

Yusuf al-Qaradawi and the Genealogy of Islamic Populist Politics in Indonesia

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Abstract : This article analyzes the influence of Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought on the genealogy of Islamic populist politics in post-Reformasi Indonesia. The study is grounded in the growing mobilization of religious identity, the rise of Islamic moral politics, and the increasing use of "ummah"-based narratives within contemporary Indonesian democratic dynamics. In this context, Islam is not only understood as a spiritual identity but also as a political resource that shapes public discourse and electoral contestation. Methodologically, this research employs a qualitative approach using political genealogy analysis to trace the relationship between transnational Islamic thought and the development of Islamic populism in Indonesia. This approach enables a historical and contextual examination of how ideas circulate, transform, and are reinterpreted within specific socio-political environments. The theoretical framework used is Vedi R. Hadiz's theory of Islamic populism, which conceptualizes Islamic populism as a form of identity-based political mobilization constructed through a dichotomy between the "ummah" and the elite. The findings show that Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought has made a significant contribution to the formation of Islamic political discourse in Indonesia. His key concepts—such as *syumuliyyah al-Islam* (the comprehensiveness of Islam), Muslim political participation, Islamic morality in public life, and global Muslim solidarity—have provided intellectual and moral foundations for various Islamic movements. The dissemination of his ideas has occurred through multiple channels, including campus da'wah networks, the tarbiyah movement, Islamic publishing houses, satellite television, graduates of Middle Eastern universities, and, more recently, digital media platforms. The study also finds that al-Qaradawi's thought has undergone processes of adaptation and localization within Indonesia's pluralistic and multicultural democratic context. His ideas are not adopted in a uniform manner but are reinterpreted according to local political and cultural conditions. The relevance of his intellectual legacy is evident in the rise of Islamic identity politics, religiously based mass mobilization, digital da'wah practices, and moralized political narratives within Indonesian Islamic populism. In conclusion, Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought constitutes one of the key intellectual and moral foundations of Islamic populist politics in Indonesia. However, its influence is neither singular nor deterministic, as it continuously interacts with domestic socio-political dynamics, digital media ecosystems, and broader cultural transformations within contemporary Indonesian Muslim society.

Keywords : Yusuf Al-Qaradawi; Islamic Populism; Political Islam; Indonesian Democracy.

Abstrak : Artikel ini menganalisis pengaruh pemikiran Yusuf al-Qaradawi terhadap genealogi politik populisme Islam di Indonesia pasca-Reformasi. Penelitian ini berangkat dari meningkatnya mobilisasi identitas keagamaan, politik moralitas Islam, dan penggunaan narasi berbasis umat dalam dinamika demokrasi Indonesia. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis genealogi politik, penelitian ini menelusuri hubungan antara pemikiran Islam transnasional dan perkembangan populisme Islam di Indonesia. Kerangka teoritis yang digunakan adalah teori populisme Islam Vedi R. Hadiz yang memandang populisme Islam sebagai mobilisasi politik berbasis

identitas melalui dikotomi antara umat dan elite. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pemikiran Yusuf al-Qaradawi berkontribusi signifikan terhadap pembentukan wacana politik Islam di Indonesia. Konsep *syumuliyyah al-Islam*, partisipasi politik umat Islam, moralitas Islam dalam ruang publik, dan solidaritas Muslim global menjadi landasan intelektual bagi berbagai gerakan Islam. Penyebaran gagasannya berlangsung melalui jaringan dakwah kampus, gerakan tarbiyah, penerbitan Islam, alumni Timur Tengah, hingga media digital. Penelitian ini juga menemukan bahwa gagasan al-Qaradawi mengalami adaptasi dan lokalisasi dalam konteks demokrasi Indonesia yang plural dan multikultural. Pengaruhnya terlihat dalam menguatnya politik identitas Islam, mobilisasi massa berbasis agama, dakwah digital, dan narasi politik bermuatan moral. Meskipun demikian, pengaruh tersebut tidak bersifat deterministik karena terus berinteraksi dengan dinamika sosial-politik domestik dan perkembangan media digital di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Yusuf al-Qaradawi; populisme Islam; Islam politik; demokrasi Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

The development of Islamic politics in post-Reformasi Indonesia shows a significant transformation, particularly in the emergence of Islamic populism movements and discourses that have become increasingly prominent in the public sphere and electoral politics. This phenomenon is evident in the growing mobilization of religious identity, the use of Islamic symbols in political competition, and the strengthening role of Islamic groups in shaping public opinion and the direction of Indonesian democracy. Islamic populist politics does not merely appear as a religious expression but has also developed into an effective instrument of social and political mobilization in responding to social inequality, political representation crises, and public dissatisfaction with the political elite (Hadiz, 2016).

In this context, the study of the intellectual genealogy of Islamic populism in Indonesia is important to understand how transnational Islamic ideas contribute to the formation of contemporary Islamic political discourse and practice. One of the most influential figures in the development of modern Islamic political thought is Yusuf al-Qaradawi. Al-Qaradawi is widely known as a global Islamic scholar who integrates *fiqh*, *da'wah*, and Islamic political activism within the framework of Islamic moderation (*wasathiyyah*) (Gräf & Skovgaard-Petersen, 2009). His ideas have spread widely through his writings, television sermons, international *da'wah* networks, and tarbiyah movements in various Muslim countries, including Indonesia. The influence of al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia cannot be separated from the development of transnational Islamic movements since the 1980s and 1990s, particularly through campus *da'wah* networks, the publication of Middle Eastern Islamic literature, and the cadre-building processes of modernist Islamic movements (Bruinessen, 2002). His ideas on sharia, the Islamic state, democracy, political participation, and the relationship between Islam and the state have become important references for various Islamic groups in Indonesia. Over time, some of these ideas have undergone processes of localization and transformation in accordance with Indonesia's democratic and plural political context.

On the other hand, Islamic populism in Indonesia has developed through dichotomous narratives between the *ummah* and the elite, the use of moral-religious sentiments, and the mobilization of collective Muslim identity in the political sphere. Events such as the 212 Defending Islam Movement, the increasing prominence of identity politics in elections, and the growing role of ulama and *da'wah* figures in politics demonstrate that Islam is no longer merely a socio-religious identity but has become a basis for articulating populist politics (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018). In many cases, Islamic populism emerges as a response to social dissatisfaction and perceptions of Muslim marginalization within the national power structure.

Although studies on Islamic populism in Indonesia have developed considerably, most research still focuses on social movement dimensions, electoral politics, and mass mobilization. Studies that trace the intellectual roots and genealogy of ideas shaping Indonesian Islamic populism

remain relatively limited. Yet transnational Islamic thinkers such as Yusuf al-Qaradawi have made significant contributions to shaping the ideological orientation and political discourse of contemporary Islam in Indonesia. This article argues that Yusuf al-Qaradawi's political thought contributes to the genealogy of Islamic populist politics in Indonesia, particularly through the concept of Islam as a comprehensive system (*syumuliyah al-Islam*), the importance of political participation of the Muslim community, Islamic political morality, and the mobilization of religious identity in the public sphere (Al-Qaradawi, 1997). However, this influence does not occur in a linear manner; rather, it undergoes adaptation, reinterpretation, and negotiation in accordance with Indonesia's post-Reformasi socio-political dynamics.

Using a qualitative approach and political genealogy analysis, this article seeks to explain how Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought is translated within the context of Indonesian Islamic politics and how these ideas contribute to the rise of contemporary Islamic populism. This study is important not only for understanding the relationship between transnational Islamic thought and domestic Indonesian politics, but also for examining the trajectory of democracy, political Islam, and state-religion relations in Indonesia today.

Based on the identification of the problem, this study formulates the following research questions: How does Yusuf al-Qaradawi's political thought view the relationship between Islam, the state, and the political participation of the Muslim community? How is Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought disseminated and transformed within Islamic movements in Indonesia? How does Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought influence the rise of Islamic populist politics in Indonesia? How does Islamic populism in Indonesia utilize religious narratives and Muslim identity in political mobilization? And how does the adaptation of transnational Islamic thought unfold within the context of Indonesia's post-Reformasi democracy?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on Islamic politics in Indonesia after the Reformasi period have extensively documented the growing visibility of religious identity in the public and political spheres. A substantial body of scholarship highlights how democratic openness has enabled Islamic actors to participate more actively in electoral politics, civil society, and public discourse. Within this context, Islamic politics is often understood not merely as a continuation of ideological Islamism, but as a dynamic field shaped by negotiation between religious aspirations and democratic institutions (Hadiz, 2016). However, much of this literature tends to emphasize structural and sociological explanations, particularly the role of socio-economic inequality and political disillusionment, while giving less attention to the intellectual genealogies that underpin these developments.

One dominant strand of research focuses on Islamic populism as a political strategy that mobilizes "the people" against perceived elites. Mietzner and Muhtadi (2018), for instance, demonstrate how identity politics and religious sentiment have become powerful instruments in electoral competition, especially in high-profile political moments such as the 212 movement. These studies provide important empirical insights into the mechanisms of mobilization and the electoral effectiveness of Islamic populism. Nevertheless, they often conceptualize populism primarily as a reactive political phenomenon, without sufficiently interrogating the transnational intellectual currents that shape its ideological foundations.

Another important body of literature examines the role of transnational Islamic movements in shaping Indonesian Islamic discourse. Bruinessen (2002) shows how Middle Eastern Islamic thought, particularly through campus-based *da'wah* networks and educational exchanges, has significantly influenced the ideological orientation of Indonesian Islamic movements since the

1980s and 1990s. This scholarship highlights the importance of global Islamic circulation in shaping local religious expressions. However, while it maps the diffusion of ideas, it tends to treat intellectual influences in a relatively linear manner, without fully exploring how these ideas are reinterpreted, localized, or selectively appropriated within Indonesia's democratic context.

Within the broader field of Islamic political thought, Yusuf al-Qaradawi occupies a central position as one of the most influential contemporary scholars advocating a synthesis between tradition and modern political engagement. Studies on al-Qaradawi's thought (Gräf & Skovgaard-Petersen, 2009) emphasize his contribution to the concept of *wasatiyyah* (moderation), his flexible approach to *fiqh*, and his engagement with modern political issues such as democracy, participation, and governance. His works have been widely disseminated across Muslim societies, including Indonesia, where they have been read both within mainstream Islamic institutions and by activist-oriented groups. However, existing studies tend to focus on his theological and jurisprudential contributions rather than critically examining the political implications of his ideas in specific national contexts.

More recent scholarship has begun to explore the intersection between transnational Islamic thought and local political dynamics in Indonesia. Some studies suggest that ideas originating from Middle Eastern scholars are not simply adopted, but undergo processes of reinterpretation that align with Indonesia's pluralistic and democratic environment. Nevertheless, these studies often remain fragmented, focusing either on institutional diffusion (such as educational networks) or on political outcomes (such as electoral behavior), without establishing a clear analytical link between intellectual genealogy and populist political articulation.

In addition, the literature on Islamic populism in Indonesia still reveals an analytical gap regarding its ideological genealogy. While populism is frequently explained through socio-political grievances, identity mobilization, and electoral strategy, there is limited systematic engagement with the intellectual traditions that inform its normative and conceptual foundations. In particular, the role of Yusuf al-Qaradawi's political thought—especially his ideas on Islam as a comprehensive system (*syumuliyyah al-Islam*), political participation of Muslims, and the moral dimension of governance—has not been sufficiently examined in relation to the emergence of Islamic populist discourse in Indonesia.

This gap indicates the need for a more integrative analytical framework that connects transnational Islamic intellectual traditions with localized political expressions. By employing a genealogical approach, this study positions itself at the intersection of Islamic political thought, transnational religious networks, and contemporary populist politics. It seeks to move beyond descriptive accounts of Islamic populism by tracing the intellectual trajectories that shape its emergence and evolution in Indonesia's post-Reformasi democratic context. In doing so, the present study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how global Islamic ideas are not only transmitted but also transformed within local political arenas.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative approach with a political genealogy analysis method to examine the relationship between Yusuf al-Qaradawi's political thought and the development of Islamic populism in post-Reformasi Indonesia. The qualitative approach is chosen because this research focuses on an in-depth understanding of the processes of idea dissemination, discourse transformation, and the dynamics of adaptation of transnational Islamic thought within Indonesia's socio-political context.

The political genealogy method is used to identify the intellectual roots, transmission processes, and shifts in meaning of al-Qaradawi's ideas when translated into contemporary Islamic

political practices in Indonesia. This genealogical approach allows the study to demonstrate that the emergence of Islamic populism does not occur suddenly, but rather results from historical interactions between transnational Islamic ideology, da'wah movements, media, and national democratic dynamics. This research is descriptive-analytical in nature. It not only describes Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought and the development of Islamic populism in Indonesia, but also analyzes the relationship between the two within the context of modern Islamic political developments. The main focus of the study is how al-Qaradawi's ideas on *syumuliyyah al-Islam* (the comprehensiveness of Islam), Muslim political participation, Islamic morality, and global Muslim solidarity contribute to the formation of Islamic populist political narratives in Indonesia.

The data sources consist of primary and secondary data. Primary data are derived from Yusuf al-Qaradawi's works, such as *Fiqh al-Dawlah fi al-Islam*, *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat*, *al-Halal wa al-Haram fi al-Islam*, as well as his speeches, fatwas, and political writings related to democracy, the state, and Islamic movements. Meanwhile, secondary data are obtained from books, academic journals, scholarly articles, digital media, previous research findings, and literature discussing Islamic populism, the *tarbiyah* movement, Indonesian political Islam, and the influence of transnational Islam in Indonesia.

Data collection techniques are conducted through library research and documentation. Library research is used to gather relevant references related to the research topic, including both theoretical works and empirical studies on Islamic populism and al-Qaradawi's thought. Documentation involves analyzing digital documents, online lectures, da'wah media, publications of Islamic organizations, and media archives that reflect the dissemination and transformation of al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia's public sphere. The use of digital sources is essential, as contemporary Islamic populism is strongly influenced by social media and digital da'wah.

The data analysis technique follows an interactive model consisting of three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. In the data reduction stage, the researcher selects information relevant to the research focus, particularly regarding al-Qaradawi's Islamic political concepts and the characteristics of Islamic populism in Indonesia. In the data display stage, findings are organized into key themes such as political da'wah, Muslim identity, Islamic morality, digital media, and political mobilization. Finally, in the conclusion drawing stage, the relationship between the dissemination of al-Qaradawi's thought and the development of Indonesian Islamic populism is analyzed in a historical and contextual manner.

To strengthen research validity, source triangulation is employed by comparing various academic references, Islamic movement documents, digital media sources, and previous studies. This triangulation ensures that the interpretation of al-Qaradawi's influence is not singular but instead takes into account Indonesia's plural and complex socio-political dynamics. Through this approach, the study is expected to provide a comprehensive explanation of the political genealogy of Islamic populism in Indonesia and the contribution of Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought to the formation of contemporary Islamic political discourse.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought has had a significant influence on the development of contemporary Islamic discourse in the Muslim world, including Indonesia. As one of the most influential scholars of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, al-Qaradawi is known not only as a jurist (*faqih*) but also as an Islamic intellectual who actively addresses issues of politics, democracy, the state, Islamic movements, and the relationship between Islam and modernity. His influence has spread through written works, transnational da'wah networks, mass media, satellite television, and

the development of global communication technologies, which have enabled his ideas to reach various Muslim countries rapidly and widely (Gräf & Skovgaard-Petersen, 2009).

In Indonesia, the dissemination of al-Qaradawi's thought became significantly visible starting in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly alongside the growth of campus-based da'wah movements and increasing interest in Middle Eastern Islamic literature. During this period, many Indonesian Muslim students began to access the works of modern Islamic thinkers such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abu al-A'la al-Maududi, and Yusuf al-Qaradawi. In the context of Indonesia, which at the time was still under the political control of the New Order regime, campus da'wah movements became an important space for the dissemination of modern Islamic political ideas (Bruinessen, 2002).

One of the main channels for the spread of al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia was the tarbiyah movement, which developed across various public universities in the late 1980s and 1990s. This movement was heavily influenced by the intellectual tradition of the Muslim Brotherhood, which emphasizes cadre development, da'wah, Islamic morality, and the gradual formation of an Islamic society. Yusuf al-Qaradawi's books were used as regular study materials in halaqah and liqo sessions of the tarbiyah movement because they were seen as successfully combining Islamic political activism with a moderate approach to modern democracy (Machmudi, 2008). Al-Qaradawi's widely circulated works in Indonesia include *Fiqh al-Dawlah fi al-Islam*, *al-Halal wa al-Haram fi al-Islam*, *Fiqh al-Awlawiyyat*, *Min ajli Şahwah Rāshidah*, and various writings on sharia, democracy, and Islamic revival.

These books were translated into Indonesian by several Islamic publishing houses such as Gema Insani Press, Robbani Press, and Pustaka Al-Kautsar. Through these publications, al-Qaradawi's ideas became easily accessible to students, da'wah activists, Islamic organizations, and urban Muslim communities (Fealy & Bubalo, 2007). In addition to books, the dissemination of al-Qaradawi's thought also occurred through electronic media and satellite television. His well-known program on the Al Jazeera network, *Al-Shariah wa al-Hayah*, had a major influence on shaping global Muslim public opinion. The program presented al-Qaradawi as a scholar capable of responding to modern issues using accessible and populist religious language. In Indonesia, his lectures were widely translated and distributed through DVDs, VCDs, and later digital platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Telegram, and religious WhatsApp groups (Gräf, 2010).

The development of digital media after the 1998 Reformasi period further accelerated the circulation of al-Qaradawi's thought. Clips of his lectures, fatwa excerpts, and political views spread widely through Islamic social media, online da'wah portals, and digital religious communities. This condition meant that al-Qaradawi's thought was no longer consumed only by formal Islamic movement cadres but also by urban Muslim youth active in digital spaces. This digital transformation strengthened the Islamization of public space while also expanding the reach of Islamic identity politics in Indonesia (Nisa, 2018).

The dissemination of al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia was also supported by Middle Eastern educational networks. Many graduates from universities in Egypt, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan brought home Islamic intellectual traditions influenced by al-Qaradawi and the Muslim Brotherhood. Some of them later became preachers, lecturers, Islamic organization activists, and public figures who contributed to the dissemination of moderate Islamic political ideas within Indonesian society. This process demonstrates that the flow of transnational Islamic ideas has made a significant contribution to the development of contemporary Islamic politics in Indonesia (Mandaville, 2007).

In a political context, al-Qaradawi's thought is closely related to the rise of Islamic populism in Indonesia. One of his key ideas is the concept of *syumuliyyah al-Islam*, which views Islam as a comprehensive system of life encompassing all aspects of human existence, including politics, economics, social relations, and culture (Al-Qaradawi, 1997). This perspective provides normative legitimacy for the involvement of Islam in modern political space and serves as a foundation for the development of Islamic movements that seek to integrate Islamic values into public life.

In addition, al-Qaradawi emphasizes the importance of Muslim political participation within the democratic system. Unlike radical Islamic groups that completely reject democracy, al-Qaradawi views democracy as a mechanism that can be used to advance Islamic values, as long as it does not contradict the principles of sharia (Gräf & Skovgaard-Petersen, 2009). This view has had a significant influence on modernist Islamic movements in Indonesia, which choose the path of electoral democracy and peaceful mass mobilization.

The relevance of al-Qaradawi's thought to Islamic populism can be seen in several key characteristics. First, the use of the concept of the "ummah" as a collective political identity. In many of his speeches and writings, al-Qaradawi emphasizes the importance of global Muslim solidarity in facing Western dominance, secularism, and political injustice. This concept of the ummah later became an important foundation in Indonesian Islamic populist politics, which constructs a narrative of "the ummah versus the elite" (Hadiz, 2016).

Second, al-Qaradawi places Islamic morality as a source of political legitimacy. Within the context of Indonesian Islamic populism, politics is often framed as a moral struggle between religious leaders and corrupt elites. Such narratives have become particularly prominent in identity-based political mobilization, especially since the 212 Defending Islam Movement (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018).

Third, al-Qaradawi's thought is also relevant to the use of *da'wah* as an instrument of socio-political mobilization. He does not separate *da'wah* from social and political transformation. In the Indonesian context, *da'wah* is no longer limited to religious activity, but also serves as a means of shaping public opinion, strengthening Muslim solidarity, and mobilizing Islamic political action. This can be seen in the rise of urban *da'wah* movements and the increasing influence of popular preachers in shaping the political preferences of Indonesian Muslims (Hasan, 2013).

Fourth, al-Qaradawi's populist communication style has also influenced the development of contemporary Islamic preaching in Indonesia. He uses simple, emotional language that is closely connected to the everyday concerns of Muslim societies. This approach has been widely adopted by popular Indonesian preachers who combine religious preaching with social and political critique. Such preaching styles strengthen the emotional relationship between religious elites and urban Muslim masses within modern political space (Fealy, 2021).

Nevertheless, the influence of al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia does not occur in a linear or uniform manner. His ideas undergo processes of adaptation in accordance with Indonesia's pluralistic and multicultural democratic context. Some groups use his thought to support moderate Islamic democracy, while others employ it to strengthen identity politics and populist mobilization. Thus, al-Qaradawi's thought cannot be understood as a single determining factor in the development of Islamic populism in Indonesia, but rather as one of several ideological sources interacting with domestic socio-political conditions.

Overall, the dissemination of Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia demonstrates that transnational Islamic ideas play an important role in shaping the development of contemporary Islamic politics. Through networks of *da'wah*, education, media, and digital technology, al-Qaradawi's thought has contributed to the formation of modern Islamic political identity, which in

turn has become one of the key foundations for the rise of Islamic populism in post-Reformasi Indonesia.

The Future of Yusuf al-Qaradawi's Thought and Islamic Populism in Indonesia

The development of Islamic populism in Indonesia over the past two decades shows that religion is no longer merely a spiritual identity, but has also transformed into a social and political force capable of mobilizing large segments of society. In this context, Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought remains highly relevant, particularly in shaping the character of modern Islamic politics that combines da'wah, public morality, democracy, and Muslim identity. Although al-Qaradawi passed away in 2022, his intellectual influence is expected to continue through da'wah networks, digital media, Islamic organizations, and a new generation of Muslim activists in Indonesia (Gräf & Skovgaard-Petersen, 2009).

One of the main factors sustaining the relevance of al-Qaradawi's thought is its flexible and moderate character (*wasatiyyah*). Al-Qaradawi did not entirely reject modern democracy but sought to Islamize the democratic space through the concepts of Islamic morality, Muslim political participation, and the application of sharia values in public life (Al-Qaradawi, 1997). This approach made his ideas more acceptable to modernist Islamic groups in Indonesia compared to radical jihadist or purist Salafi approaches. In the Indonesian context, such thinking aligns with the development of Islamic politics, which tends to prefer electoral democracy rather than armed revolution (Hadiz, 2016).

In the future, al-Qaradawi's influence is unlikely to develop through formal ideological movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood, but rather through the transformation of digital da'wah culture and Islamic identity politics. The changing generation of urban Muslims in Indonesia indicates that social media has become the primary space for producing and disseminating Islamic political ideas. Short sermons, religious quotes, podcasts, and videos on platforms such as TikTok and YouTube now serve as new instruments for spreading Islamic populist ideas that are more emotional, fast, and easily consumed by the public (Nisa, 2018).

In this context, al-Qaradawi's intellectual legacy may undergo simplification. Complex ideas such as Islamic democracy, *fiqh al-awlawiyyat*, and Islamic moderation are likely to be condensed into more populist moral slogans and religious identity narratives. This may reinforce tendencies toward emotional, identity-based Islamic populism rather than deep intellectual engagement. Such a phenomenon corresponds to the nature of populism, which tends to simplify socio-political issues into moral narratives of "the ummah" versus "the elite" (Mudde, 2004).

The future of Islamic populism in Indonesia is also influenced by changes in the social structure of Indonesian Muslim society. The urban Muslim middle class, which has grown since the Reformasi era, has become an important base for identity-based Islamic politics. This group is highly active on social media, consumes digital da'wah extensively, and is responsive to issues of public morality, Palestine, Islamophobia, and global Muslim solidarity (Hasan, 2013). In this context, al-Qaradawi's ideas on global Muslim solidarity continue to hold strong appeal.

The issue of Palestine is expected to remain one of the main channels for reproducing Islamic populism in Indonesia. During his lifetime, al-Qaradawi was known as one of the most vocal scholars supporting the Palestinian cause and criticizing Western dominance in the Middle East. This narrative remains highly resonant in Indonesia because it fosters emotional solidarity among Muslims across organizational and social boundaries. Solidarity with Palestine often functions as a symbol of political unity among Muslims amid domestic political fragmentation (Mandaville, 2007).

However, Indonesian Islamic populism is likely to evolve in form. If the 2016–2019 phase of Islamic populism was strongly characterized by street mobilization such as the 212 Defending Islam Movement, future Islamic populism is expected to operate more through digital media, religious influencers, Islamic economics, hijrah communities, and urban Islamic culture. This means that Islamic populism will not always appear as large-scale political demonstrations, but also through the cultural penetration of Islamic popular culture in everyday Muslim life. This reflects the culturalization of populism within the modern public sphere (Fealy, 2021).

In practical politics, the direct influence of Islamic political parties is likely to remain electorally limited. However, Islamic populist politics will continue to significantly influence voter behavior and public opinion. The experiences of the 2014 and 2019 elections show that religious symbols remain effective in generating political polarization and group solidarity. Identity-based religious politics continues to be an important instrument in Indonesia's democratic competition, particularly when political elites exploit moral and religious sentiments for electoral gain (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018).

Nevertheless, the future of Islamic populism in Indonesia also faces several challenges. First, the state is increasingly strengthening its control over Islamic groups perceived as threatening national political stability. The dissolution of organizations such as the Islamic Defenders Front and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia demonstrates the state's capacity to restrict Islamic political movements considered too confrontational toward the state system (Power, 2018).

Second, internal fragmentation within Indonesian Muslim society makes it difficult for a single hegemonic Islamic populist movement to emerge. Unlike the Middle East, where the Muslim Brotherhood tradition is stronger, Indonesian Islam is highly pluralistic, with major organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah that tend to be more moderate and institutionalized. This condition makes Indonesian Islamic populism more fluid, pragmatic, and not fully ideological (Bruinessen, 2013).

Third, younger generations of Indonesian Muslims are also showing increasingly pragmatic and cultural rather than ideological orientations. The hijrah phenomenon, for example, often emphasizes personal religious identity, Islamic lifestyle, and Islamic economics rather than formal political Islam. In this context, al-Qaradawi's thought is more likely to be accepted in terms of Islamic morality and social da'wah rather than formal Islamist political agendas (Nisa, 2018).

In addition, the development of artificial intelligence, social media algorithms, and information fragmentation will also shape the future of Islamic populism. The digital space enables rapid dissemination of religious narratives but simultaneously accelerates polarization and simplification of religious issues. Future Islamic populism is likely to become increasingly visual, emotional, and viral rather than based on structured ideological cadre-building as in earlier tarbiyah movements. This reflects a shift in religious authority from classical ulama to digital influencers and social media preachers (Hasan, 2013).

On the other hand, there is also the possibility of the emergence of a new form of "moderate Islamic populism" that is more adaptive to Indonesian democracy and pluralism. In this scenario, al-Qaradawi's legacy of wasatiyyah (moderation) may be used to build an Islamic political model that is not entirely antagonistic toward democratic governance. This model may develop through moderate digital da'wah, Islamic philanthropy, halal economy initiatives, modern Islamic education, and issue-based moral politics.

Such a form of Islamic populism is potentially more acceptable to the urban Muslim middle class because it does not necessarily involve open political confrontation while still maintaining religious identity and solidarity in the modern public sphere (Fealy & Bubalo, 2007). Thus, the future of Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia is unlikely to disappear but will instead

transform in line with social and technological change. His ideas are likely to remain alive through da'wah networks, digital media, and urban Islamic culture, albeit in a more fluid and populist form. Meanwhile, Islamic populism in Indonesia is expected to remain an important part of Indonesia's democratic dynamics, both as a tool for mobilizing Muslim identity and as a response to social inequality, political representation crises, and changing cultural dynamics within contemporary Muslim society.

CONCLUSION

This study shows that Yusuf al-Qaradawi's political thought has made an important contribution to the genealogy of Islamic populist politics in Indonesia, particularly through the dissemination of ideas such as Islam as a comprehensive system of life (*syumuliyyah al-Islam*), the importance of Muslim political participation, Islamic morality in public life, and global Muslim solidarity. Although al-Qaradawi is not the only factor influencing the development of Islamic populism in Indonesia, his thought constitutes one of the key ideological sources that provides moral and intellectual legitimacy for the involvement of Islam in modern political space.

The dissemination of al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia has taken place through various channels, including campus da'wah movements, *tarbiyah* networks, Islamic publishing houses, graduates of Middle Eastern education institutions, satellite television media, and post-Reformasi digital social media. The transformation of communication technology has accelerated the circulation of al-Qaradawi's ideas and expanded their influence not only among formal Islamic activists but also among urban Muslim communities and younger digital generations. In this process, al-Qaradawi's thought has undergone adaptation and localization in accordance with Indonesia's democratic and plural socio-political context. This study also finds a strong relevance between al-Qaradawi's thought and the characteristics of Islamic populism in Indonesia. The concept of the "ummah" as a collective political identity, the use of religious morality as a source of political legitimacy, and da'wah as an instrument of social mobilization are key elements in the development of Islamic populist politics in Indonesia. These characteristics are evident in the rise of identity politics, religiously based mass mobilization, and the growing narrative of "the ummah versus the elite" within post-Reformasi democratic dynamics.

Furthermore, this study affirms that Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought has developed into one of the ideological and moral foundations for the growth of Islamic populist political forces in Indonesia. Ideas such as the revival of the ummah, Islamic solidarity, the importance of Muslim political engagement, and Islamic morality in governance have provided a conceptual basis for various contemporary Islamic movements in building social and political influence. In this context, al-Qaradawi's thought functions not only as a religious discourse but also as a source of legitimacy for the construction of Muslim political identity used in mass mobilization, political da'wah, and electoral democratic contestation.

Nevertheless, the development of Islamic populism in Indonesia has not been homogeneous. Indonesian Islamic populism tends to be flexible, fluid, and pragmatic due to the pluralism of Indonesian Muslim society, electoral democracy, and the presence of moderate Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. Therefore, the influence of al-Qaradawi's thought in Indonesia is more evident in shaping Islamic political culture and religious identity mobilization rather than in advancing a formal project of establishing an Islamic state.

In the future, Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought is expected to continue influencing Indonesian Islamic politics, particularly through digital spaces, social media da'wah, urban Islamic culture, the Islamic economy, and global Muslim solidarity such as the Palestinian issue. However, this influence is likely to transform from formal ideological movements into a form of digital Islamic

populism that is more emotional, symbolic, and rooted in popular culture. Under such conditions, Islamic populism in Indonesia is expected to remain an important part of Indonesia's democratic dynamics, both as a means of political mobilization and as an expression of the socio-religious identity of contemporary Muslim society.

Thus, this study confirms that Islamic populism in Indonesia cannot be understood merely as a phenomenon of practical politics or electoral mobilization, but also as the result of transnational Islamic intellectual developments interacting with democratic contexts, digital media, and socio-cultural changes in post-Reformasi Indonesian society. In this context, Yusuf al-Qaradawi's thought has contributed as one of the key intellectual and ideological bases reinforcing the emergence and development of Islamic populist political forces in contemporary Indonesia.

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