

The Da'wah Politics of Hassan Hanafi

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the da'wah politics of Hassan Hanafi, a contemporary thinker who seeks to bridge Islamic tradition with the challenges of modernity. This study examines how Hanafi uses da'wah as a means for social transformation, focusing on his main ideas and their relevance to the Indonesian context. The research methodology uses a content analysis approach to Hassan Hanafi's works, including his books and articles. The data were analyzed critically to identify key themes, arguments, and political implications of his da'wah. In addition, this study also considers the social and political context in which Hanafi developed his thinking. The results of the study indicate that Hanafi's political da'wah emphasizes the liberation of individuals from various forms of conquest, be it political, economic, or intellectual. Hanafi called on Muslims to actively participate in shaping their own society and destiny. He also upholds tolerance for differences of opinion and thought, avoids radical actions, emphasizes a dialogical approach, accommodates modern concepts that contain substantial positive effects, thinks rationally based on divine revelation guidelines, interprets texts written in the Koran and Hadith contextually, and uses independent reasoning. The conclusion is that Hassan Hanafi's political da'wah offers a vision of social transformation that is authentically Islamic and relevant to the contemporary world. His thinking can be a source of inspiration for Muslims in Indonesia and around the world who seek to overcome the challenges of modernity and promote social justice. This da'wah is in line with broader trends in contemporary Islamic thought that seek to address the challenges of modernity and promote social justice.

Keywords: Hassan Hanafi, Hermeneutics, Political Da'wah, Thought.

INTRODUCTION

Hassan Hanafi, an Egyptian philosopher and intellectual, presents an interesting, though controversial, perspective on the intersection of politics and da'wah. His thought, deeply rooted in the turath wa tajdid project, seeks to revitalize Islamic traditions while simultaneously addressing the challenges of modernity and Western dominance (Purwaningrum, 2022). Hanafi's approach involves a critical reevaluation of classical Islamic sciences, aiming to make them relevant and responsive to contemporary issues faced by Muslims. His project is not merely an academic exercise but a call to action, urging Muslims to develop critical thinking and reconstruct their reality from negative to positive aspects (Naamy, 2023).

The essence of Hanafi's political da'wah lies in his advocacy for a revolutionary transformation of society, achieved through a synthesis of Islamic principles and liberation theology (Rohmatulloh & Zaini, 2022). This involves opposing the status quo, criticizing oppressive power structures, and empowering marginalized segments of society. Hanafi's methodology for interpreting sacred texts emphasizes thematic analysis, which prioritizes understanding the main themes and messages of the Quran and Hadith rather than solely focusing on literal interpretations (Yusuf & Permana, 2021).

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Received: June 08, 2025; Revised: September 20, 2025; Accepted: September 28, 2025

This approach allows for a more dynamic and contextually relevant understanding of Islamic teachings, facilitating their application to contemporary challenges. Hanafi's emphasis on social justice, liberation, and the active involvement of Muslims in shaping their own destiny positions his work as a significant contribution to contemporary Islamic thought (Manshur, 2021a). In the context of globalization, da'wah must play a dual role: globalizing Islam by presenting its noble teachings and character as a universal religion, and Islamizing globalization by infusing it with Islamic values and ethics (Ilyas Ismail, 2019).

Hanafi's political da'wah is further marked by his criticism of traditional Islamic scholarship, which he accuses of being too focused on legalistic details and detached from the practical realities of everyday life. He calls for a shift in focus to address the socio-political and economic problems that affect the lives of ordinary Muslims. His hermeneutical approach to Islamic texts also encourages a more nuanced and contextual understanding, moving beyond literal interpretations to grasp the underlying principles and values (Solahuddin, 2018). This approach is intended to cultivate more engaged and socially responsible citizens. By advocating for the reconstruction of Islamic sciences and the reinterpretation of sacred texts, Hanafi seeks to empower Muslims to actively participate in shaping their own society and destiny. His vision extends beyond mere intellectual discourse; it is a call for a cultural revolution that can create populist social and ideological structures in Arab life. This ensures that the faithful are intelligent, modern, and possess a high level of social solidarity. His ideas are rooted in sociological, psychological, and theological challenges, emphasizing that social and divine laws are intended to promote human emotional involvement in social life (Manshur, 2021a). His interpretations are open, adaptive, and tolerant, rooted in the fundamental values of Islam that emphasize compassion and peace for all humanity (Supriatna et al., 2025).

The theoretical foundation of Hanafi's da'wah is deeply rooted in the concept of cultural intensification. This approach requires a deep understanding of the intrinsic values and principles underlying a particular culture, while simultaneously advocating for its refreshment and application in addressing contemporary challenges. This concept underscores the importance of understanding the main tenets of a culture and leveraging them to navigate modern issues, rather than merely preserving them statically. Hanafi's methodology involves a critical re-evaluation of classical Islamic sciences, seeking to make them relevant and responsive to contemporary issues faced by Muslims. His approach is firmly rooted in the *turath wa tajdid* project, which seeks to revitalize Islamic traditions while confronting the challenges of modernity and Western dominance. This involves opposing the status quo, criticizing oppressive power structures, and empowering marginalized segments of society. His hermeneutical approach to Islamic texts also encourages a more nuanced and contextual understanding, moving beyond literal interpretations to grasp the underlying principles and values. Hanafi's emancipatory critical hermeneutics is a science that determines the relationship between consciousness and its object, namely the holy book (Solahuddin, 2018).

Through this hermeneutics, Hanafi seeks to uncover the ideological and political content behind the text, connecting the text with the reality of its creation. In essence, Hanafi's methodology combines a deep understanding of Islamic traditions with a critical engagement with contemporary challenges. His perspective also agrees with upholding tolerance towards different opinions and thoughts, avoiding radical actions, emphasizing a dialogical approach, accommodating modern concepts that contain substantially positive effects, thinking rationally based on the guideline of

divine revelation, interpreting texts written in the Qur'an and Hadith contextually, and using independent reasoning (Ali, 2018). The goal is to empower Muslims to actively participate in shaping their own society and destiny (Chande, 2023).

The modernist approach to *maqasid*, exemplified by scholars and philosophers such as Hanafi, treats it as an independent and alternative method of legal reasoning as well as a distinct source of evidence, separate from classical *usul al-fiqh*. Researchers within this group seek to reinterpret texts, moving beyond their literal wording, and place a strong emphasis on utility and public interest. This perspective differs from the classical understanding, where *maqasid* is generally used to support or clarify existing legal rulings derived from the Quran and Sunnah. It should be noted that some scholars consider the inclusion of '*urf*' as one of the sources of law as part of an effort to prioritize local and contextual factors in legal reasoning. The critical stance assumed over time has resulted in interpretations that deviate from the original intent and wisdom of the Qur'an and Sunnah (Güney, 2024). A literal reading of the text may also reduce the potential for generating new Sharia-compliant laws (Sewilam, 2019). The philosophy of utilitarianism, which significantly influenced the development of modern frameworks for economic and political decision-making, stands in stark contrast to these guiding principles for Islamic finance.

Hanafi's political da'wah aligns with a broader trend in contemporary Islamic thought that seeks to address the challenges of modernity and promote social justice (Santoso, 2016). The increasing need for Indonesian fiqh is due to the various contemporary issues faced by Muslims in Indonesia. Islamic jurisprudence is flexible and open to respond to the dynamics of time (Rohayana & Muhtarom, 2021). This trend includes a renewed emphasis on social justice, human rights, and democratic participation within an Islamic framework. It also aligns with the *maqasid* sharia, which emphasizes the objectives of Islamic law in promoting public welfare and preventing harm. This includes the preservation of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property, the guiding principles for Islamic finance. Modern Islamic rules are not a revival of classical era rules, but rather are largely the product of mediation among competing influences in Muslim society (HAMOUDI, 2008). This is due to the increasing use of social media to promote inclusiveness, dialogue, and tolerance, as well as to reject prejudice. Social media platforms can serve as effective da'wah tools in spreading messages. These platforms underscore the importance of universal human values, thereby fostering interreligious harmony (Supriatna et al., 2025).

Hanafi's da'wah also shares similarities with liberation theology movements in other religious traditions, which emphasize the role of faith in challenging oppression and promoting social change. This da'wah seeks to liberate individuals from various forms of subjugation, be it political, economic, or intellectual. Local wisdom values can be implemented into the community's economy, with at least 3 aspects: Local Wisdom as a Resource, Local Wisdom as Competitiveness, and Local Wisdom as a Performance Lever. Therefore, there are similar religious values from every region in Indonesia that align with the values of tolerance. However, Hanafi's approach is specifically rooted in the Islamic tradition, utilizing its rich intellectual and spiritual resources to articulate a vision of social transformation that is authentically Islamic and relevant to the contemporary world. This effort includes recognizing and appreciating local cultures and traditions, as long as they do not conflict with Islamic principles.

In contemporary Indonesian society, the landscape of Islamic da'wah has undergone a significant transformation, marked by the emergence of diverse approaches and the utilization of modern media platforms (Rochmah, 2022). This transformation reflects the ongoing efforts to adapt

Islamic teachings to the complexities of the modern world, while remaining faithful to the core values and principles of the religion. The digitalization of communication and the culture it has constructed has unprecedented ethical implications related to cyber-culture, cyber-ethics, hyperreality, and mass cognitive dissonance. Such conditions lead to the need for digital da'wah in the digital era to address the symptoms of the times with the universal teachings of Islam, which is a blessing for all the worlds. Globalization requires da'wah to play two important roles. First, to globalize Islam based on its noble teachings and character as a world religion. Second, to provide solutions to overcome the impact of globalization by using Islamic teachings and values (Saleh et al., 2022). Contemporary da'wah efforts often incorporate elements of popular culture, such as music, film, and social media, to reach a wider audience, especially young people (Mubarak et al., 2022). This approach aims to make Islamic teachings more accessible and relatable to contemporary audiences.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Biography of Hassan Hanafi

Hassan Hanafi, a prominent contemporary philosopher in the Islamic world, was born on February 13, 1935, in Cairo, Egypt. His socio-historical and political background is rooted in this capital city of the Arab Republic of Egypt. Hanafi's family originated from Banu Swaif, located in the southern part of the Egyptian Province, before his eventual relocation to Cairo. His grandfather hailed from Al-Maghribi, while his grandmother's lineage traces back to the Bani Mur tribe. During Hanafi's formative years, Gamal Abdel Nasser held power, preceding Anwar Sadat, who was from the same tribe as Hanafi's grandmother. Hanafi's grandfather, originally from Morocco, settled in Egypt, married, and became Hanafi's grandmother. Sheikh Sayyid served as Hanafi's mentor in memorizing the Koran from the age of five. Their sessions took place on Jalan al-Banhawi, within the Bab al-Sya'riyah complex in southern Cairo. Hanafi received his basic education for five years at Madrasah Sulayman Ghawish, situated in Bab al-Futuh, near the Slahuddin Fortress.

He then moved to the Silahdar school near Al-Mu'allimin teacher education to follow his brother. It was located in the Al-Hakim bi Amrillah complex. Here he began studying several foreign languages. Subsequently, he attended Khalil Agha high school. In 1956, he earned his bachelor's degree in philosophy from the Faculty of Arts at the University of Cairo. Following this, Hanafi pursued philosophical studies at the Sorbonne University in France from 1956 to 1966, specializing in Modern and Pre-Modern Western philosophy. Hanafi is considered a modern liberal thinker, particularly known for his dedication to the enlightenment of Muslims. During his decade-long stay in France, a hub for orientalist, Hanafi gained a deep understanding of Western thought and traditions. He even taught Arabic at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Paris (Shimogaki, 1994).

During his formative years in France, Hanafi harbored a keen interest in music, even enrolling in courses at a Parisian music college, a passion ignited by his family's musical background. He once aspired to become a renowned musician and composer. His daily routine involved attending music courses in the morning, dedicating his afternoons to academic studies, and spending his evenings immersed in reading and composing symphonies. This demanding schedule eventually led to him contracting tuberculosis due to overexertion. Consequently, Hanafi faced a pivotal decision between pursuing music and philosophy. Ultimately, he chose philosophy, drawn to its capacity to

explore diverse perspectives on life's meaning, particularly within the Romanticism school of thought (Badruzaman, 2004).

Hanafi's doctoral dissertation, a substantial 900-page philosophical treatise entitled *L'Exegese de la Phenomenologie L'etat Actuel de la Methode Phenomenologique et son Application au Phenomene Religieux*, was recognized with an award for best writing in Egypt. In this work, Hanafi endeavors to reconcile the science of *ushul fiqh* with the phenomenology pioneered by Edmund Husserl, positing religious law on the rationality of God. This approach undertakes an interesting experiment by incorporating the infinity of life phenomena, lacking absolute continuity, into the realm of thought, thereby supporting the continuity of the Koran. Following his doctoral studies, Hanafi returned to his alma mater, Cairo University, where he lectured at the Faculty of Arts, Department of Philosophy, offering courses in Medieval Christian thought and Islamic Philosophy. Hanafi's academic reputation led to visiting professorships at various international universities, including France, Belgium, the United States, Kuwait, Morocco, Japan, and the United Arab Emirates.

Hanafi can be regarded as a revolutionary thinker, particularly in the context of monotheism. His work critiques classical Islamic traditions, positioning him as a nationalist figure akin to Muhammad Abduh within the Islamic world and a successor to the Jamaludin Al-Afghani movement, with the objective of combating Western imperialism to foster the unity of the Islamic Ummah (Shimogaki, 1994). In addition to his identity as an Islamic Hanafi intellectual, he is a productive author. His diverse body of work engages with Arabic, English, and French, encompassing titles such as *Dirasat Islamiyah* (1981), *Dirasat Falsafiyah* (1977), *Qadhaya Mu'asirah* (1976-1977), *al-Din wa al-Tsaurah* (1952-1981), *Religious Dialogue and Revolution: Essays on Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (1977), *Muqadimah fi ilmi al-Istighrab* (1991), *Min al-Aqidah ila al-Tsaurah: Muhawalah li l'adah Bina Ilmi Ushul al-Din* (1988), alongside numerous scholarly journal articles and translations (Munir, 2000).

Hassan Hanafi, a progressive thinker and philosopher, proposed a unique approach to da'wah known as "revolutionary da'wah" or "transformative da'wah" (Ghofur, 2019). His framework seeks to address the social and political problems faced by Muslim societies by reinterpreting Islamic teachings and mobilizing Muslims for collective action. This framework seeks to address the social and political problems faced by Muslim societies by reinterpreting Islamic teachings and mobilizing Muslims for collective action. His framework is rooted in the belief that Islam has the potential to liberate individuals and societies from various forms of oppression and injustice. A Muslim has a mandatory responsibility in accordance with the meaning of da'wah that he carries out in *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (Praselanova, 2022). Hanafi argues that traditional da'wah often focuses too much on rituals and personal morality, ignoring the political and social dimensions of Islam. Digital da'wah in the digital era is required to address the symptoms of the times with the universal teachings of Islam, which is a *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (Kasir & Awali, 2024).

One of the main principles of Hanafi's da'wah is the emphasis on reinterpretation and recontextualization of Islamic teachings. He argues that traditional Islamic texts must be understood in their historical and social contexts and that they must be reinterpreted to address contemporary challenges and realities. This approach involves criticism of traditional interpretations of Islam and the development of a more progressive and emancipatory understanding of religious teachings. Muslim theologians and intellectuals have a responsibility to engage in *ijtihad* to provide relevant and contextual solutions to the problems faced by Muslim societies. *Ijtihad* involves independent

reasoning and interpretation of Islamic sources to obtain new decisions on matters not explicitly addressed in the Qur'an or Sunnah.

Another main principle of Hanafi's da'wah is the emphasis on social justice and equality. He argues that Islam requires Muslims to fight for justice and to oppose all forms of oppression, exploitation, and discrimination. This includes addressing economic disparities, gender inequality, and political injustice. Transformative da'wah emphasizes the importance of empowering marginalized and vulnerable communities, such as the poor, women, and minorities. This is in line with Islamic teachings that emphasize social justice and equality, which call on Muslims to defend the rights of those in need and to address systemic inequalities. Social responsibility in Islam is known as the duty of da'wah (Widodo et al., 2020). One of the objectives of da'wah is to maintain human dignity by implementing Islamic teachings (Sahari et al., 2021). Transformative da'wah advocates active engagement in social and political issues to bring about positive change in society (Toni et al., 2022).

Transformative da'wah emphasizes the importance of collective action and public participation. Hanafi argues that Muslims must be actively involved in shaping their societies and that they must work together to achieve common goals. This principle emphasizes the need for Muslims to unite and cooperate for the good of society. In Islamic theology, it is emphasized that everyone is responsible for preaching. This obligation of da'wah is carried out by inviting others to do good and preventing them from doing evil. This is in line with Islamic teachings that emphasize the importance of cooperation and unity in promoting good and preventing evil. The concept of transformative da'wah is in line with the principles of social justice and equality, which call on Muslims to fight against all forms of oppression and injustice. Da'wah in modern society involves the use of various media channels, such as lectures, seminars, workshops, and training programs, to convey Islamic messages and raise awareness about social and political issues.

Hanafi offers a new interpretation of key Islamic concepts such as tawhid, sharia, and jihad. He interprets tawhid as the affirmation of the oneness of God and the rejection of all forms of human enslavement and oppression. He views sharia as a set of ethical and moral principles that must be applied to achieve social justice and welfare. Jihad, according to Hanafi, is the struggle against all forms of injustice and oppression, both internally and externally. Hanafi argues that Muslims must reinterpret and recontextualize Islamic teachings to meet the needs and challenges of contemporary times. Such reinterpretation is necessary to ensure that Islamic teachings remain relevant and effective in guiding Muslims in their personal and collective lives. This approach allows Muslims to engage with their faith in a meaningful and constructive way, enabling them to address the complex issues of the modern world while adhering to the timeless principles of Islam. This requires a comprehensive understanding of Islamic sources and a willingness to engage in critical thinking and independent reasoning. Thus, transformative da'wah emphasizes the importance of ijtihad, which is independent reasoning or legal decision-making based on Islamic principles.

Hassan Hanafi's Maudhu'i Hermeneutics Method

Hassan Hanafi, a prominent Egyptian philosopher and intellectual, significantly contributed to contemporary Islamic thought through his development of "*Maudhu'i hermeneutics*" or Subjective Hermeneutics. Hanafi's approach emphasizes the revitalization of classical Islamic treasures, resistance against Western cultural dominance, and critical analysis of the Islamic world's realities, all of which are elements of his *turath wa tajdid* project (Purwaningrum, 2022). His

methodology seeks to address modern issues by bridging classical Islamic knowledge with contemporary problems (Naamy, 2023). Hanafi's hermeneutics offers a unique perspective on interpreting the Quran, focusing on providing solutions to the problems faced by people, especially Muslims. Hanafi's method is unique because it focuses on specific themes closely related to humanity rather than a holistic interpretation. It is characterized by its thematic, temporal, realistic, and problem-oriented nature (Yusuf & Permana, 2021). His focus on addressing contemporary issues is rooted in a deep engagement with the sociopolitical realities of the modern world, positioning his hermeneutics as a practical tool for societal transformation.

Dakwah politics is a movement of thought carried out by Hanafi. It is a projection that carries *Turats wa Tajdid*. Thus, in *Turats wa Tajdid*, it is stated, *Turats* does not stand alone from the reality of society or the reality of history, which is always dynamic. It explains the spirit of the times and shapes generations. And forms a phase of history. Thus, *Turats* is a collection of interpretations given by generations to answer all the challenges of the times in which they live. *Turats* will be determined by each era. Because every era gives birth to a new *Turats* because every generation has different problems (Hanafi, 1992).

Hanafi's approach, as a modernist take on "*maqasid*", sets itself apart from classical "*usul al-fiqh*" by treating it as an independent method of legal reasoning (Güney, 2024). Unlike traditional hermeneutics, which some Islamic thinkers believe overlooks the active role of humans in interpreting the Quran, Hanafi's method fully embraces this role (Asna & Amin, 2022). This paradigm shift acknowledges that interpreters bring their own perspectives, experiences, and biases to the text, influencing the interpretation process. This methodology underscores the importance of contextual understanding and the interpreter's role in shaping meaning.

In his hermeneutical approach, Hanafi accentuates the importance of the interpreter's subjectivity and background in understanding the Quranic text. By emphasizing the importance of *ijtihad*, he advocates for a return to the original sources of Islamic law to solve legal problems, moving away from blind adherence to established doctrines (Hassan et al., 2019). His works critique traditional interpretations and advocate for a contextual re-reading of religious texts to address contemporary issues like social justice and liberation (Manshur, 2021a). This approach not only acknowledges the interpreter's influence but also recognizes that the interpreter's social, cultural, and historical context deeply influences interpretation. Some modern scholars note that specific Quranic texts may need reinterpretation because of the differences between modern political, social, economic, and cultural contexts and those of the time the Quran was revealed (Saeed & Akbar, 2021). Hanafi also acknowledges the hermeneutic circle, where understanding the parts and the whole of a text are mutually dependent. He applies this principle to Quranic interpretation, recognizing that a comprehensive understanding of the Quran requires both detailed analysis of individual verses and an appreciation of the overall themes and structure of the text.

Text is the codification of the spirituality of the times from the interstices of individual and collective experiences in specific, plural, and contradictory positions. The tendency of historical codification is to pass on the experiences of each specific generation to the next, ensuring the continuity of authority of each generation, or at least to guide and direct them towards the future. Text is a voluntary transformation from oral to written form with a tendency to document instant codification attitudes from plurality to unity, from variation to acclamation (Hanafi, 2015).

Hanafi's methodology is distinguished by its four fundamental principles: thematic focus, temporality, realism, and problem-solving orientation (Zainol et al., 2018). The first principle,

thematic focus, involves grouping verses by theme to promote a holistic understanding of the Quranic perspective on particular subjects. Secondly, temporality is the understanding of the text in relation to its time, understanding that the meaning of the text is influenced by historical and social context (Dozan, 2021). His concept of realism involves interpreting the Quran in the context of the tangible realities and practical concerns of the Muslim world. Lastly, his problem-solving orientation seeks to apply Quranic teachings to concrete issues and challenges faced by contemporary society (Fanani & Juliansyah, 2020). By addressing the pressing concerns of people, interpretation is guided towards the formulation of actionable solutions that tangibly improve the lives of Muslims, fostering a more relevant and impactful understanding of the Quran's teachings within the complexities of the modern world (Mehmood, 2015).

Hanafi's interpretive strategy aligns with the principles of inclusive Islam, which champions tolerance, adaptability, and openness while remaining anchored in the core values of Islam that prioritize compassion, justice, and peace for all. Differences should be approached through constructive dialogue to foster a tolerant society free from prejudice (Supriatna et al., 2025). This strategy fosters environments where individuals are respected and appreciated regardless of their differences. This method of interpretation underscores the need for ongoing engagement with the Quran, recognizing that interpretations can evolve as societies change and new challenges emerge (Bakhshizadeh, 2023).

Hassan Hanafi's Da'wah Politics: An In-Depth Analysis

Hassan Hanafi, a renowned contemporary Egyptian intellectual, offers a unique perspective on da'wah politics rooted in the reinterpretation of Islamic tradition and a commitment to social justice (Pimay & Savitri, 2021). Hanafi's thoughts on da'wah politics stem from his engagement with various intellectual and political movements, including Marxism, Arab nationalism, and Islamic theology. He sought to synthesize critical insights from these perspectives into a coherent framework for social transformation rooted in Islamic principles. Hanafi's work seeks to reconstruct Islamic tradition in a way that addresses the problems of the contemporary world and empowers Muslim societies to pursue social and political justice. One of the main ideas in Hanafi's da'wah politics is the concept of the "Islamic left." Hanafi argues that there is a progressive and emancipatory tradition in Islamic history that can be used to inspire contemporary struggles for social justice. He criticizes dominant interpretations of Islam that he considers passive, conservative, and supportive of the status quo.

Hanafi advocates a reinterpretation of Islamic sources that emphasizes themes of social justice, equality, and liberation (Eka Prasetya, 2020). Hassan Hanafi's concept of the "Islamic left" reflects an effort to bridge the gap between Islamic thought and progressive movements, aiming to harness the emancipatory principles of Islam to address social and political injustices. Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics is also characterized by its emphasis on the importance of practical action and engagement. Hanafi criticizes Muslim intellectuals who remain abstract and detached from the daily struggles of society. He argues that Muslim intellectuals have a responsibility to engage with the problems of their societies and to contribute to practical solutions.

Hanafi's idea of "*al-Yasar Al-Islam*" is an ideology that he developed, although he was not the first to conceive it. "*Al-Yasar Al-Islam*" is a scientific reaction from progressive Muslims to Arab socialism. This idea was expressed in a magazine called "*al-Yasar Al-Islam*". Hanafi wanted to uplift the third world, challenge Western domination, and critique tradition (*al-Ana*). He faced the crisis of

Islamic normativity and the crisis of Western-centrism (*al-Garbu Al-Jadid*), with the aim of reviving civilization, not only in Egypt but also throughout the third world, through a movement that started from oppressed communities.

Turats is not just an obsolete heritage without meaning, but contains a transformative awareness that is able to challenge the status quo. This awareness becomes the foundation in thinking, behaving, and acting. Capitalists, colonialists, and feudalists see turats as a threat because it is considered to hinder their efforts in perpetuating power. Therefore, Hanafi argues that turats must be returned to its ideal position as a progressive foundation of Islamic civilization. This logic, according to Hanafi, will open up space for critical power and dialogue. The task of turats is to question past traditions, seek alternatives, place them in contemporary reality, and choose the one that best suits current needs. The measure of truth and error is not absolute, but is determined by socio-political relevance to the needs of the times. In Hanafi's thought, turats brings the subconscious to the surface, containing the spirit of liberation revolution that drives social change towards a democratic society and is free from authoritarianism. Turats contains energy and liberating awareness, and embodies historical unity, considering that Muslims today are experiencing alienation from their own history.

Thus, the renewal of *Turats* is to solve the mystery of classical tradition which subsequently becomes an obstacle or hindrance to progress and backwardness. Within the body of Muslims themselves. As the task of a revolutionary. Because classical tradition has overshadowed and haunted him. And the conservatives will be the obstacle. Because they prioritize the status quo of their own interests. So that hindering various changes made (Hanafi, 1992).

According to him, da'wah should not be limited to sermons and teaching, but should also include concrete actions to change society. Transformative da'wah emphasizes the importance of social relevance and justice, aiming to address the urgent problems facing society and promote positive change. In Indonesia, the idea of reforming Islamic thought is often seen as a challenge and a threat, causing anxiety among activists of Islamic thought who seek to reconstruct thought, especially among young Muslims from various educational backgrounds. This condition has resulted in the emergence of diverse movements of thought, including efforts to adopt Western thought methodologies and contemporary Islamic thinkers from the Arab world, which has triggered reactions from conservative Muslims seeking to maintain the purity of Islamic teachings.

Hanafi emphasizes the need for Muslims to engage critically with modernity and to develop their own understanding of the modern world based on Islamic values and principles. He criticizes the blind imitation of Western ideas and calls for a creative dialogue between Islam and modernity that will produce a new synthesis relevant to the context of Muslim societies. Hassan Hanafi emphasizes the need for a "critical attitude" towards the Islamic intellectual tradition itself. By adopting a critical approach, Muslims can distinguish between aspects of tradition that are still relevant and beneficial from aspects that are obsolete or harmful. In addition, engagement with local cultures and traditions is an important aspect of Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics. Therefore, Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics is not only limited to theoretical and philosophical areas but also has practical implications for social and political action.

A critique of West-centrism involves not only rejecting or eliminating Western influence but also confining it to its geographical limits. This perspective, similar to its dichotomizing worldview, implies that learning from other cultures is superficial, a temporary phase rather than a fundamental shift. It posits the West as the exclusive symbol of civilizational advancement, a representation of

universal humanism, and the standard for all rational arguments. European rationalism categorizes everything in binary opposition, leading to cultural assimilation and a sense of inferiority among the current generation towards the West, as well as the alienation of cultural groups from Europe. Hanafi asserts, The renewal in the West is scientific and global, applicable to every environment. Muslims should follow what the West achieves because it can be applied in every other civilization. This attitude is born from a society of intellectual groups capable of modern thinking but unable to ground their modern ideas, leading to utopianism. Because the West-centric trend is legally correct *de jure* but factually wrong *de facto*. The concept he offers through the West is principally correct, but it is a *de facto* reality on earth (Hanafi, 1992).

As has been perceived by orientalists. As if we are observers, not owners of tradition. We criticize its various limitations as if we are not the people responsible for it. We repeat what has been thrown out and collect the fragments. The culmination is to publish or disseminate manuscripts without any changes, development or re-experimentation. Meanwhile, the classical tradition is inseparable and inherent in us, even embodying ourselves, shaping us, giving us a way of looking at the world and laying out instructions for behavior (Hanafi, 2015).

Hanafi emphasizes the importance of Muslims engaging with the problems of their societies and working towards positive social and political change. Hanafi's thinking has influenced various Islamic movements and intellectuals around the world, especially in regions such as Indonesia which has a dynamic Islamic intellectual landscape (Kamsi et al., 2021). Thus, transformative da'wah seeks to go beyond the transmission of rituals and doctrines to address social problems, injustice, and the broader needs of society (Nasor & Nur, 2019).

Hassan Hanafi, a prominent contemporary thinker from Egypt, primarily articulated his ideas within the Arab context, seeking to unite Islamic intellectual tradition with the socio-political challenges faced by the region in the contemporary era. His thought is aligned with other modern Arab intellectuals, such as Mohammed Arkoun and Nashr Hamid Abu Zayd, who shared a similar vision for a cultural revolution in Islamic thought. The purpose of this revolution was to liberate Arab Muslims from religious dogmas that were deemed to hinder human creativity. According to Hanafi, the effort to renew Islamic thought in the Arab world must lead to the development of a new theology and a cultural revolution based on the principles of liberation and social justice. This aims to free Arab-Islamic society from backwardness and fragmentation, in order to realize a just, prosperous, and civilized society (Manshur, 2021). Therefore, it is important to explicitly link Hanafi's thought to the Arab context to enrich the understanding of the origins and fundamental goals of his ideas. Hanafi's approach to intellectual renewal is rooted in the ability to critically reconstruct reality, transform negative aspects into positive ones, and utilize contemporary changes for the social benefit of Muslims (Naamy, 2023).

Although Hanafi's thought is deeply rooted in the Arab world, its intellectual scope is universal. The essence of his political da'wah, which prioritizes the liberation of individuals from political, economic, and intellectual subjugation, and the encouragement of active participation in shaping society, is relevant to Muslim communities worldwide. His method of contextual interpretation of religious texts and the use of independent reasoning, while adhering to divine revelation, provides an adaptive approach to confronting modernity in various contexts. This allows the article to explore how Hanafi's intellectual framework can be used as an analytical tool to develop Islamic thought beyond geographical boundaries, including in Africa and the West, where Muslims also grapple with issues of identity, modernity, and social justice.

As an illustration, in the African context, Hanafi's thought can be connected to various Islamic reform movements that seek to harmonize religious heritage with the challenges of post-colonial development, governance, and identity issues amidst complex ethnic and cultural diversity. Hanafi's emphasis on social justice and individual liberation can serve as a strong analytical framework for understanding movements that strive to overcome structural injustices and promote more inclusive governance in Muslim societies in Africa. Although available sources do not explicitly detail the application of Hassan Hanafi's thought in the African context, the general principles of renewal in Islamic thought and the struggle against backwardness advocated by Hanafi have significant relevance in this discourse (Manshur, 2021).

As for Muslim communities in Western countries, Hanafi's ideas offer a conceptual framework for navigating the complexities of existing as a minority in a secular societal environment. This includes exploring issues of social integration, identity formation, and the manifestation of religious expression. His dialogical approach and rejection of extremism, which are essential characteristics of his political da'wah, are highly relevant for Western Muslims striving to build cross-cultural connectivity while preserving their Islamic identity without sacrificing the principles of modernity. His ability to incorporate constructive modern concepts and prioritize rationality can inspire Muslims in the West to construct adaptive and proactive models of Islamic life within the context of cultural diversity.

Application of Hassan Hanafi's Da'wah Politics in Indonesia

Indonesia, with its large Muslim population and diverse political landscape, offers a compelling case study for exploring the application of Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics. The implementation of Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics in Indonesia can be seen in various social and political movements and initiatives that seek to address issues of social justice, equality, and community empowerment.

One area where Hanafi's da'wah politics is relevant is in the context of progressive Islamic movements in Indonesia. These movements seek to reinterpret Islamic sources in ways that support social justice, gender equality, and human rights. They often critique more conservative and authoritarian interpretations of Islam and seek to develop a more inclusive and emancipatory understanding of Islam. In the Indonesian context, where religion plays a significant role in public life, Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics can provide a framework for engaging with social and political issues from an Islamic perspective. This can help promote a more just and inclusive society where the rights and dignity of all citizens are respected.

The relevance of Hassan Hanafi's thought to the Indonesian context lies in its potential to provide a framework for addressing the social, political, and economic challenges facing the country. By emphasizing social justice, empowerment, and the reconstruction of Islamic traditions, Hanafi's ideas can inspire social movements and political initiatives aimed at creating a more just and egalitarian society in Indonesia.

Islamic values can serve as inspiration for creating political ethics and supporting the development of political and civil society (Wulandari, 2017). Abdurrahman Wahid's political thought on democracy and the indigenization of Islam offers a valuable perspective for understanding the relationship between Islam, democracy, and culture in Indonesia. Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics can also contribute to the debate about the role of Islam in the public sphere in Indonesia. By emphasizing the importance of engagement and practical action, Hanafi's

ideas can inspire Indonesian Muslims to actively participate in shaping public policy and promoting the common good (Marpelta et al., 2021). This can help bridge the gap between Islamic principles and democratic values, leading to a more inclusive and participatory society. The successful implementation of transformative da'wah relies heavily on a comprehensive analysis of the specific socio-political and economic landscape in which it is pursued, taking into account cultural nuances, existing power dynamics, and the needs of different communities.

Tradition has no objective meaning found in texts or experiences. Instead, tradition is merely the bearer of the demands of actual objects derived from it. The real meaning is the approximation conveyed by the present about the past. If the needs and demands of the times are freedom and justice, then we will not know it from the texts of tradition (Hanafi, 2015).

Transformative da'wah must be responsive to the unique challenges and opportunities present in each specific environment, requiring a deep understanding of the local context and the adaptation of appropriate strategies. Transformative da'wah must also be responsive to the needs and aspirations of the target community, recognizing diverse perspectives and involving community members in the planning and decision-making process. Through a transformative approach, da'wah can be a powerful tool for addressing social problems, promoting justice, and empowering communities to create positive change in their lives. Digital da'wah has emerged as a powerful tool for spreading Islamic messages widely in the modern era (Kasir & Awali, 2024). Therefore, it is crucial to develop systematic strategies to optimize social media as an inclusive da'wah tool, which involves strengthening digital religious literacy to ensure that audiences can critically engage with online religious content and reject hate speech that they may encounter. Additionally, collaborative efforts from media practitioners, religious scholars, policymakers, and digital platform providers are needed to enhance support for content creators, improve algorithmic fairness, and foster constructive civic engagement. By utilizing platforms such as YouTube, inclusive Islamic messages can be disseminated effectively, highlighting Islam as a blessing for the universe and emphasizing universal humanitarian values that support interfaith harmony (Supriatna et al., 2025). Transformative da'wah also emphasizes the importance of dialogue and cooperation between different religions, aiming to build bridges of understanding, promote tolerance, and foster cooperation in common goals.

By focusing on common issues and shared values, transformative da'wah can help overcome prejudice and misunderstanding, leading to more harmonious and inclusive relationships between different religious communities. Within this framework, transformative da'wah must actively seek to challenge exclusive narratives and intolerant ideologies, replacing them with messages that uphold moderation, inclusiveness, and respect for diversity, thereby contributing to a more cohesive and harmonious society amidst differences (Bashori & Maharani, 2022). In an era of public information openness, da'wah can be easily conveyed through social media, which offers a platform for spreading enlightened and beneficial da'wah content (Supriatna et al., 2025). Therefore, prudent management of da'wah content is essential to ensure that the messages shared align with Islamic values and contribute positively to public discourse.

CONCLUSION

Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics offers a comprehensive framework for understanding and addressing the challenges faced by contemporary Muslim societies. By emphasizing the importance of practical action, social justice, and the reconstruction of Islamic traditions, Hanafi's

ideas provide a blueprint for social and political transformation aimed at empowering marginalized communities and building more just and egalitarian societies. By analyzing the digital da'wah strategies used by figures, we can gain insights into how Islamic principles can be effectively communicated to younger generations and leverage social media to spread positive and inclusive messages, which in turn contributes to the formation of a more tolerant and harmonious society.

It is important to note that the implementation of Hassan Hanafi's da'wah politics will face certain challenges and obstacles. One of these is the potential resistance from conservative groups who may oppose his progressive interpretation of Islam and his emphasis on social change. In addition, there is a need to navigate the political and cultural complexities of different contexts to ensure that Hanafi's ideas are applied in a culturally sensitive and locally appropriate manner. Transformative da'wah, rooted in the principles of social justice and inclusiveness, can serve as a unifying force in multicultural societies, bridging differences and promoting a sense of shared belonging among diverse communities. It requires a deep understanding of the social and political context in which da'wah is conducted, as well as a commitment to dialogue and cooperation with different groups and communities. By addressing social issues such as poverty, inequality, and discrimination, transformative da'wah can contribute to the development of more just and egalitarian societies where everyone has the opportunity to thrive. Empowering da'wah not only relies on *istinbath* procedures but can also be further developed by adapting from other social sciences through *iqtibas* and *istiqla'* scientific procedures. By adopting a transformative approach, da'wah can be a powerful tool for addressing social problems, promoting justice, and empowering communities to create positive change in their lives.

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