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Effects of Violence Against Women in Suqūth Al-Imām by Nawal El-Sa’dawi
A Radical Feminism Study
Syarifuddin
The **Esensia**: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin is an independent academic journal focusing on the sciences of the ushuluddin (principles of religion), published twice a year (April and October) by the Faculty of Ushuluddin and Islamic Thought, State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. It is a shared space to disseminate and publish the scholarly papers of those whose concern is the sciences of ushuluddin, such as, Kalam, Tasawuf, Islamic Philosophy, Tafsir, Hadith, Comparative Religion, Studies of Religion and Islamic Thoughts.

The **Esensia**: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin was launched in February, 2000 by the Faculty of Ushuluddin and Islamic Thought, State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. This journal was once accredited by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Decree of the Directorate General of Higher Education, No. 52/DIKTI/Kep/2002.

Currently, The **Esensia**: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin has been accredited based on the Decree of the Director General of Research and Development Research and Development of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education of the Republic of Indonesia, No. 36a/E/KPT/2016.

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Online Radicalism, When Online Surfing Leads to Suffering

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Abstract:
The development of online media has long played big roles in the spreading of intolerance and radicalism, in some levels, the online media is also used as a media to spread propaganda and to conduct online recruitment. Data compiled by Gabriel Weimann shows that radical groups use online media seriously to spread their wings in influencing and asking people to joint their movement. In 1998, radical-terrorist groups only had 12 sites, while in 2003 they had 2,650 sites. The number increased so high in 2014 where these groups are known to have more than 9,800 sites. The shifting place, from offline to online, used by radical groups to conduct their activities impacts to the targets they aim; online radicalism targets youth to become ‘jihadis’. A national survey conducted by Wahid Foundation on potency of intolerance and radicalism in Rohis (an after-school program focused on Islamic spirituality) shows this fact; 33% Rohis put terrorist suspect like Amrozi, Imam Samudra, Abu Bakar Ba’asyir, and Bahrun Na’im as the living example of Muslim practicing the real jihad. 37% believes that Osama bin Laden died syahid, 6% of them even support international terrorist group, ISIS. The article is designed to analyze how radical groups use online media to radicalize youth, as well as supporting factors surrounding the live of youth, especially in big cities of Indonesia.

Keyword: online radicalism, deradicalisation, cyber-terrorism

Abstrak:

Kata Kunci: Radikalisme Daring; Deradicalisasi; Terorisme-Siber
Introduction

Radicalism started from online media is now more worrying than ever. The growth of internet users in Indonesia has a special case to concern, as this could mean both positive and negative. Updated data on internet usage of Indonesians per January 2020 shows an astounding fact. Of 272.1 million Indonesia’s total population, 124% (338.2 million) are registered as active phone users. This is only possible due to fact that having more than one phone contact number is easy to get in Indonesia. 96% Indonesians are internet active users with 94% of it are attached to smartphones. Indonesians are also known for its activities on social media, the same source of data reports that in average, per January 2020, Indonesians spend 7 hours 59 minutes per day online, with 3 hours and 26 minutes on social media.\(^1\)

Data above could mean positive; it is to say that Indonesians are modernly-literate, yet this could also mean negative, especially when it comes to the concern of the spread of violent extremism. Criminal organizations, including –or specially— violent extremist has migrated themselves to online media. This, as mentioned in Awareness Brief, has been an easy access to an increasingly broad cross-section of individuals to recruit, groom, and facilitate radicalization to violence. The Internet provides radical recruiters with a more fertile ground for recruitment and more opportunities to interact with people who would not otherwise be reachable by conventional means.\(^2\)

In conventional ways, violent extremist used internet only to spread hatred by provoking negative sentiment toward others labelled simply as enemies, also to glorify martyrs and incite people to violence. Yet in modern ways, internet is used to also groom new recruits where they provide religious or legal justifications for proposed actions. They too, create virtual communities with like-minded individuals.\(^3\) This is conducted mostly in online closed groups such as WhatsApp, telegram, etc. While for more open communications, extremists use media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube.

Different platforms mean different types of usage. Violent extremist use different strategies in a so-called cyber terrorism. As explained by Gabriel Weimann (2010), violent extremist groups used specific methods in every different media platform. In Facebook for instance, the groups exchange private messages and information related to attacks coordination. They also provide Facebook pages where everyone can give “like” to show supports. For twitter, they use it to disseminate extreme violent propaganda and press releases to gain more attention, especially from media. While for YouTube, the platform is used mostly to spread extremists’ sermons and military-like training videos.\(^4\)

There are many theories regarding to why internet is used as a media for violent extremist to spread ideologies and actions. Among many theories, the ones released by ICSR is worth considering. According to them, internet has “revolutionized the world of communication” because:\(^5\)

- It has dramatically reduced the cost of communication, making the exchange and dissemination of information virtually free.
- It has enabled unlimited access to much of the world’s knowledge and begun to organize it in systematic fashion.
- It has made it easier to find people and create networks among like-minded individuals,

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\(^3\) ibid


across great distances and beyond national borders.

- It has lowered the threshold for engaging in ‘risky’ or ‘embarrassing’ behavior because it helps to conceal users’ identities.

Special case for violent extremist, internet is used for following reasons:

- The internet can be used by extremists to illustrate and reinforce ideological messages and/or narratives. Through the internet, potential recruits can gain near-instantaneous access to visually powerful video and imagery which appear to substantiate the extremists’ political claims.

- The internet makes it easier to join and integrate into more formal organizations. It provides a comparatively risk-free way for potential recruits to find like-minded individuals and network amongst them, enabling them to reach beyond an isolated core group of conspirators.

- It creates a new social environment in which otherwise unacceptable views and behavior are normalized. Surrounded by other radicals, the internet becomes a virtual ‘echo chamber’ in which the most extreme ideas and suggestions receive the most encouragement and support.6

Another media platform that has not taken into serious concern is television. Unlike British, where television has been overtaken by internet as the “most indispensable” media,7 Indonesian people still consider television as one of main source of learning religion, especially Islam. This is of course well-awared by television producers that they provide more and more religious sermons on TV. A national research conducted by Wahid Foundation in mid-2016 found that 28.6% of Indonesian people get information about religion from television. This is the highest number compared to other sources like mosques (24.6%), clerics/ulema (18.0%), school/madrasah/pesantren (14.5%).8

Nevertheless, clarifications pointed out by Community Oriented Policing Service (COPS) of the U.S Department of Justice need to be taken seriously, the clarification is as following: “some of the activities and uses mentioned are not necessarily illegal and may be protected under the First Amendment and other civil rights laws. Each site allows users to block individuals from contacting them and to report content and accounts that violate a site’s terms of service. A site can remove any content that is determined to violate its terms, and users who post such content are subject to having their account suspended or removed.”9

The New York Times columnist, Thomas Friedman, also sees this as a positive trend. He believes that internet has helped create ‘super-empowered individuals’ and predicts a renaissance of civic engagement.10 Long before him, former US President, Bill Clinton, claims that because of the internet, people can “do more public good than ever before”.11 This means that internet cannot be simplified as a bad thing, as it also provides many positive aspect. Internet for example, has proven to be a great educational resource, where it facilitates cross-cultural exchange; it helps non-governmental and other organizations with small budgets to disseminate their ideas; it allows small businesses to sell their products worldwide; and it gives sufferers of rare diseases the opportunity to create support networks.12

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6 Ibid, P. 12
8 Complete document can be seen and downloaded on www.wahidfoundation.org
12 ICSR, (2009), “Countering Online Radicalisation: A
Learning from BNPT Strategies

Indonesia National Counter terrorism Agency (NCTA – BNPT) is mandated to counter any types of terrorism based on Antiterrorism Law No. 15 of 2003. Yet in practice, the agency is seen to lack of effective strategic communication in winning broader public support for their goals. One of main critics for the strategy is the fact that counterradicalism programs have failed to convincingly involve the broader Muslim population to challenge radical ideology, which remains pervasive in the public sphere.13 While to ensure the clarity of the target as well as to enhance understanding of the target audience, as proposed by Irfan Abubakar, government need to effectively shape people’s minds and behavior with regard to the threat of radicalism.

Two strategies implemented by BNPT in dealing with terrorism are the ones called hard approach and soft approach. In hard approach, the agency carried out actions against nearly 1,000 suspected terrorists, confiscating their weapons across the archipelago over the past decade. As a result, Indonesia today is less susceptible to major terrorist attacks than it was in the early 2000s.14 While in soft approach, the bogor-located agency applies two other strategies classified as deradicalization and prevention. In deradicalization, BNPT focusses on pulling back arrested terrorist suspects, along with their families and relatives, from being radical to less radical. This is done in many ways, not only by giving right information about religion and state, but also by empowering their economy.

Second strategy performed by the agency is prevention. This strategy aims at protecting and preventing people from being radicalized, not only by giving access to information, but to also involve them in programs designed to peace building. To justify the program, BNPT uses term “deradicalization,” the one that provokes many critics, especially from the radicals. They questioned whether this meant that the government deemed all Muslims to be radical, necessitating their deradicalization.15

It is well known that since 2010, BNPT has tried their best to reach broader audience to involve in their counter terrorism program. Among of which, religious leaders are considered to be one of their priorities. Other audience they include are youth, social leaders and students. Even so, questions and critics remain out there wandering. One of those is about gaining public trust, especially given the fact that this is a government agency.

“Even when the government allows the ulama to independently discuss and explain the true meaning of jihad and the essence of tolerance in Islamic teaching,” wrote critics, “resistance persists within the Muslim public given that the ulama are seen as being funded by the government. Concerns remain that the government is using the ulama to discredit Islam. Were the BNPT to give local communities more independence to run these programs, while controlling its own visibility, it would have greater success in lessening public resistance.”16

Critics have also observed that in 2010 to 2012 the BNPT tended to put more focus on the visibility of the agency and its officers in

14 Ibid, P. 5.
16 Critics delivered here is based on the case of A London-based website called Radical Middle Way which campaign a peaceful and tolerant Islam. They received strong criticism from some Muslim groups because it published at the outset that they received financial support from the British government. See, Naureen Chowdhury Fink & Jack Barclay: Mastering the Narrative: Counterterrorism Strategic Communication and the United Nations, p.34
programs rather than to secure their credibility by giving more control of the discourse to the stakeholders at the community level. The result has been that the agency has continuously opened itself up to confrontation with radicals.  

Lesson learned gained from efforts of BNPT to counter terrorism is that we need a new approach; a strategy that does not easily fall to classify certain groups into particular categories, but rather to encourage as many as individuals to participate in strengthening the nation by their own ways. In doing so, one of groups that need to be encouraged is youth.

A national survey of Wahid Foundation on Rohis (an after school program focused on Islamic spirituality) in 2016 came out with a very shocking —yet predicted—result. When asked about figures that become the living example of Muslims practicing the real jihad, 33% (out of total 1,626 respondents), Rohis members came out with terrorist suspect figures such as Amrozi, Imam Samudra Abu Bakar Ba’asyir and Bahrun Na’im. 37% of them believe that Osama bin Laden died syahid, and that 6% of them stated their support for international terrorist group ISIS. The result is of course frightening, yet it is also challenging.

Globalization and 4th Wave of Terrorism

Realize it or not, globalization has changed almost the whole face of world terrorism. It is no longer a pile of blind attacks that are arbitrarily in the name of God, but also other intrigues that help make the face of world terrorism even more sinister. Also added by globalization is a new level of terrorism which includes increasingly varied patterns of movement and types of execution of attacks. One of the acts of terrorism which are often considered as a marker of the entry of globalization in terrorism is a terror attack targeting the WTC building in America on September 11, 2001.

This brutal attack, known to be masterminded by Osama bin Laden’s Al Qaeda group, is said by many to meet various criteria for new levels of terrorism; the level that has been entered by the elements of globalization. This attack, for example, is believed by many to not only be intended to show an act of displaying strength or resistance to tyranny that breeds oppression. The attack in broad daylight was not only filled with enthusiasm against certain regimes, more than that, this attack was also believed to carry a larger mission - and of course, more dangerous - that is, an agenda for mobilizing global-class conflicts by filling the “ideological vacuum” has been gaping since the end of the Cold War.

In other words, the attack that struck the WTC building which was a symbol of American power (and perhaps the world?) was not intended merely to tear down the building and kill a number of people, who knows who. This attack is aimed at stomping world awareness that terrorism has risen class. This new terrorism focuses on the fight against the domination and hegemony of the Western world which is described as an enemy of Islam because of policies that are considered endangering the existence of Islam. That is why the main objective of this terror attack is the mobilization of political opinions that lead to the labeling of “friends” and “opponents” on a global scale. With this agenda, we can know that the Al Qaeda group that is behind this brutal attack is actually targeting something bigger than the destruction of buildings or the loss of thousands of lives, they are planting even worse damage, namely damage to the state of mind of the people world.

Here’s the explanation. With this monumental attack, Al Qaeda used its position as a reference for many of the world’s terrorist groups at that time to instill fear and anxiety in the world community. What for? Certainly,
to change the mindset of the people; that they, especially those who disagree with the terrorism mindset, are no longer safe. At the same time, Al Qaeda uses religious sentiment to establish the illusion that religion (Islam) actually requires all Muslims to fight non-Muslims, whenever and wherever they are. Al Qaeda labels the attack on non-Muslims as “jihad”, a kind of struggle for religious interests. We certainly understand that labelling is baseless and dangerous.

From another perspective, as explained at the beginning of this book, the terror attack on the WTC building is a sign of the beginning of the 4th wave of terrorism. Namely, the terror attacks that were backed by a new movement in terrorism. The people or groups who are behind this movement can be old faces, but the strategies and patterns of movement that they do are completely new. What distinguishes 4th wave terrorism from other terrorism is the use of information technology such as the internet as its main weapon. This means, modern terrorism does not only use firearms, including other weapons of destruction, to carry out attacks, because the effects of attacks will not be maximal; will not clash until far. Modern terrorism uses the internet as its main weapon because of its enormous destructive power. If firearms can only launch bullets in the range of 400 meters to 1000 meters, then the internet can spit out ‘bullets’ up to great distances, even the internet has been able to penetrate the limits of space and time.

Another thing that is so typical of terrorism in the 4th wave is the use of religious sentiments to incite hatred and deadly attacks. In the name of religious interests, which are still considered important by many people, terrorist groups try to convince the world community that religion commands humans to kill anyone who is considered hostile to religion. With religious sentiment as well, terrorist groups try to convince many people that killing religious enemies will not be considered a sin, instead, God will provide enormous rewards for those who want to ‘jihad’ with them, these criminals of humanity.

Terror groups in modern times are also famous for their extremely high levels of cruelty, even in the category of overdoing. They, for example, do not hesitate to eliminate children, women, and old people. There is no mercy. They are also known to use weapons that are very dangerous, included in the category of WMDs (Weapons of Mass Destruction) or weapons of mass destruction. With the weapons of mass destruction, terrorist groups in the modern era are known to have no specific targets in arranging attacks. Borrowing the term Thomas Hobbes, what is echoed by terrorist groups today is Bellum Omnium Contra Omnes, which is a massive war involving everyone. This is a condition of war that involves everyone versus everyone else.

For terrorist groups in the 4th wave, everyone must be involved in a massive war for - as they claim - to defend religion. That is why terrorist groups seriously spread propaganda and large-scale recruitment in order to attract as many people in their ranks. Because big war can only be done with large numbers of troops as well. The war covered by terror groups in this wave is said to be big not only because of the damage it causes but also because this war is intended to plant a culture of terror, so that people who refuse to join the terrorism network,
if they succeed in surviving attacks terror, will forever be in fear. Culture of terror can only be carried out by carrying out direct attacks on the United States and the Western world which are already considered anti-Islamic, both directly - by carrying out bombings, killing, destroying public facilities, etc. - as well as attacks in the figurative sense; all of which are done by pawning God’s values in order to launch an attack. To those who are willing to be involved in various acts of terror, they are promised heaven, while those who refuse to support acts of terror, they are cursed in a painful hell. At this time, as explained by many figures, terrorism aroused apocalyptic to drag religion to the darkest abyss, a gap full of bloodshed.

As a movement based on internet technology, terrorism in this era also relies heavily on publicity in the media. In a passive condition, terrorist groups rely on coverage and various media reports about the movements that they do, this means free promotion but very effective. With such coverage and coverage, the world community knows who they are, what they are doing, etc. While in an active condition, terrorist groups will use the internet as a seedbed for the seeds of terrorism. This was done starting from spreading provocative religious lectures, propaganda videos, to announcements to participate in carrying out attacks on people labeled enemies of religion.

The media was chosen as the real battlefield because publicity from the media was able to have a dual effect in order to spread fear and eliminate security in the international community. The double effect here means that the media is able to present a more dramatic image of the facts. This certainly benefits terrorist groups who intend to use the media to spread fear to the public. Therefore, it is no exaggeration if Bruce Hofman in Inside Terrorism calls the main essence of terrorism today is an act to get attention and publicity. That is why, in addition to carrying weapons, terrorist groups also always carry cameras in every cruel action they take. Again, so that they get publicity in the media.

Terrorist groups’ dependence on media publicity is changing the way terrorism works as a whole. They for example, always consider the side of being involved in every action they take. Therefore, in planning an attack, they always consider the location and timing of the attack. Don’t attack in a quiet place; there will be no reporters who come to cover and echo this action throughout the country or even the world. Do not also carry out attacks at inappropriate times, because this can be fatal; did not receive the attention of the wider community. Attacks should also not be carried out on strangers or people who will not attract media attention. All of these considerations are based on publicity because there is no point in carrying out attacks if they don’t get coverage.

Doing Smart Approach

What is now challenging is cyberterrorism. a recent survey conducted by the University of Swansea’s Cyberterrorism Project came out with result that 58% of researchers surveyed view cyberterrorism as a significant threat whilst, in response to a separate question, 49% evinced the view that cyberterrorism has already taken place (Macdonald et al., 2013). To understand cyberterrorism, definition of it carried out by Dennings (2006) –which probably the most respected ones—need to be mention;

…highly damaging computer-based attacks or threats of attack by non-state actors against information systems when conducted to intimidate or coerce governments or societies in pursuit of goals that are political or social. It is the convergence of terrorism with cyberspace, where

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cyberspace becomes the means of conducting the terrorist act. Rather than committing acts of violence against persons or physical property, the cyberterrorist commits acts of destruction or disruption against digital property.¹⁹

In Indonesia’s case, there are at least three main factors to play big roles in the spread of violent extremism. First, the growth of the spirit to become religious, shown by the changes in behavior and thought, including the use of religious ornaments, both in dress styling and communication model. This tendency can be easily seen from the live style of middle class muslim society, especially those living in big cities. This factor is absolutely acceptable, as this could mean positive, yet two other factors following could make different result.

Second factor, compared to the first one, is the lack of reading competency. A research conducted by Central Connecticut State University (2016) brought out facts that Indonesia is in the second lowest country for reading competency. Out of 61 states being researched, Indonesia is in rank 60 with point of 0,001. It means, out of every 1000 Indonesians, there is only one person who like reading. This is just where the problems start. The growth spirit of becoming religious which does not balance with the competency to read (which means to learn) will end up only in wearing ornaments and fake religious expressions.

Third factor, and this is where the problems are getting super serious, is the fact that Indonesian people are fussy, especially on social media. A data compiled by UNESCO says that in case of fussiness, Indonesian people and in the fifth rank of the world fussiest society.²⁰ No wonder, the state has been a big consumer for hoax, propaganda and lies. This of course, effects a lot in the spreading of hate speech, negative sentiments and intolerance which in some levels lead people to become radical.

To deal with it, there is no other way but to do counter narrative both online and offline. Online counter narratives are a must because online world has become a place where violence extremist use to groom their violence ideology and conduct a recruitment, yet offline counter narratives need to also be seriously addressed. Many people involving violent extremist are those who feel that they are isolated. The offline approaches will contribute not only to strengthen the capacity of audience to protect and defend themselves from radical ideas and acts, but also to empower them to speak out their minds against any kinds of violence.

Nevertheless, singers are often more important than the song. To have an effective counter narrative, first thing to consider is who to be trusted as a representative to deliver the massage. Lack competency of the messengers will subtract the effectiveness in meeting the target.

Another problem encountered in dealing with counter narratives is language gap. Many organizations, especially those from government agencies, fail to deliver the messages because of language differences. Government tend to use languages/sense that society, particularly youth, do not understand. It is time for every individual/group to adapt themselves to this demand. Therefore, empowering people from communities, to be then send back to the communities to deliver the messages, is always important to repeatedly do.

Referring to A Policy Report compiled by The International Centre for the Radicalization and Political Violence (ISCR), policy recommendations that are available by far, particularly in dealing with online radicalism, is

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 199
²⁰ Indonesia twitter city head, Roy Samungsong stated that active twitter users in Indonesia is up to 77% of total population with 4,1 billion tweet produced in a year. See, Adi Fida Rahman, “Indonesia Negara Paling ‘cerewet’ di Dunia,” in Detik.com (December 7, 2016); https://inet.detik.com/cyberlife/d-3364770/indonesia-negara-paling-cerewet-di-dunia
either stating the obvious (promote activities of those who speak against violence extremism)\textsuperscript{21} or avoiding tough question altogether (invoke the full force of the law where it makes most to do so).\textsuperscript{22} Only few that have made a clear effort to address the dilemmas and questions that policymakers are faced with in responding to the extremist challenge.\textsuperscript{23}

Back to the case of Indonesia, most of internet users in this country are youth. Findings compiled by APJIII shows that majority of internet users in Indonesia are those aged from 20-24 and 25-29 years old with penetration number of 80\%\textsuperscript{24}. This young generation use internet with their specific ability and style, the ones that old people, including government would not understand. Therefore, to subdue internet, youth need to be involved.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Online media has been used by violent extremist to spread such ideas targeted specially to youth. With the fact that more than half of total population of Indonesia are active internet users, the trend needs to be taken into serious concern. Learning from previous strategies, which often time do not come up with positive result, the role of youth in subduing internet need to be more encouraged. Youth does not only stand as future generation of the state, but—and this is more urgent—they are the masters of internet these days. They know almost everything about internet communication, including popular language and style that are used.

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Author Guidelines
We invite scholars and experts working in all aspects of Ushuluddin studies to submit their manuscripts either in the form of research and theoretical papers, prospective, and case studies. The topics of interests include but are not limited to Islamic theology, Qur’anic exegesis, hadith sciences, comparative religion, and sociology of religion. Articles should be original, unpublished and not under review for publication in other journals.

Submissions must be made in English or Arabic contains 8000-12,000 words. The text is single-spaced, uses Palatyno Linotype –latin- (11 pt) Sakkal Majalla -arabic (14 pt), and must include 200-250 words abstract and 5 keywords. Arabic words should be transliterated according to Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, No. 158 Tahun 1987 dan Nomor 0543 b/UI/1987. References cited are preferred to the latest journal articles and books published in the last 10 years. All citations should be written in the form of footnote following Chicago style. It is highly recommended for the author to use Zotero Reference Manager.

Example of Footnote Style:
Example of Bibliography

Journal


Books:


Proceeding Seminar:


Under-Graduate, Graduate and Doctoral Thesis


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The *Esensia*: Journal Ilmu Ilmu Ushuluddin is an independent academic journal focusing on the sciences of the ushuluddin (principles of religion), published twice a year (April and October) by the Faculty of Ushuluddin and Islamic Thought, State Islamic University of Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. It is a shared space to disseminate and publish the scholarly papers of those whose concern is the sciences of ushuluddin, such as, Kalam, Tasawuf, Islamic Philosophy, Tafsir, Hadith, Comparative Religion, Studies of Religion and Islamic Thoughts.