Globethics Repository



THE SHADOW OF ISLAMIC ORTODOXY AND SYNCRETISM IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN POLITICS

This page was generated automatically upon download from the Globethics Repository. More information on Globethics see https://www.globethics.net. Data and content policy of Globethics Repository see https://repository.globethics.net/pages/policy.

Item Type	Journal volume
Authors	Umam, Ahmad Khoirul;Junaidi, Akhmad Arif
Publisher	IAIN Sultan Amai Gorontalo
Rights	With permission of the license/copyright holder
Download date	2026-11-13 07:30:02
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/232450

Jurnal Al- Ulum
Volume. 11, Nomor 2, Desember 2011
Hal. 343-356

THE SHADOW OF ISLAMIC ORTODOXY AND SYNCRETISM IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN POLITICS

Ahmad Khoirul Umam
The University of Paramadina, Jakarta
(ahmad.umam@paramadina.ac.id)
&
Akhmad Arif Junaidi
IAIN Walisongo, Semarang
(arif_junaidi2003@yahoo.com)

ABSTRAK

Pemetaan a filiasi politik masyarakat adalah penting untuk memahami arah dan karakter kekuasaan di masa mendatang. Orientasi politik massa di Indonesia secara general tidak jauh berbeda dengan apa yang digariskan oleh Clifford Geertz dalam karya master piece-nya bertajuk The Religion of Java. Konsep trikotomi yang terdiri atas Santri, Abangan dan Priyayi itu, selama lima dekade terakhir ini telah menjadi arena pembantaian tesis Geertz. Beragam titik lemah dan kekeliruan konseptual karya ini menjadi pintu masuk untuk kembali merekonstruksikan konsep orientasi politik masyarakat Indonesia. Kendati demikian, karya Geertz ini patut diapresiasi sebagai pendekatan awal yang brilian dalam memahami perilaku politik bangsa Indonesia. Dengan pendekatan kritis, napak tilas inteletual Geertz ini akan kembali dimanfaatkan untuk memetakan arah afiliasi politik masyarakat Indonesia kontemporer.

The mapping of political affiliation is important to capture the power direction and its characteristics in the future. Generally, the mass political orientation in Indonesia is not much different than what was outlined by Clifford Geertz in his master piece entitled The Religion of Java. The concept of 'trikotomi' consisting of the Santri, Abangan, and Priyayi, which over the past five decades has been the fundamentally critiqued by various parties. Numerous weak points and fallacy of conceptual framwork then become the entrance to reconceptualize the Indonesian people political orientation. However, the work of Geertz's initial approach should be appreciated as a brilliant in understanding the Indonesian political behavior. With the critical approaches, the Geertz's approaches will again be utilized to map the direction of community in the contemporary Indonesian political orientation.

Keywords: Democracy, Islamic Politics, Political Behaviour, and Political Party.

A. Introduction

The Religion of Java is one of the Clifford Geertz's masterpieces providing fuel for the debate among social scientists and strongly influencing scholars of Indonesia. For decades they could not escape from the great shadow of the former Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton's persuasive theory and his incredibly powerful work of descriptive ethnography in which the discipline was facing 'double crisis' of representation and of legitimation at the time.[1] Geertz is a brave anthropologist confidently defy the tradition of social science technical writing proven by the book's literatures which were less than two dozen citations only and no bibliography making it no clear objectives and effort to put itself in relation to previous scholarship or ongoing debates in Indonesian society or on Islam.[2]

The Religion of Java is the result of the long time fieldwork in the remote area of East Java namely Pare, Kediri, otherwise called 'Modjokuto' that later become an indispensable framework to understand the modern Indonesian political culture based on the description of complicated social interactions reflecting the discourses of nationalism, bureaucratization, socio-political organization which were transforming Javanese society. Geertz emphasized on the schism pattern in the Islam and Javanism relation which was considerably influencing religious confrontation, social conflict, and political behavior of Javanese society. Since religious schism causes political schism later inspiring the concept of 'political streams'.[3]

---

[1] Brewer, John, *Ethnography*, Buckingham, Open University Press, 2000, p.2; Clifford, James and George Marcus, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Enthography*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1986; Clifford, James, *The Predicament of Culture*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1988; Marcus, George and Michael Fisher, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, Chicago, IL, (Chicago University Press, 1986), p. 45-76.

[2] White, Ben, 'Clifford Geertz: Singular Genius of Interpretative Anthropology', *Development and Change*, Vol. 38, Issue 6, 2007), p. 1187-1208.

[3] Effendy, Bahtiar, *Islam dan Negara, Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta, Paramadina, 1998, p.32; Geertz, Clifford, *The Javanese Village*, in G. William Skinner (ed), *Local, Ethnic, and National Loyalities in Village Indonesia,* Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesian Project, Cornell University, 1959, p. 34-41; Geertz, Clifford, *The Social History of an Indonesian Town*, Cambrigde, MIT, 1965.

To describe the Javanese socio-political relations, Geertz created a sociological formula by distinguishing three varieties of Javanese Islam namely *Abangan* (Javanist-syncretist), *Santri* (orthodox-modernist), and *Priyayi* (Indic, Hindu-Buddhisht), as well as connected each to a particular social class. As simply defined by Geertz that *Abangan* is a part of Javanese Muslim tending to be syncretic mix of animist, Hindu-Buddhist, and Muslim community predominantly lived in the remote-rural area.[4] Koentjoroningrat (1985) and Pranowo (1991) stated that the term of *Abangan* seems to be a highly pejorative stereotype to indicate the Javanist Muslim not adhering strictly to the precepts of religion.[5] Thus, Koentjoroningrat recommended replacing term of *Abangan* by using 'Javenese Islam', *Kejawen* or 'Javanist', and 'Javenese Religion'. Two recommended terms of Javanist and Javanese Religion would be acceptable as original categorizations of Javanese belief, but not for 'Javenese Islam'. It would be philosophically problematic in facing the major Islamic Puritanism mainstream believing in the *kaffah* or religious totality concept protecting Islam from syncretism and animistic ethos.

Santri category is used to identify a more orthodox variant of Islam which was predominantly consisted of merchants and wealthier peasants who are strict adherent of Islamic teachings.[6] Marshal Hodgson in *The Venture of Islam* (1974) critiqued Geertz's paradigm in identifying *Santri* category by using 'scripturalist perspective' ignoring the fact of grey areas in the Javenese Muslim social behaviour accommodating Javenese culture and strict Islamic teaching. Bambang Pranowo (1991) described many PKI & PNI's activists were good Muslims who could recite Al-Qur'an fluently. Geertz's seems to embrace the vision of Orientalist unequally depicting Islam as a thin by more accommodating and accepting uncritically his modernist *santri* informants' narrow views of what is really Islamic and then speculatively rejecting the Islamic practices

[4] Geertz, Clifford, *The Religion of Java*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1960, p.6.

[5] Hefner, Robert, 'Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 46. No. 3, August 1987, p. 533.

[6] Liddle, R. William and Saiful Mujani, *Islamist Parties and Democracy: The Indonesian Case*, Working paper, Ohio State University, 2007.

done by *abangan* and *priyayi* as un-Islamic.[7] The Geertz's point of view later has been accused as a part of Geertz's contributions to the relative marginalization of Islam in Indonesian discourse.[8] It is more contentiously phrased as what Azyumardi Azra (2003) mentions the "myth of *abangan*" which means that Javanese or Indonesian and generally Southeast Asian Islam is not really Islam.[9]

And the last category of the trichotomy is *Priyayi* which is used to point an elite heritage strongly influenced by Hindu-Buddhist principles of earlier Javanese courts associated to aristocrats committing to well behaved in language, arts, behavior, intuitive mysticism perpetuated by colonial administrative bureaucracy in the modern era.[10] In this context, the principal weakness of the Religion of Java becoming a unequivocal critique is located on Geertz's fatal careless in classifying *Priyayi* as one of religious categories rather than a distinction of social class in the social stratification of Javanese society.[11] As stated by Hefner, *priyayi* is not appropriately credited as

---

[7] White, Ben, 'Clifford Geertz: Singular Genius of Interpretative Anthropology', *Development and Change*, Vol. 38, Issue 6, 2007, p. 1187-1208; Nakamura, Mitsuo, *The Cresent Aries over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town*, Jogjakarka, Gadjah Mada University Press, 1983; Dhofier, Zamakhsyari, 'Santri-Abangan dalam Kehidupan Orang Jawa: Teropong dari Pesantren, *Prisma*, Vol. 7, No. 5, 1978, p. 48-63; Woodward, Mark, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, Tucson, The University of Arizona Press, 1989.

[8] Hefner, Robert, 'Islam in an Era of Nation States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia', in Robert Hefner and P. Horvatich (eds), *Islam in an Era of Nation-States*, Honolulu, HI, University of California Press, 1999, p. 11-16.

[9] Newland, L., "Under the Banner of Islam: Mobilizing Religious Identities in West Java", *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol.11, No.2, 2000, p. 199-222; Newland, L. "Syncretism and the Politics of the Tingkeban in West Java", *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No.3, 2001, p. 312-326.

[10] Geertz, 1960, Op.Cit, p. 5-6

[11] Koentjoroningrat, R.M., 'Review of the Religion of Java', *Majalah-majalah Ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, No. 2, 1963, p. 188-191; Kartodirdjo, Sartono, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions Course, and Sequel*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966, p.50; Ricklef, M.C., 'Six Centuries of Islamization in Java', in N. Levtzion (ed), *Conversion to Islam*, New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979, p. 100-128; Boland, B.J., *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1982, p.4; Bachtiar, Harsya, 'The Religion of Java: A Commentary', *Madjalah Ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia*, Vol. 5, 1973, hh. 65-115.

religious culture but a social class represented by aristocrats as opposed to '*wong cilik'* or ordinary and proletariat people. Hence in the religious categorization, *priyayi* can be identified into both *abangan* and *santri.*

Those have been strengthened by Nakamura's research finding many *priyayi* have been strict adherents of Islam including the family of Javanese palace either Surakarta or Jogjakarta palace.[12] Another unique phenomenon countering Geertz's sociological formula come from Pesantren Tegalrejo, Magelang systematically written by Bambang Pranowo in which the Islamic boarding school was established by a *priyayi* namely KH. Abdurrahman.[13] He is a descent of Pangeran Diponegoro's family well-known as Jogjakarta palace's family. The pesantren was founded among *kejawen* and there is a blend of Islamic orthodoxy and mystical features where *santri* also respectfully accommodate and tolerate the *abangan* tradition such as maintaining the belief of *wali* as a part of the Javanese beliefe system (Koentjoroningrat, 1985: 319), and also performing *jatilan* and *wayangan* in pesantren's *akhirusanah* or annual graduation celebration.

The critique on the *priyayi* categorization is scientifically acceptable proven by Geertz's confusion in transforming the religious schisms into the ideological-political grouping in which Geertz kindly tended to sacrifice and hidden *priyayi* and more emphasize on *santri* and *abangan* categories only (Effendy, 1998: 38). Apparently, Geertz seemed to be in difficulties for explaining *priyayi* as a part of religious categories, because the strong religious-cultural distinctions can be clearly found in *abangan* and *santri*'s religious tradition only. William Liddle (1977) affirms Geertz's confusion by elaborating Geertz's previous stand in his another book entitled *the Social Context of Economic Change: an Indonesian Case Study* (1956) in which Geertz clearly focused on *abangan* and *santri* categorization only.

The critique tends to be true when Geertz's ideologically political grouping of the three variants resulting two political orientations of *abangan* and *santri* only. Thus, it is possibly reasonable to justify that *priyayi* was used by Geertz, as strict Weberian, just for complement to adjust Weber's trichotomy concept

[12] Nakamura, 1983, *Op.Cit*. p. 49.
[13] Pranowo, 1991, *Op.Cit,* p. 52

of social classes, or possibly to distinguish his thesis from Robert Jay's 'Religion and Politics in Rural Java' (1963) clearly emphasizing on the religious and political schism of *abangan* and *santri* only. Geertz's apology of trichotomy was done by explaining that political maneuver process played by the political streams of Javanist and orthodox Muslim producing a political alliance between *abangan* and *priyayi* opposing to *santri*.[14] His argument seems to be reasonable since both *abangan* and *priyayi* tend to be reluctant to the *santri*'s exclusive characteristic. Ricklef (1979)[15] argued that the inclination of self-consciously antagonistic relation between *abangan* and *santri* has occurred after the movement of purification Islam otherwise called Islamization of Java historically triggered by strains of the Madiun massacres and the tragic bloodshed of 1965 stimulating tension between Javanist consisted of Indonesian Communist Party's followers and orthodox Muslims forced Javanese to determine their stands whether as pure Muslim or Javanist.[16]

Geertz's dichotomy of *santri* and *abangan* political streams later has become a pivotal popular framework to understand Javanese society, politics, and religion, even to analyze the pattern of elite competition supercharged with ideological rivalry and party mobilization in the Indonesian political constellation. Muslims who self-identify as *santri* might be more open to Islamic party platform than those who identify as either *abangan* or *priyayi. Abangan* is tended to be credited to the base of the major non-Islamic parties campaigning on liberal, nationalist, and socialist and other types of ideological platforms of the past particularly the communist PKI and nationalist PNI of the 1950s. On the other hand, *santri* is politically associated to Islam parties using Islamic imagery or promoting Islamist ideas of the past represented by Masyumi and Nahdlatul Ulama of the 1950s. In this stage, it can be more clearly understood that Geertz actually just want to look Indonesian politics as the battle arena of 'syncretism' and 'orthodoxy'.

[14] Geertz, 1965, *Op.Cit*. p.128.

[15] Ricklef , 1979, *Op.Cit*. p.115.

[16] Jay, Robert T. *Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java,* Cultural Report series, No. 12, Program in Southeast Asian Studies, (New Haven, Yale Univerity, 1963), p.16.

The political stream dichotomy is later more complicated after occurring the extreme political fragmentation in the *santri* community of 'pro-Islamist' and 'anti-Islamist' factions resulting two middle political poles of traditionalist *santri* represented by Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and modernist-conservative *santri* shown by the Consultative Assembly of Indonesian Muslims (Masyumi). The factionalism in 1955 election has become a critical watershed in the development of Indonesian political culture (Barton, 2008: 11). The political landscape objectively indicated that religious orientations had become a pivotal preference determining people's political affiliation shown by the Islamic parties' highest electoral appeal of 44 percent while the secular.[17]

The quiet similar political inclination occurred in the election 1999 after significantly social and political turbulences of the reform movement. Barton (2008) argued that the voting patterns of election in 1955 and 1999 have scarcely changed at all when it comes to 'syncretism' and 'orthodoxy' sentiment by choosing between Islamic parties of 1999 represented by PBB, PBR, PK(S), PPP and non-Islamic parties such as PDIP, Golkar Party, Demokrat Party, including PAN and PKB which have consciously remained open and multi-faith parties with nationalist ambitions.[18] The non-Islamic parties mostly commit to Pancasila as their ideology adopting special emphasis on the concepts of religious belief, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice without promoting Islam. But, the Barton's argument is countered by Liddle and Mujani's thesis convincing that political streams had ended in 1999 election proven by the massive split voting phenomenon in which many Muslims politically supported Megawati and her PDIP which is popular as the base of *abangan* affiliation. The question is whether the political streams framework popularized by

[17] Feith, Herbert, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1962; Lev, Daniel, "Political Parties in Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History,* Special Issdue, March 1967, p. 52-67; Liddle, William R., Ethnicity, *Party and National Integration: An Indonesian Case Study*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970; Emmerson, D., *Indonesia's Elite: Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976; Crouch, Harrold, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003.

[18] Barton, Greg, Forthcoming 'Indonesia', in Barry Rubin (ed.) *Global Survey of Islamism*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2008).

Geertz still relevant for analyzing the contemporary Indonesian political context?

B. The Shadow of Political Streams and Pragmatism

One argues that political stream may be precise to analyzing Indonesian political development in the early national independence, while the recent political Islam has been transformed and diversified. Beside that, the recent Indonesian Muslims tends to be more politically rational in which their political preferences are no longer determined by religious stream sentiment. Political Islam's characteristic also dramatically changes which is no longer equivalent to Islamist aspiration of pro-*syari'ah* and promoting agenda of Islamic law formalization anymore but tends to be more pragmatist. [19]

It is true that the process of Santrinization emphasizing on the Islamic pietism dramatically improve in the contemporary Indonesia. Fealy (2008) noted that "Islam is penetrating far more deeply into people's lives than ever before and Muslims are expressing their faith in a multitude of ways" such as more diligently attending to regular prayer, fasting during Ramadhan, joining into Islamic study groups, and consuming 'Islamic products' like *syari'ah* banking and Muslim clothing.[20] The situation is much contradictory with the shrinking trend of Islamic parties' electoral appeals in election 1999, 2004, and 2009. The Muslim voters' popular attitudes indicate that they no longer convince voting as "confessional" practice considerably correlated to their faith principal.

Most of Muslim voters convince that Islam platforms are not critical for their electoral preferences, even though Islam may be crucial for their personal lives. Indonesian Muslims tend to endorse secular politics separating public service from religion, rather than Islamic politics, proven by the Indonesian Survey Institute (2007)'s survey showing 57 percent of respondents prefer to secular values in politics while 33 percent support Islamic platforms. Based on the perspective, Wanandi (2002) arguably justify Indonesian Islam is

[19]Baswedan, Anies Rasyid, 'Political Islam in Indonesia: Present and Future Trajectory', *Asian Survey*, Vol. 44, No. 5, Sept-Oct 2004, 2004, p. 669-690.

[20] Fealy, Greg and Shally White (ed), *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia*, Indonesia Update Series, RSPAS, Australian National University, 2008.

inherently more moderate than Islam elsewhere in the world.[21] In case of election 2009, generally voters including Muslims endorse good governance growth, reduction of the unemployment and poverty rates as the major key to electoral sentiment rather than religious stream sentiment (Xinhua, February 7, 2008).

One argues that today political Islam is characterized by diversity in and pragmatism over Muslim aspirations.[22] In the lame presidential system since 1999 to 2009 caused by the absence of a dominant party causing the elected executive government haunted by the specter of bitter opposition in parliament. In that situation, both Islamic and non-Islamic political parties controlled by opportunist leaders tend to pragmatically looking for political safety and economic profit by joining into coalition hoping accommodated into the government body. Parties including the Islamic parties expected to conduct their both tactical and strategic roles based on pragmatic consideration rather than ideologies, platforms, and political values. Effendy (2009) sees the phenomenon as the positive effect of the withering away of politics of streams in which ideology, socio-religious, and traditional values shaped the characteristic of political behavior. The next question is whether both the atmosphere liberal democracy resulting sphere of political pragmatism and the change of Muslims' paradigm totally demolishes the phenomenon of politics of streams?

The fact of political pragmatism and the change of Muslims' paradigm can not one hundred percent be used to characterize and identify the recent Muslims' political behaviors. It is considerably true that there are enormous social and political changes influencing Muslims' political awareness. It is also correct that political pragmatism has become a soul of Indonesian politics. But it must be acknowledged those can not make the political symbol and political identity based on the political stream understanding totally disappear. Since it is undoubted that politics is frequently defined as the worldview frequently projected or represented into the choices of symbol, identity, and communalism.

---

[21]Wanandi, Jusuf, "Islam in Indonesia: Its History, Development and Future Challenges."*Asia-Pacific Review*, (Vol. 9, No. 2, 2002), p. 104-112.

[22]Baswedan, 2004, *Op.Cit*, p.689

C. Conclusion

For instance, the community of *abangan* would be persistently reluctant to join with orthodox Islam political base such as PKS. Their political preferences would be dropped to the secular or nationalist political parties such as PDIP, Golkar, or PDIP. PKS as the right wing of Islam would be problematic to set up a permanent political coalition with PDIP as the pole of left wing of secularist-nationalist. Meanwhile Nahdlatul Ulama's political cadres (traditionalist-inclusive) would be also consistently reluctant to collectively set up a permanent coalition with Muhammadiyah's political mainstream (modernist-conservative) because of the institutional sentiment, even less with PKS's cadres (radical revivalist) which basically have many differences in the religious paradigm and interpretations of political Islam either pro-Islamist or inclusive-pluralist.

That political behavior seems to be inevitable in the Indonesian political landscape. Thus, even though stream politics would be not significant determinant factor influencing electors' political preferences, it would be still reasonable to justify that Geertz's political stream framework is actually still relevant to be "one of the analytical instruments" to understanding the political constellation right now. But, of course, it needs other more contemporarily analytical instruments to capture meaningful politics and the current political configuration comprehensively and objectively. On the other words, Indonesian politics can not escape yet the long shadow of Geertz's persuasive theory and incredible ethnography haunting the contemporary political facts. ***

REFERENCES

Azra, Azyumardi, 2003, 'Bali and Southeast Asian Islam: Debunking the Myths.' In Kumar Ramakrishna and See Seng Tan (eds.), *After Bali: The Threat of Terrorism in Southeast Asia,* Singapore, World Scientific Publishing Co.

Bachtiar, Harsya, 1973, 'The Religion of Java: A Commentary', *Madjalah Ilmu-ilmu Sastra Indonesia,* Vol. 5.

Barton, Greg, 2008, *Forthcoming* '*Indonesia'*, in Barry Rubin (ed.) *Global Survey of Islamism,* New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc.

Baswedan, Anies Rasyid, 2004, 'Political Islam in Indonesia: Present and Future Trajectory', *Asian Survey,* Vol. 44, No. 5, Sept-Oct 2004.

Boland, B.J. 1982, *The Struggle of Islam in Modern Indonesia,* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.

Brewer, John, 2000, *Ethnography,* Buckingham, Open University Press.

Clifford, James and George Marcus, 1986, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Enthography,* Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Clifford, James, 1988, *The Predicament of Culture,* Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Crouch, Harrold, 2003, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia,* Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Dhofier, Zamakhsyari, 1978, '*Santri-Abangan dalam Kehidupan Orang Jawa: Teropong dari Pesantren*, Prisma*,* Vol. 7, No. 5.

Effendy, Bahtiar, 1998, *Islam dan Negara, Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia,* Jakarta, Paramadina.

Effendy, Bahtiar, 2003, *Islam and the State in Indonesia,* Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Effendy, Bahtiar, 2009, 'In the Shadow of Pragmatism: The Politics of Coalition', *The Jakarta Post,* 30 April.

Emmerson, D., 1976, *Indonesia's Elite: Political Culture and Cultural Politics,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Fealy, Greg and Shally White (ed), 2008, *Expressing Islam: Religious Life and Politics in Indonesia,* Indonesia Update Series, RSPAS, Australian National University.

Feith, Herbert, 1962, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Geertz, Clifford, 1956, *The Socil Context of Economi Change: An Indonesian Case Study,* mimeografi, Cambridge, Centre for International Studies, MIT.

Geertz, Clifford, 1959, *The Javanese Village,* in G. William Skinner (ed), *Local, Ethnic, and National Loyalities in Village Indonesia,* Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesian Project, Cornell University.

Geertz, Clifford, 1960, *The Religion of Java,* Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press.

Geertz, Clifford, 1965, *The Social History of an Indonesian Town,* Cambrigde, MIT.

Hefner, Robert, 1987, 'Islamizing Java? Religion and Politics in Rural East Java, *The Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 46. No. 3, August.

Hefner, Robert, 1999, 'Islam in an Era of Nation States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia', in Robert Hefner and P. Horvatich (eds, *Islam in an Era of Nation-States,* Honolulu, HI, University of California Press.

Jay, Robert T. 1963, *Religion and Politics in Rural Central Java,* Cultural Report series, No. 12, Program in Southeast Asian Studies, New Haven, Yale Univerity.

Kartodirdjo, Sartono, 1966, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: Its Conditions Course, and Sequel,* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.

Koentjoroningrat, 1985, *Javanese Culture,* Oxford University Press, Singapore.

Koentjoroningrat, R.M., 'Review of the Religion of Java', *Majalah-majalah Ilmu Sastra Indonesia,* No. 2, 1963.

Lev, Daniel, 1967, "Political Parties in Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History,* Special Issdue, March.

Liddle, R. William and Saiful Mujani, 2007, *Islamist Parties and Democracy: The Indonesian Case,* Working paper, Ohio State University.

Liddle, R. William, 1977, *Cultural and Class Politics in New Order Indonesia,* Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Liddle, William R., 1970, *Ethnicity, Party and National Integration: An Indonesian Case Study,* New Haven, Yale University Press.

Marcus, George and Michael Fisher, 1986, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique,* Chicago, IL, Chicago University Press.

Nakamura, Mitsuo, 1983, *The Cresent Aries over the Banyan Tree: A Study of the Muhammadiyah Movement in a Central Javanese Town,* Jogjakarka, Gadjah Mada University Press.

Newland, L. 2001, "Syncretism and the Politics of the *Tingkeban* in West Java", *The Australian Journal of Anthropology,* Vol. 12, No.3.

Newland, L., 2000, "Under the Banner of Islam: Mobilizing Religious Identities in West Java", *The Australian Journal of Anthropology,* Vol.11, No.2.

Pranowo, Bambang, 1991, 'Traditional Islam in Contemporary Rural Java', *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context,* M.C. Ricklef (ed), Victoria, Center of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash Univerity.

Ricklef, M.C., '1979, Six Centuries of Islamization in Java', in N. Levtzion, ed. *Conversion to Islam,* New York: Holmes and Meier.

Survey: Economic Issue tops Indonesian, Election agenda in 2009, *Xinhua,* 7 February 2008.

Wanandi, Jusuf, 2002, "Islam in Indonesia: Its History, Development and Future Challenges."*Asia-Pacific Review,* Vol. 9, No. 2.

White, Ben, 'Clifford Geertz: 2007, Singular Genius of Interpretative Anthropology', *Development and Change,* Vol. 38, Issue 6.

Woodward, Mark, 1989, *.Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta,* Tucson, The University of Arizona Press.