

Evaluating the Dynamics of State Da'wah Institution Relations in Indonesia: A Periodization Analysis of the Pre-Independence Era, Old Order, New Order, and Reform Era

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Received:6 May 2026 |Revised:11 May 2026 |Accepted:17 Juny 2026 |Publish:20 Juny 2026

Abstarct

This study aims to evaluate the dynamics of the relationship between the state and Islamic da'wah institutions in Indonesia through a periodization analysis covering the Pre-Independence era, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform era. The study is motivated by the importance of understanding how political regime changes and state policies have influenced the development, functions, and roles of da'wah institutions within Indonesia's social, religious, and national life. Although previous studies have examined Islam state relations, political Islam, and civil society in Indonesia, limited attention has been given to the historical evolution of state da'wah institution relations across different political regimes. This study addresses this gap by offering a comprehensive periodization framework that captures the changing patterns of interaction between the state and da'wah institutions over time. This research employs a qualitative approach using the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method by analysing various relevant academic sources related to the relationship between Islam and the state, Islamic organizations, civil society, and the development of da'wah institutions in Indonesia. The collected data were analysed using thematic analysis to identify patterns of interaction between the state and da'wah institutions across different historical periods. The findings reveal that the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions has shifted dynamically from a restrictive pattern during the Pre-Independence era, to a negotiative pattern during the Old Order, an accommodative-controlled pattern during the New Order, and a participatory pattern during the Reform era. The study also indicates that political policies constitute the primary factor influencing the development of da'wah institutions, while these institutions demonstrate a strong adaptive capacity in responding to political changes. The research contributes to enriching the discourse on state and civil society relations within the context of Indonesian Islam and offers a periodization framework for understanding the historical development of da'wah institutions comprehensively. The findings also provide practical implications for policymakers, Islamic organizations, and scholars in strengthening collaborative and democratic religious governance in Indonesia.

Keyword: Da'wah Institutions, Islamic States, Perioditization, Civil Society, Systematic Literature Review

PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

This study highlights the evolving relationship between the state and da'wah institutions in Indonesia across different political eras, from the Pre-Independence period to the Reform era. The research demonstrates how political policies significantly shaped the roles, strategies, and development of Islamic organizations within society. By offering a historical periodization of state da'wah relations, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the interaction between religion, civil society, and politics in Indonesia. The findings are important for scholars, policymakers, and Islamic organizations in developing more adaptive, inclusive, and collaborative approaches to religious governance and social development.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between the state and religious institutions has become one of the most significant issues in social, political, and religious studies across many countries. In modern societies, religious institutions are no longer perceived solely as spiritual organizations but also as important social actors contributing to community development, education, economic empowerment, and the strengthening of national values. Globally, religious-based organizations increasingly play strategic roles in civil society development, social service provision, and public governance. According to the Pew Research Center (2023), the global Muslim population has reached approximately 1.9 billion people and is projected to continue growing in the coming decades. This demographic growth has intensified the role of Islamic organizations and da'wah institutions in shaping social and political dynamics in Muslim-majority countries. Consequently, the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions has become a relevant academic issue because it determines the extent to which religious organizations can participate in public life, social transformation, and national development.

Previous studies have extensively discussed the relationship between Islam and the state, political Islam, and the role of Islamic organizations in Indonesian society. Effendy (2009) argues that the relationship between Islam and the state in Indonesia has undergone a long transformation process, ranging from confrontational to accommodative patterns. Similarly, Hefner (2000), through the concept of Civil Islam, emphasizes the contribution of Islamic organizations to the development of democratic civil society in Indonesia. More recent studies also focus on political Islam in the post-Reform era, democratization processes, and the interaction between Islamic organizations and public policy (Arifianto, 2020; Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023). These studies demonstrate that Islamic organizations are not merely objects of state policies but also active social actors capable of influencing political and social development. However, the existing literature largely examines specific organizations, limited historical periods, or particular political contexts, resulting in fragmented explanations regarding the evolution of state da'wah institution relations throughout Indonesian history.

Previous studies have established that Islamic organizations play important roles in democratization, civil society development, and the negotiation of state religion relations in Indonesia. Research on political Islam, Civil Islam, and Islamic organizations has demonstrated that these institutions possess significant adaptive capacities in responding to political and social transformations. However, most existing studies focus primarily on political Islam, democratization, or civil society discourse, while the institutional dimension of da'wah organizations as adaptive actors responding to changing political regimes has received limited systematic attention. In addition, there remains a lack of comprehensive studies examining state da'wah institution relations across all major political periods in Indonesia, including the Pre-Independence era, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform era. Existing research tends to analyze these periods separately, making it difficult to understand the continuity, transformation, and patterns of interaction between the state and da'wah institutions over time.

To address this gap, the present study adopts a historical periodization approach that integrates the four major political eras into a single analytical framework. By doing so, the study provides a more comprehensive understanding of the evolution of state da'wah institution relations and offers a systematic explanation of how political regime changes and state policies have shaped the development, functions, and adaptive strategies of da'wah institutions in Indonesia.

Based on these limitations, this study aims to evaluate the dynamics of state and da'wah institution relations in Indonesia through a historical periodization approach covering the Pre-Independence era, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform era. Specifically, the study seeks to answer the following research questions: (1) How did the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions evolve across different political regimes in Indonesia? (2) To what extent did changes in political policies and state structures influence the development, functions, and strategic roles of da'wah institutions during each historical period? and (3) How can the adaptive responses of da'wah institutions to political changes be explained through the perspectives of State Society Relations Theory and Civil Islam Theory? To address these questions, the study employs a qualitative approach using the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method to synthesize relevant scholarly literature concerning Islam, the state, civil society, and da'wah institutions in Indonesia.

This study offers several important contributions to the existing literature. First, it addresses a gap in the existing scholarship by providing a comprehensive historical analysis of state da'wah institution relations across four major political periods in Indonesia, whereas previous studies have generally focused on specific organizations, political contexts, or particular historical periods. By integrating these periods into a single analytical framework, the study offers a more comprehensive understanding of the evolution of state religion relations in Indonesia. Second, the study contributes theoretically by positioning da'wah institutions not merely as religious organizations but also as adaptive social actors capable of negotiation, transformation, and institutional adjustment within changing political environments. Third, through the use of the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach, this study provides a systematic conceptual mapping of the evolution of state da'wah institution relations and introduces a historical periodization framework that explains the changing patterns of interaction between the state and da'wah institutions. This framework represents the study's unique contribution to international scholarship on religion state relations, civil society, and Islamic organizations in Muslim-majority societies. Finally, the findings are expected to contribute practically to policymakers, Islamic organizations, and scholars in developing more adaptive, inclusive, and democratic approaches to religious governance and da'wah development within contemporary Indonesian society.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of the relationship between Islam, the state, and civil society in Indonesia has developed significantly over the past two decades. This development reflects increasing scholarly attention to the role of Islamic organizations in democratization processes, civil society development, political governance, and religious moderation in Indonesia. Previous studies indicate that Islamic organizations do not merely function as religious institutions responsible for disseminating Islamic teachings, but also operate as influential social actors contributing to the formation of public values, social participation, democratic life, and religious governance. Within this context, the relationship between the state and Islamic organizations has become an important issue in understanding Indonesia's socio-political and religious development. One of the most influential studies in this field is Hefner's (2025) work entitled *The Social Scientific Study of Islam in Indonesia: A 75 Year Retrospective*. Through a comprehensive historical review, Hefner explains that the development of Islam in Indonesia

cannot be separated from state formation, educational modernization, civil society growth, and political democratization. Similarly, Hefner (2019) argues that moderate Islamic organizations continue to play strategic roles in maintaining democratic stability, promoting tolerance, and encouraging pluralism despite increasing religious conservatism and political polarization. More recent studies further demonstrate that Islamic organizations remain central actors in negotiating democracy, pluralism, and state authority in post-Reform Indonesia (Krismono et al., 2025; Munhanif & Ihsan, 2023). Research on religious governance also shows that state religion relations in Indonesia are characterized by contested accommodation, where state institutions selectively regulate, accommodate, and sometimes restrict Islamic expression according to changing political contexts (Shomad et al., 2024; Zuhri, 2021). Furthermore, studies on da'wah institutions and Islamic movements reveal that religious organizations continuously adapt to social transformation, digitalization, democratization, and ideological competition while maintaining their social and religious functions (Saebani & Rahman, 2025; Subakir, 2024). Recent studies also highlight the expansion of da'wah into digital communication, religious moderation, substantive da'wah, and transformative social engagement, indicating that contemporary da'wah institutions increasingly operate within broader frameworks of religious governance, civil society, and democratic participation (Husaini & Islamy, 2022; Sikumbang et al., 2023; Aripudin & Junaedi, 2024; Aderus et al., 2024; Saraka et al., 2025).

Collectively, these studies suggest that Islamic organizations and civil society institutions possess strong adaptive capacities in responding to political and social changes. However, most previous studies focus primarily on Islamic organizations, political Islam, democratization, or civil society in general without specifically examining da'wah institutions as distinct institutional actors with unique organizational characteristics and patterns of interaction with the state. Grand theory in this study is grounded in the concept of Civil Society and Civil Islam proposed by Hefner (2000), which explains that Islamic organizations can function as democratic social actors capable of mediating the relationship between religion, society, and the state. This theoretical perspective remains highly relevant for understanding how da'wah institutions negotiate, adapt, and transform within changing political structures across different historical periods in Indonesia. In this study, Civil Islam is operationalized through three main dimensions: the social and educational roles of da'wah institutions, their participation in civil society and community empowerment, and their interaction with state authorities through processes of negotiation, adaptation, and cooperation. These dimensions are examined across the Pre-Independence, Old Order, New Order, and Reform periods to analyze how da'wah institutions adjusted their functions and strategies under different political regimes while maintaining their religious and social responsibilities. Through this operationalization, Civil Islam serves not only as a theoretical lens but also as an analytical framework for understanding the historical evolution of state da'wah institution relations in Indonesia. To further clarify the analytical application of Civil Islam Theory, Table 1 presents the operationalization of Civil Islam across the historical periods examined in this study.

Table 1.
Operationalization of Civil Islam Across Historical Periods

Historical Period	Manifestation of Civil Islam	Analytical Focus
Pre-Independence Era	Islamic organizations contributed to education, social services, and the strengthening of collective religious identity under colonial restrictions.	Examining the role of da'wah institutions in social empowerment and religious identity formation.

Old Order	Da'wah institutions maintained religious and social functions while negotiating ideological competition among nationalism, religion, and communism.	Examining the adaptation of da'wah institutions within competing political ideologies.
New Order	Da'wah institutions expanded educational, social welfare, and community development activities under state regulation and political control.	Examining institutional adaptation and survival strategies under restrictive political conditions.
Reform Era	Da'wah institutions actively engaged in civil society development, policy advocacy, social empowerment, democratic participation, and digital da'wah.	Examining the contribution of da'wah institutions to civil society and democratic governance.

Based on the previous literature, this study develops the proposition that the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions in Indonesia is dynamic and shaped by political regime changes, state policies, and the broader development of civil society. Previous studies consistently demonstrate that Islamic organizations tend to adapt strategically to political transformations while maintaining their religious and social functions (Hefner, 2019; Krismono et al., 2025; Saebani & Rahman, 2025). Nevertheless, inconsistencies remain regarding how these adaptive processes occur across different historical periods and how state policies influence the institutional transformation of da'wah organizations. Existing studies mainly concentrate on democratization during the Reform era, contemporary political Islam, religious moderation, or specific Islamic movements, leaving the long-term historical evolution of state da'wah relations insufficiently explored. Therefore, this study proposes that each political regime in Indonesia produces different relational patterns between the state and da'wah institutions, ranging from restrictive and negotiative relations to accommodative and participatory forms of interaction. Through this proposition, the study seeks to explain how da'wah institutions continuously negotiate their existence, functions, and social roles within changing political environments.

To support the analytical framework, this study develops a conceptual framework that integrates Civil Islam Theory, State Society Relations Theory, and Political Opportunity Structure Theory within a historical periodization model consisting of four major political eras in Indonesia: the Pre-Independence era, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform era. In this framework, political regimes and state policies are positioned as the main contextual structures that shape the opportunities, constraints, and forms of interaction between the state and da'wah institutions. State Society Relations Theory explains how the relationship between state authority and religious civil society actors is formed through negotiation, regulation, and contestation. Civil Islam Theory explains the role of Islamic and da'wah institutions as social actors that contribute to public ethics, social participation, and civil society development. Meanwhile, Political Opportunity Structure Theory helps explain how changes in political openness or restriction influence the adaptive strategies of da'wah institutions. This perspective is supported by recent studies demonstrating that Islamic organizations adapt differently according to political opportunities, governance structures, and ideological competition within society (Shomad et al., 2024; Krismono et al., 2025; Saebani & Rahman, 2025). Through this conceptual framework, the study systematically explains how political regimes and state policies influence the development, functions, and adaptive strategies of da'wah institutions, while also showing how da'wah institutions act as active social actors capable of negotiation, adaptation, and transformation in response to political changes. The framework ensures coherence between the theoretical foundation, research objectives, and analytical process,

thereby strengthening the conceptual rigor of the study in accordance with international academic standards. The conceptual relationship among these theoretical concepts is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2.
Conceptual Framework of State-Da’wah Institution Relation

Theoretical Concept	Main Idea	Analytical Relevance
State Society Relations Theory (Migdal, 2001)	State and social actors continuously interact through negotiation, regulation, and contestation.	Explains how state authorities and da’wah institutions influence each other across different political regimes, resulting in different patterns of interaction.
Civil Islam Theory (Hefner, 2000)	Islamic organizations function as democratic social actors that mediate relations between religion, society, and the state.	Explains the social, religious, and civic roles of da’wah institutions in promoting public participation and civil society development.
Political Opportunity Structure Theory (Tarrow, 2011)	Political openness and constraints shape organizational strategies and adaptation.	Explains how political regime changes and state policies influence the development and adaptive strategies of da’wah institutions.
Political Regimes and State Policies (Effendy, 2009; Arifianto, 2020)	Different political regimes create different opportunities and constraints for social and religious organizations.	Acts as the contextual factor shaping state da’wah institution relations across historical periods.
Da’wah Institutions (Aziz, 2017; Hefner, 2019)	Religious organizations engaged in da’wah, education, and social services.	Serve as the primary unit of analysis and are expected to demonstrate negotiation, adaptation, and transformation across political periods.
State Da’wah Institution Relations	Represents the interaction between the state and da’wah institutions.	Produces restrictive, negotiative, accommodative-controlled, and participatory patterns across different historical periods.

METHOD

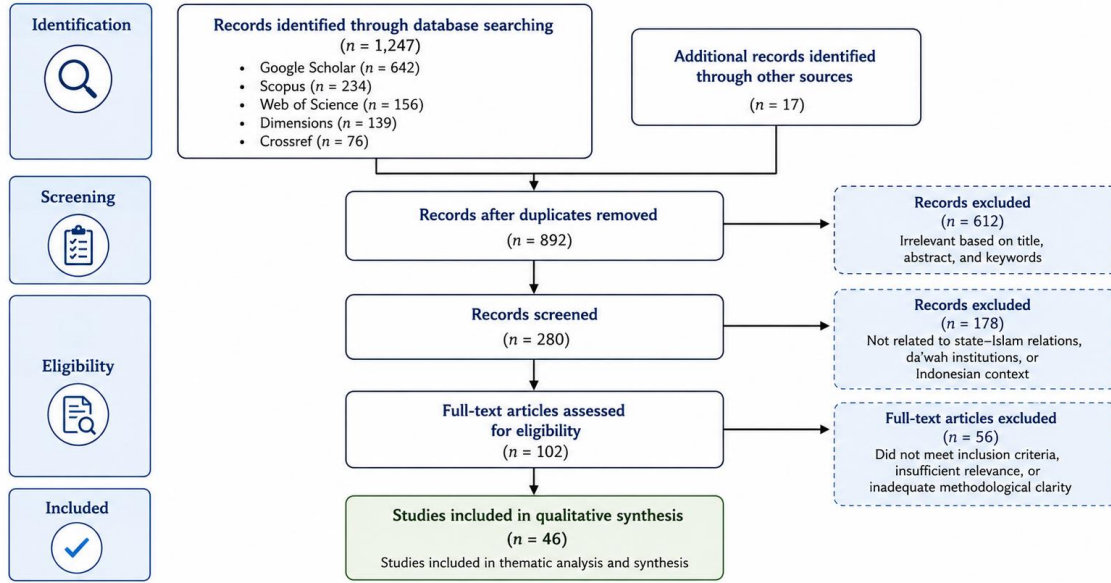
This study employed a qualitative research approach using the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) method to evaluate the dynamics of the relationship between the state and da’wah institutions in Indonesia across four major political periods: the Pre-Independence era, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform era. A qualitative approach was selected because the study aimed to understand, interpret, and synthesize scholarly findings related to the transformation of da’wah institutions, the interaction between the state and Islamic organizations, and the influence of political policies on the development of da’wah within the historical context of Indonesia. Rather than focusing on quantitative measurement, this study emphasized the analysis of meanings, relational patterns, and conceptual constructions found within academic literature. The use of the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) design enabled the study to systematically identify, evaluate, and synthesize previous studies relevant to the research topic. This method was considered appropriate because it provides transparent and structured procedures for collecting, selecting, and analysing literature, thereby reducing potential researcher bias and strengthening the credibility of the findings.

The unit of analysis in this study consisted of scholarly documents rather than individuals or social groups. The selected documents included journal articles, academic books, conference proceedings, and research reports discussing Islam and the state, da'wah institutions, Islamic civil society, political Islam, religious policies, and the development of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. The literature selected for analysis was required to have direct relevance to the dynamics of state da'wah institution relations within Indonesian historical contexts. Therefore, the primary analytical focus of the study was directed toward concepts, arguments, empirical findings, and theoretical perspectives contained within the selected scholarly sources. The data sources were secondary data obtained from reputable academic databases and scientific publications, including Google Scholar, Scopus, Web of Science, Dimensions, and Crossref. Literature searches were conducted using several keywords, such as "state and Islam in Indonesia," "Islamic organizations," "Islamic civil society," "Islam and state relations," "da'wah institutions," "political Islam," "Civil Islam," and "Islamic movements in Indonesia." The retrieved literature was then evaluated based on topic relevance, academic quality, alignment with the research objectives, and its connection to the historical periods examined in this study.

The Systematic Literature Review (SLR) procedure in this study was conducted in accordance with the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines to ensure transparency, rigor, and reproducibility throughout the review process. The review process consisted of four main stages: Identification, Screening, Eligibility, and Included. During the Identification stage, relevant literature was collected from several academic databases, including Google Scholar, Scopus, Web of Science, Dimensions, and Crossref. The search process employed a combination of keywords such as "state and Islam in Indonesia," "Islamic organizations," "Islamic civil society," "Islam and state relations," "da'wah institutions," "political Islam," "Civil Islam," and "Islamic movements in Indonesia." All records identified from the databases were compiled and duplicate publications were removed.

In the Screening stage, titles, abstracts, and keywords were examined to determine their relevance to the research objectives. Studies that did not address state religion relations, Islamic organizations, da'wah institutions, civil society, or Indonesian political contexts were excluded from further analysis. The Eligibility stage involved a full-text assessment of the remaining publications. Articles were evaluated based on inclusion criteria, including direct relevance to the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions, discussion of Islamic organizations and religious governance, focus on Indonesian historical and political contexts, and publication in credible academic sources. Publications that lacked sufficient relevance or methodological clarity were excluded. Finally, in the Included stage, the selected studies were incorporated into the synthesis and thematic analysis process. The final body of literature was used to examine patterns of state da'wah institution relations, institutional adaptation, political influences, and historical transformations across the Pre-Independence, Old Order, New Order, and Reform periods. The PRISMA process adopted in this study is illustrated in Figure 1. In addition to the PRISMA flow diagram, article selection statistics are presented to enhance transparency regarding the literature review process. The statistics include the number of records identified, screened, assessed for eligibility, excluded, and finally included in the qualitative synthesis.

Figure 1.
PRISMA Flow Diagram of Literature Selection Process



Note: The numbers in this diagram are illustrative and may differ according to the final selection process.

Table 3.
Article Selection Statistics Based on the PRISMA Process

PRISMA Stage	Description	Number of Records
Identification	Records identified through database searching	n = 1,247
Identification	Additional records identified through other sources	n = 17
Screening	Records after duplicates removed	n = 892
Screening	Records excluded based on title, abstract, and keywords	n = 612
Screening	Records screened	n = 280
Eligibility	Full-text articles assessed for eligibility	n = 102
Eligibility	Full-text articles excluded	n = 56
Included	Studies included in qualitative synthesis	n = 46

A total of 1,264 records were identified through database searching and additional sources. After duplicate removal, 892 records remained for screening. Following title, abstract, and keyword screening, 612 records were excluded, leaving 280 records for further assessment. Subsequently, 102 full-text articles were evaluated for eligibility, of which 56 were excluded due to insufficient relevance or methodological limitations. Ultimately, 46 studies met the inclusion criteria and were incorporated into the qualitative synthesis and thematic analysis.

Table 4.
Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Criteria	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Topic Relevance	Studies discussing state Islam relations, da'wah institutions, Islamic organizations, civil society, political Islam, religious governance, and Islamic movements in Indonesia.	Studies unrelated to Islam, da'wah institutions, state society relations, or Indonesian contexts.
Geographical Scope	Studies focusing on Indonesia.	Studies focusing exclusively on other countries without relevance to Indonesia.
Publication Type	Peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, conference proceedings, and research reports.	Opinion articles, news reports, blogs, editorials, and non-academic publications.
Publication Type	Peer-reviewed journal articles, academic books, conference proceedings, and research reports.	Opinion articles, news reports, blogs, editorials, and non-academic publications.
Language	Publications written in English or Indonesian.	Publications written in languages not accessible to the researchers.
Content Quality	Studies providing clear theoretical, conceptual, historical, or empirical discussions relevant to the research objectives.	Studies lacking sufficient academic rigor, methodological clarity, or relevance to the research focus.
Historical Context	Studies addressing the Pre-Independence, Old Order, New Order, or Reform periods.	Studies that do not provide relevant historical or political context related to the research objectives.
Accessibility	Full-text publications available for review and analysis.	Publications with unavailable or incomplete full-text access.

Table 5.
Validation Procedures

Technique	Procedure Applied	Purpose
Source Triangulation	Comparing findings from journal articles, academic books, conference proceedings, and research reports.	To ensure consistency and credibility of findings from different scholarly sources.
Cross-Database Verification	Collecting literature from Google Scholar, Scopus, Web of Science, Dimensions, and Crossref.	To reduce publication bias and increase literature coverage.
Quality Assessment	Evaluating studies based on relevance, academic credibility, methodological rigor, and theoretical contribution.	To ensure that only high-quality studies were included in the review.
Thematic Consistency Check	Comparing themes and findings across different studies and historical periods.	To strengthen analytical reliability and avoid selective interpretation.
Critical Comparison	Examining convergent and divergent	To produce balanced and

The inclusion and exclusion criteria were established to ensure that only relevant, credible, and high-quality sources were incorporated into the systematic review and thematic synthesis process. The validation procedures presented in Table 5 were employed to enhance the credibility, transparency, and methodological rigor of the systematic literature review process.

RESULT

Results of Literature Identification and Synthesis

Based on the literature review process, this study identified a number of scholarly publications discussing the relationship between the state and Islam, the development of Islamic organizations, civil society, and the transformation of da'wah institutions in Indonesia. The synthesis results indicate that the dynamics of state da'wah institution relations have undergone significant changes across different political periods in Indonesian history. These changes were influenced not only by the characteristics of political regimes but also by shifts in state policies, the development of civil society, and the adaptive capacities of da'wah institutions in responding to evolving socio-political environments. In general, the analysed literature reveals four dominant patterns of state da'wah institution relations: restrictive relations during the Pre-Independence era, negotiative relations during the Old Order, accommodative-controlled relations during the New Order, and participatory relations during the Reform era. These findings demonstrate that the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions is dynamic rather than static, continuously evolving alongside political transformations and changing societal needs (Effendy, 2009; Hefner, 2019).

The literature synthesis further indicates that da'wah institutions have functioned not only as religious organizations disseminating Islamic teachings but also as social actors contributing to education, social services, community empowerment, and civil society development. This institutional transformation occurred gradually across different historical periods and reflects the increasing social and political significance of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. These findings are consistent with Hefner's concept of Civil Islam, which positions Islamic organizations as important components in democratization and civil society development processes (Hefner, 2000, 2025).

Based on the synthesis of the selected literature, this study develops a periodization model of state da'wah institution relations consisting of four interconnected phases. The first phase, the Pre-Independence era, is characterized by restrictive relations, where colonial policies limited Islamic organizational activities while simultaneously encouraging the emergence of da'wah institutions as instruments of religious education, social solidarity, and anti-colonial mobilization. The second phase, the Old Order, reflects a negotiative pattern in which da'wah institutions operated within a complex political environment shaped by competing ideological forces, including nationalism, religion, and communism. The third phase, the New Order, demonstrates an accommodative-controlled pattern, where the state provided institutional opportunities for Islamic organizations while maintaining strong political regulation and supervision. Finally, the Reform era represents a participatory pattern characterized by greater political openness, democratic engagement, civil society participation, and the expansion of da'wah activities into social, economic, environmental, and digital domains.

This periodization model suggests that the evolution of state da'wah institution relations is not merely a sequence of historical events but a process of institutional adaptation shaped by changing political opportunity structures, state policies, and the development of civil society. Across all periods, da'wah institutions consistently demonstrated adaptive capacities that

enabled them to maintain religious functions while adjusting their organizational strategies to evolving political contexts. The model therefore provides a conceptual framework for understanding the long-term transformation of da'wah institutions within Indonesia's broader socio-political development.

Transformation of the Roles of Da'wah Institutions from the Pre-Independence Era to the Reform Era

The findings demonstrate that the roles of da'wah institutions changed significantly throughout Indonesian political history. During the Pre-Independence era, da'wah institutions primarily functioned as centers of education, religious guidance, and social resistance against colonial domination. Organizations such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Persatuan Islam played crucial roles in strengthening Islamic awareness and national consciousness among Muslim communities. In this context, da'wah activities were not limited to religious propagation but also served as instruments of social mobilization and collective identity formation. During the Old Order period, da'wah institutions adjusted their activities to the national political climate characterized by ideological competition among nationalism, religion, and communism. As a result, da'wah activities became more focused on strengthening religious identity and maintaining community cohesion amid intense ideological contestation (Effendy, 2009).

More complex transformations occurred during the New Order era. Previous studies indicate that government policies encouraged da'wah institutions to adapt to a more centralized and controlled political system. Consequently, Islamic organizations expanded their activities into education, social services, and community development as strategies for maintaining institutional survival. In the Reform era, the role of da'wah institutions expanded further through involvement in public policy advocacy, economic empowerment, education, and the utilization of digital media for religious communication. These transformations indicate that da'wah institutions possess strong adaptive capacities in responding to political and social changes (Qodir, 2024).

Characteristics of State Da'wah Institution Relations Across Political Periods

The synthesis findings reveal that the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions during the Pre-Independence era was predominantly restrictive. Colonial authorities implemented various policies limiting Islamic organizational activities because they were perceived as potential threats to colonial stability. Consequently, da'wah institutions operated mainly through educational activities, religious gatherings, and social organizations that were relatively safe from direct colonial intervention.

During the Old Order period, the relationship evolved into a negotiative pattern. The state provided limited space for religious activities while simultaneously controlling organizations considered politically threatening. This condition produced a relationship characterized neither by full cooperation nor open conflict but by continuous negotiation between state interests and Islamic aspirations. In the New Order era, the relationship developed into an accommodative-controlled pattern. Although the government restricted Islamic political activities, it gradually adopted more accommodative policies toward Islamic groups during the later years of the regime. According to Effendy (2009), this phase represented a transition from antagonistic relations toward more accommodative interactions. In contrast, the Reform era demonstrated a more participatory relationship pattern due to expanding democratic space and greater involvement of Islamic organizations in public affairs and policymaking processes (Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023).

Impact of Political Policies on the Development of Da’wah Institutions

The findings also demonstrate that political policies significantly influenced the development of da’wah institutions in Indonesia. During the colonial era, restrictive policies encouraged Islamic organizations to develop educational and social-service-based da’wah strategies as survival mechanisms. These strategies enabled Islamic organizations to maintain their existence while gradually expanding their social influence despite political limitations.

In the Old Order period, ideological competition and political instability created substantial challenges for da’wah institutions in preserving their organizational existence. Nevertheless, Islamic organizations continued to perform religious and social functions through education, religious gatherings, and community development activities, indicating strong institutional resilience. During the New Order era, restrictions on political Islam encouraged da’wah organizations to shift their focus toward social, educational, and humanitarian sectors. However, the regime’s later accommodative policies provided greater opportunities for Islamic organizations to participate in national life. Meanwhile, the Reform era introduced political liberalization and democratization, encouraging the rapid growth and diversification of da’wah institutions in terms of organizational forms, ideological orientations, and methods of religious communication. These findings suggest that political policy changes constitute the primary factor influencing the transformation of da’wah institutions and their strategic responses within Indonesian society (Arifianto, 2020).

Synthesis of the Periodization of State Da’wah Institution Relations

Overall, the literature synthesis identifies four major historical periodizations in the relationship between the state and da’wah institutions in Indonesia. First, the restrictive period during the Pre-Independence era was characterized by colonial domination and limited organizational freedom for Islamic groups. Second, the negotiative period during the Old Order reflected ongoing bargaining processes between the state and Islamic organizations amid ideological competition. Third, the accommodative-controlled period during the New Order combined strong political control with gradual accommodation toward Islamic interests in the later years of the regime. Finally, the participatory period during the Reform era was marked by increasing political freedom, stronger civil society participation, and broader involvement of da’wah institutions in public life.

Overall, the findings indicate that the dynamics of state da’wah institution relations in Indonesia represent a long historical process shaped by political regime changes, state policies, and the adaptive capacities of Islamic organizations in responding to evolving socio-political environments. These findings support the perspective of State Society Relations Theory, which argues that interactions between the state and civil society actors are continuously characterized by negotiation, adaptation, and mutual adjustment (Migdal, 2001). Therefore, the evolution of state da’wah institution relations in Indonesia can be understood as part of the broader process of political and social transformation throughout Indonesian history.

Table 6.
Comparative Analysis of State Da’wah Institution Relations Across Historical Periods

Historical Period	Characteristics	Implications
Pre-Independence Era	Restrictive relations characterized by colonial control, limited organizational freedom, and surveillance of Islamic activities.	Da’wah institutions focused on religious education, social services, identity formation, and anti-colonial mobilization.
Old Order	Negotiative relations shaped by	Da’wah institutions maintained

	ideological competition among nationalism, religion, and communism.	religious functions while adapting to political contestation and strengthening community cohesion.
New Order	Accommodative-controlled relations characterized by strong state regulation combined with gradual accommodation of Islamic interests.	Da'wah institutions expanded educational and social programs while adopting adaptive strategies to ensure organizational survival.
Reform Era	Participatory relations characterized by democratization, political openness, and increased civil society engagement.	Da'wah institutions diversified into policy advocacy, social empowerment, economic initiatives, and digital da'wah activities.

The comparative analysis demonstrates a gradual transformation in the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions across Indonesian political history. While the Pre-Independence period was characterized by restriction and resistance, subsequent periods reveal increasing levels of negotiation, adaptation, and participation. This pattern suggests that political regime changes significantly influenced the opportunities available to da'wah institutions, while these institutions consistently demonstrated adaptive capacities that enabled them to maintain their religious and social functions across different political contexts.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study demonstrate that the dynamics of the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions in Indonesia did not evolve in a linear manner but rather changed according to political configurations, state policy orientations, and the adaptive capacities of da'wah institutions across different historical periods. These findings are consistent with State Society Relations Theory, which argues that the relationship between the state and civil society actors is continuously shaped through negotiation, contestation, and adjustment processes influenced by state capacity, power distribution, and social forces within society (Migdal, 2001). In the Indonesian context, da'wah institutions function not merely as passive recipients of state policies but also as active social actors capable of responding to, adapting to, and even influencing broader socio-political developments. These findings are supported by recent studies showing that contemporary da'wah has expanded into digital religious communication, preacher certification, religious moderation, and transformative social engagement, reflecting the increasingly complex interaction between Islamic organizations, state policy, and public religious authority (Hefner, 2021; Husaini & Islamy, 2022; Castrawijaya & Rahmat, 2025; Saraka et al., 2025).

Transformation of the Roles of Da'wah Institutions in Historical Perspective

One of the major findings of this study is the transformation of da'wah institutions from relatively limited religious organizations into broader and more complex social institutions. During the Pre-Independence era, da'wah institutions functioned primarily as centers for education, religious guidance, and collective resistance against colonial domination. Da'wah activities during this period were directed not only toward disseminating Islamic teachings but also toward strengthening Muslim collective awareness regarding education, social independence, and nationalism. This finding supports Noer's (1980) argument that early Islamic organizations in Indonesia played a significant role in the formation of national consciousness and the modernization of Muslim society.

The transformation became more visible during the Old Order and New Order periods. In political environments characterized by ideological competition and strong state control,

da'wah institutions adapted by expanding social, educational, and community service activities. This strategy enabled Islamic organizations to maintain their institutional existence while avoiding direct political confrontation with the state. These findings indicate that da'wah institutions possessed flexible organizational capacities that allowed them to survive and adjust within changing political environments.

During the Reform era, the transformation of da'wah institutions became increasingly complex. Da'wah organizations expanded their functions beyond religious and social activities to include public policy advocacy, community economic empowerment, democratic participation, and digital da'wah development. This shift demonstrates that da'wah institutions in Indonesia have evolved from purely religious institutions into broader social and civic institutions. These findings support Hefner's (2019) argument that Islamic organizations in Indonesia have increasingly become integral components of democratic civil society.

Dynamics of State Da'wah Institution Relations

The findings reveal that the relationship between the state and da'wah institutions varied significantly across political periods. During the colonial era, the relationship was predominantly restrictive because colonial authorities viewed Islamic organizations as potential threats to political stability. Consequently, da'wah institutions developed educational and community-based religious activities that were relatively less vulnerable to direct political intervention. Interestingly, these political restrictions encouraged the emergence of innovative grassroots-oriented da'wah strategies rooted within local communities.

During the Old Order period, the relationship evolved into a more negotiative pattern. The state attempted to integrate competing political and ideological forces within the framework of national development, while Islamic organizations sought to preserve their religious identity and social roles. As a result, the relationship was characterized neither by complete harmony nor by open conflict but rather by continuous political bargaining between state interests and Islamic aspirations.

In the New Order era, the relationship developed into what can be categorized as an accommodative-controlled pattern. On the one hand, the state imposed strict controls on Islamic political activities through various policies. On the other hand, it gradually provided greater opportunities for Islamic organizations to expand their activities within educational, social, and religious sectors. According to Effendy (2009), this period represented a shift from antagonistic relations toward political accommodation. The findings of this study confirm this argument by demonstrating that da'wah institutions were not merely victims of state policies but were also capable of utilizing available political spaces to strengthen their social influence.

The Reform era introduced a significantly different relational pattern. Democratization and political liberalization opened broader opportunities for Islamic organizations to participate actively in public affairs. Da'wah institutions gained greater access to policy advocacy, public participation, and socio-religious activities. This transformation indicates a shift from state-dominated relations toward more participatory interactions. These findings are consistent with Setiawan and Tomsa's (2023) study, which argues that Indonesian civil society continues to serve as a crucial force in maintaining democratic space amid contemporary political challenges.

Impact of Political Policies on the Development of Da'wah Institutions

The findings further demonstrate that political policies constituted the primary factor influencing the development of da'wah institutions across Indonesian political history. Changes in state policies created different political opportunities and constraints affecting organizational strategies and institutional survival. From the perspective of Political Opportunity Structure

Theory, the openness or closure of political systems significantly shapes the strategies employed by social organizations to preserve their existence and achieve their goals (Tarrow, 2011).

During the colonial era and parts of the Old Order period, restrictive policies encouraged da'wah institutions to prioritize educational activities and grassroots community development. In contrast, more accommodative political conditions, particularly during the late New Order and Reform eras, enabled Islamic organizations to expand their activities into broader strategic sectors. These findings indicate that the development of da'wah institutions was influenced not only by internal organizational capacities but also by external political opportunity structures.

Interestingly, the findings also reveal that political restrictions did not always hinder the development of da'wah institutions. In several cases, political pressure stimulated organizational innovation and adaptive da'wah strategies. This demonstrates that the relationship between political policy and the development of da'wah institutions is complex and multidimensional rather than linear. Therefore, understanding the dynamics of da'wah institutions requires analytical approaches that simultaneously consider political, social, and institutional factors.

Relevance of Civil Islam Theory in Explaining Indonesian Da'wah Dynamics

The findings indicate that Hefner's (2000) Civil Islam theory remains highly relevant in explaining the development of da'wah institutions in Indonesia. However, the manifestation of Civil Islam varies across historical periods. During the Pre-Independence era, Civil Islam was reflected in the role of Islamic organizations in education, social services, and the strengthening of collective religious identity under colonial restrictions. In the Old Order period, Civil Islam appeared through the ability of da'wah institutions to maintain religious and social functions while negotiating ideological competition among nationalism, religion, and communism. During the New Order, Civil Islam was expressed through institutional adaptation, particularly in the expansion of educational, social welfare, and community development programs under conditions of political control and state regulation. In the Reform era, Civil Islam became increasingly visible through civic participation, democratic engagement, policy advocacy, social empowerment initiatives, and the expansion of digital da'wah activities. These findings demonstrate that the core principles of Civil Islam remained present throughout different political periods, although their organizational expressions and strategies evolved according to changing political opportunities and state policies.

The findings further show that da'wah organizations have consistently functioned not only as religious institutions but also as civil society actors contributing to education, social empowerment, and democratic development. In the Reform era, the relevance of Civil Islam became increasingly evident through the growing participation of Islamic organizations in public affairs. Da'wah institutions expanded their involvement into social, economic, environmental, and public policy issues. These findings demonstrate that da'wah in Indonesia has evolved beyond ritual religious functions and has become an important component of broader civil society development.

Nevertheless, the findings also indicate that contemporary developments present new challenges not fully addressed within the original formulation of Civil Islam theory. Increasing fragmentation among Islamic movements, ideological contestation, and the expansion of digital media as arenas of religious communication have created more complex dynamics. Therefore, this study suggests the need for a more contextualized development of Civil Islam theory capable of explaining the transformation of da'wah institutions within the contemporary digital and democratic era.

Conceptual Synthesis of State Da'wah Institution Relations in Indonesia

Based on the overall findings, this study develops an Adaptive State Da'wah Relations Periodization Model to explain the long-term evolution of state da'wah institution relations in Indonesia. This model consists of four major relational phases: restrictive, negotiative, accommodative-controlled, and participatory. Rather than representing isolated historical periods, these phases reflect changing configurations of political power, political opportunity structures, state policies, and civil society dynamics that continuously shaped the strategies and functions of da'wah institutions. The model shows that the evolution of da'wah institutions was not determined solely by state control or political openness, but also by their capacity to negotiate, adapt, and transform their religious, social, educational, and civic roles within changing political environments.

The theoretical refinement offered by this model lies in its integration of three analytical dimensions: state stance, da'wah institutional adaptation, and political opportunity structure. The first dimension, state stance, explains whether the state positioned da'wah institutions as political threats, negotiated partners, controlled social actors, or participatory civil society actors. The second dimension, da'wah institutional adaptation, explains how da'wah institutions adjusted their roles from religious education and social mobilization to community empowerment, policy advocacy, digital da'wah, and transformative social engagement. This interpretation is supported by recent studies on substantive and transformative da'wah, which emphasize that da'wah has increasingly moved beyond ritual preaching toward ethical, social, educational, and socio-economic transformation (Aripudin & Junaedi, 2024; Saraka et al., 2025). The third dimension, political opportunity structure, explains how changing political openness, state regulation, and democratic space influenced the strategies available to da'wah institutions.

This model extends State Society Relations Theory by showing that religious organizations are not merely passive objects of regulation but active actors that shape and reshape patterns of interaction with the state. It also refines Civil Islam Theory by demonstrating that Civil Islam is not limited to democratic participation in the Reform era but can be traced across different historical periods through changing forms of religious education, social service, institutional resilience, civic engagement, and public participation. In addition, the model strengthens Political Opportunity Structure Theory by showing that political restriction does not always weaken religious organizations; in several periods, it stimulated organizational innovation, resilience, and alternative forms of social engagement. Therefore, the Indonesian case demonstrates that state da'wah relations operate through a dynamic continuum rather than a fixed dichotomy between cooperation and conflict.

A critical insight emerging from this study is that the historical evolution of da'wah institutions should be understood as a process of adaptive transformation. In restrictive contexts, da'wah institutions survived through education, social service, and community-based religious activities. In negotiative contexts, they maintained religious functions while bargaining with competing ideological forces. In accommodative-controlled contexts, they expanded social and educational activities while operating under state supervision. In participatory contexts, they entered broader public spheres through policy advocacy, economic empowerment, digital communication, and civil society engagement. This continuum provides a conceptual contribution to international scholarship by offering a periodization model that can be used to compare state religion relations and Islamic civil society development in other Muslim-majority societies.

Table 7.
Adaptive State Da’wah Relations Periodization Model

Relational Phase	State Stance	Adaptation
Restrictive	The state perceives Islamic and da’wah institutions as potential threats to political stability.	Da’wah institutions survive through religious education, social services, community-based activities, and identity formation.
Negotiative	The state provides limited space while controlling Islamic aspirations within ideological competition.	Da’wah institutions maintain religious and social functions while negotiating their position in the national political landscape.
Accommodative-Controlled	The state allows Islamic organizations to expand in social and educational sectors while maintaining political supervision.	Da’wah institutions adapt by strengthening education, social welfare, community development, and institutional resilience.
Participatory	The state provides wider democratic space for Islamic organizations to engage in public affairs.	Da’wah institutions expand into civic participation, policy advocacy, economic empowerment, digital da’wah, and transformative social engagement.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to evaluate the dynamics of the relationship between the state and da’wah institutions in Indonesia through a historical periodization analysis covering the Pre-Independence era, the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform era. Based on the findings of the Systematic Literature Review (SLR), the study concludes that the relationship between the state and da’wah institutions has undergone significant transformations in response to changes in political regimes and state policies throughout Indonesian history. Da’wah institutions have not only functioned as religious organizations responsible for disseminating Islamic teachings but have also developed into important social actors contributing to education, social services, community empowerment, and the strengthening of civil society.

The findings demonstrate that during the Pre-Independence era, the relationship between colonial authorities and da’wah institutions was predominantly restrictive, encouraging Islamic organizations to develop educational and community-based strategies to maintain their existence. During the Old Order period, the relationship evolved into a negotiative pattern characterized by ideological competition among nationalism, religion, and communism. In the New Order era, the relationship became accommodative-controlled, where the state restricted Islamic political activities while simultaneously providing limited accommodation for Islamic organizations within educational, social, and religious sectors. Meanwhile, the Reform era marked the emergence of a more participatory relationship pattern characterized by political openness, democratization, stronger civil society participation, and broader involvement of da’wah institutions in public affairs, policy advocacy, economic empowerment, and digital da’wah activities.

This study also confirms that political policies constitute the primary factor influencing the development of da’wah institutions in Indonesia. Different political regimes created distinct political opportunity structures that shaped the strategies, orientations, and organizational development of da’wah institutions. Nevertheless, the findings reveal that da’wah institutions possess strong adaptive capacities, enabling them to maintain their relevance and institutional existence across diverse political environments. The study further strengthens the relevance of

State Society Relations Theory, Civil Islam Theory, and Political Opportunity Structure Theory in explaining the dynamics of state da'wah institution relations in Indonesia. These theoretical perspectives demonstrate that the interaction between the state and da'wah institutions is not static but continuously shaped through negotiation, adaptation, and socio-political transformation.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the broader discourse on state civil society relations within the context of Indonesian Islam by proposing an Adaptive State Da'wah Relations Periodization Model. This model explains the evolution of state da'wah institution relations through four relational phases: restrictive, negotiative, accommodative-controlled, and participatory. It refines State Society Relations Theory, Civil Islam Theory, and Political Opportunity Structure Theory by showing that da'wah institutions are not passive recipients of state policy, but adaptive social actors capable of negotiation, institutional transformation, and strategic repositioning across changing political regimes. The study also expands da'wah studies by linking state policies, political opportunity structures, and the transformation of da'wah from religious propagation toward substantive, transformative, and civic engagement. Practically, this study recommends strengthening collaboration between government and da'wah institutions in promoting religious moderation, social development, and digital literacy. Da'wah institutions should enhance their organizational adaptability and digital engagement strategies, while future research should examine contemporary state da'wah relations through empirical field-based studies.

Despite these contributions, this study has several limitations. The research relied primarily on the Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach, making the findings dependent on the availability and quality of existing scholarly literature. Therefore, future studies are encouraged to combine literature-based analysis with field research to obtain deeper insights into contemporary state da'wah institution relations. Future research may also focus more specifically on particular da'wah organizations or examine the transformation of da'wah institutions within the digital era to enrich the discourse on da'wah management, political Islam, and state religion relations in Indonesia.

Author Contributions

Conceptualization, F.P.; methodology, F.P.; validation, F.P.; formal analysis, F.P.; investigation, F.P.; resources, F.P.; data curation, F.P.; writing—original draft preparation, F.P.; writing—review and editing, F.P.; visualization, F.P.; supervision, F.P.; project administration, F.P. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

Funding

This research received no external funding.

Institutional Review Board Statement

Not applicable. This study did not involve human participants or animal subjects because the research employed a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach using secondary data from scholarly publications.

Informed Consent Statement

Not applicable.

Declaration of Generative AI and AI-assisted Technologies in the Writing Process

During the preparation of this work, the author used ChatGPT by OpenAI to assist in language refinement, academic editing, and manuscript organization. After using this tool, the author

reviewed and edited the content as needed and takes full responsibility for the content of the publication.

Acknowledgments

The author would like to express sincere gratitude to all scholars and researchers whose publications contributed to the completion of this study. Appreciation is also extended to academic colleagues and institutions that provided indirect support during the research process.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest. The funders had no role in the design of the study; in the collection, analyses, or interpretation of data; in the writing of the manuscript; or in the decision to publish the results.

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