THE SHIFT OF ISLAMISM INTO NEOFUNDAMENTALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON ISLAMIC POLITICAL DYNAMICS

Ella Susila Wati
Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta
Email. ellasusilawati240@gmail.com

Yuli Imawan
Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta
Email. yuliimawan5@gmail.com

Eri Rahmawati
Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University Yogyakarta
Email. Eryrahmawati12@gmail.com

Abstract: This article discusses the shift from Islamism to Neo-fundamentalism. Where the term Islamism here is often referred to as Political Islam. Islamism is a movement that makes Islam the basis of its struggle, including organizing the government. Islamism aims to revive Islamic law. But this reemergence of Islamism is not an emergence by Faith but by political claims. Islamism here longs for a historical revival and the glory of Islam, but this endeavor is a fabricated tradition. The emergence of Islamism in Islamic politics is a response to the existence of modernity understood as Western and foreign because it fails to fulfill Islamic interests as understood by Islamism. This failure of Islamism led to a shift towards Neo-fundamentalism towards the end of the 1980s. The neo-fundamentalism movement is very anti-Western. However, militant Islamic groups that previously fought for Islamic revolution shifted to be involved in re-Islamization from below.
Key Words: Muslim Brotherhood, Islamism, Olivier Roy, Neofundamentalism

Introduction

When discussing politics, we usually imagine ways to achieve goals inseparable from the position, such as the struggle for status, power, leadership, etc. In the west, many people see the end of the 20th century as an era of the Islamic threat. The spread of Islam in the political landscape is often seen as an anachronism.[1] The main agenda of Islamism is to build an Islamic state order and Mobilize Muslims in forming a totalitarian government order called *al-nizam al-Islam*.[2] Almost all Islamic movements have placed ideology in a vital position and function in the Muslim world. Islamic movements, such as al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin in Egypt, Jama'at Islam in Pakistan, and other Islamic movements, such as Syarikat Islam and Masjumi in Indonesia, were born inseparable from ideology. The view links Islam as an ideology,

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[1] Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1994), hlm. 2.

[2] Bassam Tibi, *Islam and Islamisme, Terj. Alfathir Adlin* (Bandung: mizan, 2016), hlm. 292.

in the sense of Islam as a comprehensive religion concerning all aspects of life, including politics, and indirectly projecting Islam with political or state life.[3]

In his book Islam and Islamis, Bassam Tibi demrcates and clear distinction between Islam and Islamism. According to him, Islamism is related by political order, not faith. However, Islamism is not only politics, but religionized politics. in this context, Tibi calls Islamism the strongest example of the global phenomenon of relegious fundamentalism. In the case of Islamism, the religiousization of politics means the promotion of a political order that is believed to emanate from god;s will and not based on popular soveregnty. While Islam itself does not do anything like this. As a faith, a way of worship and an athical framework, Islam implies certain political values but it is not requires a special administration.[4]

Some equate the term political Islam with the term Islamism, or political Islam, namely movements that make Islam the basis of their struggle, and understand that religion regulates all of society's life, including that of the state. Political Islam refers to activities or organizations that generate signs and symbols from the Islamic tradition. Islam, since its birth, was initially regarded as a political religion. Some people believe that political Islam cannot separate religion and politics. It refers to activism reshaping the Islamic tradition's repertoire and frames of reference.[5]

Islamist groups that have revived the formal label of Islam and the application of Islamic law are classified as Ideological Islam or, in a popular term, Islamism. It is said that Islamism, because of its character and religious orientation, is based on the view of Islam as an ideology directly related to Islam and the state or politics and fights for the ideals of Islamic politics. The involvement of Islamists in politics is based on Islam as a global and Synthesizing System of Thought. In its various foundations and life structures, Islamic society must be Islamic.

The reemergence of Islam in the form of Islamism is not a reemergence of Faith but a reemergence of the sacred with political claims. Islam did not ebb and flow as a faith. Still, it did function as a smooth political legitimacy after the abolition of the caliphate in 1924 and the birth of many secular states throughout the Muslim world. Emerging after a succession of failed religious and secular trials, political Islam offers the formula *al-Islam huwa al-hall* (Islam is the solution). Islamism yearns for a revival of the history and glory of Islam, but this endeavor is a tradition made up. Islamist groups idolize Islam as it was implemented at the time of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. The Islamist group is trying to restore the order of Islamic practice today to be brought back to the way it was in the Prophet's Age, namely back to fourteen years ago. Applying Islamic law in the constitution is assumed to be the entry point for other Islamist agendas.

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[3] Syahrir Karim, "Islamisme Dan Demokratisasi Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi: Analisis Sosio-Politik," *Sulesana: Jurnal Wawasan Keislaman* 7, no. 2 (2012): hlm. 150.

[4] Bassam Tibi, *Islam and Islamisme, Terj. Alfathir Adlin, hlm.* 302.

[5] Quintan Quintan, *Aktivisme Islam Dan Teori Gerakan Sosial* (Jakarta: Yayasan Abad Demokrasi, 2012), hlm. 37.

If the spirit and paradigm of Islamis emerges, then Islam will increasingly immesed in the bustle of the great civilization of the world today. Islam will not be able to show the spirit and spirit of change because its greatness is covered by the momentary interests of a handful of people (*al-Islam Mahjubun bi al-Muslimin*) who are closed, exclusive and anti-change. The reality of the people in this plural and even multicultural contemporary era requires understanding Islam that is dynamic, fresh and relevant to current conditions. According to M. Amin Abdullah, uderstanding Islam cannot be done with only one scientific disciplene, but must go through multidiciplinary, interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary scholarship so that it will obtained a compatible, actual and in accordance with the spirit of Islam his era.[6]

The emergence of Islamism or Political Islam (*al-Islam al-Syasi*) or fundamentalism which implies a return to the fundamentals of faith, upholding the power of the ummah, and strengthening the foundations of legitimate authority as a response to the existence of modernity is understood as Western and foreign because it is considered to have failed to fulfill the interests of Islam as they know it.[7] Islamism's sphere of influence spans the entire spectrum of various activist groups, which in the second half of the 20th century saw their actions as an extension of the concepts outlined by the founder of the Ikhwan al-Muslimin, Hasan al-Bana, and by Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi. The beginning of Islam is divided into three geographic and cultural tendencies: Middle Eastern, Arab, Sunni, Indian-Sunni subcontinent, and Iranian-Arab-Shiite. In retrospect, the political steps of the Islamists, instead of leading to the formation of an Islamic state or society, have instead fallen into the logic of the state, or traditional divisions, even though they have been rearranged. All political steps automatically mean creating a secular space or returning to traditional divisions.

Toward the end of the 1980s, the failure of revolutionary Islamist ideas led to a shift of Third World-type, political and extreme Islamism, such as that manifested in the Iranian revolution towards pure Neo-fundamentalism, which was preachy, populist, and conservative. This neo-fundamentalism movement was funded by Saudi Arabia recently but has been fiercely anti-Western, since the end of the East-West confrontation and the disappearance of communism. The Algerian Islamic Salvage Front is the group's prototype, a combination of the political legacy of Islamism, Saudi Arabia's money (until 1990), and the influence of a return to Islam that is more pious than political. However, the difference between Islamism and neo-fundamentalism here does not have a clear chronological breaking point. The difference lies in the emphasis. It is not so much that militant Islamists turned to neo-fundamentalism in 1984 or 1985. Its expressions can be found in popular symbolic terms such as Islamic revivalism, the rise of the Islamic revolution, or Islamic fundamentalism.

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[6] M Amin Abdullah, *Multidispilin, Interdisiplin, & Transdisiplin: Metode Studi Agama & Studi Islam Di Era Kontempore* (Yogyakarta: IB Pustaka, 2020), hlm. 97.

[7] Nur Khasanah, Achmad Irwan Hamzani, and Havis Aravik, "Fenomena Fundamentalisme Islam Dalam Perspektif Antropologi," *Mizan: Journal of Islamic Law* 4, no. 2 (2020): hlm. 172.

The dwindling hopes of a political revolution, the increasing influence of Saudi Arabian money, the inability of Islamic thought to go beyond the initial Corpus, the emergence of a new generation of militants who are less educated but care more about the Shari'a and respect rituals more than the Islamic revolution. The difference between Islamism and Neo-fundamentalism (which gives the opposite place to sharia, women, and the concept of revolution compared to Islamism), while, at another point, does not forget the similarities, namely the relationship with knowledge, discussion of official scholars and the definition of the economy.[8]

This article is a library research which is historical and factual in nature. The paradigm used in this study is qualitative. Data collection is done by using a library research data that relies on or uses library sources. This literature research comes from primary and secondry sources contained in various books. Books and research journal articles published on websites related to study. These data sources were then anlyzed by reading and examine books and articles related to the theme of this research. Data analysis in this studi used content analysis or content analysis by looking at the various data that had been collected. From against these various references the author analyzes critically-comparatively so as to bring up new findings that are relevent to the current context.

Islamism Concept

Olivier Roy here uses Islamic and Neo-fundamentalism to refer to Islamic movements that are oriented towards the implementation of Islamic law. Roy calls the Islamic movement that makes Islam a political ideology called Islamism, while the Islamist movement that has experienced a shift towards political passivity is called neo-fundamentalism. Such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizbu Tahrir, Jama'ati Islami, and the Islamic Salvation Front (*Front Islamique du Salut*) as representations of the themes used.[9] Meanwhile, Asef Bayat uses the term Islamism to refer to discourses and practices that are out of the ordinary that aim, both collectively and individually, to encourage change in the existing social and political system. While remembering the importance of the aspects of "religious activism" in it, he aligns Islamism with "active religiosity," which is conceptually distinguished from "active piety." If the former has political overtones and is oriented outward to make changes, the latter is relatively free from politics and generally oriented inward to oneself.[10]

Islamism also denotes two phenomena at once, political Islamism and re-Islamization, a process in various domains of social life covered by signs and symbols associated with Islamic cultural traditions. Islamism is an artistic, political response to the crisis of the failure of post-colonial development in various Islamic societies under

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[8] Olivier Roy, *Gagalnya Islam Politik, Terj, Harimurti & Qamaruddin SF* (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 1996) hlm. 31.

[9] Zulfandi, "Konteksasi Ormas Islamis Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Al-Tahrir* 18, no. 1 (2018): hlm. 70.

[10] Norhaidi Hasan, *Islam Politik Di Dunia Kontemporer, Konsep, Genologi, Dan Teori* (Yogyakarta: UIN Suka Press, 2012) hlm. 9.

global conditions.[11] Islamism is a contemporary Islamic movement that views Islam as a political ideology, including those with a neo-fundamentalist tendency that is very concerned about Islamic law. The reemergence of Islam in the form of Islamism is not a reemergence of the Faith but a reemergence of the saints with political claims. Islam never ebbed as a faith, but it ceased to function as political legitimacy after the abolition of the caliphate in 1924 and the birth of many secular Muslim states worldwide.

According to Meghnad Desai in his book Rethinking Islamism, The Ideology of The New Terror, the term Islamism is not purely part of Islam because Islam and Islamism are different.[12] That Islamism refers to an Islamic political entity means that a mere political agenda carry Islamism.[13] The term "Islamism" itself reflects a general approach by adding the suffix "ism" to reflect the change of the original idea into an ideology.

In his book The Failure Of Political Islam, Olivier Roy states that the Islamic movement makes Islam a political ideology as Islamism. Islam is positioned as a set of ideas that guide one's goals, hopes, and actions. Islam as an ideology is considered a comprehensive visa, a way of seeing the world. The main aim behind Islamic doctrine is to offer a change in society and adherence to a set of ideals that conform to Islamic teachings through a normative process. Furthermore, Islam is positioned as an abstract system of thought and will be applied to public issues to make this concept a center of political reference. Here Islam is defined as a political ideology.[14]

Islamic political ideology (Islamism) departs from the assumption of "Islamic political imagination" as a single ideal political order practiced by the Prophet and the first four caliphs. This model offers the ideals of an Islamic society to supporters of political Islam organizations without separation between religion, law, and politics. Religion is believed to be one unit (*al-Islam din wa al-dawlah*).

Islamism was formed along the lines of the Salafiyyah and can also be classified as a splinter from it. Islamists generally adhere to Salafi theology. There are three differences between Islamists and fundamentalist clerics: the political revolution, sharia law, and women's issues. According to Islamists, society can only be converted to Islam through social and political activities. Since the 1960s, the Islamist movement has been directly involved in politics, trying to gain power several times. The Islamist movement has political arguments based on the principle that Islam is a global and comprehensive system of thought. The Islamist group is not led by the clergy (except in Iran) but by young secular intellectuals who openly claim to be "religious thinkers" who are competitors and successors to the clerical class who

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[11] Wiliam E Shepard, Sayyid Qutb, and Islamic Activism, *A Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam* (london: EJ Brill, 1996) hlm. 40.

[12] Meghnad Desai, *Rethinking Islamism: The Ideology of Teh New Terror* (New York: IB Tauris, 2006) hlm. 201.

[13] Muhammad Atiullah Othman and Siti Noranizahafizah Boyman, "Political Islam in Islamism and Post Islamism: A Study on Islamic Renaissance Front (IRF)," *International Journal of Accademic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 8, no. 1 (2018): hlm. 687.

[14] Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam,* hlm. 3-4.

have compromised with the authorities. Sunni Islamists reject the ulema in the government bureaucracy or the state clerical institutions where they have power. Islamists criticize the ulema for two reasons. The first is their servitude to the local authority, which makes them accept secular government and laws that do not follow Shari'a. Second, their compromising attitude toward Western modernity.

Islamism accepts the view of classical Islam as a complete and universal system and, therefore, does not need to modernize or adapt. Two other things that differentiate Islamists from Fundamentalists relate to sharia law and women. Islamists support women's education and their participation in social and political life. Women went to war, studied, and had the right to work but wore a veil.[15] The Islamists put less pressure on implementing the Shari'a than the fundamentalist scholars. While moderates and neo-fundamentalists see implementing Shari'a as the key to the Islamization of society, radical Islamists do not question the Shari'a itself because they tend to see it as a projection rather than a corpus. For radicals, sharia institutions require the transformation of society. The emergence of these Islamists created an explosion and had a significant impact on the meaning of Islam It self.[16]

These three elements (politics, women, and sharia) are good criteria for differentiating between radical Islamists (like Imam Khomeini) and conservative fundamentalist governments like Saudi Arabia or even modern neo-fundamentalist movements (Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria).[17] Recently, radical Islam is often referred to as Islamic fundamentalism or literal Islam continues to voice the issue of an Islamic caliphate.[18]

The Development of Islamic Ideology

Religion and politics seem to have merged in a historically Muslim country since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, who used Islam with the guidance of revelation to respond to the people's problems at that time. The Islamist group understands that Islam and politics are one unit that cannot be separated. The origins of Islamism (Political Islam), which emerged due to the crisis in the Islamic world, can be traced back to the birth of al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin in Egypt as the initial base of the Islamist movement in 1928 AD.[19] One of the Islamic organizations that always promotes the caliphate is the Muslim Brotherhood which was founded by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt 1923 in collaboration with Jami'ati Islami founded by Abul A'la Al-Mawdudi in Islam and also cannot be separated from the role of Sayyid Quth in directing the development of political Islam which has pioneered by Al-banna and al-

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[15] Olivier Roy, *Gagalnya Islam Politik, Terj, Harimurti & Qamaruddin SF,* hlm. 43-46.

[16] M. Nur Fauzi, "Mengurai Paradigma Pemikiran Gerakan Islamisme Dan Post-Islamisme Di Era Kontemporer," *Tribakti: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman* 32, no. 1 (2021): hlm. 188.

[17] Olivier Roy, *Gagalnya Islam Politik, Terj, Harimurti & Qamaruddin SF,* hlm. 48.

[18] Akhmad Ramidi and Rijal Mamdud, "New Era and Islam (Ketegangan Islam Terhadap Makna Realitas)," *Al-I'lam: Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Penyiaran Islam* 3, no. 2 (2020): hlm. 54.

[19] Siti Mahmudah, "Islamisme: Kemunculan Dan Perkembangannya Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Aqlam, Journal of Islam and Pluratlity* 3, no. 1 (2018): hlm. 4.

Mawudi. He wrote many influential books in explaining the mission of the new world order by all means and also through violence.[20]

This Islamist movement is in line with the Islamic revivalism movement, which is linked to the Islamic revival movement pioneered by Ibn Taimiyah, Muhammad Abduh, Muhammad bin Abd Al-Wahhab, Jamluddin Al-Afghani, and Rashid Ridha in the Islamic world.[21] The Islamist group here is fighting to apply political moralization based on the superiority of Islamic religious principles.[22] Islamism departs from the theological concept, which is the main reason for the religion of Islam: Tawhid, which states that Allah is transcendent, unique, and without partners.[23] According to Asef Bayat, Islamism is an ideology that aims to change the state order to become more Islamic in the form of a religious state and to apply the legal basis of Islamic Sharia.[24]

Figures known as the prominent supporters of the Ideology of Islamism include Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abd al-Qadir 'Awdah, Yusuf al-Qaradawi from Egypt, Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi from Pakistan, and Usama b.Ladin from Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, from the al-Qaeda group.[25] The origins of political Islam can be traced back to the thoughts of Islamic figures from Egypt, such as Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb. Hasan al-Banna founded the al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin organization in 1982, an influential mass organization against the hegemony of Western secular civilization in Egypt and various parts of the world. Hasan al-Banna's thoughts were further developed by Sayyid Qutb, an Egyptian radical Islamic figure who had to flee to New York due to political pressure from the Gamal Abdul Naser regime. Sayyid Qutb was involved in the Muslim Brotherhood organization, and It was in this organization that Qutb deepened the thoughts of Hasan al-Banna and Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi (1903-1979), an Islamist figure from Pakistan who founded the Jama'at Islam party to fight for law enforcement Islam in Politics during the era of Zia ul-Haq's leadership. Islamism did not emerge in 1979 when Imam Khomeini's Shiite Islamic revolution in Iran. Sunni Islamism is much older than Khomeinism.

Islamism must be seen as a modern political ideology that emerged as a response to the crisis that accompanies modern culture. Although Islamists understand themselves as "defenders of Allah," they are political activists who struggle to build a

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[20] Noorhaidi Hasan, *Literarture Keislaman Generasi Milineal: Transmisi, Apropriasi Dan Kontestasi* (Yogyakarta: Pascasarjana Uin Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta Press, 2018) hlm. 4-5.

[21] Syahrir Karim, "*Islamisme Dan Demokratisasi Di Indonesia Pasca Reformasi: Analisis Sosio-Politik*, hlm. 152"

[22] Mathis Daven, "Memahami Pemikiran Ideologis Dalam Islamisme Radikal/ Understanding Ideological Thought In Radical Islamisme," *Jurnal Ledalero* 17, no. 1 (2018): hlm. 28.

[23] Olivier Roy, *Gagalnya Islam Politik, Terj, Harimurti & Qamaruddin SF,* hlm 50.

[24] Asef Bayat, *Post Islamisme at Large, in Post-Islamisme: The Changing Faces of Political Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) hlm. 4.

[25] Hans Abdiel Harmakaputra, "Islamisme and Post-Islamisme: 'Non-Muslim' in Socio-Political Discoursce of Pakistan, the United States, and Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Stadies* 53, no. 1 (2015): hlm. 180.

political order based on the moral superiority of the Islamic religion.[26] Political Islam is a socio-political phenomenon in various parts of the world related to activism by a group of Muslim individuals who carry out a movement based on a shared ideology. What distinguishes political Islam from other socio-political phenomena lies in three things: 1) the actors involved, 2) activism, and 3) ideology.[27]

According to Olivier Roy, the Islamism movement has experienced a shift and lost its revolutionary character; it is no longer radical and has become a mere grouping, a kind of neo-fundamentalism. That Islamism has been transformed into proletarianization. Neo-fundamentalism, in the sense of activism centered on morality among Islamists, develops thoughts and movements that focus on implementing Islamic law from efforts to create new political forms, new models of society, or an agenda for a brighter future. In the Middle East, the Islamists have never attempted to create a contemporary society, let alone a new political foundation. The failure of Islamists is rooted in their tendency to spread virtue by creating a good culture.[28]

Fazlur Rahman uses the theme of Islamic revivalism to show the phenomenon of the emergence of contemporary Islamic religious movements. A movement that is not monolithic, not single, and multilevel. According to him, the diversity and gradations of Islamic revival activists are reflected in the Arabic vocabulary used to describe the revival of Islam, both individually and as a group.[29] In the rise of Islam, there was a series of religious activism involving militant Islamic groups.[30]

It appears that the Fundamentalism movement has a militant pattern, generally, because it is heavily influenced by the existence of two main tendencies, namely 1) shari'ah-centered fundamentalism and 2) anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism which are then simplified to become anti-Western.[31]

All these changes lead to a revival that Asef Bayat calls post-Islamist. These Islamists were quite friendly with the status Quo in economic matters and agreed to roll back land reforms in Egypt.[32] Therefore, it is unsurprising that the Islamic revival movement is considered a dynamic continuum between passive-apolitical spiritualism, militancy, and radicalism. Because of this broad scope and renaissance, revivalism, Islamism, and fundamentalism are often used interchangeably in political thought literature.[33]

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[26] Mathis Daven, "*Memahami Pemikiran Ideologis Dalam Islamisme Radikal/ Understanding Ideological Thought In Radical Islamisme,* hlm. 33"

[27] Norhaidi Hasan, *Islam Politik Di Dunia Kontemporer, Konsep, Genologi, Dan Teori,* hlm. 3-5.

[28] Olivier Roy, *Gagalnya Islam Politik, Terj, Harimurti & Qamaruddin SF,* hlm 186.

[29] M. Imdadun Rahmat, *Arus Baru Islam Radikal, Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah Ke Indonesia* (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007) hlm. 17-20.

[30] Zulfandi, "*Konteksasi Ormas Islamis Di Indonesia*, hlm. 74-75"

[31] Abu Bakar MS, "Fundamentalisme Agama-Agama, Sebuah Perspektif Historis," *Jurnal Toleransi: Media Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 10, no. 1 (2018): hlm. 27.

[32] Olivier Roy, "The Transformation of The Arab World," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 3 (2012): hlm. 12.

[33] Zulfandi, "*Konteksasi Ormas Islamis Di Indonesia*, hlm. 75"

The Shift of Islamism to Neo-fundamentalism Ideology

During the 1980s, political Islamism shifted towards "neofundamentalism" The militants who previously fought for the Islamic revolution are now involved in re-Islamization from below. They preach so that people return to practicing Islam. This process is still ongoing until now in several regions; it has strengthened to become a significant trend. Being seen from a political perspective, especially the motivation that drives it, is that in Islam, there is no distinction between religious and political communities. Any religious protest easily turns into a political movement.[34] There is no clear separation between Islamism and neo-fundamentalism. This shift encompassed all Islamist movements except for a handful of revolutionary groups, such as the Shiites, who changed their strategy piecemeal, rediscovering the puritanical inspiration of formalism that had always been alive among their founders, such as Hasan al-Banna. Islamism is a moment, a fragile blend of Islam and political modernity, which in the end, never takes root. This neo-fundamentalism rejects Western values far more than political Islamism, which is fascinated by modernity.[35]

Olivier Roy distinguishes between traditional and modern Islamic fundamentalism. Orthodox fundamentalism is characterized by the strength of the clerical clergy or oligarchs in interpreting Islam, especially Shia. Shia Islam gives enormous authority to the church to interpret religious doctrines. Traditional fundamentalism considers the clergy and political rulers to be two different etiquettes. Spiritual matters were in the hands of the clergy, while the state was in the hands of the secular figure of the president, the king.

A strong orientation characterizes modern Fundamentalism or Neofundamentalism to politics by making Islam an ideology. Islam is not understood as a religion that contains doctrines about rituals but is interpreted as an ideology confronted with modern ideologies such as capitalism, liberalism, or socialism. Roy identifies Islamism as a more recent form of neo-fundamentalism. Knowledge is divine and religious, so chemists, engineers, engineers, economists, and lawyers are scholars.[36] So there is anti-clericalism among modern Islamic fundamentalists, although clerical oligarchy also characterizes other fundamentalisms as before.

Fundamentalism is a response to the challenges caused by modernization, which aims to offer Islamic ideology to the modern secular world. Islam is used as an alternative to modern ideologies, such as liberalism, Marxism, and nationalism. Because fundamentalism is not a religious movement. But more than that is a political movement that fights for a state system based on Islam. It is understandable why most fundamentalist leaders are intellectuals without a systematic education in Islamic studies. In other words, they are not theologians but social thinkers and political activists. This is seen especially in the tradition of Sunni fundamentalism.[37]

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[34] Sartono Kartodirjo, *Modern Indonesia, Tradition and Transformation* (Yogyakarta: Gajdah Mada University Press, 1984) hlm. 211.

[35] Olivier Roy, *Gagalnya Islam Politik, Terj, Harimurti & Qamaruddin SF,* hlm. 97.

[36] Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam,* hlm. 75.

[37] Ahamad Nur Fuad, "Interrelasi Fundamentalisme Dan Otoritas Ideologi Gerakan Islam Kontemporer," *Jurnal ISLAMICA* 2, no. 1 (2017): hlm. 20.

Even though Neofundamentalism is a minority group in the Islamic world, they enjoy and play a significant political role in many Muslim countries. For neo-fundamentalism, the Islamic state is an ideological state whose domain covers all human life. The Islamic State controls social, political, economic, and cultural relations, and the form must be based on Islamic law or sharia.

The orientation and strategy of the new fundamentalist group are to dominate society through social action. Far from revolutionary, neo-fundamentalism has entered civil society and political classes. Even though the character of revolution has disappeared, Islamic symbols have seeped into culture and political discourse. The withdrawal of Islamic fundamentalists from politics is accompanied by the rise of Islam as a social and moral phenomenon. Neo-fundamentalism seeks to re-Islamize society at the grassroots level and no longer through the state. Consistent with what fundamentalists believe. Suppose Islamic civilization must be renewed. The fundamentalists of this model direct their struggle to the birth of Islamic society and Islamized space.[38]

This shift is seen as a symbol of the failure of Islamic fundamentalism in politics, resulting in a change in thought and movement. The intellectual quality of fundamentalism has declined, and political activism has decreased. Neo-fundamentalism emphasizes autonomous Islamized space and individual good Faith without the need to involve themselves in political struggles painstakingly.[39] Indeed, the goal of seizing power is not abandoned, as seen in the Islamic Salvation Front movements in Algeria or Hizbi Islami in Afghanistan. However, the revolutionary ideological project to change society has now been replaced by plans for implementing the Shari'a and moral cleansing. At the same time, the political, economic, and social fields must be faced with rhetoric. Women are not allowed to participate in political life. Islamism replaces state discourse with societal discourse. This is the model of the FIS movement in Algeria, which, when they gain power, will change morals, not economics or political functions.

Internal and external factors determine this evolution, first, its position within Islamism itself, purely political actions on morality reform; second, the loss of the Iranian model; third, the failure of terrorist or revolutionary efforts; fourth, the wearing of Islamic symbols by the state, while conservative states such as Saudi Arabia are beginning to finance and thereby dominate networks of Islamism by trying to influence their activities and ideology towards a more conservative neo-fundamentalism.

Neo-fundamentalist movements continue defending the ideals of Islamism and millennialism and demanding social justice. However, the idea that applying a unified Islam will guarantee the upholding of justice and the birth of a perfect society still impresses revolutionary thinking. Such a thing does not exist in the legalism and handling of evasion by the mullahs of fundamentalism. If circumstances permit, neo-

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[38] Olivier Roy, *The Failure of Political Islam,* hlm. 90-93.
[39] Ahamad Nur Fuad, "Interrelasi Fundamentalisme Dan Otoritas Ideologi Gerakan Islam Kontemporer, hlm. 23."

fundamentalist movements advance with their flag in the political arena by forming parties and running for government posts. This attitude is contrary to pure fundamentalism or movements that surrender to God's will, such as the association of scholars or the Tablighi congregation.

In the 1980s, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood took part in political elections and succeeded in placing several of their representatives in government positions. In Tunisia, in 1989, the Islamic tendency movement, which became the Nahdah party, attempted to reposition itself within the official political system, despite fierce resistance from government circles. However, in 1991 the strategy of infiltrating the political scene suffered a setback, the suppression of the FIS in Algeria and the Nahdhah party in Tunisia, and the formation of a cabinet in Jordan that involved the Ikhwan al-Muslimin. This setback was also the result of the Gulf war, in which Islamists generally supported Saddam Husayn and threatened the peace process with Israel.

The growing themes of Islamism and neo-fundamentalism among modern professionals also stand out. The basis of neo-fundamentalism combines Islamism (intellectuals with modern education who have experienced a decline in social status, the new urban era) and traditional fundamentalism (merchants, lower middle class). Neo-fundamentalism maintains the idea of dealing with the whole of society, which is taken from the ideology of Islamists. Neo-fundamentalists are obsessed with the bad influence of Western culture, unlike Islamists, who are not fascinated by modernity or Western political and economic models. Body language and fashion pins reimagined. While Islamists do not hesitate to dress in a European style, as long as the clothing is Islamic (such as scarves and raincoats for women), neo-fundamentalists prefer traditional clothing. The difference is also striking between the leader of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Umar al-Talmasani, and Syekh Madani, the leader of the Islamic Salvation Front movement, who always appears wearing only a long-sleeved shirt, oversized trousers, and a hajj skullcap. If Islamists try to create a precise blend of compromises between modernity and Islam, neo-fundamentalists reject them.

The striking difference between Islamism and neo-fundamentalism is in terms of the status of women. If previously there were female militants, now there are no Neofundamentalist militant women. Women's organizations, the Islamic Salvation Front, are known to be quiet. Only men appeared in demonstrations and mosques. According to Khomeini, the Islamic Salvation Front opposes women's right to work, and a request is very clear. Neo-fundamentalism conservatism is visible. Many foreign women, doctors, and journalists, who the Islamists of Afghanistan and Iran accept, are declared persona non-gate. However, neo-fundamentalists put pressure on women by limiting the right to vote for women.

The spread of the themes of Islamism through various social circles has diversified the figures of neo-fundamentalist militants. In neo-fundamentalism circles, new groups of mullahs, imams, and other sheiks are replaced by political militants. The difference is they raised themselves. The Islamist discourse was abandoned and replaced by a self-approved form of da'wah. The image of the mullah began to acquire positive connotations again, even though official training centers were not recognized

at the time. The mosque is not only a contested area in the political struggle between neo-fundamentalists and the state but also between the various associations themselves.[40]

Conclusion

This shift Neo-fundamentalism seen as a symbol of the failure of Islamic fundamentalism in politics, resulting in a change in thought and movement. The intellectual quality of fundamentalism has declined, and political activism has decreased. Islamism's fading into neo-fundamentalism is not a geostrategic factor; it will neither unite the Muslim world nor change the balance of power in the Middle East. Political Islamism has experienced a shift into Neo-fundamentalism since the 1980s. Militant Islamist groups that previously fought for Islamic revolution began to immediately engage in re-Islamization from below, preaching the need to increase the practice of worship and campaign for the enforcement of sharia through its puritanical and formalist approach. The Algerian Islamic salvation front *(Front Islamique du Salut, FIS)* movement and the Algerian government's national liberation front (*Front de Liberation Nationale*, *FLN*) party use third-world discourse, anti-Western, single-party forms, and the same patriarchal practices. Thus, Islamism is more of a sociocultural movement, a form of protest and disillusionment of the younger generation that is not socially or politically integrated.

Today's Islamist movements, such as the Islamic salvation front in Algeria, do not offer a new model of society. By failing to confirm a reassuring return to Islam, this Islamist movement primarily reflects the failure of the western-style state, imported and commanded by single ruling parties and patronage networks. Islamism has no specific concrete, let alone political or economic capital. When Islamism comes to power, it will systematize various Islamic policies from above. Islamism does not provide a conceptual tool for considering one's socio-political reality. That's why it becomes neo-fundamentalism.

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