ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM
AS A SIGNIFIER OF THE SIXTH PHASE
OF GLOBALIZATION

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Abstrak

Artikel ini mengkaji fundamentalisme Islam melalui perspektif historis pada globalisasi yang ditawarkan oleh Roland Robertson, teori tentang fundamentalisme Islam dan hubungannya dengan keterlibatan pemuda di Indonesia. Secara teori fundamentalisme Islam dibagi menajdi dua: Pertama adalah "kesinambungan dan perubahan", perkembangan fundamentalisme dalam Islam adalah baik kontinuitas dan juga perubahan dalam sejarah Islam. Teori kedua adalah "tantangan dan kesempatan". Asumsi dasar dari teori ini adalah bahwa krisis di negara muslim modern sosial, politik, dan budaya memperkuat gerakan fundamentalisme Islam. Maju teknologi dalam komunikasi, informasi, dan jaringan transportasi negara di seluruh dunia; berbagai acara, kejadian, dan fenomena akan menyebar dengan cepat dari satu negara ke negara lain.

This article examines Islamic fundamentalism through a historical perspective on globalization offered by Roland Robertson, the theory of Islamic fundamentalism and its relation to the involvement of youth in Indonesia. In theory, Islamic fundamentalism is divided into two classifications. First is the "continuity and change", the development of fundamentalism in Islam is both continuity and change in Islamic history. The second theory is the "challenges and opportunities". The basic assumption of this theory is that the crisis in the modern Muslim world, accumulation social, political, and cultural are consider the main factors influence Islamic fundamentalism. Advanced technology in communications, information, and the country's transportation networks around the world; variety of shows, events, and the phenomenon will spread rapidly from one country to another.

Kata Kunci: Globalisasi, modernitas, fundamentalisme, Robertson, Islam Indonesia

A. Introduction

In terms of religion, modernity has generally been identified with the resolute of a sacramental view of reality and of anthropomorphic conceptions of the divinity, as well as even more radically with an outright rejection of any notion of transcendence.[1] In this sense, Western modernity has involved the first kin of distancing: from the organic to mechanic; from the corporate to individual; form hierarchy to equality and in the west, this movement has been regarded as a motion away from religion. Religion tends to be left behind. What then modernity encounter Islamic world?

According to Mohammed Arkoun, modernity came initially into the Islamic world (Muslim countries) through a process of invasion; by using the power of military, it ran simultaneously together with the well-known history of Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1798-1801.[2]

The wave of modernization affect entire entity around the world; there are various impacts both positive and negative caused by modernity. Later, the problem of modernity not only emerged and was felt by Muslim countries but also in the west as the "nest of modernity". Western countries got some problems particularly related to the concepts such as nationalism, historicism, rationalism, positivism, and the others.

Besides, There are other current problems that appear particularly among developing-Muslim countries such as the problem of democracy, human right, gender, poverty, education, and so on.

For Muslim countries, the problem of modernity becomes more complex. It may be affected by some reasons such as the oppression of people since the decade of 50's, despotism in the governmental institution, the impact of foreign ideology like liberalism, secularism, communism, and the other accessible factors.

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[1] Mark C. Taylor, Critical Terms for Religious Studies, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.), p.190.

[2] Regarding to Arkoun's thought in the exploration and the encountering between modernity and Islamic world, see, Suadi Putro, *Mohammed Arkoun, Islam and Modernitas,* Mohammed Arkoun's View on Islam and Modernity, (Jakarta: Paramadina.), p.51.

There are various types of reaction to the problems of modernity; contemporary Islamic movements from liberal one up to fundamentalists as well the significant changes in social, political, and economical aspects.

However, the most obvious reaction that appeared in developing Muslim countries is the wave of radicalism-fundamentalism. The reaction against modernity, as admitted by F. J. Lechner,[3] has necessarily global implications; it entails a world-view in the sense of advocating a distinct view of "the world". He shows Islamic fundamentalism as an example, according to him, they attempt to make global culture as a target of fundamentalist movement and try to restore a sacred tradition as a basis for a meaningful social order and as one effort among others to preserve or achieve a certain cultural authenticity. He affirms,

> "For Islamic militants this includes an obligation to spread the Islamic Revolution and the defeat the dominant Western Satan. A global culture, not simply local circumstances, becomes the target of fundamentalist movements. The defenders of God aspire to bringing the kingdom of God to the earth as a whole and, in this sense; they become important actors on the global scene. As global anti-systemic movement, they attempt to resolve literally world wild problems in global fashion-changing both the actual balance of power in the world and the cultural terms on which global actors operate".[4]

Such reaction as Lechner stated tends to be very extreme and can even become of terrorism. We can see such reaction in Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the current situation in Indonesia since the case of bomb in some places in this country. The raise of fundamentalism in Muslim countries, thereby, become one important thing that is interesting to be discussed, if we relate to the phases of

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[3] his idea of global fundamentalism can be seen further, "Global Fundamentalism" in W. Swatos (Ed.), *A Future for Religion*, 1993, Sage. Yet, this paper refers to the overview on that book in John Beynon and David Dunkerley (Ed.), *Globalization: The Reader.* (New York: Routledge.), p.155-158.

[4] *Ibid,* p.156

globalization since Islamic fundamentalism is claimed as one of the signifiers of the sixth phase of globalization. [5]

Thus, this paper attempts to scrutiny the historical perspective on globalization offered by Roland Robertson, theories on Islamic fundamentalism and its relationship to the youth involvement in Indonesia.

B. Historical Perspective of Globalization

It is not easy to explicate the origin of globalization since there are various insights from theorists. However, there are at least three prominent scholars, who offer different perspectives of the origin of globalization, they are Anthony Giddens, D. Mcgrew Held, and Roland Robertson.[6]

As a basic theory to look the relationship between the raise of fundamentalism and the phase of globalization today, I am interested to see Robertson's historical perspective on globalization.

He divides the phase of globalization into five phases: *the first phase*, 1400 – 1750: the germinal phase of global exploration, along with the spread of the Roman Catholic Church; the widespread adoption of the Gregorian calendar; the advent of mapping and of modern geography; and the growth of national communities and of the state system.

The second phase, 1750 – 1875: the emergence of internationalism in the form of international relations and exhibitions as non-European countries began to be admitted to the Europe-dominated international society. *The third phase*, 1875 – 1925: the take off phase of globalization, marked by globalizing tendencies such as communicational advances and increasing economic and political

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[5] As a basic theory to expound the phases of globalization, I refer to Roland Robertson's historical perspective on globalization, see further, Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* or John Beynon and David Dunkerley (Ed.), *Globalization: The Reader*,(New York:Routledge.) p.9.

[6] based on *Globalization: the Reader* that overviewed the bibliographies on globalization, we refer to Giddens' *The Consequences of Modernity*, 1990, Polity Press, to Held at al., 1999, *Global Transformation: Politics, Economics, and Culture*, and to Robertson's *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture.*

connections, along with cultural and sporting links like the Olympic movement and the first world conflict (1914-18).

The fourth phase, 1925 – 1969: the struggle for dominance phase, with World War II and splitting of the atom, as well as the founding of the United Nations and other organizations with a global remit.

The fifth phase, 1969 *to date*: the end of the Cold War; the moon landing and planetary exploration; the emergence of global institutions and global mass media; and world-wide debates around race, ethnicity, sex, gender, sexuality, and human rights. And Robertson believes that today we have already entered a sixth phase of globalization.

He expounds that there are many signifiers of the sixth globalization such as one of global uncertainty, the advent of AIDS; the rise of new diseases and pandemics; the emergence of old scourge in new forms like tuberculosis and smallpox; global environment hazards; the revival of ancient ethnic hatred; the immense influence of the global media; and the growth of Islamic Fundamentalism.

By recognizing the last signifier mentioned by Robertson, the phenomena of the wave of fundamentalism in Muslim countries along the last decade supposed to justify his thesis. Thus, look at the theories on the Islamic fundamentalism.

C. Theories on Islamic Fundamentalism

Globally, theories on the Islamic fundamentalism can be divided into two mainstreams.[7] The first theory is *continuity and change*; the development of fundamentalism in Islam is both continuity and also a change in the history of Islam. One of the scholars who can be categorized into this group is Ernest Gellner[8]. He

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[7]This classification is based on Mujiburrahman's categorization on the study of Islamic fundamentalism, see, "*Menakar Fenomena Fundamentalisme Islam*" (Bandung: Pustaka, 2002), p.77-90.

[8] His theory can be scrutinized further in his article "Fundamentlism as a Comprhensive System:Soviet Marxism and Islam fundamentalism Compared" in Martin E. Marty & R.Scott Appleby (Eds), Fundamentalism Comprehend, p.280-281.

affirmed that the fundamentalism in Islam has continuity to the history of Islam itself and the social change.

Along the history of Islam, according to Gellner, there is a dialectical relationship between high tradition and low tradition. High tradition refers to Islam, which is considerably closer to the Holy Scripture; and commonly embraced by urban communities. While low tradition usually develop in rural community in which the local culture and tradition assimilate with Islam. The first tradition will always be upheld; while the second tradition (low tradition) tends to extend and decline, Muslims will easily move to the first tradition. It means that Islamic fundamentalism is a movement that attempts to reform the low tradition toward high tradition. Thus, Islamic fundamentalism today is the continuity from purification movement in the last several centuries such as the era Ibn Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyah, Abd. Al-Wahhab, and so on.

Another scholar who deals with the theory of *continuity and change* is Fazlurrahman. He expounds that before neo-fundamentalism emerge, there are two other movements preceded it i.e. revivalism and modernism movement. The first is a renewal movement pioneered by Muhammad Ibn Abdil Wahhab. The main point of this movement is calling to purify Islam from *bid'ah* (heresy), *khurafat* (superstition), and inviting to *ijtihad.* The second is the modernism movement in Islam. The reformers of this group are Muhammad Abduh and Jamaluddin al-Afghani. Since this movement was developed in the influence of western modernity, the thought that they offered tend to be apologetic yet, they developed the values of modernity by reinterpreting the notion of Islam. Living in this ambiguity, then, the establishment of neo-revivalism or neo-fundamentalism was a reaction to the unsatisfying achievement of the modernism movement.

The second theory is *challenge and opportunity*. The basic assumption of this theory is that crisis in modern Muslim country socially, politically, and culturally strengthens the movement of Islamic fundamentalism. The advanced of technology in communication, information, and transportation links the country

around the world; various events, occurrences, and phenomena will spread out fast from one country to another.

This condition influences Muslims to react when they know certain information such as the struggle of Muslim Palestine against Israel, the invasion of Iraq, or even the current attack on WTC last September 11, 2001. This inclination affects to the wave of fundamentalism in Muslim country. The other cause of Islamic fundamentalism is reaction to the western ideology such as liberalism and capitalism.

According to Hassan Hanafi, the ideology such as socialism, liberalism and capitalism in Muslim country lead to fail and tighten the gap both materially and intellectually.[9] Thus, they confront those ideologies by arguing that "Islam is a solution".

Based on those two theories, the emergent of fundamentalism in Islam is caused by external influences by rejecting things that are considerably contradictive to the notion of Islam and internal reflection by affirming that Islam is different with the others. So, the variant of Islamic fundamentalism depend on the social background and the situation where the movement develops.

This interdependence between external and internal influence actually relates to the epiphenomenona where one community interacts with the other community; one will influence or be influenced to or by another and inversely. Thereby, when we discuss about the relevance between fundamentalism and youth, it is unavoidable to relate with the social circumstance where the youth lives and interacts to the other directly or indirectly. In other words, it is important to talk about the psychosocial condition of the development of Islamic fundamentalism. Hence, since the discussion will be focused on the youth's role in the emergent of fundamentalism in Islam, the next discussion is leaded to the relationship between psychosocial and the tendency of youth involvement in Islamic fundamentalism.

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[9] Hassan Hanafi, "*Asal Usul Konservatisme Keagamaan dan Fundamentalisme Islam*", Ulumul qur'an. No.7.Vol.3.1990.p.18-25

D. Psychosocial and Fundamentalism

According to Hoffman, some authors have termed Islamic fundamentalism a "youth revolt" reflecting the particular anxieties created by the necessity to find one's own identity in a world of confusing choices. Issues of identity are most acute in areas where western cultural impact is strongest; in the cities, in the university, and perhaps most particularly in the faculties of science, where the embrace of western learning is most complete. He points out,

> "One fact stands out in all of the countries under study Islamic fundamentalism is primarily a revolt of young people who are caught between a traditional past and a higher secular education with all its implications of western intellectual impact and contact with materialistically oriented culture of the modern urban environment. The contradiction between the values learned from the past and the realities of the present confront young people with bewildering contradiction and often a multitude of moral choices that creates a sense of anxiety, loneliness, and disorientation".[10]

This psychological resistance between the notion and the values from their previous experience and knowledge and the contradictive condition faced by youth generation is, according to Hoffman, so-called psychosocial alienation. It can be obviously seen in the urban community.

Thereby, for Hoffman, urbanization has contributed to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in a number of ways: Firstly, it is partly an expression of disappointment of the hopes engendered by the move to the city. Secondly, it is a result of the increased facility of communications made possible in the urban environment, and thirdly, it is a result of the perception of moral corruption in the urban environment compared with more traditional and socially cohesive village environment.[11]

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[10] Valerie J. Hoffman, Social Profiles of Islamic Fundamnetalism" in Martin E. Marty & R.Scott Appleby (Eds), Fundamentalism Comprehend, p.210.

[11] *Ibid*, p.211.

In the Indonesian context, Hoffman's thesis will seem to make sense. The wave of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia tends to react to the resistance between the unsatisfying development and the values belong to them. The fundamental and radical movements are mostly conducted by urban people; they can be workers and students of university, they are dominantly from rural area then they move to the city to work or to study.

E. Youth and Fundamentalism

Just as the example of the psychosocial resistance within the radical and fundamental movement in Islam, in 2002, there was a book published by Muhammadiyah University Press "Radikalisme Keagamaan dan Perubahan Sosial"[12]. This book presents a research done by Research Team of Surakarta Muhammadiyah University. There are nine radical groups that were scrutinized i.e. Majlis Ta'lim al-Ishlah, Front Pembela Islam Surakarta, Brigade Hizbullah, Barisan Bismillah, KAMMI, Gerakan Pemuda Ka'bah, Laskar Hizbullah Sunan Bonang, Jundullah, and Laskar Jihad.

Among these groups there is actually an interrelationship of one to another both explicitly and implicitly, it can be the similar agenda such as the expectation to build *daulah islamiyah* (Islamic state), using religious symbols, and another similarities, it can be organically linkage between one group to another both in the same organization or different organizations.

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[12] This research is convincingly representative to describe the wave of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia, see, Lishat, Zainuddin Fannanie, Atika Sabardila, and Dwi Purwanto, Radikalisme Keagamaan dan Perubahan Sosial. p.61-86. Based on this book, there are at least four pattern of thought as a reaction to the situation or environment where they live. The first is Islam is the only a single perfect, and final religion; there is no different interpretation. Islam can be understood by various and different interpretation. The second is the earliest generation is the ideal generation, so they assume that Muslims' lives must refer to that period. The third is the only absolute truth is coming from God and it's in the Qur'an. Thus, everything should be traced in the Holy Scripture. The last is God is must be assisted; live and death are belong to God. To die in sake of assisting God is *Syahid* (martyr).

This research (the location of the research is in Surakarta, Central Java) will remind us of one of the perpetrators in the case of suicide bombing (Arman who died with Azahari in Batu, Malang, he is a student of one university in Surakarta). Are these any real connection with those groups?

If we read the investigation reported by Tempo Magazine[13], it is not nonsense to assume that the wave of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia really exists and it is not a trivial thing.

Concerning the wave of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia and its relevance to the youth generation, I think, we should get a lesson from Algeria. After the governmental transition there, the production aspect was really motivating the rise of industrial sector. It automatically also fasten the wave of urbanization in one hand. On the other hand, the wave of capitalism also supports to the increase in the number of capitalist groups who don't care about the development in the sense of grass root's side. They were not interested to develop their own country; they prefer to get the foreign partners rather than their partners from their country for the sake of bigger profit.

The impact is the number of unemployment arises. The young people find it very difficult to get jobs while the cost of education is very expensive, this situation probably the same with this country today. To live in that situation, they find it easier to get involved in the radical and fundamental movement. That's the initial sign of fundamental movement. Based on this phenomenon especially in Algeria's case, Garaudy[14] said that the main cause of every fundamental movement is accumulation and inter influencing between oppression, threatening, and injustice situation with culture and religion.

What the country of Algeria experienced is actually similar with the situation in Indonesia. The run of development in this country

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[13] The further investigation can be read in Tempo, especially on Novemver 20, 2005. It explores those perpetrators on the recent suicide bombing case and also about the linkage within the gorup and how they organize themselves.

[14] Roger Garaudy, *Islam Fundamentalis dan Fundamentalis Lainnya*, (Bandung: Pustaka, 2000), p.51.

tends to be no evenness of distribution, while the occupancy of jobs is very limited. It leads to enlarge the number of unemployment and as the matter of fact; the cost of education is very expensive.

Regarding psychosocial theory above and relating it with the relationship between the involvement of youth and the Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia, at least, there are two reasons to answer why the young generation tends to be radical and fundamental or even easy to become a terrorist.

The first, for youth who cannot get the access to increase their study or they just looking for a job in the city, they usually leave their own village for a certain town or city. They try to find a job as hard as possible. When they are getting bored or unsatisfied with the situation, they will be easier to do something randomly even burden the high risk. Then, they will meet a new and promising situation such as a fundamentalist movement.

The second, the young generation who can get the access to continue their study they probably also feel doubt, hatred, and dissatisfaction with the situation where they live and study. When they found the different situation with what they knew and grasped before particularly regarding to the notion and the value of religion, they will be a psychosocial resistance in their selves. In this situation, they will try to look for and gather in the same thought and goals, they will organize to react with the situation or they meet the satisfying room according to their thought and expectation.

In the terms of *logotherapy theory*[15], these two possibilities belong to young generation are *existential frustration* (the first stage); incapability to see that this life is containing the meaningful life in which every human being should understand and comprehend by himself/herself holistically in order to have self-consciousness and at the second stage, they are in the *existential vacuum*; purposelessness and doubtful, they are in anxieties, solicitous, bored, and apathies to

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[15] This theory based on the logotherapy introduced and developed by Viktor Frankl, see, "The Philosophical Foundation of Logotherapy" in his book "Psychotherapy and Existentialism" p. 13-28.

the reality, then they try to find the right place according to their experience.

So, to understand the wave of Islamic fundamentalism is important too to understand the psychosocial of young generation. The wave of Islamic fundamentalism is not merely one cause or just because of the influence from external factor. It is also from within the individual and the integrity of personality of the young generation. The resistance within the young generation personality has a significant role and influence to the development of Islamic fundamentalism in this country.

Thereby, wherever and whenever the unbalance and injustice situation in a certain country particularly relating to the right of young generation such as the access to get better education and jobs, the wave of fundamentalism will always emerge. In this point, all elements and stakeholders of the country have to be aware of the current and the future of young generation (not in the sense of oppression and just blaming to their radical movement).

F. Epilogue

Regarding Robertson' thesis that the long-term outcomes of globalization are uncertain and "up for grabs"; there are many possibilities in the global era. Thus, to understand the signifier of sixth globalization is very complicated. For instance, the wave of Islamic fundamentalism; there are complex factors within the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism such as in Indonesia. The pattern could be different and probably the same between one country to another.

Recognizing the theories to understand the Islamic fundamentalism, there are at least two views; continuity and change theory and challenge and opportunity theory. Yet, to see the wave of Islamic fundamentalism and its relevance to the youth, it is not sufficient to just apply those two theories. It should be understood also by the psychosocial of the young generation where and when they live.

Based on the study above, the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism is caused by the resistance between the notion and the values belong to youth and the situation and environment they live

that are quite different and probably must be changed according to them. This resistance within the self of youth leads them to be in existential frustration and existential vacuum, and in this condition they will be easier to gather or build the radical and fundamental movement.

Then how to overcome it? Every element of this country must be aware of the young's right to access the better education and to get available occupancy of jobs. When their positions are still left behind, the wave of radicalism and fundamentalism movement will always emerge in this country.

D. Conclusion

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