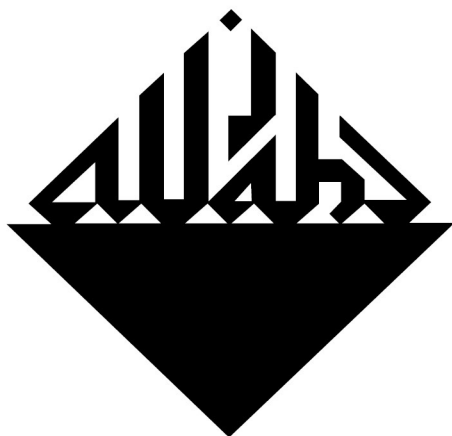


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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THE STUDY OF ISLAM IN INDONESIA:
A 75-YEAR RETROSPECTIVE ON A POST-ORIENTALIST
COLLABORATION

James B. Hoesterey

THE SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF ISLAM
IN INDONESIA: A 75 YEAR RETROSPECTIVE

Robert W. Hefner

INDONESIAN POST-ORIENTALIST STUDY OF ISLAM

Muhamad Ali

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

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Shedding Light on Indonesian Islam:
The Latest Trends from Europe

James B. Hoesterey

The Study of Islam in Indonesia: A 75-Year Retrospective on a Post-Orientalist Collaboration

Abstract: *This special issue retrospective on the study of Islam in Indonesia chronicles several disciplinary approaches, methodological strategies, and theoretical interventions in the study of the social, economic, political, artistic, and religious life of Islam, across nearly eight decades of Indonesian independence. As a collection of essays in the spirit of reflection on a wide corpus of scholarship, these essays cover an incredible breadth of ground. This introduction offers some context for the intellectual vision of this panel (moving towards Post-Orientalist collaborations) and ponders possible future models of research and scholarship that are cognizant of trends in postcolonial theory and decolonial thought that seek to diversify and amplify voices on the margin, not simply for the sake of diverse representation, but especially to expand and sharpen our understandings of Islam in Indonesia.*

Keywords: Study of Islam, Indonesia, Post-Orientalist, Retrospective.

Abstrak: *Isu khusus retrospektif mengenai studi Islam di Indonesia ini mencatat beberapa pendekatan disipliner, strategi metodologis, dan intervensi teoretis dalam kajian kehidupan sosial, ekonomi, politik, artistik, dan religius Islam, selama hampir delapan dekade kemerdekaan Indonesia. Sebagai kumpulan esai yang merefleksikan beragam kajian ilmiah, esai-esai ini mencakup spektrum bahasan yang sangat luas. Pendahuluan ini menawarkan beberapa konteks untuk visi intelektual panel ini (bergerak menuju kolaborasi pasca-orientalis). Tulisan ini juga merefleksikan kemungkinan model penelitian dan keilmuan di masa depan yang menyadari tren dalam teori pascakolonial dan pemikiran dekolonial. Tren riset yang diharapkan adalah model penelitian yang berupaya untuk mendiversifikasi dan memperkuat suara-suara marginal, bukan semata-mata demi representasi yang beragam, tetapi terutama untuk memperluas dan mempertajam pemahaman kita tentang Islam di Indonesia.*

Kata kunci: Studi Islam, Indonesia, Pasca-Orientalis, Retrospektif.

ملخص: تسجل هذه القضايا الاستيعادية الخاصة حول الدراسات الإسلامية في إندونيسيا مقاربات منهجية واستراتيجيات بحثية وتدخلات نظرية متعددة في دراسة الحياة الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والسياسية والفنية والدينية للإسلام، على مدى ما يقرب من ثمانية عقود من استقلال إندونيسيا. وباعتبارها مجموعة من المقالات التي تعكس تنوعاً في البحث العلمي، فإن هذه المقالات تغطي طيفاً واسعاً جداً من الموضوعات. وتقدم هذه المقدمة بعض السياقات للرؤية الفكرية لهذه الندوة (المتجهة نحو تعاون ما بعد الاستشراق). كما تتأمل هذه الورقة البحثية في نماذج بحثية وعلمية مستقبلية محتملة تدرك الاتجاهات في النظرية ما بعد الاستعمارية والفكر التحرري من الاستعمار. والاتجاه البحثي المأمول هو نموذج بحثي يسعى إلى تنويع وتعزيز الأصوات المهمشة، ليس مجرد التمثيل المتنوع، ولكن بشكل أساسي لتوسيع وتعميق فهمنا للإسلام في إندونيسيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الدراسات الإسلامية، إندونيسيا، ما بعد الاستشراق، استيعادي.

First held in 2014, the AAS-in-Asia conference was initiated to foster greater international interactions, connections, and collaborations than were possible in expensive hotel ballrooms of North America. Generally smaller in size, these gatherings also fostered more intimate settings for intellectual exchange, cultural performances, and network building across continents and institutions. When the Association for Asian Studies selected Yogyakarta as the site for the 2024 AAS-in-Asia, scholars of Indonesia around the world and across the archipelago booked flights and contacted colleagues. The result was an impressive array of panels, roundtables, keynotes, and parallel events. More importantly, though, the atmosphere reflected important shifts in the study of Asia – what should be studied, how, and by whom? Ariel Heryanto’s prophetic question, “Can there be Southeast Asians in Southeast Asian Studies?” was answered with a resounding, yes.

Alas, this certainly does not dismiss the many ways the Western study of Southeast Asia has been (and can still be) marred by theoretical assumptions, cultural misunderstandings, and hegemonic relationships. Indeed, such a critical historical overview – warts and all – was the focus of the panel “The Study of Islam in Indonesia: A 75-Year Retrospective on a Post-Orientalist Collaboration.” The panel title nods to, and builds on, the influential volume, *Rethinking Islamic Studies: From Orientalism to Cosmopolitanism* (2010), in which stalwarts of Islamic studies Carl W. Ernst and Richard C. Martin trace developments in twentieth-century Islamic studies from more textualist Orientalist approaches to contemporary methodological and theoretical trends in lived practice, everyday experience, and global Muslim cosmopolitanism. Organized by senior anthropologists Robert W. Hefner and Mark Woodward, the panel also featured essays by esteemed scholars of Islam in Indonesia Muhamad Ali, Fatimah Husein, and Nancy J. Smith-Hefner. While there was an intention to cover a range of topics and voices, the same retrospective aims could have been achieved with any number of combinations of the many scholars working on Islam in Indonesia. Rather than revisiting my comments as panel discussant, here I would like to elaborate on the vision behind this panel, the range of reflections provided, the spaces that remain unaddressed (not surprising in a country with about 250 million Muslims), and some possible paths forward as Southeast Asian studies moves from post-Orientalist critique towards intentional international collaboration .

As a collection of essays in the spirit of reflection on a wide corpus of scholarship (across anthropology, Islamic studies, history, political science and the arts), these essays cover an incredible breadth of ground. Their bibliographies alone could well serve as a master class in the history of the study of Islam in Indonesia and beyond. Aware of the *longue durée* of Islam in the archipelago and its study by colonial officers, Western academics, and Indonesian intellectuals, for several reasons authors of this special issue have confined their analysis to the seventy-five-year arc beginning with Indonesian independence and the subsequent expansion of area studies centers in Europe, North America, and elsewhere. As Hefner's article demonstrates, no less important was the legacy of anthropologist Clifford Geertz (and colleagues in the 1950s Mojokuto study), during an era when Indonesia became a lens through which Geertz would develop his own ideas in symbolic anthropology, interpretive practice, and a peculiar reading of Islam.

With respect to Geertz's legacy on the study of Javanese religion, over three decades ago Mark R. Woodward (1989) argued forcefully that Geertz was misguided in his depiction of Islam as a "thin veneer." Indeed, Woodward contended that what Geertz understood as supposedly deeper "Hindu-Buddhist" senses of self actually reflected long histories of Islamic mystical practice. These theoretical and conceptual developments were occurring during a period of Islamic revival in Indonesia, from the Salman Mosque movement at ITB to Suharto's own flirtations with Islamic organizations as he sought to maintain political power. As Hefner (2000) has shown, the 1990s New Order even helped to usher in Islamic banking, newspapers, and Muslim intellectual organizations. In the wake of Suharto's downfall in 1998, the spirit of *reformasi* in the early 2000s ushered in a burst in creative expression of Islamic piety, along with its varied political agendas from pornography to sharia law (Fealy and White 2008).

Another crucial dynamic during the last seventy-five years has been the contributions of Indonesian intellectuals who often trained abroad and returned to Indonesia to make new strides in the study of Islam. Muhamad Ali's essay traces several of these figures whose legacies are important not just in terms of understanding Islam in Indonesia but also with respect to the development of institutions of learning, new methodological approaches, and new theoretical ways of thinking about Islam and Muslim lifeworlds. From Nurcholish

Madjid and Syafi'i Maarif to Taufik Abdullah and Azyumardi Azra, Ali traces these intellectual trajectories as they bear on the development of educational institutions in Indonesia (see also Abbas 2021). Now in 2025, Indonesian scholars of Islam are not simply trained to return to universities at home, but now scholars such as Muhamad Ali, Etin Anwar, Nadirsyah Hosen, Eva Nisa, and Mun'im Sirry now shape the study of Islam not even primarily in Indonesian studies, but importantly in the global field of Islamic studies.

Our understandings of Islam in Indonesia have also been shaped by feminist critiques of Western social theory. Nancy J. Smith-Hefner provides an important analysis of how scholars of gender and sexuality have played important roles in reshaping the study of gender and Islam. At once respectful of the monumental contributions of scholars such as Hildred Geertz, Smith-Hefner nonetheless offers sharp insights into how shifts in gender theory over recent decades afforded new opportunities to go beyond the male-dominated religious spaces and better understand women's ideas, spaces, experiences, and agency.

Fatimah Husein's contribution provides an additional vantage point from which to posit a feminist critique through her study of Hadhrami female preachers. Important scholarly works have studied the Hadhrami diaspora to better understand the flows of moving people, ideas, and texts across the Indian ocean over the course of several centuries (Ho 2006; Mandal 2017) as well as contemporary trends in Hadhrami religious authority (Alatas 2021; Slama 2012; Rijal 2020; Husein 2021) as one way to expand our understandings of both Islam and Indonesia. Husein's essay shows what is to be gained by intentionally listening to women's voices, dilemmas, and modes of authentication within Islamic, and particularly Sufi, traditions.

Together, these essays provide retrospective analysis and consider current trends in Indonesian Islam and those who try to keep up with it. Equally important, I would like to call special attention to what I understand as one of the central goals of this panel, namely to take stock of the study of Islam in ways that not only aim at representation in terms of who studies and speaks about Islam in Indonesia, but that also build on existing exemplary models of scholarly collaboration that build international partnerships across institutions and disciplines and sharpen the very questions we are asking. Indeed, each of the authors here have long been part of international collaborations through their

respective universities and organizational affiliations—from global research teams to international co-publication efforts to professional development workshops and public diplomacy tours.

So, how might we learn from some exemplary models of the study of Islam in Indonesia that intentionally position themselves within decolonial epistemology and practice. In this respect, I find myself more of a Marxian interested in capital and means of production than a Foucauldian concerned with language, power, and representation. To return to Heryanto's prescient query, Southeast Asians being in Southeast Asian studies is certainly about more than panel representation, historical understanding, and theoretical humility. The global academic class divide is real and our approaches to funding global collaboration need to seriously address it, from considerations about who has access to the financial means to produce knowledge, publish in academic journals, and speak on the global stage to navigating this era of predatory journals and shared publication costs where scholars are increasingly being asked to pay to play.

In this regard, I am inspired by colleagues in this special issue, as well as those at other institutions in Australia, Europe, Japan, and North America, who have done fantastic work to integrate doctoral fellowships, academic workshops, professional training, and co-publication into their collaborative grants. As another example, years prior to AAS-in-Yogyakarta – when COVID had precluded academic and research travel – the American Institute for Indonesian Studies and Michigan State University's Asian Studies Center collaborated for the inaugural online AIFIS-MSU Conference on Indonesian Studies. Those of us on the program committee expected a few dozen panel proposals, but we had over 500 participants, over half from Indonesian universities, and many of those representing smaller regional colleges. Our aim with 300+ individually submitted papers was to be intentional in forming panels with Indonesian and non-Indonesians, graduate students and senior scholars.

No single conference, grant, or book can accomplish the myriad goals of decolonizing Southeast Asian Studies. While there is no consensus on exactly what such a task looks like, we might build on scholarly attention to power, representation, and the production of knowledge; financial inequities and differential access to the capital necessary to conduct research; and campus labor conditions that facilitate the production of

Indonesian scholarship. While there was certainly significant representation of Indonesian scholars in Yogyakarta, the financial bar to register and attend academic conferences in general remains high and it is imperative that we imagine new funding models that address this imbalance in access to capital. Without resorting to the neo-liberalization of our academic mission, we can continue to seek major funding that supports global research and educational exchange in meaningful ways that provide the economic, academic, and symbolic means necessary to expand the voices and questions in Southeast Asian Studies.

These are collective conversations, to be sure, but the broader intellectual landscape is the result of scores of small, seemingly minor decisions – which scholars we engage with, which journals we publish in, which boards we serve on, and how the financial scaffolding of our own research might serve as impediment or contribution towards decolonizing our respective fields.

Heryanto's incisive question can thus never be resolved, for it is up to each generation of scholars, from Aceh to Atlanta, to listen to, engage, amplify, mentor, and be mentored by Southeast Asian voices that have been there all along. This collection of essays is a small step in that direction.

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تصميم الغلاف:

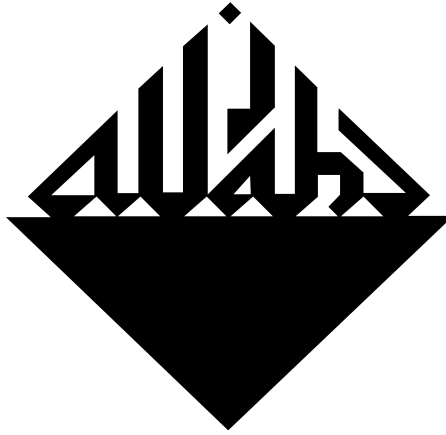
س. برنكا

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استوديا اسلاميا

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