-Jun Kim & Bambang Hidayana

---

RESTRUCTURING TRADITIONAL  
ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA:  
CHALLENGES FOR *PESANTREN* INSTITUTION

Ervan Nurtawab & Dedi Wahyudi

# **STUDIA ISLAMIKA**



# STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 29, no. 1, 2022

---

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

*Azyumardi Azra*

## MANAGING EDITOR

*Oman Fathurahman*

## EDITORS

*Saiful Mujani*

*Jamhari*

*Didin Syafruddin*

*Jajat Burbanudin*

*Fuad Jabali*

*Ali Munhanif*

*Saiful Umam*

*Dadi Darmadi*

*Jajang Jabroni*

*Din Wahid*

*Euis Nurlaelawati*

## INTERNATIONAL EDITORIAL BOARD

*M. Quraish Shihab (Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA)*

*Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University, NETHERLANDS)*

*John R. Bowen (Washington University, USA)*

*M. Kamal Hasan (International Islamic University, MALAYSIA)*

*Virginia M. Hooker (Australian National University, AUSTRALIA)*

*Edwin P. Wieringa (Universität zu Köln, GERMANY)*

*Robert W. Hefner (Boston University, USA)*

*Rémy Madinier (Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), FRANCE)*

*R. Michael Feener (National University of Singapore, SINGAPORE)*

*Michael F. Laffan (Princeton University, USA)*

*Minako Sakai (The University of New South Wales, AUSTRALIA)*

*Annabel Teh Gallop (The British Library, UK)*

*Syafaatun Almirzanah (Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University of Yogyakarta, INDONESIA)*

## ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

*Testriono*

*Muhammad Nida' Fadlan*

*Rangga Eka Saputra*

*Abdullah Maulani*

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Benjamin J. Freeman*

*Daniel Peterson*

*Batool Moussa*

## ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR

*Tb. Ade Asnawi*

## COVER DESIGNER

*S. Prinka*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) is an international journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University of Jakarta, INDONESIA. It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines. All submitted papers are subject to double-blind review process.*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (Decree No. 32a/E/KPT/2017).*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA has become a CrossRef Member since year 2014. Therefore, all articles published by STUDIA ISLAMIKA will have unique Digital Object Identifier (DOI) number.*

*STUDIA ISLAMIKA is indexed in Scopus since 30 May 2015.*

Editorial Office:

STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian  
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,  
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,  
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.  
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;  
E-mail: [studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id](mailto:studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id)  
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>

Annual subscription rates from outside Indonesia, institution:  
US\$ 75,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$ 25,00;  
individual: US\$ 50,00 and the cost of a single copy is US\$  
20,00. Rates do not include international postage and  
handling.

Please make all payment through bank transfer to: **PPIM,  
Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia,**  
account No. **101-00-0514550-1 (USD),**  
**Swift Code: bmrriidja**

Harga berlangganan di Indonesia untuk satu tahun, lembaga:  
Rp. 150.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 50.000,-; individu:  
Rp. 100.000,-, harga satu edisi Rp. 40.000,-. Harga belum  
termasuk ongkos kirim.



Pembayaran melalui **PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang  
Graha Karnos, No. Rek: 128-00-0105080-3**

# Table of Contents

## Articles

- 1      *Kamarulnizam Abdullah*  
Navigating Against  
Salafi-Wahabi Expansion in Malaysia:  
The Role of State and Society
- 31     *Hyung-Jun Kim & Bambang Hidayana*  
What Makes Islamic Microfinance Islamic?  
A Case of Indonesia's Bayt al-Māl wa al-Tamwīl
- 55     *Ervan Nurtawab & Dedi Wahyudi*  
Restructuring Traditional  
Islamic Education in Indonesia:  
Challenges for *Pesantren* Institution
- 83     *Mohd. Izani Mohd. Zain & Mohd. Daud Mat Din*  
Democratic Dilemma of Malay Islamic Party:  
PAS, Coalition Pattern, and Rising Social Issues
- 111    *Zuly Qodir, Hasse Jubba, & Mega Hidayati*  
Contesting Ethnic and Religious Identities  
in the 2019 Indonesian Elections:  
Political Polarization in West Kalimantan
- 143    *Irham*  
Al-Ta'lim al-Islāmī al-maftūḥ  
ladá KH. Sahal Mahfudz (1937-2014)

**Book Review**

- 189    *Mardian Sulistyati*  
Otoritas Keislaman di Indonesia:  
Sebuah Pembacaan Ulang

**Document**

- 205    *Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin*  
Gus Yahya and the NU's New Path:  
Note on the 34th Congress

*Document*

## Gus Yahya and the NU's New Path: Note on the 34<sup>th</sup> Congress

### **Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin**

The 34<sup>th</sup> Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Congress in Lampung was organized in an unusual situation. It was the first kind of NU congress organized in the era of a global pandemic. The date of congress itself was a subject of controversy and debated by competing candidates due to the lockdown, a standard measure taken by the government to control the spread of the Covid-19 virus. There was even an idea to postpone the congress altogether and asked K.H. Said Aqil Siradj, the incumbent leader, to stay indefinitely until the situation is back to normal. However, after a tussle and negotiation, finally, all factions agreed that the congress would be organized at the initial date planned by the Central Board of NU (Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Ulama, PBNU), which was at the end of December (22-23 December 2021). At that time, the case of Covid-19 was relatively low, and the gap was perfect for a congress.

Nevertheless, unlike other congresses, which are usually referred to as the *'lebaran'* (the feast) of NU's members, the Lampung congress was quick and less lively than another assembly. Unofficial participants, who are referred to as "romli" (*rombongan liar*) or *penggembira* (cheer participants), usually flock to the congress from all around the corner



of the country, but this time was somewhat limited. To disperse the crowd, the organizer also divided the venue into four separate locations: Darus'saadah Islamic Boarding School in Lampung Tengah, Lampung University, State Islamic University (UIN) of Raden Intan, and the University of Malahayati. The separated venues, which were quite far from each other, had caused logistical and coordination challenges for the committee and the participants.

President Joko Widodo officially opened the congress, which took the theme "Towards a Century of NU: Building Citizens' Independence for World Peace," on Wednesday morning, December 22, 2021. The opening was located at Darussa'adah Islamic boarding school in Lampung Tengah. Due to the strict covid procedure, most participants were not allowed to attend the opening ceremony, and thus they followed it from the live streaming. Those who insisted on coming to the venue were told to stay outside the main hall and requested to come very early, right after dawn. They must also travel more than one hour from the capital of the province of Lampung city, the place where most participants were accommodated. President Jokowi, in his opening speech, praised NU for its role in guarding tolerance, pluralism, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution, as well as the diversity in the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic Indonesia. President Jokowi further thanked NU *kiais*, who supported government initiatives handling the Covid-19 pandemic, especially encouraging the community to participate in the vaccination program.

### **The Contenders: Gus Yahya vs. K.H. Said**

Some participants rushed back to Bandar Lampung to join the plenary session and several thematic meetings following the opening ceremony. Representing NU Special Branch of America and Canada, that afternoon, I drove to UIN Raden Intan's main hall from my accommodation to join the first plenary session. On every corner and along the roads of Bandar Lampung, I saw the banners of candidates seen so conspicuously with their political jargon. K.H. Yahya Cholil Staquf's banners, strangely, competed not with his contender, K.H. Said Aqil Siradj, but rather with the chairman of the National Awakening Party (PKB), Muhaimin Iskandar. The rumor circulated during the Mukhtar said that Cak Imin, the nickname for Muhaimin Iskandar, played his influence in supporting K.H. Said. At the same time, Gus

Yahya was backed up by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA), Yaqut Cholil Qoumas (Gus Yaqut), who is the younger brother of Gus Yahya. Valid information also confirmed that Banser NU (Multipurpose Ansor Front), a semi militia NU organization, backed up Gus Yahya, and thanked to his younger brother, who was the chairman of Banser NU. Both candidates used these political infrastructures to mobilize the support of around 587 votes from all NU branches (including around 30 NU special branches from 5 continents).

Other than the rumor on PKB versus MoRA plus Banser political machinery, during the congress, the issue of competition between the two most prominent Muslim student associations, namely the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) and Muslim Student's Association (HMI), also emerged. PMII is a student association with a very close connection to NU. It used to be one of the NU's autonomous bodies before being declared independent from NU in 1972. Meanwhile, HMI is often seen as 'the modernist' Muslim student association, historically close to Masyumi. Although HMI and PMII can be traced back to the same origin, at the university level, those organizations are competing.

Interestingly, Gus Yahya, then one of the strongest candidates, was a former activist of HMI at Gadjah Mada University. His leading political campaign manager, Saifulah Yusuf, and Nusron Wahid, are also known as former HMI activists. Some of the alumni of PMII were reluctant to support Gus Yahya primarily because of this reason. However, most participants did not buy this issue since many PMII alumni and activists also supported Gus Yahya. The main issue considered by most participants was somewhat between the regeneration of NU leadership and the continuity.

Like other NU congresses, the gathering was a perfect opportunity to meet old friends and teachers and establish new networks. Along the man-made lake in the middle of UIN Raden Intan green garden, participants, both delegates from each NU branch and the *penggembira* were sitting in groups on the mat while enjoying coffee and snacks. Impromptu street vendor busy offering NU's hat (black hat/*kopyah* with a green NU logo), Mukhtar jersey, and rosary. Meanwhile, at the central administrative campus, located on the opposite side of the lake, high-level officials, NU leaders, and key delegates were busy lobbying and internal talks. Police guard patrol was seen entering the arena several times with sirens, indicating that high-level state officials joined the crowd at the *muktamar*.

The vice president, K.H. Makruf Amin, a prominent charismatic leader of NU, did not return to Jakarta after the opening ceremony and stayed at the congress until the end. His continuous attendance at the Mukhtamar has caused some issues for the participants since the presidential safety procedure must consistently be implemented. It has created a hassle for many. For example, the authority jammed the internet connection as part of the security measure.

The overall situation was warm and joyful, although a little tense initially. Some participants questioned the mandate's validity and claimed that some delegates attended the congress with a fake mandate letter. This issue lingered until the last plenary session, where delegates voted for the NU leadership. The committee must clear out the venue, and participants with unclear mandates were rejected to join the last session.

After two days of endless meetings, in a relatively smooth process, the participants elected K.H. Yahya Cholil Staquf as the new Chairman of NU. He beat the incumbent K.H. Said Aqil Siradj and the least favorable candidate, K.H. As'ad Ali, by a comfortable margin, 337 to 210 votes. Along with the election of Tanfidziah (the Executive Council), delegates at the congress also elected the Supreme Council (*Syurriyah*), where K.H. Miftahul Akhyar from Surabaya, East Java, was elected as the chairman of the Supreme Council (the chairman of *Syurriyah*).

The winning of Gus Yahya in the congress was anticipated by many. Gus Yahya was the only leading candidate before a sudden announcement from K.H. Said Aqil Siradj, the incumbent, that he would compete for the third term. NU constitution (AD/ART) does not stipulate term limits for the NU chairman. On several occasions, K.H. Said emphasized that he would not compete in the Lampung congress since he had served two terms as the chairman. He initially preferred to allow other NU leaders to take the stage of leadership for the sake of regeneration. This sudden reversal led to suspicion and rumor that K.H. Said was forced to compete by his circle to save their political interests. Under K.H. Said's leadership, many perceived NU as too close to politics and power.

### **Gus Yahya's Global Vision**

On February 16, 1966, Gus Yahya was born to an elite NU leader from Rembang, Central Java. He is the son of an NU charismatic leader K.H. Cholil Bisri, the older brother of another charismatic

leader K.H. Mustafa Bisri, known as Gus Mus. His grandparent, K.H. Bisri Mustofa, was one of the great NU scholars and leaders, known for his book of *tafsir* (Quranic exegesis), *Tafsir al-Ibriz*. However, his elite lineage did not primarily cause the rise of Gus Yahya to the NU leadership. He has a long track of activism within NU. For example, he was one of the initiators of the National Awakening Party (PKB), a political party established by NU's *kiais* during the transition period in 1998. When K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as the fourth president of Indonesia, Gus Yahya was appointed by Gus Dur as his presidential spoke person. Since then, Gus Yahya has been considered one of the closest allies and cadre of Gus Dur.

Furthermore, within the NU's central board leadership, Gus Yahya was appointed as one of the *Katib* (the Secretary) by K.H. Sahal Mahfudz in the 32<sup>nd</sup> NU Congress in Makassar. Since then, he has occupied several key positions within the leadership of the central board of NU. Thus, for those who argue for the regeneration of NU leadership, Gus Yahya's victory was timely.

Another contributing factor to the success of Gus Yahya in winning the election of NU leadership is that his vision, experience, and network are matched with NU's centennial vision as represented by the theme of the Lampung Mukhtar, "Towards a Century of NU: Building Citizens' Independence for World Peace." Among NU key leaders at the central board level, no one matched the experience, network, and knowledge of Gus Yahya at the international forum. He is the one who continued Gus Dur's legacy of bridging interfaith dialogue, including with the Jewish community. His close relationship with the Jewish community inside and outside Israel was used as a smear campaign to damage his reputation by some of his opponents during the congress in Lampung.

Gus Yahya is known for his vision to strengthen NU's role as the most significant mass Muslim organization globally. Thus, his networking with key players, including the Jewish community, should be understood in this frame. After his controversial visit to Israel, Gus Yahya met with many of NU's leaders and explained several reasons he took this initiative. In his explanation, as described in his newly published biography (Dinata: 2021, 79-83), Gus Yahya emphasized that, *firstly*, to become a peace negotiator in the Middle East, Indonesia, in this regard NU, must have a good relationship with all parties,

including Israel. There is no other way to become a peace negotiator than to have a good relationship with all parties. *Secondly*, if NU wants to have a global role, acceptance and access to crucial strategic global stakeholders are necessary. As the most prominent Muslim organization, NU must participate and act in the global arena, mainly to spread peace and democracy. His global networking effort must be understood in the frame of scaling up NU's leverage globally.

Last but not least, Gus Yahya contends that Indonesia does not have strong bargaining power, although it is known as the most populous Muslim and democratic country. Indonesian mass-Muslim organizations are so far too inward-looking and do not consolidate themselves to scale up their movement at the global level. Indonesian Muslims too often become an object of the Middle Eastern puritanical ideology. Thus, NU must move outward to expand its mission of spreading peace and moderate Islam to the global audience.

No doubt that this vision has long been awaited. Indonesian mass Muslim organizations like NU and Muhammadiyah are too humble to stage at the global level. Their role is known only to the expert of Indonesian Islam. Yes, realizing this vision is much more complicated than we thought. Nevertheless, the fact that Gus Yahya raised the issue and brought it to the institutional level of the NU central board indicates optimism that Indonesian Islam will have a more significant role globally soon.

## Conclusion

Following the victory of Gus Yahya in the Muktamar, the challenges waited him ahead. But his initial steps look promising. For instance, departed from a long tradition, some NU's female activists and leaders such as Nyai Nafisah Sahal Mahfudz, Nyai Sinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid, Nyai Mahfudloh Ali Ubaid, Nyai Nafisah Ali Masum, Nyai Badriyah Fayumi, Nyai Ida Fatimah Zaenal, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, and Alissa Qotrunnada were appointed as part of the NU central board leadership.

Another bold initiative taken by Gus Yahya is to depoliticize NU or to decentering NU from politics. Under his leadership, NU will not support any candidate for any political positions. This step has been seen as the effort to detach NU from PKB, the political party established by NU leaders in 1998. To detach NU from its proximity to

a political party, especially PKB, Gus Yahya appointed several politicians affiliated with several political parties, such as Nusron Wahid of Golkar (Vice-Chairman), Mardani Maming of PDIP (the General Treasure), Khofifah Indar Parawansa (chairwomen) and Saifulah Yusuf (the Secretary-General) who are close to PKB. It seems counterintuitive, but Gus Yahya explained that the diversity of political background would guarantee internal checks and balances and prevent NU from being drifted and used by certain political parties. NU should become a home for all parties and all cultural backgrounds. Some see the estrangement of the relationship between NU and PKB as the political consequence of the competition during the *Muktamar* between Cak Imin and Gus Yaqut.

The ascension of Gus Yahya to the top of NU executive leadership in Lampung has offered promises that NU may take a different path. Its global vision for peace and humanity and detaching NU from politics are two primary missions, among many other goals under his leadership. One necessary homework is improving the institutional management and governance of NU organizations. As the most considerable mass Muslim organization with its nebulous networks, it is not easy to properly implement modern, transparent, and effective management within an organization known for its messy administration.

The new NU leadership just started their work, and for that reason, we must wait and pray that NU under Gus Yahya will take a new progressive path as promised.

---

Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, *Indonesian International Islamic University (UIII); Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University (UIN) Jakarta, Indonesia.* Email: zezen.zaenal@uiii.ac.id.



## *Guidelines*

### Submission of Articles

**S***tudia Islamika*, published three times a year since 1994, is a bilingual (English and Arabic), peer-reviewed journal, and specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular and Southeast Asian Islamic studies in general. The aim is to provide readers with a better understanding of Indonesia and Southeast Asia's Muslim history and present developments through the publication of articles, research reports, and book reviews.

The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

Articles should be written in American English between approximately 10,000-15,000 words including text, all tables and figures, notes, references, and appendices intended for publication. All submission must include 150 words abstract and 5 keywords. Quotations, passages, and words in local or foreign languages should



be translated into English. *Studia Islamika* accepts only electronic submissions. All manuscripts should be sent in Ms. Word to: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>.

All notes must appear in the text as citations. A citation usually requires only the last name of the author(s), year of publication, and (sometimes) page numbers. For example: (Hefner 2009a, 45; Geertz 1966, 114). Explanatory footnotes may be included but should not be used for simple citations. All works cited must appear in the reference list at the end of the article. In matter of bibliographical style, *Studia Islamika* follows the American Political Science Association (APSA) manual style, such as below:

1. Hefner, Robert. 2009a. "Introduction: The Political Cultures of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia," in *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, ed. Robert Hefner, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11<sup>th</sup>, 2007.

Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: ' b, t, th, j, ḥ, kh, d, dh, r, z, s, sh, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḏ, ḡ, f, q, l, m, n, h, w, y. Short vowels: a, i, u. long vowels: ā, ī, ū. Diphthongs: aw, ay. *Tā marbūṭā*: t. Article: al-. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

ستوديا إسلاميكا (ISSN 0215-0492; E-ISSN: 2355-6145) مجلة علمية دولية محكمة تصدر عن مركز دراسات الإسلام والمجتمع (PPIM) بجامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا، تعنى بدراسة الإسلام في إندونيسيا خاصة وفي جنوب شرقي آسيا عامة. وتستهدف المجلة نشر البحوث العلمية الأصيلة والقضايا المعاصرة حول الموضوع، كما ترحب بإسهامات الباحثين أصحاب التخصصات ذات الصلة. وتخضع جميع الأبحاث المقدمة للمجلة للتحكيم من قبل لجنة مختصة.

تم اعتماد ستوديا إسلاميكا من قبل وزارة البحوث والتكنولوجيا والتعليم العالي بجمهورية إندونيسيا باعتبارها دورية علمية (رقم القرار: 32a/E/KPT/2017).

ستوديا إسلاميكا عضو في CrossRef (الإحالات الثابتة في الأديبات الأكاديمية) منذ ٢٠١٤، وبالتالي فإن جميع المقالات التي نشرتها مرقمة حسب معرف الوثيقة الرقمية (DOI).

ستوديا إسلاميكا مجلة مفهرسة في سكوبس (Scopus) منذ ٣٠ مايو ٢٠١٥.

#### عنوان المراسلة:

Editorial Office:  
STUDIA ISLAMIKA, Gedung Pusat Pengkajian  
Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta,  
Jl. Kertamukti No. 5, Pisangan Barat, Cirendeu,  
Ciputat 15419, Jakarta, Indonesia.  
Phone: (62-21) 7423543, 7499272, Fax: (62-21) 7408633;  
E-mail: studia.islamika@uinjkt.ac.id  
Website: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika>

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي خارج إندونيسيا:  
للمؤسسات: ٧٥ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٥ دولار أمريكي.  
للأفراد: ٥٠ دولار أمريكي، ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٢٠ دولار أمريكي.  
والقيمة لا تشمل نفقة الإرسال بالبريد الجوي.

#### رقم الحساب:

خارج إندونيسيا (دولار أمريكي):  
PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia  
account No. 101-00-0514550-1 (USD).

#### داخل إندونيسيا (روبية):

PPIM, Bank Mandiri KCP Tangerang Graha Karnos, Indonesia  
No Rek: 128-00-0105080-3 (Rp).

قيمة الاشتراك السنوي داخل إندونيسيا:  
لسنة واحدة ١٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للمؤسسة) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٥٠,٠٠٠ روبية،  
روبية، ١٠٠,٠٠٠ روبية (للفرد) ونسخة واحدة قيمتها ٤٠,٠٠٠ روبية.  
والقيمة لا تشمل على النفقة للإرسال بالبريد الجوي.



# ستوديا إسلاميكا

مجلة إندونيسيا للدراسات الإسلامية  
السنة التاسعة والعشرون، العدد ١، ٢٠٢٢

رئيس التحرير:

أزيوماردي أوزا

مدير التحرير:

أومان فتح الرحمن

هيئة التحرير:

سيف المزاني

جمهاري

ديدين شفرالدين

جاجات برهان الدين

فؤاد جبلي

علي منحرف

سيف الأهم

دادي دارمادي

جاجانج جهراني

دين واحد

ايويس نورليلاواتي

مجلس التحرير الدولي:

محمد قريش شهاب (جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا)

مارتين فان برونيسين (جامعة أترينخة)

جوهن ر. بووين (جامعة واشنطن، سانتو لويس)

محمد كمال حسن (الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية - ماليزيا)

فركنيا م. هوكير (جامعة أستراليا الحكومية كانبرا)

إيدوين ف. ويرنجا (جامعة كولونيا، ألمانيا)

روبيرت و. هيفنير (جامعة بوستون)

ريمي مادنيير (المركز القومي للبحث العلمي بفرنسا)

ر. ميكائيل فينير (جامعة سينغافورا الحكومية)

ميكائيل ف. لفان (جامعة فرينستون)

مينكو ساكاي (جامعة نيو ساوث ويلز)

انابيل تيه جالوب (المكتبة البريطانية)

شفاعة المرزاة (جامعة سونان كاليجاغا الإسلامية الحكومية)

مساعد هيئة التحرير:

تيسرتونو

محمد نداء فضلان

رنغكا إيكسا سافوترا

عبد الله مولاني

مراجعة اللغة الإنجليزية:

بنيمين ج. فريمان

دانيل فتريون

موسى بتول

مراجعة اللغة العربية:

توباغوس أدي أسناوي

تصميم الغلاف:

س. برنكا

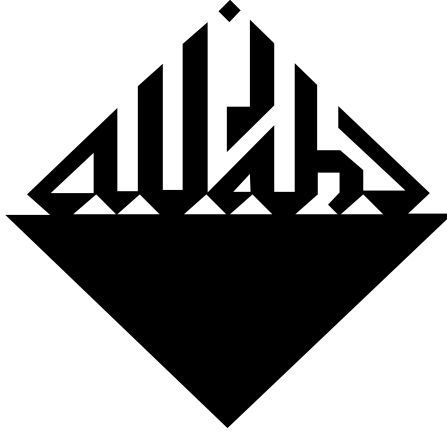


# ستوديا اسلاميا

# سثوديا اسراميا

السنة التاسعة والعشرون، العدد ١، ٢٠٢٢

مجلة إندونيسية للدراسات الإسلامية



---

## DEMOCRATIC DILEMMA OF MALAY ISLAMIC PARTY: PAS, COALITION PATTERN, AND RISING SOCIAL ISSUES

Mohd. Izani Mohd. Zain & Mohd. Daud Mat Din

---

## CONTESTING ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES IN THE 2019 INDONESIA ELECTIONS: POLITICAL POLARIZATION IN WEST KALIMANTAN

Zuly Qodir, Hasse Jubba, & Mega Hidayati

---

التعليم الإسلامي المقترح  
لدى كياهي سهل محفوظ (١٩٣٧-٢٠١٤)  
إرحام

---