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THE CONTESTATION BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE GROUP IN GAINING SYMPHATY FROM ISLAMIC COMMUNITY

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Abstract

The recent development of conservative ideology shows the response of society to the surrounding social, cultural, and political conditions. This is a new model of showing the enthusiasm of the community in carrying out their religious teachings. Yet, it can also be understood as a form of religious communities' failure in understanding their religious teachings. Apart from that, this is also about how the actions and group movements carried out by conservative and progressive groups respond to the social conditions mentioned earlier. The new Islamic mass organizations that have emerged recently generally reinforce the ideology of religious radicalism and extremism. They tend to dominate changes in social, religious, and political life in Indonesia, such as the expansion of aspirations for the formalization of Islamic law, rejecting Western ideology with its modernism, cleansing society's behavioral issues: drinking, immoral acts, and purifying Islamic teachings which are considered to have mixed with culture outside of Islam, as well as undermining Islamic tradition.

Keywords: Contestation, Conservative ideology, Progressive.

1. Introduction

Since radical Islamic groups gained momentum after the collapse of the Suharto regime (New Order) which was known to be authoritarian (Abaza, 1994), the spirit of showing the face of Islam with a radical pattern is getting stronger, with the result that the socio-religious

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conditions of society begin to be shifted. This is indicated by the emergence of various Islamic mass organizations (so-called ormas in Indonesian abbreviation), on a transnational, national, and local scale. They are persistent in voicing the appearance of Islam strictly the same as in the era of the Prophet. In addition, the presence of a number of these new Islamic organizations appeared aggressively, vocally and is able to compete with the initial Islamic organizations that had been born before, such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Tarbiyah Islamiyah Association (so-called Perti in Indonesian abbreviation), Islamic Association (so-called Persis in Indonesian abbreviation), Washliyah, and other Islamic organizations, in such a way that according to Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), mainstream Islamic organizations that had existed thus far began to sink.

The new Islamic mass organizations that have emerged recently generally reinforce the ideology of religious extremism. They tend to dominate changes in social, religious, and political life in Indonesia, such as the widespread aspirations of formalizing Islamic law and the strong desire to establish an Islamic state. In addition, the face of Islam has changed as well, which was initially friendly and tolerant then turned scary and militant (Madjid, 1995). This fact is proven by a number of incidents that have befallen Indonesia, such as the bombings in Bali, Solo, Jakarta and other places. It results in an unpleasant judgment of Islam (Madjid, 2005). Hence, according to (Noer, 2002), this has led to more and more terms being used, such as militant Islam, radical Islam, fundamental Islam, liberal Islam, extreme Islam, political Islam (as opposed to cultural Islam), exclusive Islam, substantive Islam, and many other terms (Jansen, 1980).

Since the end of the New Order government, the tolerant character attached to mainstream Indonesian Islam has been challenged. Along with the change of regime, religious face also underwent a change. Now various reports show the strengthening of intolerance among conservative Muslims towards individuals or groups that are considered deviant. With the result that the existence of various minority groups, especially among Muslims themselves, is questioned (Annual Report on Freedom of Religion and Belief 2016, Jakarta, 2016).

Based on the background above, this research is about the phenomenon of the rise of conservatism groups, and about ideological contestation between conservative and progressive group in gaining the sympathy of the Islamic community.

2. Review of Related Literature

1. Ideological Contestation

Ideological contestation at the theoretical level refers to; First, the basic norms, organizing principles and standard procedures; Second,

arbitration, deliberation, disputes, and justifications; Third, implementation of norms; Fourth, the validation cycle, social recognition, cultural validation. Ideological contestation can be understood as opposition to different viewpoints that have a clear purpose. Ideological contestation can be seen in several studies conducted by Made Kerta, "The Cultural Ideological Contest in Examination(Kerta Adhi, 2018). In this study it is explained that ideological contestation has entered the level of the national exam.

David Bourchier's research (Bourchier, 2019) entitled "Two Decades of Ideological Contestation in Indonesia: From Democratic Cosmopolitanism to National Religious". In this study, it is explained that the New Order has made Pancasila a framework for diversity. However, in the 2017 local election of Special Capital Region of Jakarta, the issue of religion came to the fore with identity politics narratives against Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or well-known as Ahok. Identity politics then gets resistance with the anti-thesis of rejecting identity politics. Ideological contestation is also contained in Abu Yazid's thesis (Tantowi, 2020), "Ideological Contestation in the Narrative of the Authority of Beliefs Between Nusantara Islam and Salafi on YouTube". The conclusion of this study is that ideological contestation in the narrative of faith between Nusantara Islam and Salafi in online media is real, this can be seen from the media in the form of audio visuals and graphics.

The emergence of ideological contestation is the implication of social, religious, and political polarization. In the Indonesian context, ideological contestation can take the form of organizational and political party interests which are then opposed and clashed with Pancasila, nationalism, democracy, feminism, militarism, and radical ideology. Meanwhile, ideological conflicts based on Islamic ideology can be seen from the struggle between Conservative Islam and Progressive Islam. This contest is in the range of studies between contextual studies and formal legal issues.

2. Conservatism

Conservative is an attitude or behavior that seeks to maintain a stable state under certain conditions, including habits and traditions that have been set. In a conservative concept, there is an understanding that applies to a role model that cannot be changed, and adheres to what already exists and does not want changes. Change is considered as a threat and can damage the existing order (Azhar, 1996).

Mochamad Nasichin (Al Muiz & Miftah, 2020) in his research "Conservative Approach in Islamic Education (Al Muhafidz Al-Gazali's Theory Study in Islamic Education)", found that the religious-conservative school or called the Al-Muhafidz approach has given meaning to knowledge in the presence of narrow meaning because in

this flow it is very inclined to use a pure religious attitude or understanding. Thus, in al-Gazali's educational approach, the relevance of education can solve the problems faced by society and need improvement according to the needs and developments of the times.

Meanwhile Yanwar Pribadi (Pribadi, 2021) in "The Rise of Islamic Conservatism: Identity Politics and a Portrait of Democracy in Indonesia" concludes that Islam in Indonesia has been able to balance itself between being the majority religion on the one hand and being tolerant and inclusive in a multi-religious country, according to norms and democracy on the other hand. Islamic conservatism is influenced by political and socio-economic developments in Indonesia in the future, that conservative Islamic groups have developed rapidly, not only using religion as a vehicle, but also developing their political views in determining political choices for the leaders to be elected.

Islamic conservatism has been developed due to the political atmosphere after the collapse of the New Order, so that Muslims are open in making interpretations of Islam without having to follow mainstream Islamic groups. And Islamic conservatism also emerges because Indonesia is undergoing a democratization that is still ongoing. Hence, in this case, Islamic conservatism can be viewed from two sides; on the one hand as an enemy to moderate Islamic groups, but on the other hand it must be seen as a dialogue partner to determine the future direction of Indonesian democracy, in such a manner this group will assist the movement of Islamic politics going forward.

3. Progressivism

Progressivism is identified with movements in the field of education, human beings throughout their history have created culture and civilization as a result of the advancement of science. Progressivism is also seen as a way of thinking that has a forward-looking perspective. Everything that happens behind is a form of records that can be studied and used for future progress. In this case, humans have the freedom for human progress themselves (Mualifah, 2013).

Progressivism also identifies the development of the existing environment; it is not static but always changes. The changes are the result of human ability to learn many things and try to anticipate things that will happen in the future, even though the results can be positive or negative, these conditions will be used by progressive people to bring success in the future.

Human ability to make changes is a form of experimentation carried out, so that they are able to find solutions to the existing problems and are able to find alternatives to solve them. In terms of knowledge, progressive values can distinguish between knowledge and truth.

Knowledge is a collection of experiences that become a guide for use, and truth is a certain result of an effort to know and direct, so that knowledge can solve problems in certain situations.

3. Method

This paper focuses on the efforts made by two growing religious groups in order to gain public sympathy. Thus far, there has been no research that really pays attention to how such groups compete each other to get sympathy or followers in order to become more dominant. In the data collection method, in-depth interviews were conducted related to the topics discussed. The interviewees were the competent people in this area of study. Apart from that, literature was also collected concerning research issues, namely the development and spread of conservative views, public acceptance of conservative views, and the struggle for influence in political, economic, and cultural activities.

This research is qualitative research by which in-depth interviews were used as the instrument. The data collection process used 3 data collection methods: desk-review of written sources, observation of the struggle for influence of conservative groups in society, and in-depth interviews with 10 informants. Desk-review was used to map discourse related to the issues studied as the basis for interviews. Observations were made to complete the mapping. Observations were more directed at mapping process that took place in practice (issues). In-depth interviews were intended to obtain a philosophical basis and reasoning on practice. The interviews (in-depth interviews) were intended to obtain a philosophical basis and reasoning for the struggle for influence from the two Islamic religious groups in matters of politics, economics, and culture. Informants in this study were figures from conservative and progressive groups, as well as Islamic society members who have become part of the two groups that were 10 people in total.

The data analysis process went through 3 stages, as defined by Miles and Haberman (2018), the first stage is data reduction, then data display, and the last is data verification. The three stages of analysis are intended to change the data to be more meaningful. Those stages of the analysis are expected to obtain an analytical understanding of the research problem. Data reduction was carried out referring to research questions followed by thematic sorting of the collected data. Data display was done with (cross) tables, graphs, and interview excerpts. Data verification as an analysis stage was carried out by comparison techniques and data contextualization. The data were returned to the social context to gain meaning from the data.

4. Result

1. The development and spread of conservative ideology

The rise of Indonesian Islamic conservatives has been on the agenda of study among Indonesianists in recent years. Some of them call this symptom or phenomenon as conservative turn or turning conservative.

Such perceptions of the phenomenon of the rise of Islamic conservatism may reflect prejudice and bias against Islam and at the same time Indonesian Muslims; although there are also many Indonesian Muslims who have such perceptions. With a good attitude, perhaps these prejudices and biases result from lack of adequate knowledge about the dynamics of Indonesian Islam with its great quantity of Muslims. The desire to realize an Islamic-based state ideology, the emergence of sharia regional regulations, and Islamic organizations that exist are the face of strong Islamic conservatism in Indonesia, this can be seen from the table below.

Table 1 Islamic conservatism in Indonesia

No	Activities	Result	Additional note
1	Survey conducted by Indonesian Presidential Studies (IPS) of UGM	- 90.6% of respondents agree/strongly agree that Pancasila is the state ideology - 63.5% of Pancasila is an ideology to create a religious Indonesia based on Islam - 26.6% of respondents rejected the second view	
2	The birth of Sharia Regional Regulations	- 24 Provinces in Indonesia issue regional sharia regulations - The emergence of 443 regional sharia regulations in Indonesia	
3	Radical Islamic Organizations	- FPI - MMI - Hizbut Tahrir	

Source: processed from research data

Table 1 shows that the desire to realize an Islamic-based state which indicates that Islamic conservative is quite strong. Based on data from IPS UGM, 63.5% of respondents want to make Indonesia a religious country based on Islam. Then more than 72% of provinces in Indonesia have issued regional sharia regulations. The emergence of regional

sharia regulations is also supported by political parties in the region in an effort to gain political support from the community.

The increasing number of new Islamic groups which are conservative Islam and post-reform Islamic hardliners, has contributed to the strengthening of religious conservatives in Indonesia. Another cause is the growth of religious enthusiasm along with the growing economy of middle-class Muslims and increasing religious conservatives in various parts of the world. As the interviews conducted with conservative group figures;

"That religious conservatives are caused by the strengthening of religious enthusiasm that goes hand in hand with the economic growth of middle-class Muslims, so that with their religious enthusiasm they are able to finance various dawah activities and mainstay programs that have been scheduled" (interview; Conservative Figure, 2018).

In response to this phenomenon, political actors have aligned themselves with conservative groups to gain votes in elections. As a consequence, conservative groups have become more active in pushing for policies that suit their interests. Among other characteristics of the conservative and progressive are the following:

Table 2 Conservative and Progressive Characteristics

No	Conservative	Progressive
1	Stick to traditions that have proven successful in the past. Tradition is the highest way of life, whether it is religious, cultural, or political traditions.	Taking the good side of tradition and the changes brought about by modernity
2	Adhere strictly to the scriptures or to the teachings, orthodoxy and traditions that are considered the most correct.	Contextualizing the teachings of the scriptures, taking the good side of tradition, and opening oneself up to modernity
3	Rejects the understanding, interpretation and renewal of religious thought and practice based on modern developments	Accommodating understanding, interpretation, renewal of thought, and practice of religion based on modern developments
4	Rejecting modern phenomena such as family planning, recommending having many children instead; or refusing child immunization; advocating the separation of men and women even between husband and wife at wedding parties.	That modernity is an integral part of Islamic teachings. There is no difference between men and women except in matters of spirituality.
5	They believe that only by returning to conservative	That religious understanding in Islam is not monolithic, but

	religious understanding and practice can they find the true meaning of religion.	always experiences development and change for the better, to respond to changing times.
6	Identity politics emerged with a strong religious nuance; being anti to certain religions and anti to the followers of certain religions.	Adheres to pluralism; recognize diversity and provide space for people/followers of other religions in human relations.
7	Increased halal or sharia-based lifestyle, even more politically oriented towards the establishment of a caliphate or *dawlah Islamiyah*	More concerned with substance, not just formality. Democracy with all its implementation is the substance of Islamic teachings.

Source: processed from research results

The table above provides information that the conservative group has the characteristics of being very strict in upholding traditions or turats, understanding religion or texts literally, wanting to apply Islamic teachings formally in life. Unlike the conservative groups, the progressive ones; having the characteristic of taking good traditions and combining them with modern values, contextualizing religious teachings and prioritizing substantive Islam.

The emergence of the conservative Islamic movement in Indonesia is not only a social, political, and theological phenomenon, but is an illustration of a failure to understand and interpret religion properly. This statement is in line with the opinion of Khaled Abou El Fadl, (Fadl, 2005) and Azyumardi Azra (Azra, 1996), that radical Islamic groups do not attempt to interpret history according to the context of the times that surround it. On the contrary, they wish to return history to the way it was before, without giving constructive criticism. Rigidity in understanding history also contributed to the emergence of radical movements. According to Robert Wuthnow, efforts to apply history that has passed as it is with the era after it is called rediscovery(Wuthnow, 1992).

2. Society's acceptance of conservatism

In accordance with the situation and conditions of the Indonesian people who adhere to the Ahlussunnah waljamaah fiqh view, the existence of conservative groups has a place in the hearts of the Islamic community, at the same time, with the jargon of maintaining religious originality, returning to the Al-Quran and Sunnah in the midst of ideological changes, that have undermined the existence of religion in traditional societies.

Islamic society's acceptance of conservatism can be described through: first; community participation in dawah activities carried out by conservative groups, usually about increasing religious motivation or spirit. Second: bil hal dawah activities. In fact, conservative groups

are very active in pushing for policies that suit their group's interests. This can be seen in the table below:

Table 3 Acceptance of Conservatism

No	Chategory	Percentage (%)
1.	Preferable treatment towards religious groups	9,2
2.	Public policy law	6,6
3.	Harassment of religious groups	8,5
4.	Violence and tension between religious groups	5,7
5.	Religious violence by organized groups	6,7

Source: processed from research data

From table 2 it can be seen that conservative Islamic groups encourage the implementation of Islamic ideology both normatively and illegally, for example in laws and general policies which are then implemented in the form of laws or regional regulations. The emergence of regional sharia regulations is a form of public acceptance of Islamic ideology and is also a form of local wisdom of the majority Muslim community.

The neglect of violence perpetrated by hard-line Islamic groups, for example; destroying places of worship of the Wahidiyah sect (2008); to persecute Ahmadiyah members; attacked the congregation of the Huria Christian Batak Protestant Church, Pondok Indah, Jakarta (2010); surrounded the Jatinagor Pentecostal Church; and more violence perpetrated by FPI. This is a symptom that society seems to accept the criminal acts committed by these hard-line Islamic groups.

Symptoms of increased conservativeness among adherents of each religion can be observed in the following examples. Certain religious circles are very aggressive in spreading their religion, recruiting adherents of their intra-religious religion and denominations. This aggressive party believes its denomination to be the only truth; therefore, followers of other religions or other denominations must be brought to the only path of salvation. There are also other religions that prohibit the use of certain languages, especially Sanskrit by adherents of other religions. Adherents of this religion, who show an increasing conservative belief, Sanskrit is the privilege of their religion, which adherents of other religions may not use.

3. The struggle for influence in political, economic, and cultural activities

According to Amalinda, the most visible impact of conservatives in the political sphere is the eroded diversity values and the increasing exclusivity of one group. Politics as an instrument for building togetherness and solidarity has been increasingly eroded. Politics becomes merely an instrument to defend the dominant group, not a tool to achieve something broader and oriented to the interests of the people. Conservative, in the sense of an attitude that only defends its

own group based on cultural values or a narrow identity, is nothing new in Indonesian politics.

Apart from these various terms with their respective scopes and connotations, religious conservatism rejects the understanding, interpretation, and renewal of religious thought and practice based on certain modern developments. Religious conservatives, for example, reject modern phenomena such as family planning, suggesting having many children instead; or refusing child immunization; advocating the separation of men and women even between husband and wife at wedding parties. With this view, supporters of religious conservatives believe they can win themselves in the face of rapid and widespread social, cultural, economic, and political changes that make religious adherents lose their faith. They believe that only by returning to conservative religious understanding and practice can they find the true meaning of religion.

Globally, the rise of religious conservatism is also a response and reaction to various phenomena that society in general continues to face. In developed countries, especially the United States and several European countries, the rise of religious conservatives is mostly related to economic difficulties and political crises.

Facing this difficult situation, the public and right-wing politicians have taken a conservative religious path. This symptom at the extreme spectrum often appears in the form of religious fundamentalism, which in its development is used to realize certain religious-political agendas. It is in this development that identity politics emerges which is very thick with religious nuances; being anti to certain religions and anti to followers of certain religions. This symptom of identity politics is evident in the anti-Islam and anti-Muslim attitudes among politicians and certain groups of people in a number of European countries and the US.

Meanwhile, in developing countries or even still underdeveloped ones in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, religious conservatives emerge among the people because they see the failure of modernity, secularism, development, and globality from their respective governments. No less important, also because they view the failure of the state in improving the quality of life and welfare of its citizens.

Apart from that, they also saw the increasing adoption of lifestyles rejected by modernity such as polygamy and increasing halal or sharia-based lifestyles, even those who are more politically oriented towards the establishment of a caliphate or dawlah Islamiyah. The rise of conservatism of religions adherents, or groups of people of various religions in Indonesia, is a very observable phenomenon, not only by experts, but even ordinary people. Once again, this phenomenon is most visible in adherents of Islam; and this is nothing but related to

demographic fact that the majority of Indonesia's population (according to the 2010 census, 87.18 percent) are Muslims.

It is important to emphasize that the phenomenon of the conservative awakening among Muslims is basically an integral part of the dynamics of Indonesian Islam as a whole, especially since the late 1970s. This dynamic can be referred to as "the increase in santrinization-becoming a santri by becoming a Muslim who practices Islamic teachings". Some Indonesianists, such as Professor M.C. Ricklefs, an expert on Indonesian history, especially Java, calls it Islamization. The phenomenon that the author calls as santrinization, in Java-and also in Indonesia as a whole-has been going on continuously and intensely for more than six centuries. It is certain that this process will continue today and in the future.

5. Discussion

1. The development and spread of conservative ideology

Based on research results, the spread of conservative views shows dominance in cyberspace;

Table 4 Conservative Domination in Cyberspace

No	Groups	Percentage
1	Conservative	67,2%
2	Moderate	22,2%
3	Liberal	6,1%
4	Islamist	4,3%

Source: processed from research results

The table above provides information that cyberspace is controlled/dominated by conservative Islamic groups; almost two-thirds of the total number of cyberspace sites are controlled by conservatives, followed by Moderates, Liberals and Islamists. Information about the reasons for using cyberspace was obtained from a number of key figures: the easiest way to spread the word is social media, just like salespeople, now switching to online sales, which were previously in stores. It is the same with the implementation of learning in schools and universities via Zoom (interview, Conservative Figure, 2018)

In closer observation and study, the rise of religious conservatism in Indonesia is not only related to Islam. Conservatism can be said to pervade all religions, in particular the six religions which are referred to as state-recognized religions or sometimes called state-served religions: Islam, Christianity (Protestantism), Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucianism.

The increasing feeling of honoring Islam occurs in the middle-class group of Muslims: discovering a new Islam and then joining

Transnational Islam. They developed the concept of hijrah; dress and behave like the companions of the Prophet; for example: wearing a robe, wearing a beard, cropped pants, leaving a job they consider not belonging to Islam, such as working in a conventional bank because it is considered usury. Besides that, adhering to beliefs and returning women to their position as domestic workers, serving their husbands and cannot participate in practical politics.

Conservatism is a common religious phenomenon that has been around for a long time. It will not last long and will not be able to change the face of Indonesian Islam. Indonesia is very lucky with the existence of Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah as religious organizations that can control various ideologies including conservatism which is the stage of seeking the spiritual life of religious communities.

In Indonesia, the development of conservative views emerged around the 17th century for two reasons; First, to fight bid'ah and superstition in order to return to the true teachings of Islam; Second, due to the unfavorable socio-political and economic conditions, the government did not respond properly to solve the problems. This conservative also arises due to the unwillingness of the development of modernity. The West is considered to have failed in managing the world, hence a new level is needed, namely Islamic politics.

In a conservative view, modernity is Western civilization which is considered to be detrimental to Muslims. Modernity is an attempt by the West to destroy Islam in terms of culture and civilization. This group also considers that modernity and rationality are very much against Islamic culture. Thus, this conservative understanding is more inclined to accept the Islamic political movement as one of the components of the rise of Islam in changing the order of both ideas and practices that are based on Islamic teachings.

2. Society's acceptance of conservative ideology

In the midst of increasing conservatism, political parties, politicians and political candidates are becoming more open to new Islamic groups because they want to be voted when they compete in elections, both legislative elections and regional head elections (so-called pilkada in Indonesian abbreviation), for instance, political parties, both those with secular and religious backgrounds, are increasingly recruiting religious figures such as kyai or their relatives as candidates for legislative and regional head candidates.

Indonesian politics is becoming increasingly conducive to the lobbying and voices of religious groups in government, so that their voices are getting bigger. One result that can be seen is the increasingly widespread regional sharia regulations issued by various regional governments. Although some regional sharia regulations regulate the

internal affairs of religion, many of them also contain elements of discrimination against religious minorities.

As expressed by a religious leader who is also a member of the legislature in West Sumatra:

"...the emergence of regional sharia regulations is a form of accommodation for local community values, these values are based on the philosophy of custom, that custom and religion complement each other, so that when we in the legislature propose regional sharia regulations, the community is very supportive. The implementation of regional sharia regulations is for Muslims, for non-Muslims this is only a suggestion…" (interview with religious figure/legislative member, February 10th 2019)

There is a debate that the birth of regional sharia regulations is considered as rules that regulate private areas, especially Muslims. This rule does not indicate general rules for society, and is only limited to certain tribes and religions. In this case, the majority group really accepts conservatism in an effort to strengthen religious values and traditions, but on the other hand it creates discrimination for minority groups. Hence, it is necessary to look deeper into whether regional sharia regulations are contrary to the public interest or not, so as not to create coercion for other groups.

The influence of religious conservatism in Indonesia also influences policy making in many government institutions. One example is the fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (so-called MUI in Indonesian abbreviation) which is increasingly becoming a reference in the Indonesian court system, especially in cases of blasphemy, even though fatwa is not actually a source of formal law. Another example, Law No. 33 of 2014 concerning guarantees for halal products which according to it is an intervention in the business world. This regulation obliges almost all business entities in Indonesia to obtain halal certificates from the MUI, including goods for which religion does not regulate halal status at all, such as electronic goods.

Islamic conservatism appears as an interpretation of religious teachings that are different or contrary to the prevailing traditions, so that the characteristics of this Islamic conservatism can be seen as; first, this group will struggle from the results of its interpretation in various ways; from persuasive criticism to anarchic decisive action; second, this group tends to be exclusive, introverted, and suspicious of other groups. Even if there is discussion, they tend to refute the arguments of the other group. Third, active in recruiting new members; Fourth, there is a serious effort to achieve safety life in the world and in the hereafter.

This understanding of conservatism then also puts forward that religious orientation views religion as relevant to all aspects of culture

and society, politics, economics, and law. The conservatism group's holy book is a guide that does not have the slightest mistake, so that the orientation of this group is more textual in understanding an issue. Conservatism also has knowledge of technological innovation in the modern world, so that teachings can be socialized through the use of social media which is currently developing.

Before Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) was disbanded, this organization had a quite big mass of at least 200,000 followers (M Aan Setiawan, 2020). This organization has a big goal of upholding Islamic law within the framework of the Islamic caliphate. The caliphate was upheld by HTI with several arguments; First, many Muslims today are in leadership with the infidel system in all dimensions of life, starting from political, economic and political issues which are considered to have hegemonized Muslims; Second, Muslims do not have a political umbrella that can provide protection for Muslims as a whole; Third, the laws are not implemented and it seems that there is neglect of Islamic laws. From a number of conditions, the only way is the enforcement of Islamic law within a single caliphate.

This caliphate is universal and global, which unites Muslims around the world in one political command as happened during the caliphate. The emergence of HTI is part of international HT and always coordinates with other HTs around the world. Thus, HT in its movement is religiopolitical-universality-mondialiste which has never been separated from the central command of HT in Jordan. The enforcement of Islamic law is fardhu kifayah for all Muslims in the world. Self-sufficiency with individual obligations or neglecting this obligation is one of the great sins, according to the argument of the Quran (Chapter Al-Maidah: Verses 58-49).

The concept used by HTI is the term al-hukm, revolutionary social movement which is carried out not through constitutional channels, HTI does not participate in elections and is not included in the executive or legislative branches. HTI does this by changing the minds or behavior of people, making gradual changes, carrying out reforms, and the most important thing is that HTI is a revolutionary movement in upholding Islamic law.

The HTI conservative movement in its journey has also received several challenges from several major organizations such as Muhammadiyah and NU which do not support the existence of this caliphate system; there is also opposition from non-Muslim groups; the very systematic opposition from the West that dominates the Indonesian state; and the utopian aspect of the Islamic groups themselves towards the establishment of an Islamic caliphate in Indonesia.

Islamic conservatism is also included in the realm of legislation, this issue surfaced after the collapse of the New Order, the desire to return to using the Jakarta Charter was rolled out again. Islamic sharia through constitutional paths gets fresh air. There is support from political parties, community organizations, and communities in areas where the majority are Muslim. The formalization of Islamic law in people's lives is translated into regional regulations in several provinces and regions in Indonesia.

The emergence of regional sharia regulations is a form of public acceptance of Islamic conservatism. Whereas Regional sharia regulations are part of the aspirations of the people, the desire of the people to formalize religious teachings that are textual and substantial in nature. In state politics, the idea of fighting for the formalization of Islamic law has started from the very beginning of the formation of Indonesia. This is the basis for groups that want Islamic law to be implemented formally in Indonesia.

The acceptance of this conservative view is not only due to historical factors, but also due to ideological reasons. The imposition of the single Pancasila principle on all organizations and political parties during the New Order era had clashed Islam with Pancasila, making it impossible to formalize Islamic sharia. In this position, Islamic conservatism is easier to enter society. That Islam is the majority and it is natural to have a desire for the formalization of Islamic law in Indonesia.

If it is related to the context of Islamic sharia, then the Muslim community will easily accept this, and regional heads with members of the People's Representative Council will agree that Islamic sharia values are included in regional regulations as an effort to accept community aspirations and also as an effort to gain sympathy from the community, where the majority of voters are Muslim, the community's interest in implementing Islamic law is responded by members of the Regional People's Representative Council by issuing sharia nuanced rules.

The rejection by the people of West Sumatra to the Siloam Hospital development plan in 2013 (Fadillah, 2014) is a form of religious conservative attitude, so that various interpretations of this development plan emerged, starting from the existence of hidden motives carried out by other religions in the establishment of this Hospital, then other agendas that were considered to undermine the customary and religious philosophy in Minangkabau.

3. The struggle for influence in political, economic and cultural activities

The conservatism movement in political activities in Indonesia experienced a decline during the New Order era. During the Soeharto

era, movements of conservatism were considered not to have experienced significant developments, because the New Order regime carried out a single principle and applied subversive laws. Criticism of Pancasila was taboo, so that Pancasila as the sole principle was accepted by political parties and other Islamic organizations.

After the end of the New Order regime, reforms provided an opportunity for conservatism to take a role in political dynamics in Indonesia. Conservatism groups then established political parties, community organizations, non-governmental organizations, taklim assemblies, and carried out dawah through social media platforms. Restraints during the New Order era led to conservatism that had been hiding all this time, then with a spirit of change brought back the idea of implementing Islamic law.

The presence of conservatism groups is not only due to ideological factors, but also social and political reality factors that make this group appear in voicing various interests in the political, economic, and cultural fields. The phenomenon of conservative Muslims in politics tends to be defined as political Islam-a movement that uses religion as a political vehicle for the ummah to attract people's votes and take power. With the power they gain, they will freely replace the existing system with the conservative group's version of the Islamic system.

This has been proven by the emergence of regional regulations that are imbued with the spirit of the formalization of Islamic law. There is a political interest from Islamic conservative groups in policies or laws and regulations issued by the government or regional heads. But in the context of state politics, this group has not been able to realize the ideals of implementing Islamic law because it is constrained by insignificant strength in the Regional Representatives Council. Thus, when they cannot enter bigger way, they try to implement it in areas where the majority are Muslim.

In the political context in West Sumatra, several Islamic parties won very significant votes, the United Development Party (so-called PPP in Indonesian abbreviation), the Prosperous Justice Party (so-called PKS in Indonesian abbreviation) and the National Mandate Party (so-called PAN in Indonesian abbreviation) are the parties that occupy the top five parties in West Sumatra. So that the agenda for formalizing Islamic law, which is the main mission of conservative groups, is very easy to carry out and implement, because the Minangkabau customary philosophy "adat basandi syara', syara' basandi Kitabullah" has placed Minang customs and society as devout Muslims. With the result that the ideas that want to purify Islamic teachings in accordance with the Quran and Sunnah are very easy to accept and implement.

According to one student activist, the way for political parties to gain sympathy from the public is to accommodate the wishes of the

community. People who are fundamentally Muslim easily accept offers from politicians for the implementation of Islamic Sharia. Meanwhile, in the economic/business context, there have been efforts made by conservative groups to block investment entry; such as the case of Alfarmart and Indomaret which are considered as capitalist agents that can destroy the local community's economy. This argument, which later made Alfamart and Indomaret (the largest retailers in Indonesia) never exist in West Sumatra until now.

"...for regions where the majority are Muslim, it is very easy for politicians to sell religion in the interest of getting votes and sitting as members of the legislature or executive. Enforcement of Islamic Sharia is the most rational thing and easily accepted by people in the regions. Meanwhile, with regard to the economy, this group also hinders investment, for example the case of Alfamart and Indomaret in West Sumatra, this group has never existed and continues to be hindered by this group along with the local government." (interview with student activist, December 13th 2018).

By observing the presence of conservatism groups in the regions, it can be identified that there is an attempt to gain strong influence in society. This influence can be seen from the patterns practiced by this group by understanding the culture and the habits of the community, and then exerting a strong influence. So that, political, economic, and cultural interests easily enter under the pretext of maintaining religious values and traditions in society. This struggle for influence is also carried out between conservative groups, so that people only become objects for certain interests, without touching the substance of the people's needs.

6. Conclusion

The development of the Conservative group is a phenomenon that needs to be observed by all parties. Because the birth of the group is a response to social, cultural, and political situations that are considered contrary to normative Islamic teachings, in addition to their failure (fundamentalist groups) in understanding Islamic teachings. The ideas that form the basis for the movement of Islamic conservative groups are the rejection of progressivism that originates from the West, because it is considered to be detrimental to the noble values of custom and Islam which have become the identity of the people. In addition, it is in order to purify Islamic teachings which are believed to have mixed with beliefs outside of Islam.

Some of the strategies carried out by people who adhere to conservatism include controlling mosques in every district and city, then controlling student institutions in several state universities in particular and religious universities as well as taking momentum and

taking advantage of religious and government issues that are seen as contrary to their beliefs. Realizing an ideal egalitarian society will experience obstacles and pressure from various parties, especially from Islamic conservative groups who are increasingly showing stability in terms of organization and dawah strategy. The presence of a modern society that has qualified knowledge and dynamic actions needs to be considered.

This research has several limitations in terms of having a small number of informants, limited cases, being too qualitative or gaining little quantitative data. Accordingly, further research is needed to accommodate a larger sample, involves a more complete set of parties, in order to obtain more comprehensive and in-depth results that allow it to be used as the basis for policy.

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