

The Birth of New Islamic Culture of University of Indonesia Students: The Influence of Tarbiyah Movement 1989-1998

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Abstract: This paper discusses the birth of a new Islamic culture towards University of Indonesia students as a result of the influence of Tarbiyah movement in the period 1989-1998. At the University of Indonesia, the Tarbiyah movement, originally known as the dakwah campus movement, has moved further into campus politics. Using historical methods, data collected from various sources concluded that the Tarbiyah movement contributed greatly to instilling Islamic values within the University of Indonesia student movement. The planting of Islamic values was made easier after Tarbiyah activists controlled the student senate. The values embedded by the Tarbiyah movement, derived from the proliferation of halaqah (mentoring) in musholla or mosques on campus, religious mentoring activities for new students, and the large number of students who look syar'i. The existence of this research will add new varieties of study on Tarbiyah Movement. Previously, the study of Tarbiyah was only about the entry of the movement to Indonesia until its transformation into a political party. However, this paper specifically discloses the effects and impacts caused by the development of the Tarbiyah movement within the University of Indonesia.

1 INTRODUCTION

The presence of Tarbiyah movement inside campus has been a phenomenon that often gets the spotlight. Tarbiyah movement itself is a movement that adopts the pattern of Muslim Brotherhood Tarbiyah in Egypt in terms of mentoring. The existence of Tarbiyah movement on campus is often associated with student figures who occupy strategic positions in student organizations. At the University of Indonesia (UI), which became one of the campuses with the activity of the Tarbiyah movement, many Tarbiyah activists emerged into campus politics in the 90s. Tarbiyah activists, such as Zulkiflimansyah and Mustafa Kamal, won the student senate election, both at university and faculty level (Machmudi, 2008: 2). The victory of Tarbiyah activists made the student government under the control of Tarbiyah. The situation then brought a new era in the student movement UI, in terms of politics and religion.

Tarbiyah movement has the activity of forming, teaching, and instilling Islamic values to the community as the object of da'wah. With these activities, from the beginning of its appearance to the present, Tarbiyah movement successfully dominated

the student movement at UI. Since the beginning of the UI Student Senate (SM UI), the candidates from Tarbiyah have always been the winners (Damanik, 2002).

According to Kamarudin (2017) the dominance of Tarbiyah in SM UI then continues with winning almost every senate election in UI. The victory then made the Tarbiyah movement has an influence in senate activity or policy. One of them is the policy in making orientation regulation and introduction of campus (ospek). No more acts of seniority, and more time for worship.

Based on the above circumstances, it becomes interesting to discuss further how the Tarbiyah movement brought a new Islamic culture in the University of Indonesia students from 1989-1998. 1989 is the beginning of the discussion because in that year was formed Forum of Islamic Studies FISIP UI (FSI FISIP UI). The formation of FSI FISIP UI is the beginning of opening one of the spreading of thought of Tarbiyah movement in campus. Meanwhile, 1998 was chosen to be the limit of discussion because Indonesia has entered into a new chapter in the history of its government after a long time under the New Order, the era of Reformasi. In the era of the

Reformasi, the tap of democracy was so profusely flowing. This then becomes one of the factors of the movement Tarbiyah transformed into a political party, the Justice Party (PK).

In reality, the study of the Tarbiyah movement in Indonesia has been widely written in various books and research journals. Among these works include, dissertations from Machmudi (2008); Damanik's book (2002); Muthohirin's book (2014); And Journal of Latif (2005). The works generally discuss the entry of the Tarbiyah movement to Indonesia until its transformation into Justice Party (PK). From these studies, this research will raise something different and more specific, the birth of a new culture of Islamic students at the University of Indonesia as a result of the influence of the Tarbiyah movement in the period 1989-1998.

2 RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses historical method. Historical research begins with the process of finding sources related to the discussion. Then the authors conducted interviews with the student activists contemporaneous with the period of discussion to produce a valid and comprehensive research. The activists are those who work in the field of student senate and campus dakwah institutions, such as Kamarudin, Selamat Nurdin, Rama Pratama, Andi Aziz, and others. To enrich the primary data, studies of literature from various sources such as scientific journals, books, newspapers, magazines and archives were also conducted. Source obtained then processed with qualitative approach. Analysis of the source produces valid data after the reduction. Valid data is then interpreted by associating with understanding the contexts of the discussion period. After that, the writing uses a historical approach.

3 FROM POLITICS TO DAKWAH ISLAMIYAH

The Tarbiyah movement entered Indonesia in the 1980s and grew rapidly in the 1990s. The movement grew after many Middle Eastern graduate students returned to Indonesia. They become new *dai* and spread their influence into society. On the one hand, the repressive attitude of the New Order regime made the Tarbiyah movement subsequently become an activity which many students were interested in after its previous movement received repression. Students

are considered to disrupt the political stability of the country because of the many protests to the New Order government.

In the UI, Tarbiyah movement as a propagation movement entered and developed due to two factors, internal and external factors. The internal factor is the emptiness that occurs in the student movement and the marginalized Islamic atmosphere within the campus. Meanwhile, external factors are the policies of the New Order government, DDII *da'wah* agenda, and the presence of alumni from the Middle East.

The emptiness in the UI student movement was due to the policy of P & K minister, Daoed Jusuf who forbade political students, one of them by abolishing the Student Council (Dema). Following the issuance of the Student Council freeze decree, the Minister of Education and Culture (P & K) Daoed Jusuf issued Decree No.0156 / U / 1978 on Normalization of Campus Life (NKK). In SK NKK, the university rectors are assigned as the highest responsible persons in their respective campuses to implement the concept. It can be interpreted also that the government gives power to the rector and the vice rector to determine student activities. In the concept of NKK, students are not allowed to form student organizations as a means of raising solidarity and publications of students in conducting protests against government authorities (Hariyadhie, 1995: 132). The NKK policy is considered to have killed student political activity. Student Council was banned, while the government only allows the establishment of Faculty Student Senate (SMF) and the Faculty Student Representative Body (BPMF) (Hariyadhie, 1995: 40).

On the other hand, Islam, which is widely embraced by many UI students, feels marginalized. This can be seen from the lack of proper means of worship at that time as well as the lack of time allocated to perform the prayers during student activities such as orientation and others so that they must hide or pray in the shadow of fear. The situation then raises the spirit among Muslim students to awaken Islamic values on campus. Moreover, after the student movement experienced a vacuum, Islamic activity becomes an option other than study groups and NGOs for students.

The rapid growth of Islamic activity on UI campus is inseparable from the new path taken by DDII after the New Order bans the political Islam groups. The new path develops *da'wah* in some objects, such as groups of students who become special objects. *Da'wah* was conducted by building a mosque and providing *dai(s)* after being educated and equipped by DDII. Among the *dai* there are groups that are graduates of the Middle East. According Sholihin (2016), among students who returned to Indonesia at that time, among others, Hidayat Nurwahid and Salim Assegaf.

Table 1: Number of Indonesian Students in Cairo

Year	Number of Students
1953	80
1982 – 1983	415
1987	730
1993	±1000

Source: Al Azhar, Eccel (1984), dan Majma' Al Buthuth Al Islamiyah in Mona Abaza, p. 96

The existence of Middle Eastern graduates is closely correlated with the DDII program that provides scholarships to the Middle East for Indonesian youths. In the Middle East, much thought and learning was absorbed, as *Ikhwanul Muslimin's* thought developed in Egypt. The thinking was internalized in the minds of Indonesian students and was applied and developed as they returned to Indonesia. Among these ideas, the Tarbiyah method was applied by students from the Middle East (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*).

The Tarbiyah method is the development of halaqah activities. Halaqah are small groups of five to 15 members (*mutarabbi*). The group is guided by a *murabbi* (male) and *murabbiyah* (female) (Munandar, 2011: 179). Halaqah is held once a week at the house of *murrabi*, *mutarrabi*, or mosque and musholla. The Tarbiyah material is taken from Rasymul Bayan, which consists of 99 schemes and is divided into several chapters or titles. Among the titles are the meaning of two sentences of the *shahada*, knowing God, knowing Prophets, knowing Islam, knowing people, knowing the Quran, war of thought, satanic groups, da'wah problems, truth and ignorance, formation of *ummah*, education and Islamic formation, and Understanding of da'wah. The doctrine given to halaqah itself is more concerned with acceptance of the substance of Islamic values itself.

In the early 1990s, Tarbiyah became a popular movement in Indonesia. At the University of Indonesia, the Tarbiyah movement developed along with the development of Islamic study groups such as the Islamic Studies Forum (FSI) FISIP, Islamic Studies Forum (FSI) Faculty of Economics UI, Forum of Charity and Islamic Studies (FORMASI) Faculty of Letters, Musholla Izzatul Islam (MII) FMIPA, Forum Ukhwah and Islamic Studies (FUSI FT), Senantiasa Ramah dan Bernuansa Islami (SERAMBI) Faculty of Law, and others. On the other hand, the emergence of Integrative Islamic Integrated Studies (ISTI) in 1983 became the glue of Campus Dakwah Activists (ADK) from each faculty at UI. ISTI also provides methods and teachings inspired by the Tarbiyah Ikhwanul Muslimin method so that the

pattern develops among UI students. At the University of Indonesia itself, the term Tarbiyah applies to those who are active in the study group. Meanwhile, ADK itself is the official name intended for every Islamic activist, not only Tarbiyah.

4 THE STRENGTH OF NETWORKS OF CAMPUS DA'WAH ACTIVISTS

Before entering the 1990s, Islam as a religion professed by the majority of students UI looks marginalized. Access for UI Muslim students to worship was not open. When UI was still in Rawamangun, there was no proper prayer and water ablution. The situation at that time coupled with the rules given by the orientation committee to the new students. New Muslim students are rarely given time to hold prayers. Seniority also became commonplace when the orientation process took place. Student orientation tends to run repressively and interactions between new committees and students are placed unequally. These conditions make those who are active in campus Islamic activities (such as the ADK who actively follow the Tarbiyah), are moved to change the bad tradition. To that end, the way that Tarbiyah activists pursued is to become a leader in SM UI so they have the authority to make new policies related to the orientation process and make Islam no longer marginalized. In addition, Tarbiyah activists also want an equal position between new and old students.

Based on Nurdin (2017), the road to the highest seat of SM UI begins with a forum of friendship of Islamic student activists. The forum was formed from an inter-LDK Islamic art event that then triggered them to interact and gather. *Silaturahim* forum was useful to unify the views of the students about Islam.

On the one hand, in 1992 there was solidarity among the ADKs to fight for Bosnia Herzegovina people who were undergoing crimes against humanity. Coinciding with the existence of the Bosnian national football team that is currently in Indonesia, FSI FISIP UI who initiated the solidarity action seeks to invite them to attend the event that has been planned to conduct dialogue and provide support. The event of solidarity for Bosnia held at Balairung UI also invites the ADK from all faculties in UI (Interview with Kamarudin, 2017).

However, before the event was held, the UI Rectorate suddenly banned the event. The committee of FSI still took the initiative to organize the event,

but off campus. The planned event was subsequently succeeded and then brought out the solidarity and empathy among those present at the event and the meetings between them continued afterwards. Until finally, coinciding with the news UI election, it becomes a moment for the activists Tarbiyah to win the election, organized, and participate in campus politics. Through the assembly of *syuro*, one of the Tarbiyah activists was chosen to step forward to become the chairman of SM UI. It becomes an opportunity for Tarbiyah activists to achieve their goal, which is to spread goodness on campus. For that, the activists Tarbiyah Zulkiflimansyah filed as a candidate for the chairman. The election is a strategy of the Tarbiyah movement in winning the election, which presents candidate who is bright in terms of academic and achievement so hopefully will be able to attract a lot of votes.

The network of Tarbiyah cadres on UI campus was very strong after the Bosnian solidarity event in 1992. With the support of the network, Zulkiflimansyah was finally elected as the winner and became the first UI student senate chairman from ADK from Tarbiyah (Interview with Kamarudin, 2017). The election of Zulkiflimansyah marked the birth of a new era of Tarbiyah activist leadership in higher student affairs at UI campus. In further development, the Tarbiyah movement further strengthened its dominance on the UI campus. In its dominance, Tarbiyah activists have a pattern of policy or movement that intersect with the principles adhered to in the Tarbiyah movement.

5 THE SHIFTING OF ISLAMIC CULTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA STUDENT MOVEMENT

In 1992, the Tarbiyah movement issued "blue print" for *da'wah* campus (BPKD) in response to the rise of the College Student Senate (SMPT). The contents discuss the general guidelines of management of activities, the nature, function, and objectives of campus dakwah management. In 1994, BPKD was replaced by the Campus *Da'wah* Guidance to respond to campus *da'wah* in formal institutions. Form of implementation of the Guidance of Campus *Da'wah* is the start of the movement of Tarbiyah in the contestation of SM UI head presidents after the previous years they have been included in the management of SMF-SMF (Rizkiandi2016: 110 - 111). In the first election in 1994 until the

transformation of SM UI into BEM UI, candidates from Tarbiyah always won the election.

Based on the agreement between UI rectorate and students about the concept of SMPT in 1991, the election will be held in 1994. At the time of three years, UI has a student senate body led by Candra Hamzah (Faculty of Law) as daily chairman and Firdhaus Arthony (Faculty of Medicine) as chairman. The existence of SM UI becomes a longing remedy for student organizations that aspire after the dissolution of the Student Council. The students involved in it are trying to hold the election of the head of SM UI. Elections are considered to be the way toward a more democratic student organization leadership. Among the student figures involved election initiatives include Candra Hamzah and Eman Suleman.

In 1994, the elections were actually implemented. A new round of UI student organization that is more democratic can be seen from the holding of the election of the chairman of SM UI 1994, because the head of SM UI was chosen by UI students. The influence of Tarbiyah movement was then seen in the activities undertaken by student senate activists. These influences, in reality, differ from each other in each period of leadership.

The selection of SM UI 1994 became a moment for the student movement that joined in *da'wah* institution, especially Tarbiyah. They are determined to participate and win the election of SM UI at that time. The reason for this aspiration is the desire to form a better student movement by not excluding the previously marginalized religious values. In an attempt to win the election, Tarbiyah activists have previously formed a solid network of Islamic events they undertake. Through the strong network, ADK negotiates to support one candidate, Zulkiflimansyah.

Zulkiflimansyah then succeeded to become Chief of Daily SM UI based on election results. Success at that time was due to the solidity of Tarbiyah network and the popularity of candidates who had previously been active in mosque activities, such as being preacher or participating in the study. Success proved that the Tarbiyah were no longer apathetic to the student movements in the campus.

The new era of student movement in UI, marked by changes brought by Tarbiyah activists. Tarbiyah groups on campus want to change the method of orientation of new students. Therefore, when Tarbiyah controlled SM UI, they get the authority to suppress the orientation committee in order to allow the new students to practice religious activities during the orientation. In addition, the seniority presented to

new students should be reduced and replaced with respect for each other (Interview with Nurdin, 2017).

In reality, the student who became a Tarbiyah activist at the time had a comparative advantage over the other group, that is, the strength of his network. After the period of Zulkiflimansyah's leadership ended, the students who are members of the Tarbiyah movement then re-negotiate the candidates that will be promoted in the leader of SM UI. Then Kamarudin (FISIP UI 1990), elected by the Tarbiyah group, was willing to attend the 1995 election (Interview with Nurdin, 2017). Supported by a strong network of Tarbiyah students, Kamarudin finally won an absolute victory over Indra Jaya Piliang (Interview with Kamarudin, 2017). Thus, Kamarudin succeeded in becoming the second Chief of Daily SM UI leading in the period 1995 - 1996.

In Kamarudin's leadership, the big theme that was brought in the senate stewardship was the consolidation of the Student Senate network throughout Indonesia. SM UI at that time also focus on international issues, such as the case of Bosnia Herzegovina, Palestine, and others. The selection of the issue in addition to it is a case of gross human rights violations as well as to avoid the repression of the New Order regime. (Interview with Kamarudin, 2017).

The background of the chairman of SM UI which is from the Tarbiyah, brought its own impact in the activities of the senate at that time. The influence of Tarbiyah movement in the body of SM UI at that time can be classified into two, namely:

1. Influence in policies
 - a. Alignment of the oppressed, like the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Palestine. At that time, the actions in defending the Palestinians began to be massive.
 - b. Education. Related to this, the embodiment of the Spiritualism of Islam (*rohish*) and Spiritualism of Christian (*rokris*) into Student Activity Unit (UKM);
 - c. Rejection of Corruption.
2. Influence on daily activities
 - a. Prayer in congregation and on time;
 - b. Holding a seven-minute lecture (*kultum*) before praying;
 - c. No meeting participants should smoke during meetings.

In the third year of election, Tarbiyah group back to carry the candidate, namely Selamat Nurdin. He was a student of FISIP UI who previously was the chairman of SM FISIP UI. At that time, the Tarbiyah group had a tendency in choosing candidates based

on the candidate's track record in the organizational environment. Selection criteria are based on the student criticism against the two previous leadership, which was considered underperforming. Therefore, they chose candidate for chairman of SM UI that has a track record in a great organization. After being elected as the candidate for the chairman of SM UI from Tarbiyah, Selamat Nurdin must face another candidate from the Faculty of Engineering in winning the election.

In the election Selamat Nurdin said that there were dynamics. The opposing faction tries hard to win the assailant in various ways, one of them by bringing the ballot box to be surrounded. As a result, the opponent pair managed to win votes in the Faculty of Engineering. However, the opponent's victory at the Faculty of Engineering has not been able to balance the strong network of Tarbiyah in campus. Selamat Nurdin then able to win UI election in 1996.

In the leadership of Selamat Nurdin, the main issue developed is plurality. Student senate get used to manage the differences that existed among the senate. The parties who filled the senate were quite heterogeneous, not only from the Islamic community. Although the composition of SM UI was heterogeneous, the influence of the background of the senate chairman who was a Tarbiyah activist still existed. SM UI has programs affected by the Tarbiyah movement. According to Nurdin (2017), these programs are implemented in the following activities.

1. Help for poor students (caring for students). The aid is wrapped up in scholarship form. The program is a new program that has not existed in the previous SM UI stewardship.
2. Social work (*baksos*). The form of *baksos* activities conducted by SM UI when it is like building public toilets and doing counselling to the community.

In this period, the discourse to make Rohis and Rokris as Student Activity Unit began to be realized. Rohis then turned into Nuansa Islam Student UI (SALAM UI), while Rokris transformed into an Oikumene Guild (PO). Associated with SALAM UI, the name is taken from the Islamic student UI at that time. The emergence of SALAM UI then became a sign of the progress of Islamic activities among UI students. SALAM UI makes the group of Islamic students more freely implement Islamic activities. Islam has no longer marginalized in this period, it is an aspiration that has begun to be achieved

6 FROM THE ISLAMIC STUDIES GROUP TO CAMPUS *DA'WAH*

The increasing Islamic activity gave birth to two groups of Islamic students in the campus. The first is the group called the *pengajian* (study group). The teachings they did had similar patterns and methods to the Tarbiyah pattern of the Ikhwanul Muslimin. Therefore, they were then referred to as the Tarbiyah group. Meanwhile, there is a group called Spiritual Islam (*rohisi*). Spiritual groups are actively involved in the activities of faculty da'wah (LDK) or *Rohis* division in the student senate. Among the *Rohis* groups, some are members of the *pengajian* and some do not.

Table 2: Typical Characteristics of Students Following *Pengajian* or Tarbiyah

Aspect	<i>Ikhwan</i> (Male)	<i>Akhwat</i> (Female)
Physical	Beard (majority), Black fore (the majority), not wearing jeans (majority).	Long veiled and covered clothes
Non-physical	Read and study the thinking books of Ikhwanul Muslimin figures, such as Hassan Al Banna and Sayid Qutb	Read and study the thinking books of Ikhwanul Muslimin figures, such as Hassan Al Banna and Sayid Qutb
Behaviour	Good, polite, not smoking, not drinking.	Good, polite, not smoking, not drinking.

Source: Excerpted from interviews with several UI student activists (Eman Suleman and One of the Students of FH UI in the 90's)

In FE (Faculty of Economics) UI, Tarbiyah movement developed through ISTI activities that began appearing in 1983. Tarbiyah is a kind of movement that puts the unity of the ummah. Tarbiyah in FE became a field of confronting various Islamic ideologies, but one aim, to cultivate and build goodness. The activities of ISTI according to an interview with Andi Aziz (2016) are felt to provide new things that can build *ghirah* (spirit) among its members. The ISTI activity itself is a combination of leadership exercises and Islamic studies. In the activities of Islamic studies, often invited by figures of who are Middle East alumni, such as Hasyim Abdullah and figures from DDII, such as Husein Umar (Interview with Aziz, 2016).

To support the activities of Tarbiyah, modules were created which became a guide in learning. The module is the essence of the works of characters, such as Hassan Al Banna, Natsir, Maududi, Hashim Asyari, and so forth. The books are also sold in the market. (Interview with Aziz, 2016).

The Tarbiyah movement in FE also has a network with the Tarbiyah movement in other faculties in UI. With the network it is then easier for them in achieving its goals. The purpose of Tarbiyah itself is to create a civil environment that begins by placing its group in the reins of leadership in student organizations at UI. Armed with leadership material that is owned, many leaders are then born from FSI FE UI. These figures include the Zulkiflimansyah (Chairman of the Senate from 1994 to 1995) and Rama Pratama (Chairman of the Senate from 1994 to 1995).

Meanwhile, in FH UI, students who are members of the spirit are basically also members of HMI. However, they also in practice also can be called Tarbiyah. To maintain and improve the existing worship, available books of worship are sold in Masjid UI. The book is useful in recording the daily worship of FH spiritual activists who will be submitted to their mentors. The mentor who is basically a senior is also authorized to give material to his junior. The material given itself is the adoption of the material developed within the Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt.

The influence of Tarbiyah movement at that time also appeared in the Faculty of Psychology. According to the description of Peby Ellan Deningrat (2017), the influence of Tarbiyah movement in the Faculty of Psychology is much influenced by *akhwat* (Muslim women). This happens because students of the Faculty of Psychology are mostly women. The *akhwat* group is perceived to have a good method of approach towards each other in terms of inviting the good. The method given is able to invite the female *muslimah* in Faculty of Psychology to *berhijab* (wearing hijab) or follow the spirit, which then transformed into FUSI.

The *akhwat* who are active in the Tarbiyah movement in Psychology, were also active in following university-level *halaqah*. They are less actively involved in the activities organized by FUSI. However, they still have an important role in FUSI, both from the side of the cadre or the material contribution of da'wah. (Interview with Deningrat, 2017).

7 CONCLUSIONS

At the University of Indonesia, the appearance of Tarbiyah movement inspired by the Tarbiyah Ikhwanul Muslimin method has influenced UI student movement. The influence is seen in student activists who are involved in SM UI world and activities of faculty da'wah. First, the ospek method that previously characterized seniority began to be replaced, and religious mentoring also began to be massively implemented. The time to perform the worship was given. Then, in action policy, SM UI activists are fighting for the oppressed people, like the Palestinian people. Meanwhile, in the field of worship, regular prayers are held in congregation. In addition, also the first initiated scholarship assistance to underprivileged students. Meanwhile, in the issue of plurality, the issue is developed within the organization.

The influence of Tarbiyah movement also included in da'wah institution in some UI faculties. First, there are some leaders who have trained leadership skills and then plunged into the student movement at UI. Secondly, the development of Tarbiyah movement in some faculties enlivens Islamic activities such as *pengajian* or *halaqaah*. Third, with the Tarbiyah movement also influences the clothing and lifestyle of da'wah activists. From fashion style, Tarbiyah activists wear syar'i clothes. Meanwhile, for lifestyle, Tarbiyah activists do not smoke, drink alcohol, and do not perform other bad acts. Fourth, the presence of Tarbiyah in da'wah institutions, led to the development of thoughts of Ikhwanul Muslimin figures, such as Hassan Al Banna and Sayid Qutb. With these influences, the Tarbiyah Movement brings a new culture that tends to positively impact the student movement of UI. The Tarbiyah Movement has brought great contribution in instilling Islamic values towards the previously marginalized UI students

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Interview with Eman Suleman (Ketua Umum Senat Mahasiswa UI periode 1994—1995) pada 23 Maret 2017.

