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FROM MUSHALLA TO MOSQUE: The Formation of South and Southeast Asian Muslim Communities in Japan¹

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ABSTRACT

Since the 1980s, Japan has attracted Muslim immigrants, mainly from South and Southeast Asian countries. The emergence of these Islamic communities in Japan is reflected by the presence of around one hundred mosques and musallas (rooms or buildings for the performance of five daily prayers) on the Japanese archipelagos. This paper aims to discuss South and Southeast Asian Muslim communities in Japan, and the spaces used for their rituals and social activities as they have developed into full congregations able to support mosque construction and maintenance. I investigate how the transnational aspect of migration has shaped the architectural availability of places of prayer, and the development of the ummah (Muslim community). My data was collected from observation of Indonesian and Indian mosques in the greater Tokyo region between 2015 and 2017, and interviews with their congregations.

Keywords: Mushalla; Mosque; Formation; Muslim; Community; Japan.

INTRODUCTION

This paper about the presence of *mushalla* (prayer room) and mosques as Islamic spaces addresses the development of immigrants' architectural building and the formation of Muslim community in Japan. In Japan, as such spaces are mostly built by transnational immigrant communities from South and Southeast Asia. This paper aims to discuss specifically the architectural and institutional transformation of *mushalla* and mosque within the transnationalism framework. The main question is whether the context of "foreign spaces" in Japanese host society is represented in the architectural

¹ This paper was originally prepared for the 2016 Universities Art Association of Canada conference in Montreal for a panel 'Beyond the Mosque: Diverse Sites of Muslim Prayer.' It was presented with a title "The Mushallas of Tokyo: The Architectural Development of Islam in Japan. I would like to express my gratitude to the panel chair Dr. Angela Andersen (Univ. of Victoria, CA) who had sacrificed her time to read and provided precious feedbacks for the panel version. Although this updated paper has different direction from the original version, some parts of the paper come from our discussion.

building and community development.

Islamic space refers to a physical and nonphysical territory on which Muslims perform activities related to their religious beliefs and custom. It includes institutions, architectural buildings or sites, interiors and exteriors that mark Muslim's presence or visibility (Metcalf, 1996). In Muslim countries, various public facilities are set to accommodate Muslims' obligation to perform daily prayers. The architectural layout of most public facilities such as schools, shopping centers, tourism spots, train stations, airports but even military bases always provide a space for Muslim' prayers. The Jakarta International Airport in Indonesia for example, provides not only mosques outside and inside the terminal building but also *mushalla* (prayer rooms) in almost all domestic departure gates. Those facilities are created on purpose to help Muslim visitors remain cognizant to their Islamic obligation of prayers.

Additionally, in most Muslim countries, like Indonesia and Malaysia for instance, not only private but also public property and institutions provide and maintain their Islamic nuance. Almost everyday at certain times, there is a call for prayers (Arabic *Adzan*) from those prayer rooms which is amplified by outdoor loudspeakers. It signs a time for prayer, when Muslim is expected to pause his "secular" activities. In Saudi Arabia and other Muslim regions, when *adzan* starts, people stop doing any commercial transaction and close their shops, offices, markets. In a brief, living as a Muslim in majority Muslim countries, one would feel socially facilitated to perform their religious activities because public spaces have been Islamically modified (Hakim, 2013). In some countries such as Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Iran, even individual choice for being less or "slow" Muslim might be more threatened as local social force is very demanding (Algar, 2015). This work attempts to discuss the life of Muslims in the current era of global migration, where millions of Muslim immigrants earn their lives in non-Muslim majority countries. It is interesting to explore how they perform and maintain their Islamic faith and practices in the lack of such social force and spaces by taking into discussion of *mushalla* and Mosques and the migrant Muslims from South and Southeast Asian countries living in Japan.

THE DEFINITION OF MUSHALLA AND MOSQUE

The Arabic term *mushalla* means a place for prayer. The commonly literal meaning of the word, is no different from "*masjid*" (from the Arabic root Sa-ja-da), "mosque," which is translated as "a place" for worship (Syafe'i, Makhmud, 2016). Sujud, which is also from the "sa- ja-da" root, means to put one's forehead on the ground, as in the position taken during prayers.

According to the recorded sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad, known as *hadith*, as reported by Imam Ahmad, the masjid denotes the broader concept of Muslim prayer. The Prophet said, “In the whole earth, wherever you stand is masjid” (Fanani, Achmad. 2009). In everyday practice, however, a masjid, also called a *djami* in many languages, refers to a specific building intended as a center of communal Muslim activities including congregational Friday prayers, sermons, and Islamic tutorials. In contrast, therefore, similar structures, buildings, or spaces intended for the use of smaller community or individuals can be defined as *mushalla*.

In rural areas in Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries, the distinction between *mushalla* and *masjid* is very clear, and is rooted in the understanding that mosque is the center of the Muslim community (Khan, Hasan-Uddin 1990). Based on the strong notion in traditional Indonesian society, one cannot establish a new mosque as long as the old mosque remains convenient for the whole village. In that frame of thought, the *mushalla* is a smaller spatial order used at the periodic convenience of segments of the Muslim community, which does not wish to separate itself ideologically from its larger mosque unit and the territorial unit (such as village) as a whole. In urban areas, for the sake of time and convenience, prayer spaces exist in almost every workplace, in shopping centers, and in hospitals, bus stations, schools, government offices, universities, army or naval bases, sport centers, and even prostitution areas. This marks a late twentieth-century transformation in the concept of community, from a group of individuals where they live, to individuals of where they work (Urry, John 2012).

A *mushalla* may in fact develop into a mosque because of a need for a larger place of worship in its particular location, along with the establishment of a sufficient number of members and funding resources. This is often the case amongst Muslim groups living within predominantly non-Muslim communities, and, as I will discuss, the effect of transnational forces upon architecture. In this paper, I will explain first the establishment of *musallas* in Japan by Muslim migrants and their associated national governments and business interests, and community groups showing how early Muslim neighborhoods or groups and their distinctive prayer spaces are formed in the context of Japanese society. Secondly I will discuss the process of establishment of mosque showing the formation of larger Muslim community than that of *mushalla* congregation. I will contextualize the background of Muslims as a minority in Japan, and present several architectural examples of *mushalla* as the result of my fieldwork with South and Southeast Asian communities in the greater Tokyo area.

ISLAM AS MINORITY IN JAPAN

Although Islam is considered to be a growing religion in Japan, the Muslim community numbers between seventy and one hundred thousand people, based on estimates from the past ten years (Kojima, Sakurai 2012, 2008). Making up less than one percent of Japan's total population, most are immigrants from Indonesia, China, and South Asia. The largest influx of Muslim immigrants arrived in Japan during the booming industrial period of the 1980s. As Japan recovered from the global oil crisis and reached its peak industrialization level, corporations needed more workers to maintain their productivity so the Japanese government took the rare step of permitting the entrance of foreign nationals including migrants from Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Iran, Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Middle Eastern countries (Kojima 2006). These and more recently arrived workers continue to face discriminatory attitudes from the Japanese people, who remain unaccustomed to their cultural and religious practices, and the differences in their physical appearance and customs. This has created challenges to Muslims who hope to find better jobs, and to locate housing, education, and marriage partners. The result is insular community formation, often undertaken in isolation from the Japanese surroundings.

These South and Southeast Asian Muslims are vulnerable to social marginalization, linguistic and cultural barriers, and other problems caused by the recent global stereotyping of Muslims as potentially dangerous and suspect. The burden for being Muslim migrants is more severe than other foreigners in Japan (see Sakurai 2008). Individual Muslims have to overcome not only the language and cultural barriers, but also the facts that Islam is too foreign to Japanese literature and consciousness (Onishi, Akiko, and Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu. 2003). Most knowledge and perception about Islam are relied on the Western media information, hardly from direct interaction between individuals. A survey among high school students in Japan, for example, reveals that what Japanese students recognize most about Islam and Muslim are related to negative stereotypes such as strange custom, terrorism, sectarian conflicts, gender inequality, and anti-democracy (Maruyama, 2007).

MOSQUES AND *MUSHALLAS* IN JAPAN

There are around 80 mosques and *mushallas* in Japan, existing throughout the Japanese archipelago from Hokkaido to Okinawa. The Kanto area, consisting of Tokyo, Chiba, Kanagawa, Ibaraki and Gunma, has the greatest concentration. Most *mushallas* are established by donations from the foreign Muslim communities living in Japan. A few mosques in central Tokyo were

built under the auspices of the Turkish and Saudi governments, and I will discuss a *mushalla*/mosque associated with the government of Indonesia below. Many Muslim organizations and local associations in Japan, such as the Islamic Thrust of Japan, Islamic Circle of Japan, Japan Muslims Association, Chiba Islamic Community and the Muslim Associations of Sendai, Tsukuba, Hamamatsu, Fukuoka, Nagoya and Osaka also take a central role in establishing prayer spaces.

Mushallas in Japan are operated by several owner categories, such as private companies and individuals that might also receive donations from others. They may also belong to groups who agree to establish the *mushalla* and share the expenses, or they may belong to a Muslim community or ethnic organization. There are also several Japanese *mushallas* belonging exclusively to business enterprises or offices, stores, Muslim restaurants, campuses, airports and train stations, as well as those belong to embassies of Muslim countries and state enterprises such as Indonesian oil company Pertamina and Petronas of Malaysia. The following descriptions of Indo-Pakistani *mushallas* in the Nishi Kasai and Shin-Okubo, Indonesian mosques in Meguro, and Tochigi districts have provided insights into how they were established and developed, how they are (or are not) adjusted into the surrounding cultural and architectural fabrics and social fields.

NISHI KASAI MUSHALLA

Nishi Kasai *Mushalla* represents the typical formation of early Muslim immigrant community in Japan which is not unusual among Indonesian community either.² Several co-ethnic or co-national Muslims settle in the same area and share the same needs for a mosque where they can perform prayers and other religious activities. First they agree to pray together in someone's house, then they agree to pray from one place to another circling the member's residences. When the membership gets bigger and face some challenges to accommodate their activities, they start renting a place allowing them think the next steps, building mosque. This step is what exactly I saw from Nishi Kasai *mushalla* community formation which now plans to have their own mosque in the near future. Most of the following narratives refer to two interviews with the board members of the *mushalla* and field observation I conducted in summer 2016.

Nishi Kasai neighborhoods called Tokyo's little India has at least 15 families (around 60 people including kids) out of 300 Indian settlers are Muslim. After recognizing each other through the mosque they attended away from the

² More information on the mosque please visit <http://eibc.jp/>

neighborhood or from online social media, several individuals agreed to pray once a week at someone's house. They then agreed to pray together weekly at an apartment of the group members on circular basis. When membership number increased they rented sport hall every weekends and Ramadan (Fasting) month. During Ramadan month in 2012-2014 they used to utilize a room at a community hall for night prayer. Unfortunately since 2015, the sport hall management has changed its regulation: they closed the building facilities earlier prior to the time of night prayer. In 2015 members of the group agreed to rent a room prayer.

In the beginning, process of the building search is quite difficult because of two reasons. First with the limited budget they requested, a location nearby Nishi Kasai station is a rarely available. Secondly the building owners hardly agree with a proposal of religious activities, especially foreigners. There is no way to rent a building under *Mushalla* or mosque contract. After several months of searching, with the help of local Islamic organization (ITJ, Islamic Trust of Japan), they finally decide to rent a vacant office around four minutes of walk from the station, priced 80-90 thousands a month. Just like many other non-permanent (some are permanent) *mushalla* building in Japan which are not officially registered as *mushalla* or mosque for their property status, the legal name of organization is Edogawa Islam Bunka Center under which its registered main activities is cultural and religious services. In addition to daily prayers, the *mushalla* now run several programs for its members as well as general public. Besides five time prayers, they also run Quran and Arabic classes for children every weekends and one Islamic class for public on different day. All the family members also have a bi-weekly and monthly program whose aims to get all the members stay closer to each other. Additionally, the *Mushalla* congregation regularly joins voluntarily works with local community.

The room for the *mushalla* is located on the second floor of five floor building. It is basically a studio office which has no separate panel and minimalist facilities. The only facilities available inside the room are a kitchen set, toilet and bath room. It can be occupied by maximum of 20 people in one time. This is because a few spaces are not used effectively. This is also due to the context of Japanese architectural design which is structured originally not for the purposes of *Mushalla*. In Muslim countries, *Mushalla* building must head toward the Mecca (*qibla*, in Japan West direction) and set the entrance at the end back of the building (east direction) while this room has the entrance at the head of the room making it impossible for imam to stand at the middle of the room. Also this prayer room has a bathroom and toilet area at the entrance side which is on the West side and connected to the kitchen set along the right

side of the room. This makes one side of the room unfavorable place for the visitors. People would not prefer praying at the closest area to the toilet and kitchen which is in the same room. On the other hands during prayer, people would pray always behind the imam, therefore the empty space and the rest room area in front of imam would not function. Having limited space, the *mushalla* however, have no a specially separated place for female congregation. During the peak session like the evening and night time, female worshiper is hardly seen at the mosque. They do activities mostly on the days during the weekends.

SHIN-OKUBO MUSHALLA

Located in a busy district, the Shin-Okubo *Mushalla* reflects the growth of culturally heterogeneous neighborhoods in Japan. The Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi migrant congregations strengthen the impression of plural society of the “Koreatown” district dominated by the families of Korean workers, and numerous businesses, fast food shops, entertainment, hotels, restaurants, Korean merchandise shops, and Indian, Bangladeshi, Indonesian and Nepalese restaurants and grocery stores, all of which use their language characters on their shop board name. There are several old Shinto and Buddhist shrines, and large Korean and Catholic churches nearby. The Shin-Okubo *mushalla* is located adjacent to the Shin-Okubo train station of Yamanote line, the main train track in Tokyo connecting all popular industrial and entertainment centers in the city.

Unlike the Shinto and Buddhist shrines or the church in Shin-Okubo, which are visible from the main street, the *Mushalla* is “hidden,” presenting no markers until visitors arrive at the first floor of the building, where a small sign instructs them that there is a “*Mushalla* on the 4th floor”. Even if one stands outside facing the building, the *Mushalla* is hardly recognized until someone with a South Asian or Arab background might be asked for directions. A senior member of the *mushalla* explained to me that the establishment and development of the site has come together with the success and growth of the corporate owners, Green Nasco Company in Shin-Okubo, although operator Mr. Yusuf (alias name) did not wish to elaborate upon why he rented the building in that area almost 20 years ago. The *mushalla* was originally established by a Nepalese Muslim shop owner and taken over by Nasco, which has also purchased the adjacent building. Collectively, the buildings are used for the *mushalla*, a grocery, halal meat supply, and as family housing and a warehouse.

The *mushalla* space on the fourth floor is approximately 80 square meters,

including three rooms that were formerly used for business or as a studio apartment and toilet facilities for men and women. These are connected by the stairwell and corridor where visitors remove their footwear. Women have access to one of the rooms, except during the Friday prayer when it is used for the imam and preacher. Each room has water taps that are utilized for the ablution ritual prior to prayer, normally performed in a separate facility. These are separated from the prayer space by portable dividers that can be stored during the more crowded Friday prayers. Unfortunately since men ablution area is on the west side of the room, it creates inconvenience look during Friday prayers. As people are ready for prayer, several others remain queuing up for ablution ritual in front of the praying congregation. Secondly, as the smaller room unit for woman is isolated in the most westward area. Woman congregation cannot follow the man group during their everyday prayers; as such organization makes men behind the women a state which is unlawful according to an Islamic jurisprudence. Most of South Asian *mushalla* or mosques I visited in Japan has no room or have only smaller room for women. The women room is located at separated floor or room, prohibited for men.

The Shin-Okubo *mushalla* represents a specific kind of South Asian Tablighi “subculture”. It places a particular emphasis upon communal prayer and activities. A long, Pakistani style *jubah* or robe, a distinctive, popular perfume, and the use of Urdu as the “official” language of the *mushalla* for all written and spoken information, printed calendar, the Friday sermon and the Thursday night lecture are markers of the space and its community. The *Mushalla* itself sometimes functions as the “transit shelter” of Tablighi travelers, who might stay between one and several nights on futons at a secondary prayer room as they conduct Islamic propagation in Japan. Unlike Tablighi mosques in South and Southeast Asia, which allow cooking and laundry activities, the travellers in Shin-Okubo must buy outside food, and eat together inside the mosque.

Compared to other mosques in Tokyo, the physical appearance of the mosque is underdeveloped. The building looks old as shown from its tainted walls, carpets, curtains and ceilings, as well as old fashioned toilet except one for the women section which is under the standard of Japanese public hygiene lifestyle. The mosque’s interiors look below the standard. Yet it is very active mosque and overcrowded Friday prayer congregation for its location on one of the busiest district in Tokyo and have easy access from the main train tracks circling Tokyo. Additionally its compromise to the workers lunch hours, on Friday, the mosque sets the afternoon prayer one hour behind the normal time prayer, making “people able to come here after they had lunch” (at 01.00 pm),” a senior member says. The later Friday prayer schedule is also to give

different choices of prayer location on Friday. Those who prefer earlier time might go to Otsuka mosque, or other mosques that start the Friday prayers at 12PM.

INDONESIAN MUSHALLA

Located inside the Indonesian embassy property, the Indonesian School in Tokyo's legal status represents the unique relationship between religion and state in Indonesia, which recognizes all existing religions as foundational sources of the state, and an aspect of Indonesian cultural identity. Therefore, much religious architecture such as *mushallas*, churches, and temples are constructed on state property. Although there is no operational relationship between the Indonesian School *mushalla* communities and the embassy, two unwritten customs determine how the association of the Indonesian Muslim Community in Japan, known as Indonesian Muslim Community Association (or KMII), is partially dependent on the embassy and vice versa. The *Mushalla* which is now already becoming a mosque sits on a property belong to the embassy, but it is KMII which has a right to claim at as a head quarter of its organization. In addition, the leadership of KMII must include an embassy staff member so the embassy considers this as a part of their social advocacy and citizen monitoring programs.

The Indonesian School mosque is unlike other public mosques in Japan as it is a property of Indonesian government, and the congregation is primarily comprised of embassy and school staffs and their friends, family, and business and supporting partners. The practical work of maintaining and cleaning the mosque and running events is undertaken by this congregation. During school hours, the *mushalla*, is a prayer place for the Indonesian School students, although others are welcome. Located in the corner of the school building with accompanying ablutions facilities, it is entered by the wider community primarily during morning and evening prayers, after which the imam recites and explains Quranic verses. On Sunday morning, lectures are conducted in the *mushalla* area, where people also can enjoy Indonesian breakfast. The *mushalla* space is too limited to accommodate Friday prayers, which consequently move to the school auditorium on the second floor, made into the prayer place by covering the floor with carpet and setting up a stage for the imam.

SRIT MUSHALLA AS TRANSNATIONAL MUSHALLA

Transnationalism which is a popular perspective in social science is the idea that human relations and social fields are spanning nation borders. It

is according to Schiller (1992: 1) and Levitt (2001) “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their place of settlement.” In other words, it relates to a new phenomenon of migration which does not only engage activities in the new society, but also in their sending countries and beyond (Levitt, 2001). In that frame, I consider that the SRIT *mushalla* is a transnational space and organization which advocate two cultures at the same time: the hosting culture: Japan, and the origin or the sending culture Indonesia.

The SRIT *mushalla* congregation lives in Japan earning life, working with Japanese companies, and environment where they are exposed to the Japanese culture. On the other hand, their thoughts, their communication, their friends and contacts, their foods, even their dress and some of their custom remain Indonesian. The SRIT *mushalla* is one of the agents that maintain the national identity of Indonesian Muslim in Japan. Once one steps the SRIT ground, she or he will seemingly no longer feel he/she is in Japan. They will no longer feel the stress of being immigrants and Muslim in Japan with their problem of language, or food and of course minority status. KMII with its JMS has become the main organization that provides this Indonesian atmosphere to its congregation. Individually, facilitated with the advanced of communication technology, Indonesians just like other current immigrants can easily communicate with their contacts in their origin places in Indonesia. Yet they feel remain lonely without being affiliated to ethnically Indonesian groups. In terms of their religious group membership, KMII might provide a needed solution for this kind of being in a group as well as make them remain connected to their home culture. Some of Indonesian and Japanese customs are used representing the transnational culture of the Indonesian immigrants, as similar kind of customs which also popular in another Indonesian mosque; Sano mosque in Tochigi.

SANO MUSHALLA

Sano *Mushalla* (now called mosque) in Tochigi, about two hours from Tokyo, is another *mushalla* of Indonesian Community in Japan. Unlike SRIT *Mushalla* whom most congregation are students, professional and their family members, the Sano *Mushalla* congregation members are a representative mosque from the working class; mostly Indonesian trainees (*kenshusei*) whose maximum formal education is senior high school. As commonly known, training program in Japan are often partially considered as a camouflage program to invite cheap workers from outside Japan. Trainees who supposedly learn

to increase their work skills and upgrade their experiences are “trapped” in the kinds of extremely hard works. A very little work experience that they can learn and bring back to their country with the condition that most of the works in Japan has been automatized. Most of the trainees I met feel exploited by the heavy and demanding works. On the weekdays they do not have time to enjoy interaction with others. They depart around 7 am from their shelters and arrive from the work between 6 and 8 pm. The salary they got however far less than the Japanese workers while their work responsibilities are equal to or even harder than that of their Japanese fellows. In that sense, Sano mosque becomes a very vital place for *kenshusei* to share their distress and feeling of solidarity and togetherness. Many expressed that the existence of Sano *mushalla* for them is like an oasis in the desert providing spiritual and religious understanding.

The whole old Sano *musholla* before relocation was structurally an old wooden warehouse. Before the Sano Muslims used it for *mushalla*, a Bangladeshi immigrant rented it for halal meat shop therefore a shop billboard until currently remains there. The congregation members have chosen it for a *mushalla* after exhausting time searching for possible building for their religious activities. The house has around 150 meters square consisting of the two floors with some facilities including big hall (used for prayers), two toilet rooms, bathroom, kitchen, guest room, and living room. All those facilities excluding the hall and one toilet are on the second floor. Although they remain functional, most of the facilities look out of mode, and need repairing. The *mushalla* congregation also established a temporary ablution area in the side of the building by installing several water taps. The *mushalla* rented the building for 40 thousand yen a month which is collected from the member's donation.

Since the founders and most of its congregation are Indonesian Tablighi members, the two dominant cultural expressions in the mosque are Indonesian culture and Tablighi customs. They communicate and talk in Indonesian language or their regional native languages. They also eat Indonesian foods, as well as practice Indonesian culture. Their Tablighi transnational subculture appears in their everyday appearance, habit and customs including wearing South Asian robes when praying, preaching specific *hadis* after every prayer, visiting a friend missing the everyday prayer, a group dinner one plate for at least three people commonly practiced by Tablighi members in South Asia. The *mushalla* also has become a Tablighi shelter for the travellers from around the world when they visit Japan. The *mushalla* congregations including the “on duty” *kenshusei* have to do two hours missionary agenda everyday: to

talk and visit people inviting them to mosque. In the evening, they check if there are Indonesians around them who do not come to the mosque. In the weekends, they can visit any Indonesians living in Sano as far as 15 minutes driving away from the *mushalla*. They pick up them by car and return them back after *isya* prayer. Yet with the arrival of imam ustaz Hashim who has strong root in Nahdlatul Ulama tradition, the religious discourse circulating among the *mushalla* members is culturally NU discourse influence.

In Indonesia, like in other Muslim worlds, Islamic discourse has been spoiled by the interpretation of transnational neo-Islamism of Wahhabism which upsurges the idea of Islamic purification from non-Islamic culture. This in return has challenged the existing tradition of Islam which is very friendly with the local tradition where Islam exists. In India, Africa, and south Asia, Islam has been friended with the local culture which are relatively very tolerant to the other coexisting cultures. The new interpretation of Wahhabism with its purification idea has marginalized the old tradition as well as incites opposition from them in many Muslim worlds. As many of those who come to Japan are influenced by this idea from their home countries, or during their interaction with other Muslim fellows in Japan, ustadz Hashim, the Sano Imam has responded emphasizing on traditionalist Islam representing the current discourse circulating in Indonesia. The purified group insists on the free interpretation of Islam based only on Quran and Hadis. The traditionalists provide additional resources to more understand Quran and hadis through the interpretation of *ulama* (Muslim scholars). *Ulama* are the trusted resources to understand the words of God and the words of prophet. We only follow what the *ulama* have said, ustadz Hashim says. In many cases, I saw the traditionalist nuance of Islamic teachings being taught in Sano is countering the modernists notion of Islam which is dominant in KMII *mushalla*. Many Islamic discourses such as performing rituals of “*slametan*” (prayers for the dead), which is prohibited according to modernists, is allowed according to Sano *mushalla*. This is an interesting topic to elaborate. For more discussion on this issue will be provided in a forthcoming paper.

ARCHITECTURAL TRANSFORMATION

Before entering the mosque or *musalla* to perform prayers or to recite the holy Quran, Muslims must do a purification ritual (*wudhu*) which contains ritual of washing face, hands, and feet. In Muslim countries the *wudhu* location or *midoah* (Arabic) is commonly separated from the prayer area. As wet area, in the rural areas of Indonesia even the *midoah* is often placed on the different building or floor where people walk a few meters steps to the main prayer

room. The contemporary common design of *midoah* in Indonesia is just like typically public restroom with some water taps attached to wall. Some old mosques remain preserving traditional model of structure, where people do the *wudhu* from the big bath pool. Some *midoah* are made in mixed style between the old and the modern one where people do the *wudhu* from the water taps, but do sink their feet in the small and shallow pool upon entering the prayer area. *Midoah* of Japanese mosques is also usually built on the back area of the prayer hall although some transformations are made on the *midoah* structure, design and appearance due to some budget and cultural adjustments.

The *midoah* building is usually structured and designed according to the *midoah* of Muslim home country. They function the building as a wet area similar to ordinary bathrooms in Japan. This is exactly what I saw in Camii mosques, Saudi Arabia mosques, Indonesian mosques, and almost all mosques affiliated to ICOJ. On the contrary, some rented building functioning for mosques remain in the Japanese style, dry area where one can wash their hands on the hand wash basin and put one's feet on it. The Shin-Okubo mosque is an example of this type.

Likewise, due to their custom of doing ablution/purification before every prayer (five times a day), most Muslims, especially those from tropical countries prefer wet toilets than the dry one. In Indonesia, for example, most of the luxurious supermarkets and hotels have small mosque where Muslims perform their daily prayers. Likewise in Indonesia wherever we go, be it at to either gas station or five star hotels, we will find additional facilities for Muslim purification rituals. Muslim do ablution rituals before five daily prayers, and most of them (Indonesians) do not use tissue papers for cleaning their body. Surprisingly the Japanese technology with a new faucet toilet machine is very friendly to the Muslim customs. Every Muslim seems preferring water to paper tissue for their "cleaning activities". In Muslim countries, it is common to hear azan, call for prayer lauded through the public air five times a day. While in Tokyo or New York we hear ambulance or firefighter serine almost every hour, in Muslim cities like Jakarta or Cairo we will hear call for prayers from loudspeakers.

COMMUNITY TRANSFORMATION

Since 2017, the two mentioned Indonesian *mushalla* have transformed into a mosque. The SRIT *mushalla* once a small room inside the school building, now is a permanent and independent building taking a place on another part of the SRIT ground. Named Masjid Indonesia Tokyo or MIT, the mosque

was launched in Ramadhan 2018. It is used for daily and weekly (Friday) prayers. Previously, in 2017, after clearing their building purchase, Sano mosque was also launched. Having their own building complex, once was a abandoned warehouse, the *kenshusei* congregation in Sano gradually left their old rented *mushalla* and officially moved into a new and much larger space for their communal activities. The establishment of two mosques owned by Indonesian community marked a new phase of Indonesian Muslim's roles within International Muslim communities in Japan.

South Asian immigrants have played important roles among Muslim immigrant communities in Japan. They have grown up since the 1970s and played an important role in the Muslim community leadership of the country. Most of the foreign Muslim's religious activities were managed by the South Asian origins especially Pakistani. They occupied not only mosques affairs, but also some other "Islamic" fields such as *halal* grocery, *Hajj* and *Umrah* (traveling) to the holy lands, Islamic school or madrasa, and the dead burials. Lately the increasing entrance of Indonesian students, trainees, nurses, workers and tourists has enacted alternative players from within Indonesian Muslim immigrants. Many Indonesian permanent residents also run their own enterprises such as *halal* shops, restaurants, online grocery, tour and travel and money remittance. With the growing number of Indonesian Muslim community, while South Asians remain dominant in *halal* business, and grocery, they aware Indonesians are the largest market of their "Islamic" products. Therefore currently Indonesian imported products such as seasonings, noodles, meat balls, *tempeh*, soy beans, and other sources are always available at South Asian stores.

The influential role of the South Asian immigrants among the international Muslim communities is recognized because majority of them are permanent residents (or Japan citizens). Unlike Indonesian immigrants who do rarely intend to live permanently in Japan (as a Japanese citizen), large number of young and middle aged South Asian are Japanese citizens or permanent residents. Many of Pakistani and Bangladeshi men are married to Japanese, having children and get Japanese passport (Kudo, 2009). After long time life in Japan, they imagine Japan as their homeland and will live there for the rest of their life. This shared situation among Pakistani/Bangladeshi-Japanese spouses for example produce strong will among them to establish mosques, not only a place for prayer but also a community center. They envision new place which present them cultural environment they used to live with in their origin countries. Establishing a mosque is an important step to fulfill their desire to live in this world's most advanced country and remain with their

cultural origins.

Since the 1990s, while the number of South Asian immigrants stag, the number of Indonesian immigrants increases (Kojima, 2006) due to a new policy allowing unskilled and “semi” skilled employment. The policy creates opportunity for young Indonesians to work in Japan under various programs namely training (internship) and “health care. Those programs along with growing interest of studying in Japan make the number of Indonesian immigrants in Japan grows. Soon they need more spaces for not only religious rituals but also socialization. The presence of mosques allows more number of congregation or participants to attend or participate in rituals and events organization. Indonesians living nearby the mosques no longer go to the South Asian mosques rather some International Muslim communities do their prayers at Indonesian mosques, instead. Consequently this situation, as I found among my foreign informants, makes a positive impression on Indonesia and its citizen.

One of the Rohingya informants for example says “Indonesians are good Muslims” They have a good and strong unity. They regularly make religious meeting not only at Indonesian mosques but also at our (South Asian) mosques. They are also very generous doing fundraising for our brothers and sisters in Rohingya as well as donation support for our mosques. Islam in Indonesia seems very powerful. They support greatly for Palestine! Recently, you know, Indonesians make the largest historical demonstration against Holy Book defamation by a governor (Ahok!). We are proud of Indonesia (Islam in Indonesia). Please do not stop supporting us brother!”

Ramadan 2018 proves to be the first time for Indonesian Muslim community to host “*Ru'yat Hilal*” meeting to observe the end of Ramadan participated by Muslim representatives from international communities in Kanto area. An Indonesian Muslim leader acted as the meeting chair, welcoming the guests, reporting about the mosque building process and activities and finally signing up the decision letter from the meeting members. Indeed the establishment of the mosque not only a religious mobilization for the Indonesian congregation in Tokyo but also providing equal role for Indonesians before the International Muslim communities in Japan. Indonesian Muslim Association signature has been long time drawn on the official letters of Muslim communities in Japan but only recently it sounds a pride identifying Masjid Indonesia Tokyo as their official address.

CONCLUSION

The existence of Muslim immigrants in Japan has contributed to the dynamics

of Muslim diaspora discourse within the issue of modern Muslim world. For the case of Muslim diaspora in Japan, especially with the origins of South Asia and Southeast Asia discussed in this work, two important points I have drawn in. First is about the social functions of *mushalla* as giving the transnational spaces for its congregations. The *mushallas* of Shin-Okubo, SRIT (KMII) and Sano have provided their members a home culture such as language, dress, food, customs, music, hands crafts, and the existing social, political, and religious discourses in Indonesia. For their congregation, the presence of such environment at the *mushallas* has provided the spaces to get rid from the tense of their workplaces, and being minority group as well as being away from their home.

Secondly, studying *mushalla*'s architectural development makes us understand the early formation of immigrant community in Japan which continuously will grow in the future. The growing number of *mushalla* and mosques provides evidence the growth of Muslim population as well as Muslim visitors. Most of the existing mosque buildings currently in Japan began as a *mushalla* and non-permanent prayer rooms established by individuals or small groups of Muslims. As the *mushalla* communities grew and were able to expand, they worked to establish a larger, permanent building or site for their mosque.

Lastly, besides Sano and MIT mosques, some mosques have been constructed by International Muslim community in Japan such as of that in Tsukuba, Chiba, Sendai, Kyoto, Shinjuku and Shibuya. It is interesting that Indonesian community appears recently to be very strong supporters in those projects. They do not only do a fundraising from among the Indonesian immigrants in Japan but also from the public Indonesia. Providing a discussion on *mushalla*, study on the similar theme and the growing Mosques and their communities including the Indonesian ones could be one of many ways to understand Muslim immigrant groups in Japan.

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CAPITALISM AND RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR: The Case of Tumpang Pitu Gold Mining in Banyuwangi

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ABSTRACT

In the discourse of globalization, religious agency plays an important role ranging from supporter to the opposition of the globalization. However, the understanding of globalization should involve its encounter with localities. In religious studies, religious responses can be an entry point to see how global issues impact the practice of religion. Selecting the case of the conflict over gold mine at Tumpang Pitu near Banyuwangi, East Java, as a place of conflict and encounter between capitalism and religious behavior is significant in portraying the dynamics within religious agency. Here, capitalism is discussed as the popular term among the rejecters of the mining, together with religious behavior as expression, logic, attitudes of religion. Therefore, this research is aimed to investigate the effects of gold mining project Tumpang Pitu toward religious behavior. To emphasize the study on the working of global issues and religious locality, the research employed ethnography of global connection proposed by Anna L Tsing (2005) added with religious account. The result shows that the conflict within traditionalist religious affiliation as seen in the debate over its position on the mine, a conflict extending from the grassroots to the highest level, reflects the struggle within Indonesian Islam over effective and ethical relations with global capitalism.

Keywords: Tumpang Pitu; mine; religious; behavior; capitalism, traditionalism, global; local; capitalism.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is based on a field research project on the interconnection between business practice and local empowerment in Tumpang Pitu Gold Mining project in Banyuwangi, East Java, Indonesia. The gold mine has become an arena of conflict because some local communities have rejected it as natural exploitation which negatively affects their social and environmental livelihood. Meanwhile, the government has supported the gold mine for the benefit of national development. In this case, the local religious institutions tried to formulate a response against the mining with religious legitimation. Thus, the conflict lies in the contestation of ethical responses to the impact of the mine on the surrounding environmental and societal life. My interest is to develop an approach to this question of religion and globalization. In religious

studies, in which the religion as the *locus*, the existence of globalization opens a wider possibility to see features of religion as a globalized entity. The interest of scholars to see this encounter between religion and globalization has been quite pervasive. Scholars have studied this commonly accepted word such as Vasquez (2003: 35) who saw the work of globalization on religion as reattachment in a new space-time configuration after unbinding it from its traditional references to the extreme imagined trajectory of Samuel Huntington (1996) in his shocking work *Clash of Civilizations*. Religion also plays a role in rejecting evil globalization and turn it to a new global world order as what the Pope John Paul II stands for the anti-debt movement against neoliberalism and calls for “global” human rights instead (Lechner, 2005: 110-123). Thus, the attachment of religion on global conditions and global configurations is what inspired me to observe the global connection of religion with, particularly capitalism.

In particular, the theoretical framing is inspired by Anna L. Tsing’s work *Friction: Ethnography of Global Connection* (2005) that studies what she calls “friction” works in global setting. Her work in the Meratus Mountain of South Kalimantan in Indonesia is inspiring because she proposes an alternative way to expand ethnography to global scale. She found out that the interconnection between local empowerment and struggle and the business practice is what characterizes the rainforest in Indonesia. As opposed to the single-mindedness of cultural explanation, her Ethnographic approach is as found in Clifford Geertz’s idea “the importance of cross-cultural and long-distance encounter in forming everything we know as culture (2005: 4). The reason she develops “friction” as the central concept in her analysis as she argues is that friction is what makes motion possible. Thus, locality, behavior, belief as a constituent of culture is in motion only with the presence of friction. Thus, differing herself from classical ethnographer, she takes the travel of this “friction” as the object of her research. However, I will use the idea of Tsing’s friction specifically to analyze religious behavior in relation with capitalism to signify the religious narrative of my research.

This work, therefor, attempts to see the connections of many interests especially with the presence of religious involvement and global capitalism in the issue. The example of religious presence can be seen in the issue of ‘*fatwa haram*’ (religious determination of the forbidden status of gold mining) by Lajnah Batsul Masail of Nahdhatul *Ulama* (NU) of Banyuwangi in which it has not worked well because of frictions and conditions that cause religion and capitalism to negotiate productive perspectives. This insignificance of the *fatwa*, as I analyzed, has to do with the dynamics of religious behavior in

dealing with capitalism. I also analyze another form of religious aspiration to the mine, that is *pengajian* (religious preaching) conducted by an affiliated-NU youth activism which condemned the mine as ecologically destructive and capital-oriented. Three questions are being discussed here in this work. (1) How has Indonesian traditionalist Islam offered an ethics of acceptance and/or resistance to Tumpang Pitu gold mine project?; (2) What kinds of religious behaviors have traditionalist Muslim communities used in their responses to the project and why?; (3) How does traditionalist *fiqh* analyze capitalism especially in its relation to ecological exploitation? And how does traditionalism understand the interaction of local-global capitalism?

The discussion encompasses the literature of religion, capitalism, and globalization as well as traditionalist behavior toward the state in the historical record. First of all, it is important to involve two prominent figures, Karl Marx and Marx Weber, to see the intersection between religion and capitalism. These two thinkers of the 19th century give a great contribution to this discussion. Karl Marx concerns deeply on capitalism in his works while Max Weber contributes to the sociology of religion. For the need of this research, their views on religion can be a starting point. The famous phrase of Marx "Religion is the opiate of the masses" is responded by John Raines on *Marx on Religion* (2002), by saying that what Marx refers in his view on religion is exclusively to the state religion of Lutheranism Germany and the Church of England in Great Britain (Raines, 2002: 9). He summed up that religion for Marx is both the voice and the protest of the oppressed and the suffering itself (2002: 6). Hereby, we can understand that what Marx fought is actually a kind of religion that trapped only in the illusionary world without an ability to understand how human being works. Raines continued to argue that what Marx said is actually his criticism toward religious uncritical view on the instinctive value and human dignity. Therefore, when religions do not become the fighters for human dignity, they will turn into the merely opiate of the masses unless religions are able to recontextualize Marx's idea of social power of production into global context (2012: 13).

On the other hand, Marx Weber comes up with different view in seeing religion not as an "effect" but as a "cause" of economic and social lives as documented in what is called "Weber thesis", attributed to him from the essay *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* first published in 1930. In contrary to Marx who says that all human institutions are basically based on economic principles, he argues that modern capitalism is created from developing human rationality of worldly religious duties which had a precedent in Benjamin Franklin's use the Bible's verse to Luther's idea of

“calling”, as well as through its Calvinist interpretation. Here Weber criticizes Karl Marx as he said;

Manner of life so well adapted by peculiarities of capitalism.... had to originate somewhere. And not in isolated individuals alone, but as a way of life common to whole groups of men. This origin is what really needs explanation. Concerning the doctrine of the naive historical materialism (The creed of Marx and Engels), that such ideas originate as a reflection or superstructure of economic situations... in the country of Benjamin Franklin's birth (Massachusetts), the spirit of capitalism was present before the capitalistic order (Weber 2001: 20).

The argument is somehow supported by his analysis of how New England has developed capitalism faster in 1632 with the presence of religious preachers rather than other Southern parts of America with large capitalist for business motives (2001: 20). Thus, the difference between Weber and Marx can be known for their different use of cause and effect perspective toward religion and capitalism.

Another recent scholarship on capitalism comes from a historian, Joyce Appleby, who see capitalism from a historical perspective. In her work *The Relentless Revolution: A History of Capitalism*. She argues that capitalism is a cultural system where its definition cannot be separated from its encounter with custom, politics, and cultures that impinges its development (Appleby, 2011: 24). As she put it, the history showed how Cheng He under Ming dynasty of China initiated the trade travel to Atlantic nations but could not last from more than three decades, while Portugal and the rest of European countries rushing its expedition in search of global trade. This is, among other reasons, because the Chinese had been politically more strict and lack of evangelical spirit than the European countries (2001: 14). In short, her opinion on the development of capitalism as culture and its relentless revolution through contact with varieties of cultures and politics is what made capitalism continuously define its existence and does relentless revolution. Therefore, her study of how cultures and global interaction define the ever-changing capitalism meets my research discussion on capitalism and religious behavior.

As the research takes an exploratory study on the relation between local religion and global issues, the discourse of religion and globalization helps to understand how they are related to each other. As there are enormous perspectives of the characteristics of globalization and how it relates to religion, the work of William Stahl (2007) elaborates the real impact of modern globalization on cultures as well as causes of religious opposition

toward the force. He mentioned five common dimensions of globalization which are: first, the revolution in communication and transportation technology which begun in 1950s' invention of television and jet-travel and intensified by the appearance of internet, computers, cellular telephones in 1980s and 1990s. Second, political and military dimension stated by the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War sustains American hegemony leading to an attempt to control world oil reserves, the rise of China and India as major economic and military power, and Iran strengthened their power too. Third, the establishment of international infrastructure such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization gave birth to the Washington Consensus in the 1980s to foster free market ideology. Fourth, the environmental exploitation by industrial needs. Fifth, on the effect of religion and cultures. However, Stahl argues that the modern globalization emphasizes the "congruences and over-determination of all five of these dimensions on a planetary scale" (2007: 339). Furthermore, the variety of religious responses to of globalization can be seen both negatively and positively. Negative responses range from softer rejection, opposition, and, to the most extreme, resistance. The anti-debt movement is the example of religious rejection to globalization. It is initiated by the Church. Basing it on the interpretation of Leviticus 25:10, the Pope John Paul II wished to restore human harmony and to relieve burdens of poor countries (Lechner, 2005: 120). An extreme resistance even takes form in public terror like the spread of Jewish protocols in Japan media which affected a religious sect Aum Shinrikyo in 1995 to release poison sarin gas on the Tokyo subway, killed twelve people and sent thousands to the hospital (Goodman, 2012: 146). Meanwhile, positive responses from a brighter hope for its cooperation with global development goal because some faith representations have involved in a partnership with World Bank and International Monetary Fund to discuss the economic models for developments to end poverty and fight for social justice (Marshall, 2008: 225).

In addition, the author also takes the categorization of NU's behavior by Fealy in his work *Ijtihad Politik Ulama* (2003), regarding the relation between NU versus the state. The behaviors are divided into two: accommodative and militant. It is based on his specific period of study during Soekarno's presidency. In the first period of 1957-1961, NU carried out accommodative politics especially for being a political party and occupied an important position in Soekarno's parliamentary cabinet known as Kabinet Gotong Royong as advisors and supporters of Soekarno's guided democracy. Meanwhile, militant behavior showed up by the following period of 1963-1967 as a criticism of the negative impact of accommodative behavior. According

to Fealy (2003), among the negative effects of accommodative behaviors are the rise of corruption among NU leaders because lack of professionalism and a great amount of maladministration, as well as the rise of moral degradation among *ulama* as seen in the phenomenon of *hubbul jah* (prioritizing personal interest to get a social and political status higher than the organization's goal for social welfare), and some *Ulama's* relation with communist figures, and entertainment artists (2003: 255;309).

On the other hand, the militant behavior initially appeared because some NU *ulama* and youth felt threatened by the growing political influence of the communist party. Thus, militant behavior was meant to show physical strength of NU that was prepared for any threats and confrontation with their enemy: Indonesian Communist Party. One of the NU's bodies created for that purpose is BANSER (Barisan Serba Guna Ansor). This is a paramilitary organization in NU whose duty is to give physical protection for the party and all their members. Thus, while the dynamics of the organization cannot be simplified, the study has identified two tendencies of NU's behavior which are accommodative and militant. Besides, other studies on the characteristics of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) *vis-à-vis* the state has inferred two points: *fiqh* is important as religious argumentation in traditionalist behavior, and NU's involvement in the political and social sphere is for religious purposes. The former can be found in the works of Bruinessen in a chapter on the function of *fiqh* in NU (1994: 196-204), Fealy in her constructive discussion on religious political thought of NU (2003:57), and Bush's argument that the uses of politics by NU is to pursue its religious ends and saw that the spirit of *khittah* (making NU as social activism, community empowerment, and social economic welfare) has been confirmed by NU's civil society discourse and activism (2009:198). Feillard (1999) acknowledged a strong concern of NU to work for the prosperity of the people based on the religious ideology when he said, "their purpose (NU) is not at all to leave all forms of political role, and nor to support the government political party, Golkar" (1999:236).

The second point of the characteristics is found in Bruinessen (1994) when he saw the lack of discipline inside the organization in which is because of its decentralized power characters where some local figures and groups within NU might have a greater influence than the higher hierarchical structure of the organization. Therefore, it relies on the consolidation among the bodies in each level and it requires the independency to the state. The consolidation, then, involves religious motives in both political and social action. Fealy (2003) also saw that the NU's behavior during Soekarno, that is, to compromise communist involvement in the Soekarno's cabinet, is a strategy

to secure traditionalist interest, while Bush (2009) specifically argued that all the political behavior of NU is targeted to counter the modernist influences. According to her, NU has used politics for religious ends (2009:14). By this, she intended to contrast traditionalist religiosity and modernist religiosity. Feillard (1999) also argued that NU's apoliticism in the *khittah* declaration was actually a form of its return to the initial pragmatism in which it did not necessarily leave politics. Instead, it is a strategy to defend their identity from government repression (1999: xiii). Therefore, in relation to the political participation through history, the militant and accommodative behavior of NU is actually based on the religious purposes derived from the concern of traditionalist *fiqh* and their strong religious motivation. Then, this study looks at the two behaviors in the case of the mine and relate it to the discussion of traditionalist's ethical response in two forms i.e NU's activism and the reasoning of *fiqh*.

The discussion over these questions is based on three key points as theoretical framework to give direction of the research discussion and to answer the research questions including Tsing's concept of "friction", the behavior, ideology, and ethics as well as authority and resistance. To foster the ethnography of global connection, friction is used as the metaphoric concept of the analysis. Tsing (2005) defined friction as the awkward, unequal, unstable, and creative qualities of interconnection across difference (2005: 3). She comes to this definition after rethinking the messiness of interactions in her case result from questions like; what happened when Japanese traders buy Indonesian trees, when army officers make deal with nature lovers, or when university students sit down with village elders. Then, he argued that "the messy and surprising features of such encounters across difference should inform our model of cultural production" (2005: 3). And the friction is those encounters and interactions that made cultures always co-produced. Moreover, the concept of friction is significant in two things; first, the friction can lead to a new arrangement of culture and power through heterogeneous and unequal interactions. Second, it tells the importance of interaction in defining movement, cultural form, and agency (2005: 5-6). In accordance with the research question on the relation between capitalism and religious behavior, the concept of friction will serve more as an approach of this research to explore some issues happening around the interactions between local empowerment and the global capitalism represented by the gold mine such as the issues of development and an ecology, and local and global capitalism in the field.

While the metaphor of friction is intentionally used as the approach to look

at the relations of capitalism and religious behavior in its global connection, the Weberian concept of *verstehen* is used to look at the religious motivation behind religious action. Hence, the term religious behavior is proposed here for its sociological significance. The term *verstehen*, as derived from a German word, means “understanding”. the concept is a conceptual scheme used by Weber oriented toward the explanation of the nature and determinants of social conducts (Tucker, 1965: 157). Then, the understanding of the social conducts or social behavior can be gained by acknowledging its social significance and its motivation of the actions. However, not all behaviors or action belong to the social conduct. The social conducts here refer to any social action or social behavior which is of a social nature and is sociologically meaningful (1965: 158). As emphasized by Tucker, the concern of sociologist as indicated in Weber’s work is the behavior which results from relationships with other individuals as opposed to unsocial behavior of an individual, such as behaviors that are strictly reflective, mystical behavior, and those from psychophysical processes, rather belongs to psychological or biological analysis (1965: 159-161). Thus, the religious behavior used in this study is to indicate a social action which results from and uses religious motivation in their action as well as to indicate its participation in a social condition. In this study, the religious behavior is aimed to be rationalized not by making any categorizations but by learning the social situation and religious motivation that affect that behavior.

Furthermore, the rationalization of religious behavior can be considered from its practical implementation of ethics as a perception of what is good and evil conduct. As this study aims to point out the ethical responses resulted from the religion’s encounter with global issues, traditionalist ethics is necessary to discuss. In this context, we see ethics as an extension of morality of Islam and a method of discernment of the moral value. Islam as a religion has distinguished the good from the evil. For instance, it upholds the value of humanity, freedom, and social justice and is against destructive behavior, arrogance, ignorance of the poor. However, some interpretations of whether certain action such as the gold mining activity is good or evil needs an ethical analysis. According to Daniel C. Maguire (1991: 34), “ethics is the art/science that seeks to bring sensitivity and method to the discernment of moral value.” To bridge the enormous number of moralities that can be different and conflicting to one another –which usually termed as relativism—as religions, traditions, cultures differ in their perspectives over a problem, he emphasized the definition of ethics as sensitivity and method to discern the moral values. The sensitivity is addressed presuming that every human behavior is ethical because a certain behavior affects other human so that a moral dimension in each behavior should not be avoided. While as a method, ethics is made up

by certain consideration of its inquiry albeit there is no guarantee that the agreed decision is the true ethical choice (1991: 35). In regard to traditionalist Islam, the ethics is a discernment of the morality of Islam, while the morality simply means the way of life and the principles of good and bad in Islamic teachings. Furthermore, in the Islamic tradition after the life of the prophet, the ethics has developed in the body of *fiqh* often referred as a space for the exercise of intelligence because the practicalities of the ethics involve a process of rationalizing the moral values.

Furthermore, the account of religious behavior, when put as the local empowerment to the gold mine existence, implies its resistance to the appropriation of the mine by the government. It also depicts the power relation between the authority of the government and the subordination of local resisters. To analyze the power relation beyond the resistance, we use the study of “everyday forms of resistance” by James C. Scott (1989), with the thesis argument as follows;

much of the politics of subordinate groups fall into the category of *everyday forms of resistance*, that these activities should most definitely be considered political, that they do constitute a form of collective action, and that any account which ignores them is often ignoring the most vital means by which lower classes manifest their political interests (1989: 33).

By this definition, Scott analyzes less-noticed patterns of resistance into a unit of category. And he urged to consider them as much political as the obvious form of resistance like revolutionary movement and an armed rebellion. According to him, the everyday forms of resistance, despite its diverse manifestations, are characterized by their aim to thwart some appropriation by superior class or the state, invariably in a quiet, disguised, anonymous, often undeclared form of resisting claims (1989: 37). Some of the everyday forms of resistance are such as actions like poaching, foot-dragging, desertion, arson, sabotage, as well as any other possible forms of resistance that have the same purposes. In this study, I use the concept of every day resistance to argue for the existence of two authorities in relation to the local resistance especially in the event of *pengajian* where religious aspiration was used as both a criticism to the authority of the government and a call for loyalty and being disciplined in the traditionalist way of being religious and ethical including in form of resistance, or in other word, to defend the authority of traditionalist Islam as the practiced religion.

Another important concept to delve into what makes people resist to an

exploitative project is *moral economy*. Furthermore, Scott (1976) also studied that in any pre-capitalistic society, they have a concept of *moral economy*. His observation on peasant life of South East Asia especially around the issues of exploitation and rebellion is actually a question of peasant conceptions of social justice, rights, and obligations, reciprocity. Then, he argued that the study of moral economy should begin with the domains of economics and ended with looking at the people's culture and religion (1976: vii). This concept of moral economy will be more relevant when used not only to reductively argue that the subsistence ethic which characterized the moral economy of the peasant is rooted in the economic practices, and social exchanges among peasant societies (1976: 6)—which what Scott defended for and inspired by Marxist economic determinism —, but to use it to explore the power relation between the moral authority of the people, and the government authority of related resistance. This way of looking at the moral economy of the local resistance is able to explain the trajectory of this study, which is to see the traditionalist ethical response— representing the authority of the local's practiced religion—to the gold mine and the government supporting it and also to put the local impacted people under the influential interaction of global connection which takes place in the middle of two authorities: the traditionalist Islam and the Indonesian government. In this context, religious authority works as ethical response to the mining in form of its institutionalized decision conducted by the *fatwa* board representing the moral economy of the people and strengthen the local empowerment against the extractive mining when the mining is supported by the government and fueled by global economic mechanism. Rather than measuring how significant is the religious authority in bringing the ethical response to seize majority intention and intervene the economic policy which is related to the political realm of religion and abstract ideas of the religion-state discourse, this study chooses to focus more on the interconnections on the practice of religion as its entanglement with the government, the local empowerment, the ecological damage, and global issue of capitalism. This is based on a qualitative exploratory research as explained by Cresswell (2007: 24). In this light, this research explores the power relation as well as comprehending the historical and social values of the traditionalist Islam and the discourse on capitalism, and also put the concept of ethnography of global connection in the analysis.

CHRONOLOGY OF GOLD MINING IN TUMPANG PITU

The problem occurred during the given period. There are three distinct political and social periods through which the conflict has developed. This 30-year history can be divided into three periods; (1) potential of gold containment in

New Order Regime, (2) local resistance and opposition through *fatwa*, and (3) the birth of religious-based environmental activism. The plan of gold mining was initiated around 1980-1986 when a group of geologists called Lebong Tandai Group mapped the potential and prospect of mineral resources in Jember as well as in many other areas of Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, and Timor (Qodim, 2012: 216). Under the New Order Regime, the government supported the plan by issuing a permit called Kuasa Pertambangan (KP) to Hakman Group including the allowance to conduct surveys and exploration of the potential. The benefits are such as building infrastructures, and increasing PAD (Local Budget Income), and creating job opportunities for local people. On the other hand, the damage of the environment can be a serious impact because the location is in the areas of national conservation land (2002: 221). However, the government will increase local income has to deal with the resistance from the villagers around the areas of mining who feel that the mining will endanger the environmental stability in which they live. Moreover, there had previously been a demand from the villagers to grant them rights to access the natural resources as their source of living. These existing problems create a complicated situation that later influences the resistance of gold mine in Banyuwangi.

In 2009, a response came from Nahdlatul Ulama Organization of Banyuwangi. It was attended by two hundred religious figures and resulted in a declaration that gold mining in Banyuwangi was religiously forbidden because it brings more harm than good. The discussion was conducted on March 15th, 2009 through formal religious board called Lajnah Bahsul Masail in *ponpes* (Islamic Boarding School) of Nurul Huda, Muncar. (Ningtiyas, 2019: 66). However, it was not delivered to the local government as an aspiration and thus could not influence the government policy toward mining. There are reasons behind this failure such as the result was not supported by all religious figures, and there is a national political interest to support the mining. This position of religion in this situation is uncertain. The uncertainty is seen in the official local NU who were agreed to oppose the establishment of mining. Meanwhile, some of its members supported and personally benefitted from mining. Thus, this ambiguity indicated uncertainties and multi-layered interpretation toward the mining. Some NU members in Pesanggaran district rejected the mining while the rest of them support it. The inconsistency toward the result of Bahsul Masail in 2009 became an objection to some people and activists that questions the religious role in this case.

In 2013, religious environmentalist was created by youth movement. It is called FN KSDA. The name is abbreviation from Nahdliyin Front of Sovereignty over

Natural Resources. The emergence of this organization is basically because the concern of NU about sovereignty over natural resources and land issues as discussed in its national conferences cannot give significant voice. Then, some NU youth initiated to form an organization outside the formal structure of NU and being active in environmental and agricultural movement. FN KSDA is a grassroots organization which have increasing followers from many cities in Indonesia. Through coordination line, they become front men in land and resources conflict such as in Kendeng, New Jogjakarta Airport, and also in Tumpang Pitu Gold mining. What differentiates FN from other organization is that they bring with them religious ideologies to the problem of environments. When this research was written, the religious authority seems to be in a dilemmatic position. On one hand, the religious position is politically supportive to the government, but on the other hand, the religious committee attempted to draw a clear limit in the legitimation of mining based on religious reasoning. In relation to dynamics of power relation between NU and the state, the presence of FN can be traced historically as an outcome of transformative interpretation of *Khittah* '26 of which is caused by the NU's behavior during Soekarno regime. The *khittah* '26 is a historical event held in 1974 at Situbondo National Congress as a declaration of NU to get out from practical politics and return to the spirit of the initial *khittah* 1926 *i.e* to make NU as a social-religious organization. *Khittah* itself means the foundation of thoughts, attitudes, values, and action of NU that are to be implemented by its members and the organizational decisions. The *Khittah* has been regarded as the revolutionary path in internal dynamics of NU.

The making of the *Khittah* has preceded by various problems within NU in relation to its position to Indonesian politics In Indonesia. The *khittah* influenced the birth of FN in some ways. First, FN was born from a progressive youth intellectual forum in LKiS Yogyakarta. The community that saw *khittah* as a renewal in Islamic thought to cope with social problems. Bush (2009: 95) identified them as born from the effect of the spirit for renewal in *khittah* decree of NU. Meanwhile, ideologically they adopted leftish Islam, not in form of Marxist but purely as a phenomenon emerging from the oppression of the Muslim, whose aim is to reconstruct the teachings of Islam to become a liberating force. Second, they integrated the spirit of militancy and pro-Jam'iyyah at the same time. The militancy is obvious as they call themselves 'front' of *Nahdliyin* which implies their concern to become front liner in matters of sovereignty campaign, while pro-Jam'iyyah spirit has shown in their transformative interpretation of the *khittah* adopted by LKiS and the use of contextual *fiqh* and its *manhaj*i approach. The main interpretations of contextual *fiqh* are to see it as social ethics rather than governmental positive

law, and introduction to philosophical methodology of thought in cultures and social problems (Mahfudz, 1994: xxxvi).

THE *FATWA* ON THE GOLD MINE

The *fatwa* about gold mining in Banyuwangi was issued in 2009. It was decided by involving two hundred religious leaders in the city in a discussion held in Islamic Boarding School of Nurul Huda Muncar by Bahsul Masail Board (Ningtiyas, 2019: 66). The intention of the *fatwa* occurred when people around Pesanggaran district were worried about a plan of gold mining establishment near their living environment. Many NGOs had researches and analysis on the impact on the environment. On the other hand, the government was passionate to support the mining and saw that it would bring a great income to the regency. In this situation, some people were worried that its existence will affect the environment. This research found out that there are two motives why Lajnah Bahsul Masail (NU commission dealing with discussions over legal status of social and religious problem) conducted the work on the religious law of the gold mining. First, there is a demand from local people that the problem should be discussed in Bahsul Masail, and the second is the government asked for religious consideration toward the establishment of the gold mining to Lajnah Bahsul Masail (Syafaat, personal communication, March 11, 2018). There are five questions proposed in the forum; (1) What is the law for gold mining? (2) How is the law of the mining activity in Tumpang Pitu with the given context? (3) How is the law for Banyuwangi government to recommend the mining? (4) if forbidden (*haram*), can local income for government be the conditional reason (*mujawwiz*) to allow mining? (5) What is the measurement of harm/benefit of the mining?.

However, the attempt to make *fatwa* regarding the mining activity has not yet answered all the question due to the delay of the meeting. This delay of the decision is commonly named *mauquf* meaning not yet fully solved. Only three of the five questions were answered in the document of the *fatwa* which are; the first, the second, and the fifth question. These answered questions are about the measurement of the negative and positive side of the mining. Some keywords such as common good (*maslaha*) and preventive action are a priority in the religious logics conducted by Lajnah Bahsul Masail. While the two remaining questions, the third and the fourth question, are related to whether the government ought to support and take benefit from the company profit share for the sake of the local government income. Answering the first group of questions about the general law for mining, the Bahsul Masail studied the similar events happened in the past. In this context, they refer to a classical

book *Asna al Mathalib fi Syarh Raudhah al Thalib* by Zakariya bin Muhammad bin Zakari al Anshari from 926 Hijriyah (equivalent to AD 1520) Volume 1: page 385, stated that “if one does mining in his own land or public land which bears a payment or tax (zakat), then the tax is counted with measurement of gold or silver and not that of gemstone, iron, and copper”. And the second reference is based on the book called *Bugyah al Murtasydin* Volume 1; page 291. It tells about an activity in a country that involves digging or kind of mining should be allowed as long as it does not disturb the neighboring area.

These two references are taken to argue that the mining is initially allowed in Islam as long as it does not negatively impact the neighbors. This approach is typical of Bahsul Masail argumentation, that is taking a saying or opinions from the students of Imam Syafi'i or the elders who follow Syafi'i school in their works. However, after the *manhaji* approach introduced in 1992 to the logic of the traditionalist, the board of *fatwa* has attempted to contextualize the problem based on the generalization of common principle that is often found in the work of a more modern scholars such as in the book *al Fiqhu A'la Madzahib al Arba'ah* Volume 5: page 193. The book explains that “if a case is too difficult to be answered with classical argumentation, then contextualization is necessary by referring to the saying of the prophet: “la dhoror wa la dhiror” meaning that it is forbidden to do something that can endanger one's self and the larger people. According to the author, here are two points shown in the Prophet's saying “that a Muslim should avoid any danger to other Muslim, or that a leader should avoid any danger in his policies and prefer the law that contains larger benefits.” Then the first answer is continued by finding a measurement of harm and benefit to the mining in Tumpang Pitu Banyuwangi. In short, the measurement consists of three points which are: (1) the defined common good (*maslaha*) is that of an obvious common good and not that of estimation and opinion, (2) the existence of common good is for the public interest not for any private and community interest, (3) and that should not be contradictory to the *syaria* law regulated by referent text and consensus (*ijma'*). These three principles are taken from the book *Irsyadul Fikhul ila Tahqiqi al Haqqi min 'Ilmi al Usuli* Volume 2: page 185 stating “if the *maslaha* (common good) is urgent, obvious, and public interest, then it is allowed. But, if only one point fulfilled, then it is not allowed.”

Furthermore, we find two aspects of the *fatwa*. Transactional matters as capitalism and environmental consideration. The *fatwa* does not refer to capitalism per se but it does evaluate the case of the gold mine in terms of a kind of business ethics. Here, we argue that the traditionalist Islam defines capitalism as an ethic rather than a taken-for-granted assumption. The reason

is the word capitalism cannot be understood in traditionalist Islam's vocabulary without its attention to reciprocal relations aimed as practices of ethics in human activities. In this case, the clarity of government role in the mining is ethically important because the idea is to respect all parties in the transaction and to create a fair, open, and healthy business that no one would feel cheated or aggrieved. In this light, the traditionalist Islam also believed the priority of the common good over individual concern. Not only the transactions that matter, but also the environment considering the impact of the transaction to common people. The transaction over the gold mine by both the business corporation and the government is thus valued through its righteous ethic of the business and its righteous environmental consideration for the greater good.

Hence, capitalism is actually a business ethic in Islam that should include ecological consideration of its impact, and the fairness of its operation and benefit distribution. Meanwhile, when it is referred as a world economic system based itself on economic determinism philosophy, the religious understanding of capitalism is actually cannot be secular since they value the term based on theological determinism through an ethical lens unlike that of the economic determinism. In this case, the ethical lens of the *fatwa* makes possible of a distinction between what is good and bad capitalism. Good capitalism is when the business practice includes the ecological considerations mentioned in the arguments of the *fatwa* and the people's well-being, while bad capitalism is simply understood as the business practices that do not fulfill the requirements, of the environmental and societal well-being, to be called ethical.

The Transactional matter concerns on the clarity of government role in the mining. The government role in the year where Bahsul Masail was held had not been clear in term of profit share and the benefit for the local regency. In the early conduct of Bahsul Masail up to 2009, the agreement that the government would receive 10% percent of the mining profit had not been decided (Lestariningsih and Kumalasari, 2015). Thus, the early occurrence of the mining plan puts the government in an unclear position. Gus Makky is one of the NU leaders in Banyuwangi who argues for the lack of clarity of government position in the mining transaction yet he is convinced that the mining gives a great amount of benefit for the regency. In transactional matter, he said that the committee was agreed, based on the classical references, that the mining can be built only when it is run by the government as the central controller while the private company is put under it as the partner of the government (Ali Makky, personal communication, March 20, 2018).

Meanwhile, environmental analysis is another consideration of discussion in Bahsul Masail besides the transactional matters. The consideration showed that the traditionalist implemented their renewed methodology on seeing the environmental side by not only seeking legal perspectives from existing classical references by using *qauy* approach, but also utilized the principle of *fiqh* such as *maslaha* (common good) to discuss the ecological relation by using *manhaji* approach. Hereby, I argue that by implementing *manhaji* approach, the Bahsul Masail discussion is able to cope with the more contemporary social and environmental issues. The use of *manhaji* approach is seen in their references to modern work such as that of al *Fiqhu A'la Madzahib al Arba'ah* Volume 5: page 193. In this situation, they use the guidance of the author to base the decision on the common good principle when the case is hard to find in the past reference. In the case of the gold mine, Bahsul Masail implemented the *manhaji* approach not only by including principles of *fiqh* as the solution to the lack of *ulama* commentaries on the problem, but also involved local environmental analysis on the possible impact of the gold mine.

Nevertheless, the allowance of natural exploitation by Islamic *fiqh* is seemingly contra productive with the environmentalist movement that perceive natural exploitation is bad. This perception basically derived from the concept of Anthropocentrism that put human as the cause of the natural damage. An early scholar who noticed the relation between religion and ecology is Lynn White (1967) in his work "Historical Roots of our Ecological Crisis". In the book, he argued that the cause of the natural damage is religious (Christianity) presumption of nature as the object of human's exploitation, which actually has much similarity in Islamic concept of *khalifa* which means God's steward in the world. The story of Adam who was educated by God to name the rest of creatures gives impression that humans are the ones that see the nature as the object in which it is meant to be exploited by human to fulfill their needs (Bagir and Martiyam 2017: 81). This perception that put religious teaching and mythology as the cause of human behavior should instead be understood differently. According to Bagir and Martiyam (2017), "Islamic anthropocentrism" is in fact does not necessarily lead to destructive exploitation of nature, because in some interpretations human can be called as effectively a *khalifa* only when the human being remains the obedient servant of God (2017: 81). Therefore, the language of the *fatwa* does not necessarily ignorant of the environmental concern but put it as one dimension that related to other parts of human life such as social order, economic prosperity, and other things as well. In this case of the gold mine, the *fatwa* has related the environmental issue with economical (transactional) consideration as well which in some ways tells us that environmental concern is related other parts

of human dimensions.

As stated in the background of the *fatwa*, there are two reasons behind the rejection of the mine; the waste of mining can damage the communities of fish in the sea around Tumpang Pitu that it effects to the possible loss of the fishermen and there is no balance between the gaining income from the mining for the locals and the government and the environmental damage created from the activity. Here, the environmental concern of the *fatwa* is related to the issue of the prosperity of both the community of fishermen and the larger Banyuwanginese. The environment is understood as a part of the dimension of life that can influence the other aspects of human life. Therefore, the damage of the sea around the area can harm the prosperity of the fishermen. Nevertheless, the reason also sees that natural exploitation can be conducted for the greater benefit of the people. By this, the tolerable exploitation of nature did not mean to be destructive, but to be utilized for the greater good. This motive seems to make sense that *fiqh* in traditionalist Islam is not to forbid the exploitation of nature but to critically put restrictions to the activity with such questions like what makes us want to exploit nature, who is supposed to take benefit for it, and is the activity urgent enough to be conducted. Moreover, the traditionalist Islam has their own mechanism and procedures to deal with the issues of ethical and legal judgment that made other constructions and philosophical influences are hard to get involved in the discussion. Yet, there is potential as the development of religious logics within the traditionalist has widened the room for wider participation from science and philosophical thought, albeit at practical level some obstacles become the barrier for its implementation.

PENGAJIAN BY FRONT NAHDLIYIN AND THE CRITIQUE OF CAPITALISM

FN, in such natural resource conflicts, has an important role because of their position as the only environmentalist organization that derived from, yet moved outside, the formal structure of Nahdlatul Ulama. In addition, the role of leader in FN is very central as it moves on the same culture of NU whose leader is respected as *ulama* or *kiayi* for their religious authority and charisma to its followers. This chapter analyzes the *pengajian* addressed by Al Fayyadl, one of their intellectual leaders in front of people in Pesanggaran who mostly oppose the mine, on February 25, 2018, and argues that *pengajian* is a form of indirect public protest used by FN. Then, the discussion concluded the response of Islamic ethics towards the environment in relation to capitalism. Despite the fact that it is a consistency of NU to focus on the social sphere of

people since its 'returning to *khittah* 1926' is declared, NU allow its followers to participate in practical politics and activism outside the organization. The example is such as the establishment of PKB political party as an independent political party but is supported by many NU *Ulama* in 1989 and lead Abdurrahan Wahid as the fourth president of Indonesia under the party, and PMII (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia), an Islamic student movement which formed in 1960 to the present that affiliate to Nahdlatul Ulama.

Under this historical fact, the *pengajian* toward gold mine is a form of youth activism outside the formal organization of NU. As will be seen in the following description, the *pengajian* contains a criticism toward the government's policy in gold mine Banyuwangi. Moreover, the *pengajian* is also a form of public protest to minings. It is a way to seek alternative medium for public protest especially after previous contentious events, that are, destruction of mining facilities by protesters in 2015 and the arrest of an activist, Budi Pego, for bringing communist symbol. Somehow, *Pengajian* by FN is a safer medium to protest and at the same time to educate people to use objective criticism rather than direct demonstration. Therefore, the role of FN leader, Al Fayyadl, here is very central because of his position as also a young *kiyayi* in Pesantren Nurul Jadid Probolinggo. In this *pengajian*, FN activism carried out is strengthened with Al Fayyadl's capacity as a religious figure or young *ulama*.

In the *pengajian*, Al fayyadl made some points of interpretations to the relation between Islam and ecology as follows: First, he stated that the resistance toward mining should not be based on merely the sense of belonging to nature, but it is more as an act to thank God's given creation to human by keeping it from destruction. In this position, he makes a distance to common environmentalists who dedicate their effort to love nature, but he shares the same struggle and solidarity to protect nature from human excessive exploitation. Moreover, his affiliation with environmental activism is basically a criticism toward the incapability of formal NU organization to address problems of environment. The second is an example of how the *ulama* of the past build *pesantren* (a traditional sort of Islamic boarding school) on or nearby natural resources such as Pesantren Watu Congol built on the water area and Sunan Muria built one on the Muria mount. He argued that the existence of those *pesantrens* is a form of natural preservation from people and colonizer who planned to exploit nature. Furthermore, he gave a contrasting picture of Indonesian today that most of his natural resources are owned by some groups and foreign investors. This act of preservation and NU historical role in defending their communities from invasion and colonization from outsider are translated by FN as the 'sovereignty problem over natural resources' and has to be prioritized

for the benefit of the nation. The third thing is the distinctive feature of NU tradition, that is basing every problem on *fiqh* consideration. In the last part of the preaching, Al Fayyadl invited the audience to be rational by using religious consideration including the use of knowledge of *fiqh* in seeing the gold mine. In this sense, Al Fayyadl quoted the thought of Bahsul Masail after previously visited the leader of Bahsul Masail. His realization that *fiqh* is an important aspect of traditionalist NU is its position as the anchor of religious behavior including in the act of resistance.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The traditionalist behavior which is manifested in the transformation they made in logic (using *manhaji* approach in legal judgment), and activism by FN (in form of *pengajian*) shows their engagement with global issues (i.e. capitalism). Their engagement is by adaptation to globalization through transforming their instruments, that are, *fiqh* and informal activism. The former is through the inclusion of *manhaji* approach in 1992 aimed to update the tool used in the exercise of intelligence known as *fiqh*. By this approach, they can see new problems with its wider possibility and thus shifting the approach from being a follower of the past scholarship to being the producer of a new insight. In a global-local relation, traditionalist religiosity has obviously shown its positive and critical engagement to global issues. Rather than showing radical break to globalization as what is done by sect Aum Shinrikyo in Japan, they adapt to it by updating logical means in *fiqh* to be more capable of coping with global issues. Although, at the same time, they make a defensive wall from the global stream through holding on to identities such as nationalism, sovereignty, traditionalist brotherhood, *et cetera*.

Secondly, in regard to capitalism and religion, the traditionalist in the case of gold mine acknowledge its positive potential to create people prosperity and social justice. In this case, the Weberian view can help better to answer that religion is a cause of capitalism which means capitalism is natural as it inherently part of human and religion gives a bigger role in giving motivation to generate wealth and to exploit nature for proportional human need. In this case, the religious logic of traditionalist religion revealed that there is not any avoidance to exploit nature since it is made to fulfill human need. What is forbidden by religion is a condition behind it such as when it socially harmful to the neighboring environment, when it affects to the personal psychological aspect of human e.g when human accumulate wealth for personal greed. All these reasons obviously put human as the center of above all creatures.

This traditionalist Islamic *fiqh* that is used by Indonesian traditionalist Muslim

do not actually understand capitalism as similar to socialist-communist but more as an ethical misconduct. Therefore, capitalism for traditionalist is a matter of ethics. As analyzed in the previous section, both *Bahsul Masail* and FN activism are proved that they understand problems of capitalism through the same logic, that is ethical problem, and they turn to the same solution by the exercise of intelligence through *fiqh* procedure.

The latter is an innovation in traditionalist activism that is characterized by their concern on natural preservation. The innovation lies in its distinguished position from those common green movements who takes side on nature *per se*. As for them, nature is considered as a God's gift to human being to be exploited proportionally (*taisir*). In other word, FN sees 'ethical' human as the center. The ethical means a wise and good behavior to nature that is contradicting to bad and greedy behavior (*ifsad*). In other word, FN put human as the center or what is commonly labeled as anthropocentrism. While common environmentalist put the negative impact of human behavior to nature with the idea of environmental justice, FN sees it as an ethical project to build not only environmental justice but also social justice, and what is relatively new to such movement is their use of traditionalist instrument of *fiqh*. Thus, the research on capitalism and religious behavior in globalization setting unfold three findings. *First*, the religion is adaptive to globalization in form of its logic and activism. *Second*, capitalism can be regulated in cases of ethical misconduct or potential harm. *Third*, through frictions around the case of Tumpang Pitu gold mine, the recent movement of FNKSDA and the transformative logic within traditionalist Islam can be well understood as the result of the interaction among global connections where the religion is urged to rethink their ethical stance.

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SUFISM AND MILLENNIAL GENERATION MOVEMENTS IN MODERN NUSANTARA

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to show how Sufism has survived and existed in the history of Nusantara Islamic civilization. This is interesting, especially for the millennial generation, as an example of dealing with the swift currents of change and the desire to build the Indonesian Islamic Civilization within Islam Nusantara context. The data of the work is based on a comparative research project with a historical approach. The work suggests four key findings. First, the emergence of Sufism in the 3rd century of Hijri was part of the response in changes in Islamic civilization. Second, to counter the unexpected changes in time, the Sufis returned to the spiritual teachings, so as to avoid negativity. Third, strong mentality of Sufis made them travel around the world to create a new civilization. Fourth, tolerant attitudes and models of the Sufis are the mainstay in achieving their mission.

Keywords: Sufism, Sufis, and Millennial, generation, movement, Islam, civilization

INTRODUCTION

Recently there has been a lot of talk about groups of young people who are making drastic changes in attitudes, behavior and dress styles/appearance. Women tend to be dressed in a closed fashion, with large headscarves and loose clothes, and many have even started wearing *niqab* sporting all-black. Men have begun to grow their beards and wear *cingkrang* pants (hanging above the ankle). In matters of worship, study, and memorization of the Qur'an, they are not inferior to young people who live in Islamic boarding schools.

However, they do not leave the world of technology, or perhaps are even more sophisticated in this field, when compared to others. Internet and social media are the main connectors in communication, staying in touch and spreading knowledge within their group and with other groups. Other *trendy* terms among young people include “*hijrah*”, “*getting married young*” and “*syar’i*”.

It is not known for sure as to when this kind of movement started among young people in Indonesia. However, this movement has continued to grow carrying the Islamic symbols they observe. If viewed and read carefully, the phrases that appear on social media and the Internet, it begins to lead to the desire to establish the Islamic Shari’a in Nusantara, especially in the case of Indonesia. General elections seem to be the right moment to voice their ideas and desires to the public. So it is natural when some people think that this is a serious threat to the integrity of the nation, because it seems as if they wanted to replace the Pancasila with Islamic Shari’a as the basis of the state.

Furthermore, due to the influence of such a massive political campaign, various pessimistic expressions arose in overcoming the conditions of the nation. Hate speeches, written posts, short videos or multi-interpretational memes have made those who read or see them participate in a pessimistic stream. Even though based on statistical data, Indonesia will face what is called the Demographic Bonus, where the productive age will be far greater than the non-productive. Basically, this is just an ordinary issue in a society’s dynamics. This all happens due to a rapid flow of information and transportation, where distance and time is becoming increasingly depleted. Technological sophistication that continues to grow, has become an important factor that causes these changes. Young people born between 1980 and 2000, who tend to be different from the previous generation, are often referred to as the millennial generation.

Millennial generation¹ is a new generation of this century, which is characterized by their sophistication in operating digital technology². This century is known as, *the Age of the Intellect*. Dr. Ganesh Shermon, has gathered several key terms: *Easy to Deal, Speed, Flexibility, Character, Perpetuity, Freedom, Savvy, Multi-Tasking, Work Ethics, Know-How, Intelletual Arrogance, Socially Conscious, Change Friendly, Individual & Team, I & We, and Tech Dependent*. These terms can be associated with the term *Millennial*. This is because those who are called the millennial generation understand technology better; they believe they can work flexibly, anytime and anywhere unlimited (Ganesh Shermon, 2017: 22).

¹The term *millennial* in the English dictionary means a *period of 1000 years, especially calculated before or after the birth of Christ*. (A. S. Hornby, 1995: 739).

²The word “digital” derives from “digit”, meaning *any of the ten numbers from 0 to 9; Number of fingers, thumb or toes* (A.S. Horby, 1995: 232).

In fact, the term coined by John Palfrey and Urs Gasser was “*Digital Native*”. This generation is a generation born after the 1980s, when digital social technology was widely used. They all have extraordinary skills in utilizing and building these technology networks (John Palfrey & Urs Gasser, 2008: 1).

The sophistication of digital technology, on the one hand brings positive values, but on the other hand has implications for negative values. The positive impact of digital technology obviously has brought tremendous benefits among mankind. Ease and speed of access to information provides comfort and pleasure in communicating and interacting with each other. However, on the other hand, it creates new issues which sometimes hit the aspects of morality which have been maintained and respected by the community such as pornography, gambling, online prostitution, an instant desire, and social autism (Elmansyah, 2016: 68).

In light of this reality, there are many things that should be done in order to build a millennial generation that is ready to exist in creating global civilization. The questions are what kind of civilization is desired? What preparation should be made? In this millennial era, it is clear that everything depends on the individual. The future must be created, not just going where the wind blows. Therefore, especially for Muslims, the civilization offered by Sufism, as exemplified by previous generations, can be used as a concrete example in dealing with developments in society. I would like to show the patterns of Sufi movements in building Muslim civilization. These patterns, I believe, will be able to provide encouragement for the millennial young generation, to defend them selves, as well as to exist and succeed in changing world. Mental and spiritual reinforcement is the key to building a strong Muslim civilization in the future.

SUFI CIVILIZATION

A civilization will be created through a struggle of thought which in turn gives birth to a product that improves mankind. In its history, there have been several major themes of thought that built Islamic civilization, namely: *fiqh*, *kalam*, philosophy and Sufism. Each of these major themes is basically the efforts of Muslim intellectuals in positioning the Qur'an and the Sunnah, in order to respond to the development of times in all fields of social life, law, politics, and science. In the time of the Abbasids, the imams of the four schools who succeeded in formulating positive law, the *kalam* scholars such as the *Khawarij*, *Murjiah* and *Mu'tazilah* could speak in the political order, while the scholars who concentrated on the philosophy succeeded in producing useful works, for example in medical field (Elmansyah Al-Haramain, 2014: 9).

Etymologically, the term “peradababan” in Indonesian is derived from the word “*addaba*” which in Arabic has quite a lot of meanings. *Adab*, if taken from the sentence, “*ta addaba*” means the same as “*tahadzdzaba*” which means, educated. A person who is educated will become “*muaddiban*”, meaning civilized, polite or well-mannered. When combined with the word related to work, it means the rules of the game (as in the sentence: *adab al-Suluk*, meaning the rules in *suluk* / behavior). There is another sentence that continues with the word *adab*, whose meaning becomes quite far, such as: *Ilm al-Adab*, which means: literary science (Ahmad Warson Munawwir, 1984: 13). Perhaps that is what makes the word “*adab*” in Indonesian, interpreted as subtle character; good morals, language, and courtesy. Furthermore, when added the prefix *pe* and the suffix *an*, it means “civilization”, and interpreted as advancement (intelligence, culture) physically and emotionally of a nation (Tim Penyusun, 2008: 9).

Terminologically, the term “*peradaban*” according to Badri Yatim in his book, *History of Islamic Civilization*, is a translation of an Arabic word that reads: *al-hadharah*, which means culture. While the word: *culture* itself is derived from the word: *al-tsaqafah*. Therefore, anthropologists distinguish the two terms, where civilization is reflected in politics, economics and technology; while culture is reflected in art, literature, religion and morals (Badri Yatim, 2001: 1). Meanwhile, according to M. Amin Syukur, Sufism is a branch of science in Islam which emerged later after Prophet Muhammad died. Scientifically, Sufism is the result of Islamic culture. The term *tasawuf* / *sufism* was not during Prophet Muhammad’s period. At the time, there were titles such as *companion*, then later there were *tabi’in*, and *tabi’ittabi’in*. These terms were widely known in the 2nd or 3rd century Hijri (M. Amin Syukur, 2004: 3).

Because this term was not known at the time of Prophet Muhammad, many have questioned the origins of *tasawuf* / Sufism. For more details, the following is an explanation of the root word of Sufism. In general, *tasawuf* comes from the word *صُوفٌ* following the *wazan* تَفَعَّلَ so that it becomes: تَصَوَّفَ - يَتَصَوَّفُ. Through the formation of words from this *wazan*, the term “تَصَوَّفُ” is associated (Barmawie Umarie, 1966: 9). There are several words that are often associated with the term *tasawuf*. First, the word “*shuff*” (صوف), fleece, or wool. This word is used to show the simplicity of the Sufis that many appear wearing clothing in the form of coarse wool (similar to gunny sacks). Second, “*Ibn al-Shauf*” (الصوف ابن), refer to those who lived before Prophet Muhammad, who dedicated their lives to serve God. They lived around the Ka’bah. Third, the word “*Safa*” (صفاء). This word takes the form of *mabnimajhul* which forms the word *mulhaq* with the letter *ya’nisbah*, which denotes a name for people

who are “clean” or “holy” (People who purify themselves before their Lord). Fourth, the word “*shaf*” (صف) which refers to people who always try to be in the front row during prayer. Fifth, the word “*sofia*” (سوفي), a term that equates its meaning with “wisdom” (حكمة), philosophy (Muhammad Sholikhin, 2009: 80-81). In light of the description, Sufi civilization can be interpreted as a civilization that departs from a trend established to respond to each change (innovative, creative and irreplaceable identity), as can be seen from the word “*tashawwafa*”, always being in front (as in “*shaf*”, departs from a pure heart (like the word “*shafa*”), always drawing closer to God (as in “*ibnshauf*”), always being cautious (as illustrated in “*ahlshuffah*” behavior), and thinking / acting wisely, then producing thoughtful works that is useful to the general public (as exemplified by philosophers).

Furthermore, tracing the actions of Sufi scholars, it can be seen how dynamic their thought is. In almost the same time as *fiqh* and *kalam*, Sufism emerged through more universal concepts. Sufism comes with the concept of *zuhud* in the form of a mental attitude (not adrift in the sparkling worldly life, although still trying to benefit the world)³. The concept of *zuhud* later developed into *khauf* (fear of Allah) and *raja'* (submission only to Allah) according to Hasan al-Basri⁴, *mahabbah* (true love) according to Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah⁵, *wahdatul wujud* (unity of existence) according to Ibn Arabi⁶, *Wahdatus Syuhud* (unity of testimony), love and passing away according to Ibn Faridh, *wihdatul wujud* (total submission to Allah) according to Al-Jilli, and so on. These various concepts later became a point of study material that is of interest to both Muslim and Orientalist scientists. Islamic civilization led by the “Sufis” is recognized by the world as “The Golden Age of Islam”, as happened during the Abbasid dynasty⁷,

³ In the view of the Sufis, worldly passions are a source of human moral degradation. In order to avoid the temptations of lust, humans must be careful of the world and abandon worldly life and breaking away from material influences (Mukhtar Solihin & Rosihon Anwar, 2002: 270).

⁴ Hasan Basri was a Sufi Ulama who first appeared with the concept of Zuhud. Born in Medina in 642 AD and died in 728 AD (M. Amin Syukur, 2012: 30).

⁵ According to al-Taftazani, in the second century Hijriyah, Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah presented *zuhud* in the form of *mahabbatullah* (hub Allah). One of the goals is to improve morale, amidst the degradation that occurred at that time (Abu al-Wafa' al-Ghanimi al-Taftazani, 1970: 80-81).

⁶ Even with different terms, such as *Ittihad* and *Hulul* as Abu Yazid al-Bustami and Al-Hallaj, in essence the Sufis feel as if there is no distance between themselves and God (M. Hasyim Syamhudi, 2015: 277).

⁷ The Abbasid Daula made a major contribution to the development of Islamic civilization, such as the compilation of hadith, state affairs, politics, law and economic subjects. Major figures were present there, such as: Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Bajjah, Ibn Thufail, Ibn Rushd, Al-Abhari, etc., from the Philosophy field. Ibn Miskawaih, Ibn Sahal, Abu Bakkar Al-Razy, Ali bin Abbas, Ibn Sina, etc., from the field of Medicine; Ibn Baithar, Rashidun, Jubair bin Hayyan, etc., from the Pharmacy field. In addition, other fields also devel-

where science and technology are the basis of development. Almost all fields were controlled by Muslims at that time, such as: politics, economics, social aspects, culture, to defense and security. Although in the end it was defeated by lust and anger.

Although the Abbasids collapsed, the scholars who had abilities in their respective fields could still exist until they were known in various parts of the world. The spread of Islam was carried out through wandering throughout the country, until reaching Nusantara (the Indonesian Archipelago). The wanderers were believed to be Sufis or students of famous Sufis. Since then, the people in Nusantara gained enlightenment and slowly but surely, became the largest Muslim country in the world. Hopefully, as stated by Nanat Fatah Nasir, "Indonesia, the New Synthesis of Civilization", the idea of Sufism becoming the starting point of the formation of civilization is possible, given the condition of a pluralistic Indonesia.

SUFI SCHOLARSHIP IN DEVELOPPING CIVILIZATION

In the history of Islamic civilization, the term *tasawuf/sufism* appeared in the 3rd century Hijri. Even so, Sufism has basically been there since Prophet Muhammad was alive. The emergence of Sufism was a reaction from the scholars at that time, when they saw Muslims experiencing moral degradation. Scholars took a stand, by means of very simple dress, outside the mosque to get closer to God, teaching about eternal afterlife and reminding of the torment which is very painful for the wrongdoers (Syukur, 2012: 13). The collapse of the Abbasid dynasty in Baghdad devastated many. The scholars went wandering, trying to build an aspired new civilization. It was this odyssey which then brought them to the archipelago and spread the teachings of Islam which is *rahmatan lilalamin*. Their teaching books were used in Nusantara. Their pattern of politeness and tolerance has won the hearts of many people, who were basically religious, in Nusantara and they became interested and determined to be Muslims. In the end, Islam grew rapidly in Nusantara, resulting in the country having the largest Muslim population in the world. Therefore, it can be safely concluded that Sufi civilization originated from thoughts about human morals. Sufism movement is a moral movement in response to inequality and irregularities that occurred in the early days of its emergence. In the literature of Islamic civilization, Greek ethical philosophy and Persian moral thought were the keys to the success of a dynasty, but were

opened, such as astronomy, interpretation, Kalam, Sufism, and so forth. So, it is natural that Montgomery Watt, a historian, said that at that time during the first three centuries of Islam, it had changed the practice of initially primitive societies into cultured empires (Nanat Fatah Nasir, 2012: 107-108).

more driven by Sufi teachings (Makdisi, 2015: 273).

In fact, the Islamic civilization that still stands firmly is Sufi civilization. Various forms of Islamic civilization that came to existence were in fact not built by concepts outside Sufism. Science was explored in such a way by Sufis, so that later it appeared to manifest into various forms of great works recognized by the world. Sufis always work on the basis of inspiration from their God, as a gift from their closeness to God. All of that is present by the grace of God, through *zikir* and a long time thought, until they are so close to God. Various forms of Islamic civilization that were written in history had the role of Sufis; the glory of the Umayyad Dynasty, the Abbasid Dynasty, and the Safavids in Persia (present day Iran). Islamic kingdoms in Nusantara all involved the Sufis in establishing a society order, so that they could stand firm and be respected by friends and opponents. Without the presence of Sufis, perhaps civilization was difficult to build.

The Safavid Kingdom in Persia, as an example is the kingdom that was founded by Shah Ismail I in 907 AH/1501 AD in Tibriz, the capital city of the Kingdom of AlaqKonyulu which it conquered. This kingdom stood on the tradition of Sufism built by Safi al-Din 1301 AD in Ardabil. It is Junaid, a teacher (*muryid*) of the Safavid tareeqa who made political *ijtihad* by controlling the kingdom as a jihad in upholding the religion of Allah. The Safavids experienced a peak during the reign of Shah Abbas I (ruling from 1588 AD - 1642 AD), where the stability of government, economy, art, science, mysticism, and territory was built in such a way that it became the largest Islamic empire of its time (Abdillah, 2010: 30-42). The contribution of the Safavid Kingdom was enormous for the formation of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the future and for Muslims in general. According to Zulkifli Abdillah, the positive contributions include: *first*, laying the foundations for the life of the Shiite group in Iran which is still visible today; *second*, providing space for the growth of Islamic science, especially Philosophy, Fiqh and Sufism; *third*, the city of Isfahan as a physical contribution with high architecture and art (Abdillah, 2010: 47). Sufi civilization is created on the basis of the shahada, *Laa Ilaaha illa Allah* (*tauhid*). The journey of the Sufis is always in order to uphold the *tauhid*. They strive hard whenever and wherever for the sake of upholding *Laa Ilaaha illa Allah*.

Indonesia is another example of the works of the great Sufis. Islam came in the midst of people who had embraced strong faith and religion. However, Islam could be accepted well, without any significant rejection. The greatness and glory of this country can be traces back tosufism. Times have changed, although history repeats itself, as *sunnatullah* (the way Allah deals with His creation, so

everything can be used as learning material). Therefore, many things can be learned from every event in the past, to be applied in the present. The ability to take lessons, innovate and think into the future, becomes a necessity on earth, so that we can still exist and have identity. The optimism of Nanat Fatah Nasir indicates that Indonesia is a synthesis of Islamic civilization. Nasir perhaps saw the potential for Indonesia to become the center of world civilization. Indonesia is known as a melting pot of various elements of civilization. This country is inhabited by people who come from various ethnicities and nations; Arabs, Chinese, Indians, and so on. Natural resources and human resources are very sufficient to build a new civilization, which is different from world civilization which is built on only one group, such as the Arabs, Persians and Europeans.

ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION AND SUFISM IN THE MILLENNIAL ERA

The needs of the older generation are to build a civilization for the next generations. Various efforts must be made, in order to create a great generation in the future. Now, the question is what is required to create a great generation? The answer is to return to Sufism, where many Sufis succeeded in building civilizations in the past. The Sufi concept, as offered by Sufis in general, can be used as an example. Aal-Ghazali was able to reconcile the Shari'a conflict with *Hakikat*, then what he exemplified is the science of conflict resolution. Most Sufis left their works. This means that we should continue to work. They were fighters for freedom against the invaders that set an example for fighting in the path of Allah. The *Shiddiqiyah* congregation in Jombang managed to build a factory and which gives us an example of economic development. The Sufis were able to build educational institutions from the elementary to the tertiary level which exemplifies creation of civilization. The Sufis have never stopped fighting for the creation of civilization and the greatness of the generations to come.

Indonesia as a large country with the largest population of Muslims in the world, with various tribes, customs, cultures and religions, is certainly prone to disruptions. Fortunately, since the beginning, this country has been blessed with a mutual agreement called Pancasila. Had Pancasila not proposed, it would have been difficult to unite this nation, let alone to build a great one. Recently, a new term has emerged in the world of academics, which is "virally infecting" every theme of scientific activities. The term *disruptive* is widely used to describe a chaotic state of a nation. The word *nation* here is a global term that represents the whole of a group of people from generation to generation. In the past, *disruption* was similar to *degradation*. Then what

exactly is *disruption*? In English, *disruption* means disturbance or disorder. *Disruptive* means causing disruption or being divisive (John Echol & Hassan Sadily, 1995: 189). So it is natural that this era has been referred to as being disruptive, an era full of acts of chaos, disruption and fragmentation.

Efforts to divide the people and the nation, from the beginning of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) have never subsided by both internal and external parties. As a result of the influence from various sides, many people were triggered to take disruptive-political actions. To gain influence or benefit economically, they are willing to 'trade' their own people, by creating political chaos in this safe, peaceful and prosperous country. It is widely known that 2018 is a political year for Indonesia. Departing from the experience of 2014, the political arena at the elite level brought pain and damaged the mentality of the nation's children. The emergence of various "cyber crime", arguing on social media, disseminating hoaxes, and efforts to create riots, are part of disruption in our society. This year, the political arena will be held again, so being aware of disruption in society is a must!

Tracing back into the past for a moment, basically Sufism is a form of disruption of the established regime in which it first appeared in the 3rd century. Through the search of history, the data show that Sufism was born due to injustice and chaos of the Islamic Caliphate led by Yazid (Banu Umayyad 630-700 AD). The word disruption here is interpreted as an effort to create new order to compete with an established regime. When looking at the deviations of the Islamic Caliphate principles at the time, Sufis rose with different trends, wearing simple clothes in the capacity of those who should be able to wear luxury and have exclusive facilities. The efforts they made were aimed at providing learning as well as protesting against the Caliph regarding their wrongdoings.

The term disruptive in this context is interpreted as negativity for the authorities who tried to establish a system, and can also be interpreted as positivity in an effort to improve the situation. In this way, the Sufis succeeded in returning the principles of the Caliphate as applied by the Messenger of Allah and the Companions, so that a highly respected caliph was born who had a strong Sufi principle, namely the Caliph Umar ibn Abdul Aziz. The presence of Caliph Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, gave a new dimension to the Islamic Caliphate which was in accordance with the Islamic Shari'a.

Changes in the tendency of society from time to time were closely followed by the Sufis so as to continue to be creative in strengthening their existence among Muslims and the world community. Fazlurrahman in his book, "Islam", provides information that Sufism through its *tareqa* has always metamorphosed against

change. Sufism, which at first did not think about economic issues, turned into business institutions that deserved to be taken into account. Not to mention if seen from the history of the arrival and spread of Islam in Indonesia, it is clear that the Sufis paid special attention to the traditions of the local people during propagation of Islam. The transformation of culture from local culture to Islamic culture became the mainstay of the Sufi propaganda pattern. What was done by the Sufis, turned out to produce brilliant results, with the spread of Islam in the archipelago without any significant rejection from locals who from the beginning had been religious? The earlier description illustrates that Sufism in fact always tries to adjust themselves in every situation, without changing its original purpose, namely to make Muslims close to their God. In fact, Sufism always succeeded in completing its mission. One can see the proof as Sufism is still growing now in Nusantara.

BUILDING MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL FOUNDATION

The interesting phenomenon in the current millennial generation is the *hijrah*. It has emerged since the 2000s, as the antithesis of the phenomenon of glamorous young generation. The phenomenon of *hijrah*, according to Abdul Hair, is caused by two factors, namely: *first*, the loosening of the New Order's government policy towards Islamic identity; and, *second*, because of the sponsorship of the world of industry which contributed to its increase⁸. According to Husnul Athia, the millennial generation who did the *hijrah* was identical with several changes, including how women dress (who initially wore jeans and tight clothes, turned into more Islamic with long and wide veils covering the chest and loose clothes, some even wearing *niqab*). While men tend to grow their beards and shorten their pants above the ankle. The content they share on social media also tends to be similar, namely short lectures by well-known religious teachers such as Ustadz Adi Hidayat, Ustadz Khalid Basalamah, Ustadz Hanan Attaqi and Ustadz Abdus Somad⁹.

The millennial generation is very interesting to discuss, considering many aspects such as education, norms, social awareness, mental conditions, and dependence on the use of technology. There is quite a lot of research that has been carried out related to the topic, one of which was published by Heru Dwi Wahana. Heru Dwi Wahana's research in 2014 at Cijantung State High School 39 East Jakarta, with a sample of as many as 186 people, showed remarkable results from the influence of Cultural Values with the Resilience of

⁸ (Abdul Hair, on: <https://news.detik.com/kolom/d-3840983/fenomena-hijrah-di-kalangan-anak-muda>, accessed in February 13, 2018).

⁹ (Husnul Athia, on: <https://alif.id/read/husnul-athiya/tren-berhijrah-generasi-milenial-b206839p/>, accessed in February 15, 2018).

Millennial Generation Individuals, based on the statistics, cultural values that appeared in their surroundings (school) produce high individual resilience. The characteristics of the millennial generation, as compiled from the results of these studies are as follows: 1) Making technology a lifestyle; 2) sheltered generation; 3) born of educated parents; 4) multi-talented, multi-lingual, expressive and explorative; 5) always confident and optimistic; 6) simplicity, and everything being instant, accomplishment must be achieved; 7) work and study more interactively through teamwork, collaboration and thought groups, independent and structured in the use of technology, communication gadgets, preferring visual instruction in accessing the internet; 8) Instant Communication, real time, Network Development; 9) more open to various access of information; 10) tendency to be more permissive to diversity; 11) carefree about privacy and willing to share intimate details about themselves with strangers by posting online status a daily activity; 12) having a view that family is a very important pillar of their lives (Heru Dwi Wahana, 2015: 20-21).

Self-resilience is a mental issue for the millennial generation. The twelve points above illustrate the mental conditions of the millennial generation that must be resolved, or as challenges that must be answered by Sufism in founding a civilization. One of the main functions of Sufism is to build a resilient human mentality, so as to survive in various situations and conditions around it, while making changes in a better direction. Basically, digital technology can be taken from the origin of the concept of the harmony of the universe regarding the concept of life and death. This concept can be seen from the *shahada*: *Laa (Zero) Ilaaha (One) Illa (Zero) Allah (one)*. In that sentence, there are numbers: 0.1.0.1. The more *LaaIlaahaIlla Allah* is recited, the more numbers will be created. In the concept of digital technology, basically this technology is formed from binary numbers Zero (Off) and One (On). Therefore, the more On and Off the technology, the more harmonious motion that occurs in technological devices. If only On and Off can be used as a lifestyle, then one will get closer to God (Elmansyah Al-Haramain, 2014: 158-159).

Therefore, the millennial generation has the potential to be very close to God, because "it has become their daily lifestyle". However, they need a comprehensive explanation of the existence of God in the technology they are using. The more they realize the existence of God, the easier the creation of Sufism civilization will be. Considering that, *LaaIlaahaIlla Allah* is the main *zikir* of the Sufis, whenever and wherever they are. This *zikir*, in the *Qadiriya* and *Naqshabandiya* tareeqa is called *zikir nafi* (annihilation) *istbat* (determination). On the other hand, the mentality and spirituality of the Sufis

have been shown in such a way by Fazlurrahman in his book, *Islam* (1979). As elaborated by Hermansyah (2013) the term, “Neo-Sufism” was known in the modern era. In his conclusion, Hermansyah mentioned that Sufis can answer challenges, with concerns about environmental issues, social ethics, and the future of humanity. The mainstay of the Sufis includes the power of empirical science and mystical spiritual awareness (Hermansyah, 2013: 119).

Thus, mentality and spirituality can be developed simultaneously by strengthening *zikir* in the millennial generation. There is a lot of evidence from research that shows that *zikir* (in the broad sense: all forms of ritual worship in Islam) can solve the problem of human life. Research by Moh. Soleh of UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, for example, shows that *Tahajud Prayer* can cure cancer. Meanwhile a study conducted bydrSugiran, a surgeon, shows that the prayer movement has physical and mental health effects. Prof. M. Amin Syukurs of UIN Walisongo Semarang had experience that gave evidence that *zikir* curedhis cancer, and many more, including *Duha Prayer* and charitythat promises financial sufficiency¹⁰. The description is basically the daily activities of the Sufis in a larger portion than the others. This is also what strengthens the mentality of the Sufis, both in dealing with world problems and the afterlife, so as to be able to create their own civilization in Islamic history.

CONCLUSION

I have come to understand that the enforcement related to the issu of Sufism and its religious values and activities may create an alternative of strategies in dealing with the current mellineal generation in a more acceptable Islamic civilization in Indonesia, which will draw the world’s attention. Mental and spiritual strengthening is the key to the success of the millennial generation. Some important points are concluded by this work. *First*, the emergence of the Sufis in the 3rd century Hijri was part of the response to changes. This means that the current situation and conditions of the millennial community await the reappearance of Sufis who actively play a role in the community, so that they can create better changes in the future. *Second*, in dealing with changes, the Sufisshould return to the spirituality. Things are changing drastically, which requiresa return to the spirituality. Otherwise, there will be a lot of people trapped in emptiness, which will have fatal consequences for future

¹⁰ For more detail, read: Moh. Sholeh, *Terapi Shalat Tahajjud: Menyembuhkan Berbagai Penyakit* (Jakarta: Penerbit Noura, 2012); Sugiran, *Mukjizat Gerakan Shalat: Penelitian Dokter Ahli Bedah dalam Pencegahan dan Penyembuhan Penyakit* (Jakarta: Qultum Media, 2012); M. Amin Syukur, *Zikir Menyembuhkan Kankerku: Pengalaman Kesembuhan Seorang Penderita Kanker Ganas yang telah Divonis Memiliki Kesempatan Hidup Hanya Tiga Bulan* (Bandung: PT Mizan Publika, 2007); Yusuf Mansur, *Merubah Keadaan Hidup dengan Shalat dan Sedekah: The Amazing Power of Shalat and Giving* (Jakarta: Zikrul Hakim, 2011), etc.

development. *Third*, the strong mentality of Sufis can be used as an example in building civilization. *Fourth*, the attitude, examples and tolerance of the Sufis can be developed in Indonesia, which has been proven to be able to spread the face of peaceful Islam in society. *Fifth*, the efforts of the Sufis in developing science, philosophy, art, religion, etc., can be used as examples in building civilization.

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DEPTH THEOLOGY AND DEPTH ISLAM: Abraham Joshua Heschel and Nurcholish Madjid on Religious Pluralism

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ABSTRACT

The work attempts to elucidate the idea of religious pluralism of two very important figures in the traditions of Judaism and Islam: Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907-1972) and Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005). Both figures are interesting to compare for some very important reasons. Although somewhat different, there is much in common between the two, especially in terms of their arguments on the issue of religious pluralism. Their ideas of religious pluralism are based on what the so-called "Depth Theology" (DT) and "Depth Islam" (DI). DT and DI are different from the usual theological dogmas that contain concepts and structures. DT and DI are not literal and superficial forms of religion. Their religious understanding went beyond the literal texts to look for the principles and spirit of religion in appreciating humanity, diversity and peace. In the context of inter-religious tensions due to suspicion, hatred, and hostility, the depth-theology of Heschel and the depth Islam of Madjid find their significance.

Keywords: depth; theology; religious; pluralism, interfaith; dialogue; Jewish, Indonesian; Islam.

INTRODUCTION

This article describes the idea of religious pluralism of two very important figures in the traditions of Judaism and Islam. Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907-1972) was a prominent Jewish rabbi and a highly respected professor of Judaism in America, while Nurcholish Madjid (1939-2005) was the prominent Indonesian Muslim scholar and a highly respected professor of Islamic studies. Since 1970s Madjid was well-known as the locomotive of Islamic thought renewal in Indonesia. As one of the neo-modernist Indonesian Muslim thinkers, Madjid plays an important and great role in the formation of Islamic thought within the Indonesian context, especially in the matters of religious and cultural pluralism. Both figures are interesting to compare because although somewhat different, there is much in common. They are

both religious leaders and professors in their respective fields and were raised in an environment of strong traditionalism. Heschel was born and grew up in the Hasidic tradition and was connected to leading Jewish rabbis of the mid-century, and even with the Prophet (King) David. Madjid on the other hand was born and grew up in a traditional environment Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Jombang, East-Java. Abdul Madjid, the father of Madjid, was a favorite disciple of Hasyim Asy'ari, the founder of NU, and had been a son-in law of Hasyim Asy'ari. Although the two remained grounded in the roots of their traditions, both surpassed their own traditional bases.

From the Hasidic tradition, Heschel became a liberal thinker and pluralist. Heschel did some study of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad's history, Arabic language and culture, and got along well with Henry Corbin, a leading Islamic expert from France.¹ While Madjid was an expert scholar in traditional and modern Islamic studies at once. Islamic formulation of Madjid which combines the modern Islamic discourses with the traditional Islamic literatures makes some observers such as Greg Barton² calls Madjid as "neo modernist Muslim" along with Fazlur Rahman. Aside from being thinkers and prolific writers, both Heschel and Madjid were humanitarian activists in a real sense.

HESCHEL AND HIS THOUGHT OF GOD IN SEARCH OF MAN

I am sure that Majid's biography is well known in Indonesian Islamic studies. At least, there are three representative works that trace all of Majid's life: *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia* by Barton (1999), *Api Islam Nurcholish Madjid, Jalan Hidup Seorang Visioner* by Ahmad Gaus (2010) and *Cak Nur Sang Guru Bangsa: Biografi Nurcholish Madjid* by Wahyuni Nafis (2014). Therefore, I would not to describe anymore the life story of Majid. On the contrary, Heschel may not be well known to Indonesian readers. So let me briefly describe the history of his life. His family lineage confirms the Orthodox Jewish environment and tradition that he was raised in. Abraham Joshua Heschel was born December 11, 1907, as the youngest child of Rabbi Mosche Mordecai Heschel of Pelzovizna and Rivka Reizel (Rebecca) Perlow Heschel.

¹ Seth Ward, "Islam, Muhammad, and Muslim-Jewish interaction in Heschel's writing," in Stanislaw Krajewski, ed., *Abraham Joshua Heschel, Philosophy, Theology and Interreligious Dialogue* (Wisbaden, Germany: Harroassowitz Verlag, 2009), p. 209. See also Paul B. Fenton, "Henry Corbin and Abraham Heschel," in Krajewski, ed., *Abraham Joshua Heschel, Philosophy, Theology and Interreligious Dialogue*, pp. 102-111.

² See dissertation of Barton, *A Textual Study Examining the Writings of Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib and Abdurrahman Wahid 1968-1980* (Monash University Australia, 1998). This dissertation has been published in Bahasa by Paramadina Foundation, *Gagasan Islam Liberal di Indonesia: Pemikiran Neo-Modernisme Nurcholish Madjid, Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib dan Abdurrahman Wahid 1968-1980* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1999).

His parents were both descendants of very prominent rabbinic dynasties, whose origins reach back into the 15th century. From his father's side, the most prominent of Heschel's ancestors include: Rabbi Dov from Mezritch (d. 1772), the first pupil and successor of Baal Shem Tov (d. 1760), founder of Hasidism; Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, also known as "Apter Rav" (d. 1825), from whom Jewish philosophers took his given names and surname; Rabbi Israel Friedman from Ruzhin (d. 1850), recognized as a prince of Hasidism. On his mother's side, his ancestors include: Rabbi Pinchs from Koretz (d. 1791) and Rabbi Levi Yitzhak from Berdichev (d. 1809).³

Heschel was born in Warsaw, Poland, a metropolis where Jewishness flourished in many forms. Warsaw was the center of Congress Poland, which from 1815 to 1915 belonged to the Russian Empire, though it enjoyed the fullest autonomy of any province controlled by the Tsarist regime. Its Jewish community steadily increased to become the largest and most significant in Europe. By 1917, when Heschel was ten years old, Jews comprised 41 percent of Warsaw's population, fostering a vigorous diversity of religious and secular groupings. Heschel's Hasidic family was among the most traditional. Over the years, thousands of Jewish refugees had entered Warsaw, some maintaining their religious way of life, others bringing worldly trends and radical fervor. In Warsaw, Hasidism⁴ made up the largest grouping among observant Jews. In 1880 they composed two-thirds of the three hundred officially sanctioned synagogues, and many small *shtetls* (house of prayer and study); a short time later *mitnagdim* (opponents—traditional Jews suspicious of what they considered to be Hasidic overemphasis on prayer and ecstasy) arrived in droves from various parts of Eastern Europe.⁵ It is important to note that Heschel's surrounding environment was in crisis by the time he reached adolescence. This particular condition, which the Jewish community was

³ Waldemar Szczerbinski, "Poland and Christianity in Heschel's Life and Thought", in Krajewski (ed.) *Abraham Joshua Heschel, Philosophy, Theology and Interreligious Dialogue*, p. 11.

⁴ Hasidic Judaism or Hasidism meaning "piety" (or "loving-kindness"), is a branch of Orthodox Judaism that promotes spirituality through the popularization and internalization of Jewish mysticism as the fundamental aspect of the faith. It was founded in 18th-century Eastern Europe by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov as a reaction against overly legalistic Judaism. Baal Shem Tov is a great-great grandfather of Abraham Joshua Heschel. Hasidic teachings cherished the sincerity and concealed holiness of the unlettered common folk, and their equality with the scholarly elite. The emphasis on the Immanent Divine presence in everything gave new value to prayer and deeds of kindness, alongside rabbinical supremacy of study, and replaced historical mystical (kabbalistic) and ethical (musar) asceticism and admonishment with Simcha, encouragement, and daily fervour. This populist emotional revival accompanied the elite ideal of nullification to paradoxical Divine Panentheism, through intellectual articulation of inner dimensions of mystical thought.

⁵ Edward Kaplan & Samuel Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel, Prophetic Witness* (USA: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 2.

facing at that period of time in Warsaw, was not favorable as it was unstable due to the occurring world war.

Closer to actual memory, Heschel's grandfather, also named Abraham Joshua Heschel (1832-1881), sustained the dynasty. He established his family in Medzibozh, where he became Rabbi. Heschel's father, Rabbi Moshe Mordecai (1873-1916) was born there, as were his uncles and aunts.⁶ This establishment of the archetype rabbinic family was vital for the continuation of the Hasidic tradition to the next generation. Despite the fact that the Jewish community was disintegrating by the time Heschel reached adolescence, the establishment in Medzibozh by his grandfather had influenced him to maintain the tradition of his ancestors.

Mordecai then married Rivka Rezel Perlow Heschel⁷ (1874-1942), a daughter of Rabbi Jacob Perlow (1847-1902), another Hasidic master. Although born in Poland, Rabbi Perlow was brought up in the home of his maternal grandfather, Shlomo Hayim of Koidanov (1797-1862), a great Lithuanian Rabbi. At age fifteen, Heschel grandfather, i.e. Perlow, married a descendant of Rabbi Levi Yithzak of Berdichev, a mystic, Talmudic scholar and lover of humanity, who upheld compassion for suffering Jews even against God's strict judgment.⁸ Heschel's maternal side of ancestry had influenced his spiritual view and customs, which was considered liberal or unorthodox according to conventional Jewish tradition.

To sum up, after having finished secondary school in June 1927, the young Heschel desired to continue his academic studies. That autumn he left Poland and went to Berlin, which he believed to be the intellectual and cultural center of Europe. Heschel passed his oral doctoral exam on February 23, 1933; three weeks after Hitler came to power. Unfortunately, he met with great disadvantages in publishing his work, which was an official requirement for receiving the title of doctor in philosophy, due to officially sanctioned anti-Semitism in Germany.⁹ But it was only three years later (1936), due to exclusion of Jews from the German educational system, that the University of Berlin finally granted Heschel the title of doctor.¹⁰ In March 1939, Heschel received an invitation to the United States, where he was supposed to start

⁶ Kaplan & Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, p. 6.

⁷ Through an intricate genealogy, Heschel's paternal ancestor married to Heschel's maternal ancestors; hence his ancestral mother also has the name "Heschel" behind their names. Eventually Heschel mother, Rivka Reizel Perlow, also has the name "Heschel" behind her name.

⁸ Kaplan & Dresner, *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, pp. 6-10.

⁹ Szczerbinski, "Poland and Christianity in Heschel's Life", pp. 12-13.

¹⁰ Paul B. Fenton, "Henry Corbin and Abraham Heschel" in Krajewski (ed.) *Abraham Joshua Heschel, Philosophy, Theology and Interreligious Dialogue*, p. 106.

working in a Jewish high school.¹¹ In March 1940, Heschel started to serve in the United States for five years as an Associate Professor of Philosophy and Rabbinic at the Hebrew Union College (HUC), the main seminary of Reform Judaism, in Cincinnati. In 1945, he held the title of Professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism and joined the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS) in New York. There he influenced a significant number of rabbis and educators in the Conservative movement of American Jewry up to the time of his death. On December 18, 1972, Heschel's completed manuscript of his last book, *A Passion for Truth*, on the Kotzker Rebbe and Kierkegaard was handed to his publisher before he passed away at his home in New York five days later.¹²

Heschel was a witness of Nazi brutality. He was able to survive all hardships, although he experienced enormous suffering. However, his mother and sister, Gittel were murdered: mother in Warsaw, sister in Treblinka. Another sister, Devorah died in the Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz. Another sister of Heschel, Esther, was slain during a bombing raid. For him, Poland became a place of burial and destruction of everything he appreciated and loved. This is probably why, despite longing to do so, he never returned. In one of his books he wrote: "If I went to Poland or Germany, every stone, every tree would remind me of contempt, hatred, murder, of children killed, of mothers burned alive, of human beings asphyxiated".¹³ It was truly a horrific memory for him. Personal suffering was an ennobling factor in Heschel's case. Instead of turning into a bitter person, he became a person full of empathy and care for other people overwhelmed by distress.¹⁴

As a theologian and Professor of Judaism, Heschel wrote significant books on Judaism and its relevance for modern man and interreligious dialogue. His works include *The earth Is the Lord's* (1941), *Man Is Not Alone: A Philosophy of Religion* (1951), *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man* (1951), *Man's Quest for God: Studies in Prayer and Symbolism* (1954), *God in Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism* (1955), *The Prophets* (1962), *Who Is Man?* (1965), *Israel: An Echo of Eternity* (1969), *A Passion of Truth* (1973), *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* (1996), and many others. Undoubtedly, Heschel was a mystic who loved God and man altogether. The fundamental issues in his books are not merely about a very close relationship between God and man, but also about love and empathy for human beings.

¹¹ Szczerbinski, "Poland and Christianity in Heschel's Life", p. 13.

¹² Fritz A. Rothschild, "Introduction", in Abraham J. Heschel, *Between God and Man, An Interpretation of Judaism*, New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997, pp. 8-9.

¹³ Szczerbinski, "Poland and Christianity in Heschel's Life", p. 14. See Abraham J. Heschel, *Israel: An Echo of Eternity*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1968, p. 113.

¹⁴ Szczerbinski, "Poland and Christianity in Heschel's Life", p. 14.

The first and foremost of Heschel's doctrine on theological-mystic is a theme on *God in search of man*. According to Heschel, most theories of religion start out with defining the religious situation as man's search for God and maintain the axiom that God is silent, hidden and unconcerned with man's search for Him. In adopting that axiom, the answer according to Heschel, is now given before the question is asked. To Biblical thinking, the definition is incomplete and the axiom false. The Bible speaks not only of man's search for God but also of God's search for man. "Thou dost hunt me like a lion", Exclaimed Job (10: 16), "From the very first Thou didst single out man and consider him worthy to stand in Thy presence". To Heschel, this is a mysterious paradox of Biblical faith: *God is pursuing man*. It is as if God were unwilling to be alone and had chosen man to serve Him. His will is involved in human yearnings. Heschel was convinced that all of human history as described in the Bible may be summarized in one phrase: *God is in search of man*. Faith in God is a response to God's question.¹⁵ When Adam and Eve hid from His presence, the Lord called: *Where art thou?* (Genesis 3: 9). For Heschel, it is a call that goes out again and again. It is a still small echo of a still smaller voice, not uttered in words, not conveyed in categories of the mind, but ineffable and mysterious, as ineffable and mysterious as the glory that fills the whole world. Religion consists of God's question and man's answer, which in Heschel's term: "The way to faith is the way of faith. The way to God is a way of God". For God is not always silent, and man not always blind. His glory fills the world. To Heschel, there are moments in which, to use a Talmudic phrase, heaven (God) and earth (man) kiss each other.¹⁶

It is clear now, according to Heschel that life is a partnership of God and man; God is not detached from or indifferent to human joys and grief. Authentic vital needs of man's body and soul are a divine concern. This is why human life is holy. God is a partner and a partisan in man's struggle for justice, peace and holiness, and it is because of His being in need of man that He entered a covenant with him for all time. Heschel emphasized that the essence of Judaism is the awareness of the *reciprocity* of God and man, of man's *togetherness* with Him who abides in eternal otherness. Hence for Heschel, there is only one way to define Jewish religion, "it is the *awareness of God's interest in man*, the

¹⁵ Abraham Joshua Heschel, *God In Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1983), p. 136. Heschel, *Between God and Man*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁶ Heschel, *God In Search of Man*, pp. 137-38. Heschel, *Between God and Man*, pp. 69-70. In another chance, Heschel elucidated that the question "Where art thou?" Where is man? Is the first question that occurs in the Bible. For Heschel, it is man's alibi that is our problem. It is a man who hides, who flees, who has an alibi. God is less rare than we think; when we long for Him, His distance crumbles away. Edward Kaplan, *Holiness In Word, Abraham Joshua Heschel's Poetics of Piety* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 126.

awareness of a *covenant*,¹⁷ of a responsibility that lies on Him as well as on us". Again for Heschel, God is now in need of man, because He freely made him a partner in His enterprise, a partner in the work of creation". In Heschel's words: "Every man is in need of God, because God is in need of man. Our need of Him is but an echo of His need of us".¹⁸ "From the first day of creation the Holy One, blessed be He, longed to enter into *partnership* with the terrestrial world" to dwell *with* His creatures within the terrestrial world (Numbers Rabba, ch. 13.6; Genesis Rabbah. 3.9). Consequently, man's relationship to God is not one of passive reliance upon His Omnipotence but one of active assistance.¹⁹

Heschel's views on the high esteem of man can be seen also in his idea about the prophet figure. For Heschel, the prophet is a person *par excellence* whose existence has two sides: one is directed to man; the other is open to God. Moreover, his existence as a human being is determined by something which is outside knowledge and experience, which does not emanate from affections and moods, but emerges from the holy dimension of existence "the inner constitution of the universe, the system of divine values involved in every being and exposed to the activity of man".²⁰ In other words, Heschel underlined that "I would say the prophet is a man who is able to hold God and man in one thought, at one time, at all times. This is so great and so marvelous, since it means that whatever I do to man, I do to God. When I hurt a human being, I injure God".²¹ And Heschel himself had learned from the prophet to be involved in the affairs of man, of suffering man.²² Thus, in Heschel's theology that the prophetic (and ultimately, Jewish) view of God is best understood not as anthropomorphic (that God takes human form) but rather as anthropopathic: that God has human feelings.

It is apparent that love of the fellow human being is a prominent theology of Heschel. In fact, Jewish tradition commands Jewish people to love all human beings because all are created in the image of God (*tselem elohim*). For Heschel, as for the great second century sage Rabbi Akiva, the supreme principle of

¹⁷ The covenant sounds: "This day you have avowed the Lord to be your God, promising to walk in His ways, to obey His rules and commandments, and to hearken to His voice; And this day the Lord has avowed you to be His very own people, as He has promised you, and to obey His commandments" (Deuteronomy 26: 17.18).

¹⁸ Heschel, *Between God and Man*, p.142.

¹⁹ Heschel, *Man Is Not Alone: A Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), pp. 242-43.

²⁰ Abraham J. Heschel, *Moral Grandeur and Spiritual Audacity* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1996), p. 322. See also Bernhard Dolna, "Keeping God and Man in one Thought", in Krajewski (ed.) *Abraham Joshua Heschel, Philosophy, Theology and Interreligious Dialogue*, p.125.

²¹ Heschel, *Moral Grandeur*, p. 399. Dolna, "Keeping God and Man", p. 124.

²² Heschel, *Moral Grandeur*, p. 399. Dolna, "Keeping God and Man", p. 129.

the Torah is “love thy neighbor as thyself”. According to Kasimow, one of Heschel’s disciples, Heschel was very much in love with the Jewish tradition. He loved the Jewish people. But his greatness lies in his ability to extend this love to everyone, to see the humanity and touch of divinity present in various religious traditions. His love and compassion, for Kasimow, has brought great healing and great hope to all who have encountered him through the example of his life and the eloquence of his written word.²³

DEPTH THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

In general, most people know that Judaism is an exclusive religion. Christianity and Islam are missionary religions, but the Jewish people—on other hand-- do not intend non-Jewish to convert to their religion. So the question is: does Judaism have a theology of other religions? Alan Brill (2010) answers the question positively. Judaism has a wide range of texts that offer thoughts on other religions.²⁴As is usual for Christian Theology, Brill then classifies Jewish theological categories into four major sections: exclusivism, inclusivism, pluralism, and universalism. *First*, Jewish exclusivism assumes that the sole domain of truth is the Torah and Judaism is the sole revealed religion. Due to God’s revelations to the “chosen people”, Jewish exclusivists merely acknowledge the merit of individual righteous gentiles, but do not acknowledge the collective virtues of other religious groups. For Jewish exclusivists, Judaism is the sole path to God; those who are not Jews follow a mistaken path and are at best bystanders in the divine scheme, at worst antagonists.²⁵However, exclusivism is not typical for Judaism, but occurs in any religious traditions.

Second, inclusivism affirms the uniqueness of Judaism, like the exclusivist, but rejects the idea that there is no value in other religions.²⁶ Inclusivism sees other faiths as included within Jewish concepts, especially the concept of God as a philosophical monotheism. This theological monotheism allowed Jewish inclusivists to treat the first cause doctrine of the philosophers, the god of Plato and Aristotle, Christian Trinitarians, and all other people of faith as one essential unique God, even though, for inclusivists, these non-Jewish believers might have an incorrect view of the attributes of God. In addition, inclusivism can view other religions as derivations of the Jewish concepts of revelation,

²³ Harold Kasimow, “Heschel’s View of Religious Diversity”, in Krajewski (ed.) *Abraham Joshua Heschel, Philosophy, Theology and Interreligious Dialogue*, p. 201.

²⁴ Alan Brill, *Judaism and Other Religions, Models of Understanding* (New York, USA: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), p. 1.

²⁵ Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p. 151.

²⁶ Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p. 17.

ethics, or messianism. For inclusivists, the biblical knowledge of these ideas was spread through Christianity and Islam.²⁷ *Third*, religious pluralism is a modern philosophic approach that accepts that one's religion is not the sole and exclusive source of truth.²⁸ The pluralist recognizes that the great world religions have equally valid religious claims and addresses others in their own language.²⁹ Pluralism sees an impossibility of a universal truth available to all people, suggesting instead that each religion has limited access to truth.³⁰

Fourth, universalism. This model divides into three parts: *Theocentric*, where God is a universal available to all humans in the minds or souls; *Humanistic*, where there is a common core of all humanity under God; *Historic*, where the divine has been fragmented among many nations.³¹ Over the centuries, many Jewish thinkers have embraced a universal approach in which the universalism of the prophets is joined with the philosophic monotheism of the middle Ages. They accept a universal truth available to all humanity beyond, but not against, revelation. In universal truth there is no need to refer to Judaism as the single truth; rather all knowledge is grounded in a higher divine knowledge. This approach, at times, blurs the line between religion and philosophy or between religion and ethics. However, for Brill, religious Universalists remain close to the inclusivists, in that everything is grounded in the teachings of Judaism.³²

Now we will try to situate Heschel's theological views related to diversity of religions. *No Religion Is an Island* is probably Heschel's most important work and shows his comprehensive views on—let us say—“religious pluralism”. Heschel starts with the belief that human beings have so much in common: a heart, a face, a voice, the presence of a soul, fears, hope, the ability to trust, a capacity for compassion and understanding, and sense of kinship for being human. This common background allows human beings to encounter each other. At the same time for Heschel, the human is also a disclosure of the divine, and all men are one in God's care for man. Many things on earth are precious, some are holy, but humanity is holy of holies.³³ To meet a human being is an opportunity to sense the image of God, the presence of God. According to rabbinical interpretation, the Lord said to Moses: “Whenever you see the trace of man there I stand before you...” From this stand point, Heschel posed

²⁷ Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p. 63.

²⁸ Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p.129.

²⁹ Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p.18.

³⁰ Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p.129.

³¹ Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p. 23.

³² Brill, *Judaism And Other Religions*, p. 99.

³³ Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, in Harold Kasimow and Byron Sherwin (eds.) *No Religion Is An Island: Abraham Joshua Heschel and Interreligious Dialogue* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2008), p. 7.

several critical questions: Does the difference in commitment destroy the kinship of being human? Does the fact that we differ in our conceptions of God cancel what we have in command? What divides us? What unites us?³⁴ By expanding contemplation, Heschel came to an understanding that our conceptions of what ails us may be different, but the anxiety is the same. The language, the imagination, the concretization of our hopes is different, but the embarrassment is the same. We may disagree about the ways of achieving fear and trembling, but the fear and trembling are the same. The demands are different but the conscience is the same. The proclamations are different but the callousness is the same. Above all, while dogmas and forms of worship are divergent, but God is the same.³⁵

Hence, facing religious diversities, Heschel is convinced that “In this aeon diversity of religions is the will of God.”³⁶ This, ontologically, is also the view of Muslim Sufis such as Ibn Arabī (1165-1240) and Rūmī (1207-1273) as well as Jewish and Christian mystics. Ibn ‘Arabī for instance, believes that God is the root of all diversity of beliefs within the cosmos.³⁷ Like Heschel, Ibn ‘Arabī does not see the diversity of religions and beliefs as a source of confusion or distress. Through the various differences, human beings can learn from and love each other. Another approach to religions can be found in Heschel’s comments on the quotation from Prophet Malachi: “For from the rising of the sun to its setting My name is great among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to My name, and a pure offering: for My name is great among the nations, says the Lord of hosts (Mal. 1:11)”. For Heschel, this means that all those who worship their gods do not know it, but they are really “worshipping Me (God)” Though they confess different conceptions of God, are really worshipping One God, though they may not be aware of it.³⁸ Again, this reminds us to what Ibn ‘Arabī (d.believes when he comments on the verse, “Thy Lord hath decreed, that ye worship none save Him”(sūra al-Isrā: 23), he says, “that you should not worship others than Allah”, but “Any things that you are worshipping, you are (actually) not worshipping other than Allah, as there is no other than Him in any existence that exist”.³⁹

According to Heschel, the ultimate truth is not capable of being fully and adequately expressed in concepts and words. The ultimate truth is about the situation that pertains between God and man. “The Torah speaks in the language

³⁴ Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, pp. 8-9.

³⁵ Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, p. 9.

³⁶ Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, p. 14.

³⁷ Ibn ‘Arabī, *al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyyah*, Mahmūd Maṭraḡī ed. (Bairut: Dār al-Fikr, 2002), vol. VI, p. 303.

³⁸ Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, p.14.

³⁹ Ibn ‘Arabī, *Futūhāt*, Vol. IV, p. 549.

of man” said Heschel. For him, “Revelation is always an accommodation to the capacity of man”. The voice of God reaches the spirit of man in a variety of ways, in a multiplicity of languages.⁴⁰ From this fundamental view, Krajewski notes that one can claim that revelation had to be adjusted to the subjective capacity of each individual to understand, and to the relative cultures of the various nations. It cannot mean exclusive possession of absolute truth.⁴¹ Heschel noted that “revelation is always an accommodation to the capacity of man,” meaning that this is natural since religion is not revealed on an empty historical space. Religious teaching is nonetheless a response to the epochal condition and situation. In other words, revelation is not something that is outside the unchangeable and solid context, but it is inside the ever changeable context. Therefore, diverse race, nation, tribe and even different space and time require the distinction of religious teachings. Consequently, there are no single and universal teaching that can possibly be used for every epochal situation and condition.

If religious pluralism means “many ways to God”, or “other religions are equally valid ways to the same truth” or “other religions speak of different but equally valid truth”, it seems to be clear that Heschel confessed to the idea of religious pluralism; encompassing many religions on a seemingly equal basis when he concluded that: “One truth comes to expression in many ways of understanding”.⁴² Another one of Heschel’s ideas dealing with religious pluralism—or at least inclusivism-- can be seen also in his views on holiness and the holy man (saint). For Heschel, holiness is not the monopoly of any particular religion or tradition. Wherever a deed is done in accord with the will of God, wherever a thought of man is directed toward Him, the holy exists. The Jews do not maintain that the way of the Torah is the only way of serving God. Heschel then quoted a verse that reinforces his belief: “Let all the peoples walk each one in the name of its god, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God forever and ever” (Mic. 4:5).⁴³ Similarly, for Heschel, saints do not derive their saintliness from their ancestry. They become saints because they dedicate themselves to God and love Him, then God loves them, no matter of what religious tradition they belong to it. The highest degree to sainthood are the prophets who offer salvation. For Heschel, Christianity by Jesus and Islam by Muhammad are regarded as part of God’s design for the redemption of all

⁴⁰ Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, p. 15.

⁴¹ Stanislaw Krajewski, “Abraham J. Heschel and the Challenge of Interreligious Dialogue”, in Krajewski, (ed.) *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, p.173.

⁴² Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, 15. Krajewski, “Abraham J. Heschel and the Challenge of Interreligious Dialogue”, p.174.

⁴³ Heschel, “No Religion Is An Island”, p. 19.

men.⁴⁴ This Heschel's view means that truth, wisdom and salvation do not belong to only one religion exclusively.

Heschel then quoted Rabbi Johanan Ha-Sandelar, a disciple of Rabbi Akiva, who says that "every community which is established for the sake of heaven will in the end endure; but one which is not for the sake of heaven will not endure in the end". And for Rabbi Jacob Emden, according to Heschel, Christianity and Islam are in the category of "a community which is for the sake of heaven and which will in the end endure".⁴⁵ Heschel's idea of religious pluralism is indeed based on what he calls "Depth Theology." According to Kaplan, a scholar and expert on Heschel, depth theology assumes a firm distinction between dogma and an experiential, intuitive awareness of the living God. For Kaplan, Heschel's main point is that excessive dependence on concepts of God can undermine authentic religion. As corollary to this intellectualization of God as idea, Heschel warned against the danger of fundamentalism and literal-mindedness; he described dogma as "a poor man's share in the divine. A creed is almost all a poor man has. Skin for skin, he will give his life for all that he has. He may be ready to take other people's lives, if they refuse to share his tenets".⁴⁶

According to Kaplan, depth theology, on the contrary, seeks common ground. Heschel uses analogies with art to explain why pre-theological intuition can favor connections between people who hold different beliefs: "Theology is like sculpture, depth theology like music. Theology is in the books; depth theology is in the hearts. The former is doctrine, the later an event. Theologies divide us; depth theology unites us". That is why, according to Kaplan, Heschel emphasizes the "cognitive emotions" of embarrassment, indebtedness, a sense of mystery and wonder—all of which can foster sensitivity to the divine.⁴⁷ In the light of depth theology, Heschel always emphasized God as a Personal God who transcends all. For Heschel, believers should focus on God. God and religion are not identical. God is perfect; religion, by its very definition, is not. To equate religion and God is idolatry. Hence, in Heschel's term, religion is a means not the end. Religion is a process of becoming; a perpetual process. It becomes idolatrous when religion is regarded as an end in itself.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Heschel, "No Religion Is An Island", pp. 20-21.

⁴⁵ Heschel, "No Religion Is An Island", p. 21.

⁴⁶ Edward Kaplan, "Seeking God's Will Together": Heschel's Depth Theology as Common Ground," in Krajewski (ed.) *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, p. 190.

⁴⁷ Kaplan, "Seeking God's Will Together", p. 190. See also Heschel, *Man Is Not Alone: A Philosophy of Religion*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979, p. 265.

⁴⁸ Heschel, "No Religion Is An Island", 13. See also Krajewski, "Abraham J. Heschel and the Challenge of Interreligious Dialogue", p.180, and Alon Goshen-Gottstein, "Heschel and Interreligious Dialogue: Formulating the Questions", in Krajewski (ed.) *Abraham Joshua Heschel*, p. 163.

However for Kaplan, depth theology does carry a radical theological consequence, i.e. religious pluralism and acceptance of the plausibility of other revelations. This, as Heschel asserted in a speech: "In this aeon, diversity of religions is the will of God". By citing Judah Halevi and Maimonides, and quoting a Talmudic source, he demonstrated that traditional Judaism was essentially pluralistic: "The ancient Rabbis proclaim: Pious men of all nations share in the life to come".⁴⁹ Thus, the pluralist trusts that if God is God, God is the God of all peoples. And peoples share His Names and Mercy. Heschel's religious views which tend to be liberal, in the sense that it went beyond the conservative Jewish tradition show clearly that he was a pluralist. He was probably an epistemological and a mystical pluralist. However, it could also be understood that Heschel was an inclusivist because he often emphasized the grandeur of Jewish tradition and assumed that Judaism is the fundamental roots of Christianity and Islam. Heschel for instance, asserted that the Hebrew Bible is "the only book in the whole world that can never be replaced".⁵⁰ Concerning the greatness and perfection of the Jewish Holy Book, Heschel presented a brief discussion between a Protestant pastor and Frederick the Great. The pastor, Christian Furchtegott Gellert, was asked by Frederick the Great, "Herr Professor, give me proof of the Bible, but briefly, for I have little time." Gellert answered, "Your Majesty, the Jews".⁵¹

However, there are also other views on Heschel. Harold Kasimow for instance, sees Heschel neither as a pluralist nor an inclusivist although he espouses a unique view of religious diversity. For Kasimow, Heschel is a Jewish interreligious artist who transcends the categories created by Christian scholars (exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism). Heschel was a committed Jew, who, on the one hand, was able to affirm and live out the consequences of the fact that no religion has a monopoly on truth or holiness, and on the other hand, he was faithful to the Jewish religion and regarded it as the marvelous path to God.⁵² Regardless of these views, one must underline that pluralism is not relativism or syncretism. A true pluralist is someone who loves God, is faithful to one's faith and religion, but at the same time acknowledges truth, holiness and salvation in other religions. And this is what Heschel stands for.

NURCHOLISH MADJID ON RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

As well as Heschel who bases his religious views on Jewish theology, Madjid also refers to Islamic theology. Theologically, Madjid idea of religious pluralism

⁴⁹ Kaplan, "Seeking God's Will Together", p. 193.

⁵⁰ Heschel, *God In Search of Man*, p. 240.

⁵¹ Heschel, "No Religion Is An Island", p. 17.

⁵² Kasimow, "Heschel's View of Religious Diversity", p. 201.

begins from his insight about the concept of *Tawhid*, *Islam* and *Kalimah Sawā`* (common words) among religions. He thought that monotheism (believe in one God) is the core doctrine of the prophets. The most important of *Tawhid* is full submission only to Allah, the only One God. This *al-Islām* (submission) is the essence of all true religions.⁵³ Madjid concluded that “Behold, the only true religion in the sight of God is man’s self-surrender unto Him (*al-Islām*)”. Here is the true interpretation of surah Āli ‘Imrān verse 19, “*Inna al-Dīn ‘Inda Allāh al-Islām*”. In any religious tradition, totally surrender to God is the true and an authentic religiosity. The assertion of God in Āli Imrān 19 is accompanied by the further consequence that anyone who embraces to a religion other than *al-Islām* and does not have the submission to God, then it is not genuine because it will be rejected, even if he is a “formal Muslim” or “Muslim” in a sociological sense.⁵⁴

Therefore, according to Madjid, the *al-islām* should be interpreted as a quality attitude, the total submission to God. Thus, before *Islam* to be a “proper name” or “historical religion” of Prophet Muhammad, that quality attitude and the *Tawhid* doctrine have been the main teachings of all the messengers of God. In its prevalent meaning, there was substantial relationship among the prophets. Madjid stated that there is only One Religion, namely *al-Islām*, but its law are varies as the Prophet Muhammad said, “Verily we are group of prophets, our religions are one,” and “the prophets are brothers, one father with different mothers”.⁵⁵ By *Al-Islām* and *Tawhid* as main teachings emanating from Allah, then there is the unity of Truth, i.e., Universal Truth for all the God’s messengers and mankind. According to Madjid, the Universal Truth is one although its manifestation is varies. In other words, the Universal Truth which can also be referred to the “Universal Religion”, or the “Straight Religion”, or the “True Religion”, is the only One exists because it is originates from The Only One (God). However when it comes down to historical world or phenomenon realm, it manifests into different religions and beliefs. To Madjid, the fact of the “essential unity” of religions and beliefs is not surprising because all of truth originates from the Same Source, *al Haqq*. All the prophets brought the teachings of the same truth.⁵⁶

Dealing with the concept of substantial relationship among the prophets,

⁵³ Nurcholish Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin Dan Peradaban: Sebuah Telaah Kritis tentang Masalah Keimanan, Kemanusiaan, dan Kemodernan* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1992), p.181.

⁵⁴ Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin Dan Peradaban*, 182. Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan, Membangun Tradisi dan Visi Baru Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1995), pp. xii-xv.

⁵⁵ Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin Dan Peradaban*, p. 182.

⁵⁶ Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, pp. 138-139.

Madjid then discussed about People of the Book or *Ahl al-Kitāb*. According to Madjid, Islamic concept on *Ahl al-Kitāb* is a unique which never existed before Islam. Islam through *Ahl al-Kitāb* confers certain acknowledgement to other religions that have holy books. This concept has a tremendous impact on religious and socio-cultural of mankind. Accordingly, Madjid said that Islam is the first religion introducing tolerance and religious freedom. The doctrine of *Ahl al-Kitāb* encouraged Muslims in their history to developed cosmopolitanism based on social order, inclusive and tolerant society.⁵⁷ Mostly, Islamic discussion on *Ahl al-Kitāb* is usually addressed to the Jews and Christians as the Qur'an explicitly mentioned about. Yet, for Madjid it is reasonable that the Quran only mentioned the two because the Arabs, in general, and the first Muslims recognized them as the communities who have holy books. Besides, they do not know other communities. By referring to *The Holy Qur'an, Translation and Commentary* of Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *Tafsīr al-Manār* of Muhammad Rasyid Ridha and *al-Mu'īn al-Mubīn* of Abdul Hamid Hakim, a Muslim scholar of Nusantara, Madjid invites Muslims to take into consideration that believers of other religions such as the Sabeans, Majusi, Zoroastrians, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucians, Shintoists, Taoists and others who have the holy books also deserves to be called *Ahl al-Kitāb*.⁵⁸

For Madjid, there are three fundamental reasons: *first*, there are verses of the Qur'an asserted that "Every community has had an apostle",⁵⁹ "...some of them (apostles) We have mentioned to you, and some of them We have not mentioned to you",⁶⁰ another verse stated that "And never have We sent forth any apostle otherwise than (with a message) in his own people's tongue".⁶¹ Therefore, according to Madjid, the so-called *ummah* is a group of people. Hence, if there is community in Java, then surely there is a messenger. As well as other places like in China, India or Persia, God must has sent down His messenger to bring glad tidings and admonitions and some principal teachings.⁶² *Second*, by quoting Rashid Ridha, Madjid argued that the Quran only mentioned the Jews, Christians, Sabeans, and Zoroastrians because

⁵⁷ Madjid, *Islam Agama Peradaban, Membangun Makna dan Relevansi Doktrin Islam Dalam Sejarah* (Jakarta: Yayasan Wakaf Paramadina, 1995), pp. 69-70.

⁵⁸ Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, p. 103. See Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin Dan Peradaban*, p. lxxix.

⁵⁹ Muhammad Asad, *The Message of the Quran* (Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus, 1980), p. 298.

⁶⁰ Asad, *The Message of the Quran*, p. 727.

⁶¹ Asad, *The Message of the Quran*, p. 370.

⁶² Madjid, "Pengantar", in Komaruddin Hidayat and Ahmad Gaus, *Passing Over, Melintasi Batas Agama* (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1999), second edition, pp. xxxii-xxxiii. Madjid, "Dialog Di Antara Ahli Kitab (*Ahl Al-Kitab*): Sebuah Pengantar", in George B. Grose & Benjamin Hubbard (eds.), *Tiga Agama Satu Tuhan*, trans. Santi Indra Astuti (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), pp. xxii-xxiii.

these communities were the first recognized by the Arabs and geographically, they were close to the Arabs. If the Quran named Hindus, Buddhists, Taoist, and Confucians who were not recognized by the Arabs then it would have been something “peculiar and extraneous (*ighrāb*)” to them.⁶³ *Third*, by quoting Abdul Hamid Hakim, Madjid agreed that the believers of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confusionism, and Shintoism were included as *Ahl al-Kitāb* because their genuine teaching was *Tawhid*.⁶⁴

Acknowledging *Ahl al-Kitāb* as community who also profess *Tawhid*, Madjid then discussed about salvation. The classical matter that has and will always be a sharp controversial in Muslim scholars is shall non-Muslims get the God's Mercy and salvation in the hereafter? Madjid gone upon al-Baqarah verse 62 which stated that “those who have attained to faith (in this divine writ), as well as those who follow the Jewish faith, and the Christians, and the Sabeans all who believe in God and the Last Day and do righteous deeds—shall have their reward with their Sustainer, and no fear need they have, and neither shall they grieve”.⁶⁵ Based on this verse, Madjid promoted the interpretations of Abdullah Yusuf Ali and Muhammad Asad who asserted that the God's word is a certainty; anyone of any religious traditions deserves of salvation as long as “he believes in God and the Last Day and do righteous deeds”. For Madjid, This guarantee of salvation applies regardless whether he was descendant of Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) like the Jews and the Quraisy in Mekkah or not. As God said to Ibrahim when He will make him a leader of men and then Ibrahim asked: “And (will you make leaders) of my offspring as well?” God answered, “My covenant does not embrace the evildoers”.⁶⁶ Thus, Madjid emphasized that salvation cannot be obtained by people due to heredity but for anyone who believes in God, the Day of judgment, and righteous action in life, a principle which is strongly emphasized in the Quran.⁶⁷

By citing the two verses of al-Maidah: (65) “If the followers of the Bible would but attain to (true) faith and God-consciousness, We should indeed efface their (previous) bad deeds, and indeed bring them into gardens of bliss”; (66) and if they would but truly observe the Torah and the Gospel and all (the revelation) that has been bestowed from on high upon them by their Sustainer, they would indeed partake of all the blessings of heaven and earth. Some of them do pursue a right course; but as for most of them vile indeed is what they do”, again Madjid asserted that it is obligatory for Muslims to defending the

⁶³ Madjid, *Islam Agama Peradaban*, pp. 82-83. Madjid, *Islam Agama Kemanusiaan*, pp. 94-95.

⁶⁴ Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin Dan Peradaban*, p. lxxix.

⁶⁵ Asad, *The Message of the Quran*, p.14.

⁶⁶ See Asad, *The Message of the Quran*, p. 26.

⁶⁷ Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin Dan Peradaban*, pp. 187-188.

tradition of pluralism, tolerance and religious freedom. The salvation not only for Muslims who do right but also for the people of the book.⁶⁸ The mentioned Islamic views earlier for Madjid show that Islam fundamentally is inclusive and its interpretation is more pluralist,⁶⁹ and no doubt Madjid himself was an inclusivist, even a pluralist and universalist. According to Madjid, pluralism cannot be understood simply by saying that the people of Indonesia is a plural, diverse, consisting of various races and religions, which is actually only describe the impression of fragmentation, not pluralism. Pluralism should also not be understood merely as negative good, just seen its utility to keep fanaticism at bay. Pluralism must be interpreted as genuine engagement of diversities within the bonds of civility. Moreover, pluralism is a necessity for the salvation of mankind, through the result of supervision and balances.⁷⁰

On many occasions, Madjid often refers to Spain Islam as a concrete example of religious pluralism within Muslim community. Spain Islam for Madjid brought out what the so- called “three religions and one bed room”. By quoting Max Dimont, Madjid believes that “under the sub-sequent 500-year rule of the Muslims emerged the Spain of three religions and one bed room. Mohammedans, Christians, and Jews shared the same brilliant civilization”.⁷¹ A very interesting fact that is recognized by Western scholars, for Madjid, is that one of the greatest blessings of Spain Islam is the enjoyment of religious freedom for Jews and their religious development, a pleasure that cannot be achieved by the Jews even in modern times. In this Spain Islam, Jewish people experienced their golden age.⁷² In Indonesian context, for Madjid, the whole explanation of Islam dealing with pluralism is actually represented by Pancasila as the philosophical basis for Indonesian pluralism,⁷³ which also requires a genuine engagement of Indonesian diversities. After a long and exhausting dialogue among leaders of the nation from different religions, beliefs and ethnic groups, the birth of Pancasila was a blessing for Indonesian pluralism. Thus, Pancasila was a result of struggle of the plurality fact of Indonesia. With religious pluralism as practiced in Spain Islam and political pluralism in Pancasila’s Indonesia, Madjid imagines Muslims have a high civilization and could enrich their religiousness due to appreciate religious and cultural diversities.

⁶⁸ Madjid, “Dialog Di Antara Ahli Kitab (*Ahl Al-Kitâb*): Sebuah Pengantar”, p. xxvii.

⁶⁹ Madjid, “Dialog Di Antara Ahli Kitab (*Ahl Al-Kitâb*): Sebuah Pengantar”, p. xix.

⁷⁰ Madjid, “Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia,” *Ulumul Qur’an, Jurnal Ilmu dan Kebudayaan*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (1995), pp. 63 & 65. Madjid, Masyarakat Madani dan Investasi Demokrasi: Tantangan dan Kemungkinan, *Republika* August 10, p.1999.

⁷¹ Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, p. lxxvii.

⁷² Madjid, *Islam, Doktrin dan Peradaban*, p. xc.

⁷³ Madjid, “Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia”, p. 64.

SHARED INTERFAITH DIALOGUE BETWEEN JUDAISM AND ISLAM

Heschel also formulated the importance of interfaith dialogue among religious traditions. As stated earlier, that the idea of religious pluralism in Heschel's depth theology is based on two main things. *First*, God and man mutually seek and need each other, their relationship both active and dynamic. This relationship especially from the position of human beings is based on a "deep faith" in God, not a "shallow faith". This for Heschel means that the first and most important *prerequisite of interfaith is faith*. Interfaith must come out of depth, not out of avoid or absence of faith. It is not an enterprise for those who are half-learned and spirituality immature.⁷⁴ Thus, a mature faith is the basic requirement, before a person meets for interfaith dialogue with others. Superficial faith will only hurt him/her-self and their dialogue partners.

Second, for Heschel, inter-faith dialogue should be based on humility, mutual esteem and reverence. That means the full respect of the human being, regardless of their religion. Full appreciation will appear if someone has a "deep faith" or "depth theology" in Heschel's terms. Depth theology is different from the usual theological dogma that only contains concepts and structures. In the language of Heschel, "theology speaks for the people, while depth theology speaks for the individual. Depth theology seeks to meet the person in intimate moments in which the whole person is involved". In conjunction with the dialogue, Krajewski confirms the importance of depth theology, as the "theme of depth theology is the act of believing", the theme of the "depth theology" is the act of dialoguing, or rather Interreligious dialoguing.⁷⁵

Heschel repeatedly stressed that depth of theology should give birth to respect for other people, not just to the physical, but also to their faith and commitment. He stated that "respect for each other's commitment, respect for each other's faith, is more than a political or social imperative. It is born of the insight that God is greater than religion, that faith is deeper than dogma, that theology has roots in depth theology". Heschel also underlined that the dialogue between faiths requires a person to be faithful to his or her historical religion. Important also to keep in mind is Heschel's warning that religion is not identical with God. Loyalty to religion means loyal to the values of divinity. For Heschel, "To equate religion and God is idolatry".⁷⁶

Madjid was also actively concerned to encourage inter-faith dialogue. For him as a Muslim, the main base of the inter-religious dialogue according to

⁷⁴ Heschel, "No Religion Is An Island", pp. 10-11.

⁷⁵ Krajewski, "Abraham J. Heschel", pp. 179-180.

⁷⁶ Heschel, "No Religion Is An Island", p. 13.

Islamic perspective is that the Quran itself--implicitly and explicitly--calls the believers to perform dialogue. Madjid theological ideas on interfaith-dialogue are actually closely connected to the issue of religious inclusivism and pluralism he embraces. His main ideas can be explained in two important things; *firstly*, there is unity of the prophetic message. The prophets that were sent by God brought different teachings (sharia) as needed to the people and the contexts of each. Yet, the core of prophetic message is actually in the same spirit that is full submission to God namely *al-islām* and *Tawhid*. The core of all the prophet's religions (*Dīn*) is same⁷⁷ and their *umma* and religions are one, as God said, "Verily (O you who believe in Me) this community of yours is one single community, since I am the Sustainer of you all, worship then me alone (al-Anbiyā: 92)" and "Verily, this community of yours is one single community, since I am the Sustainer of you all, remain then conscious of me (al-Mu`minūn: 52)".

Muslims are also commanded to believe (confess) to all the prophets without differentiating one over the others and surrender to God. *Secondly*, doctrine on *Ahl al-Kitab* which confers certain acknowledgement to other religions that have holy books and gives freedom to practice their religion respectively. For Madjid, these inclusive and pluralist Islam make inter-religious dialogues are something that is not only possible, but also necessary and required. Muslims are commanded by God to invite the leaders of People of the Book to the "common words (*kalimat-un sawā`*)", which is headed to the teachings of the Only One God (*Tawhid*) as referred to *sūra* Āli 'Imrān: 64. Those positive and sympathetic verses toward the People of the Book for Madjid, is a call of God to Muslims to open up the dialogue process in order to obtain a shared belief about the most profound Truth, as Wilfred Cantwell Smith called, "All inner faith is interfaith".⁷⁸

Although the essence of all religions is one and same but historically, the socio-cultural manifestations are different. There is even an exoteric doctrine that cannot be 'reconciled' among religions. Therefore, dialogue is indispensable for peace. According to Madjid, if some languages and verbal beliefs of religion are different, but the faiths in the social dimension of humanity are necessarily same. According to the Prophet, *al-islām* is best expressed in humanitarian activities such as helping the poor or work for peace without exception. By this view, Madjid actually was talking about two models of dialogue at the

⁷⁷ As stated in *sūra* al-Syūrā: 13, "In matters of faith, He has ordained for you that which He had enjoined upon Noah and into which We gave thee (O Muhammad) insight through revelation as well as that which We had enjoined upon Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus: Steadfastly uphold the (true) faith, and do not break up your unity therein".

⁷⁸ Madjid, "Dialog Di Antara Ahli Kitab", pp. xxvii-xxviii.

same time: the dialogue at the level of theological and practical (ethical) that was on the concrete social problems of humanity. At these two levels, the religious communities in any religious traditions can actually learning and sharing within dialogue. For Madjid, by looking at those dynamic models of dialogue, then interreligious dialogue can be seen as the realization of the most fundamental religious teachings, and the cooperation of humanity based on faith in the Only One God means fulfilling glorious commands as stated in the Scripture.

According to Madjid, the aim in theological dialogue is not to 'create' a common ground or even uniformity, because it is like a "betray" in religious tradition. Every religion has its unique itself. Therefore, what one looks for is to get the common words (theologically) as far as possible, not the teachings that difficult to blend in. One has be able to classify between the theological-philosophical religious teachings and the others teachings in their historical dimensions. For Madjid, dialogue is '*apple to apple*'. Things that are historically to be compared with the historical. Things that are normative should be compared with the normative. Dialogue should be equal and honest. A dialogue based on togetherness, justice, honesty, and openness will be enriched one each other.⁷⁹

In full awareness, Madjid's ideas about religious pluralism, tolerance, and dialogue are rooted in the historical heritage of Islamic civilization that is inclusive and cosmopolitan, as well as Pancasila and the true diversity of the culture of Indonesian society. Moreover, as Heschel developed his depth theology, Madjid realized that he was also exploring the so-called "depth Islam". As I discussed in my article on the thought of Abdurrahman Wahid (2015), depth Islam is not a literal and superficial form of Islam. Depth Islam is an understanding that goes beyond the literal texts to look for the principles and spirit of Islam in appreciating humanity, diversity and peace. Depth Islam can also be referred to as "liberal Islam" or "substantial Islam", in terms of looking at the whole context of the text and beyond.⁸⁰

Inter-faith dialogue between Muslims and Jews has been carried out by several important figures, scholars, or journalists in several places on this earth. Kujawa Holbrook and Sheryl for example, in their article "*Interfaith Dialogue in Practice: Christian, Muslim and Jew*," reviewed that one of the interesting phenomena in inter-faith dialogue conducted in the Western world (by some leading scholars) is by using communication strategies rather than the usual specialists in theology or politics. By using communication strategy, Holbrook

⁷⁹ Madjid, "Dialog Di Antara Ahli Kitab", pp. xx-xxi.

⁸⁰ See Media Zainul Bahri, "Abdurrahman Wahid, Depth Islam, and Religious Pluralism", *Ulumuna, Journal of Islamic Studies* (Mataram State Islamic Institute, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2015), p. 321.

viewed that individuals and groups engaged in processes that led to greater mutual understanding among those three religions.⁸¹ Similarly, there is one very interesting book written by Yossi Klein Halevi, a Jew, a correspondent for *The New Republic* and senior writer for *The Jerusalem Report*, entitled *At The Entrance To The garden of Eden* (2001). In his work, Yossi Halevi describes his unprecedented and extraordinary spiritual journey to discover, as a religious Israeli Jew, a common spiritual language with his Christian and Muslim neighbors in the Holy Land, Jerusalem. "Could religion be a source of unity?" wondered Halevi. To find the answer, he began a two-year exploration of the devotional life of Christianity and Islam. He followed their holiday cycles, befriended Christian monastics and Islamic mystics, and joined them in prayer in monasteries and mosques-searching for wisdom and holiness in places that are usually off-limits to outsiders of other faiths.⁸² The more dialogue and encounter among believers, the more positively for world peace.

CONCLUSION

Heschel and Madjid may have never met physically. There is no data or indication of encounters between them. Moreover, when Heschel died in 1972, Madjid was intensively spreading the ideas of secularization, modernization, and was rejecting Theocracy. In 1968—as a Chairman of the HMI-- Madjid was invited to the United State for a month and a half and met with activists, academicians, religious and political leaders, but was never mentioned Heschel. However, both had a great interest in the religion of others. Madjid was enthusiastic about Judaism and the Jewish perspective. In his writings on Islam, Madjid often discussed Jewish perspectives and did compare between Islam and Judaism. Heschel himself, in addition to studying the Semitic religions, including Islam from the Jewish scholar, Eugen Mittwoch, engaged several times in interfaith dialogue with Seyyed Hossein Nasr, and made friends with other Islamic scholars, such as Henry Corbin.⁸³

Both figures are unique in the sense that they both challenge to break through the thick wall of exclusiveness and conservatism espoused largely by American-European Jews and the Muslims of Indonesia. The fact that Heschel hails from the nobility or very elite of his respective tradition and Madjid was an elite Indonesian Islam highly respected, has not made them take advantage of their high social status and live luxuriously. Instead, they use their position

⁸¹ Kujawa Holbrook and Sheryl A., "Interfaith Dialogue in Practice: Christian, Muslim and Jew," *Journal of Anglican Theological Review*, Fall 2015, p. 1.

⁸² See Yossi Klein Halevi, *At The Entrance To The Garden of Eden* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2001).

⁸³ Seth Ward, "Implications of Abraham Joshua Heschel", p. 209.

to fight for equality, peace and justice to mankind. Both have dedicated their entire lives to those three things. Owing to that, they have a huge influence in their respective traditions. Heschel has contributed significantly to a more humane face of the American-European Jewish world, and the Christian world in the West. Dozens of books have been written about him and a series of international conferences have been held to commemorate his services. In his honor, some schools in the United States have been named “Heschel” such as in the Upper West Side of New York City, Northridge, California and Toronto, Canada. In 2009, a Missouri Highway was also inaugurated as the “Dr. Abraham Joshua Heschel Highway”.⁸⁴

Madjid, as an Indonesian Muslim, has not only made a large contribution to give a face to inclusive Indonesian Islam, but has also become the face of Islamic Southeast Asia, where he is known and well-remembered by Islamic scholars of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, and the Philippines. In Indonesia alone, in addition to tens of books and articles written about Madjid, there have appeared thousands of young Muslims who are continuing to develop Madjid ideas of inclusive and pluralist Islam. The greatest legacy of Madjid is Paramadina University, a university that was established for the middle class Muslim Indonesia. Madjid had a dream that Indonesian Muslims are modern and well-educated but remain to embrace moderate and inclusive Islam. Madjid was a Rector of this University from 1998 to 2005. After his death in 2005, Madjid family and their sympathizers founded Nurcholish Madjid Society, a foundation spread the Islamic ideas of Madjid in building moderate Islamic intellectual thought, which encourages the creation of democracy, multiculturalism and tolerance among Muslims in Indonesia and around the world.

At college, Madjid was active in the Islamic student organization, where he held the very prestigious position of General Chairman of Indonesia's largest Islamic student organization, namely the *Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam* (HMI, Islamic Student Association) for two consecutive periods: 1966-1969 and 1969-1971. As well as scholar who integrates Islam with democracy and the modern world, Madjid has also been active in the commission of election monitoring (1995-1997). As a democrat in the authoritarian New Order regime, Madjid was often campaigning for what he calls “the loyal opposition”. Dealing with fighting for freedom and human rights, he was also active as a member of the national commission for human rights (1993-1998). Madjid was also active as a central board of ICMI (*Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia*, Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals) from 1990 to 1995. In the moments before the fall of New Order in 1998, President Suharto asked Madjid to become a

⁸⁴http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abraham_Joshua_Heschel, downloaded at 07-04-2013.

Chairman of the Reform Committee, but Madjid rejected it. In a conversation with Suharto, Madjid stated that “what is understood by the people of the reform is that the President should resign”.⁸⁵ For his services, Madjid was later buried at the Heroes Cemetery (Taman Makam Pahlawan) in Jakarta.

As well as Madjid who devoted his life to Islam, Islamic Studies and humanity, Heschel also devoted much of his life to the study of Judaism, became an academician and professor of Judaism. He wrote many serious books about Judaism. Nevertheless, Heschel was not merely a scientist who systematically studied religion as an object. He was a devoted person, who was “fully engaged” with his Jewishness. He is considered by the Jewish community in America and Europe as a Jewish saint, some Jews even believe him to be a “prophet”. Although, he would never be so bold as to consider him gifted with prophetic inspiration. Instead, Heschel humbly replied: “I do not want to accept this praise; because it is not for me to say that I am a descendant of the prophets. It is arrogant enough to claim, that I am a descendant of the prophets, what are called B’nai Nevi’im. So let us hope and pray that I am worthy of being a descendant of the prophets”.⁸⁶

Heschel was also heavily involved with significant humanitarian events. Kaplan said that in the early 1960s to the year of his death in 1972, Heschel emerged as a social activist-humanitarian. During that period, Heschel was involved in inter-religious dialogue with Protestant and Islam leaders, with cardinals and with the Pope himself. In 1965, together with his close friend, Martin Luther King Jr., he took to the streets demanding civil rights. Around 1967-1968, in the name of God and humanity, also with Luther King, he demonstrated on the street in refusal of the Vietnam War.⁸⁷ Heschel called social-humanitarian activities as a form of prophetic radicalism.⁸⁸ The world today has indeed faced many cases of conflict based on religious backgrounds. Hatred, hostility and religious wars are often born out of religious misunderstanding. In the context of inter-religious community tensions due to suspicion, hatred, and hostility, the depth-theology of Heschel and the depth Islam of Madjid find their significance.

⁸⁵ Ahmad Gaus, *Api Islam Nurcholish Madjid, Jalan Hidup Seorang Visioner* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), p. 220.

⁸⁶ Bernhard Dolna, “Keeping God and Man”, p. 130.

⁸⁷ According to Kaplan, the Vietnam emergency became the religious imperative of Heschel’s final years of life. At a worship meeting in Washington DC in 1967, in which Kaplan himself participated, Heschel explained how the divine image brought him to oppose the war. He said: “The encounter of man and God is an encounter within the world. We meet within a situation of shared suffering, of shared responsibility... Though I am not a native of Vietnam, ignorant of its language and traditions, I am involved in the plight of the Vietnamese.” Kaplan, *Holiness in Words*, p. 110.

⁸⁸ Kaplan, *Holiness In Words*, pp. 92-99.

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STATE AND RELIGION IN ACEH: The Competences of Religious Education Teachers (Referring to ACT 14, 2005)

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ABSTRACT

Studies on religious education teacher's competences in Aceh could not be separated from studies on state's intervention toward education. State hegemony occurs in the form of regulation formalization which regulates efforts for improving qualification and competence of teachers. The research showed that the presence of Act No. 14, 2005 and the Government Regulation No. 74, 2008 had been used as legal reference to encourage the improvement of Aceh religious education teachers' qualification and competence. This is a qualitative study in which triangulation in data collection was used. The data was then collected through documentations, observations, and deep interviews. This work emphasizes that improving teachers' competences in Islamic education system in Aceh was in accordance to and did not contradict with national education system and moreover strengthen the content of Act No. 14, 1005 and Government Regulation No. 74, 2008. Qualification and competence of religious education teachers in Aceh underwent improvement better than previous term. However, teachers experienced that socialization process and implementation of regulation has yet to receive upmost attention. The study also suggests that religious education teachers' qualifications and competences will significantly contribute to the development of religious education quality, thus Islamic education transforms intently in national and state relations order.

Keywords: Policies, Teacher, Competence, Religious, Education, Religious, State, Relation

INTRODUCTION

The Government Regulation on teachers has been implemented in the past ten years. However, the quality and professionalism of Indonesian teachers seems to be still problematic, particularly in Aceh. The condition of Aceh education has become into attention of many experts (i.e. Goto et al., 2012; Oktari, Shiwaku, Munadi, Syamsidik, & Shaw, 2015; Shah & Lopes Cardozo, 2014). Rosemary and Mahdi (2013) show that education in Aceh which is based on Islamic value is relatively different from national education, since the latter is

based on three pillars, accessibility, quality, competitiveness and governance, accountability and public image (Rosemary, Si, & Mahdi, 2013). The presence of Act No 14, 2005 to improve religious education teacher's competences and quality in the Aceh province which is protected by the implementation of Sharia law does not reach significant improvement (Zulfikar Ali Buto, 2016).

This is evident from the result of teacher competence test (UKG) in Aceh Province of 37.62. It was far from national average score. Meanwhile, UKG national average score was 43.84 (Iskandar, 2012). In 2015, teacher competence test result in Aceh ranked 32 out of 34 provinces in Indonesia, with average score of 45.27 (Kemendikbud, 2016). On the other hand, this result suggests that teacher's competences in Aceh is still weak. These weaknesses cover several respects, such as: 1) lack of teacher's capability in developing teaching materials, 2) lack of teacher's knowledge about their roles and responsibilities in schools, and 3) discrepancy between educational background and subject being taught (Feralys Novauli. M., 2015: 46). One of the reasons for the difficulties to improve teacher's quality is as the result of the failure in the implementation of the Acts, no. 14, 2005. Phenomenon of the difficulty of implementing the policy is cleared and supported by several research on implementation of undergoing policy (Nakamura, 1987; Lypski, 1980; dan Hjern, 1981).

Previous studies suggest that research on improving teacher's quality mainly reviews three aspects. Firstly, research on policy and developing education program. Talking about educational policy, Mintrop (1999:274) finds inconsistency of regulation which is overlap in three factors including institutional reference frame, self-reference frame (teacher) and learner reference frame as perspective to see educational policies. Secondly, research on education and developing teacher's profession. According to Avalos (Ma, et al, 2018: 292), developing teacher's profession is related to teacher's learning, learning about teaching strategies, and transforming knowledge for the sake of student's development. *Thirdly*, research on improving teacher's quality and competence, Pantic, Wubbels, and Mainhard (2011: 165) state that teacher's competence is classified into four respects including (a) self-evaluation and profession development, (b) knowledge on subject, pedagogy and curriculum, (c) understanding on educational system and contribution in development, and (d) values as well as childcare.

Of these trend, there is a negligent or lack in term of correlation between text and context of Act No 14, 2005 and needs and developing education in Aceh nowadays (especially in the context of Aceh, whose majority population is Muslim). This suggests the need to consider socio-religious and socio-cultural

values among Aceh people themselves upon developing educational quality (Abubakar, 2013). At the same time, the substantive message on the Act is not well delivered to teachers. Furthermore the implementation of the Act applies into Lembaga Pendidikan dan Tenaga Kependidikan (LPTK) as the institution producing prospective religious education teachers in Aceh. The shortcoming explanation becomes the main focus of reviews in this article which filling the gap the previous studies by answering three questions; 1) how is the formulation of Act No 14, 2005 related to development of objective trends in education in Aceh nowadays?; 2) how can the implementation and message of Act No 14, 2005 be accepted by teachers as users for improving competence in Islamic education system in Aceh?; how is the ability of LPTK as the institution which produces the next religious education teachers in Aceh?; and 3) how is the implementation of Act No. 14 year 2005 which encourages the occurrence of the transformation of religious education in nation development be realized?

This work is based on three assumptions as the cores of the discussion and focus of the review. Firstly, the formulation of Act No 14, 2015 is not based on objective trends taking place in educational field nowadays (the Act is not relevant and not conceptual) and is not based on social reality of the Acehnese who are known to be religious. Therefore the effort to improve teacher's quality and the quality of Islamic education is difficult to achieve. Secondly, the implementation and the message of Act No. 14, 2005 that has cultural and structural constraints does not fully reach teachers, which is the main targeted group of the Act, and not reach LPTK as well especially as the institution which has the authority to produce prospective (religious education teacher). Therefore mission on improving competency is hard to achieve. *Thirdly*, the transformation of religious education in the process of nation building will suffer from significant obstacles if the improvement of religious education teacher's competency cannot be realized well. These three assumptions are the basis of this article.

This review employs qualitative method (Atkinson 2017; Stenius et al. 2017) I have come to understand that a solid grounding in the philosophical foundations and ethical considerations of one's field of study are imperative for the success of any research endeavor. Whenever scholars have a strong grasp on their philosophical foundations, they are well prepared to comprehend the methods that they will utilize to study social activism. Note, CHAPTER TWO Research Methodologies This chapter explores: (1 focusing on three cities in Aceh including Banda Aceh, Lhokseumawe and Langsa. The three cities were chosen as the focus of this study because of four reasons. *First*, they have

similar geographical, social and cultural values, as well as social and religious condition. *Second*, generally, the rate of institutional progress and quality in the three cities is relatively alike. *Third*, religious education teachers in the three cities are well-qualified. This study uses triangulation method which combines three different methods of data collection; observation, in-depth interview, and document analysis. Observation was conducted to observe and see teacher's activities as well as management and activities of educational institutions (LPTK). Document analysis was used to obtain the data related to the theories on research substance, and review of regulation substance which became focus of this study. In depth interview was conducted to obtain data from main sources consisting of religious education teachers, and the LPTK managers.

RELATIONS BETWEEN STATE AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Indonesian religious education policy and system are designed to strengthen the relationship between state and religion. In Islam, there is no a conflict between political leaders and religious leaders. Islam does not have priesthood and also does not have a church-like institution. The Islamic teaching covers a wide range of areas, including politics, law, economy, social, and culture (Deliar Noer, 2003). Meanwhile, Muhammad Abed al-Jabiri (2001) explains that throughout the history, there is no conflict between the state and religion. The dichotomy only took place in the west (especially in the Roman empire) when church was ruled by a group of priests.. Therefore, relationship between religion and state becomes an interesting discourse since the first era of religion until now. Social-political stability also has a role in the relationship of religion and state which goes up and down, especially in affecting policy and politics of education.

Education and politics are two essential elements in social and political system in all countries (Baker, 2014). The involvement of government is basically to play and realize roles in public policy-related development which is implemented by a government (Edited by Karen Mundy, Andy Green, Bob Lingard, 2017). The State often intervenes national education system through regulation issued (Yusuf and Sterkens, 2015). Developing teachers' competency and quality through implementing Act Number 14, 2005 cannot be separated from the policy and politics of education run by the government. Teachers' competency is defined by Tichá and Hospesova (2012: 134) as a series of qualifications, abilities and characters which are needed to realize professional success and the competence and an ability to act as needed to respond to the situations during teaching, as well as to improve the quality of

learners.

The policy about teacher's competency is essentially made to fulfill needs of education in order to achieve its goals. However, as explained by Cohen, Moffitt and Goldin (2007: 515), policy and its implementation raise a dilemma between the policy and the educational practitioner's ability to use the policy to solve educational problems. On the contrary, the realization of policy itself depends on the abilities of those who support the implementation and goals. In the government's regulation, teacher's competence becomes one of the aspects in educational policy. Educational policy-related problem was shown to describe the existence of unequal value, as explained in journal of *Harvard Law Review* which shows the term inconsistency of regulation as inequality of formulating policy among educational policies in the constitution (The Harvard Law Review Association, 2015: 941). The problem is emphasized by Mintrop (1999: 274) that inconsistency is as overlap regulations in three factor models, self-reference frame, institutional-reference frame and learners-reference frame as perspective to see educational policy.

A discussion about teacher's competency cannot be separated from reviews on professional education, because both are related. Avalos (Ma, et al, 2018:292, Klingstedt, et al (1981: 15-22) explains that developing profession for teacher is related to teachers' learning, learning the way to teach, and transform knowledge for students' development. Furthermore, Rebell and Molly (2014: 691) state that standardized and effective instructor is the key element to improve students' achievement. Therefore, all professional educators must focus on the aim to realize improving students' achievement. Moreover, Rebell and Molly (2014: 694) explain that teacher profession education forms in the process of adjusting curriculum between standard of teacher training and standard of students learning through teacher's certification test, a test of various aspects of qualification as an effort to validate knowledge and skills needed in teacher profession. In teacher education context, education for teacher program is explained by Ludington (1940: 263) by considering social condition in which teacher profession becomes an experiment center to answer social problem. Professional education is a place to transform problem faced in education (Barney, 2004, Cooney (1994: 631).

Basic competence which must be understood by the teachers is pedagogical competence. Moreover, teacher's competence of pedagogy is the basic need for a teacher. Liakopoulou (2011: 475-476) explains that criteria in valuing the pedagogical competence is likely based on the result standard approach or learner's performance, teacher's performance standard approach, teacher's responsibilities evaluation, and competence standard criteria. In

Balkan countries, According to Pantic, Wubbels, and Mainhard (2011: 165), teacher's competence is classified into four aspects; (1) self evaluation and developing profession; (2) subject's knowledge, pedagogy and curriculum; (3) understanding educational system and its contribution on development; and (4) value as well as parenting. Besides pedagogy competence, personality competence is also a measurement to know the readiness of teacher. Teacher's personality is a key factor for teacher's teaching effectiveness (Symonds, 1947: 653-654, Barr, 1960: 400-405). Besides personality, a teacher needs social competence which is useful to understand social dynamic in the class (Gehlbach, 2010: 351). In addition, a teacher should understand roles of profession and should have professional competence. Dreher and Kutze (2015: 110) emphasize the importance of understanding an interaction between teachers and students in which professional knowledge of teacher connects to various representation of roles in learning.

THE FORMULATION ACT NO 14 OF YEAR 2005 WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION SYSTEM IN ACEH

The Structure and the formulation of Act No. 14, 2005 consist of 8 chapters and 84 articles. Based on substantive analysis of Act UU No 14, 2005 in chapters and articles which are related to teachers, it can be understood that the presence of the Act is to: 1) Legally and formally Approving functions, roles and strategic positions of teacher in national development in Educational field; 2) Enhancing dignity of teacher as professional educator which is proven with educator certificate; 3) Managing duties and rights of teachers in conducting their professional responsibilities 4) Empowering and improve quality of teachers accordingly, directly and sustainably; and 5) Providing a safe and healthy working for teachers in performing their duties and sanctions if they neglect their responsibilities as regulated in the Act.

Teacher's competency in Act No. 14, 2005 is contained in article 10, at verse 1 which states that "teacher's competency as stated in verse 8 are pedagogy competency, personality competency, social competency, and professional competency, which are obtained in education for profession. Verse 2 states that: "further requirements about teacher's competency as meant at verse (1) are regulated in government's regulation" (Act. No 14, 2005). Material about teacher's competency which is contained in Act No. 14, 2005 is still general that is a basic concept of substance of competence which must be possessed by a teacher. The basic concept which is general and conceptual must be explained in detail and specifically in term of operation which is implemented. Therefore, the explanation about the Act is revealed in the Government's Regulation No.

74, 2008 about Teacher. Discussion about teacher competency is explained comprehensively and in detail in article 3, verse 1-7.

- (1) Competency as described in verse 2 is a group of knowledge, skill, and behavior which must be possessed, perceived, mastered, and actualized by teachers when conducting their professional duties.
- (2) Teacher's competency as described in verse (1) consists of pedagogical competence, personal competence, social competence, and professional competence which are obtained through education for profession.
- (3) Teacher's competence as described in verse (2) is holistic.
- (4) Pedagogical competence as described in verse (2) is teacher's ability in managing learning of students which at least consists of: a) understanding about insights and the basis of education; b) understanding learners; c) developing curriculum and syllabus; d) designing learning; e) performing educated and dialogic learning; f) utilizing learning technology; g) evaluating learning results; and h). developing learners to actualize their various potencies. .
- (5) Personal competence as described in verse (2) consist of at least personality that is: a) faithful and fearful of God, b) good attitude, c) wise, d) democratic e) steady, f) commanding, g) stable, h) mature, i) honest, j) sportsmanship, k) becoming an example for learners and society, l) objectively evaluating their performance, and m) self-developing independently and sustainably.
- (6) Social competence as described in verse is (2) teachers' ability as part of society which consists at least: a) being able to communicate spoken, written/ or sign language decently, b) being able to utilize communication and information technology functionally, c) being able to associate effectively with learners, other educators, educational personnel, leaders in educational institution, and parents or students' representative, d) being able to associate decently with surrounding society by honoring norms and values; and e) implementing real brotherhood principal and spirit of togetherness.
- (7) Professional competence as described in verse (2) is teachers' competency in mastering their subject, technology, and/or art and culture at least mastering as follows: a) mastering material about their subject comprehensively and deeply based on standard of educational server program, subject, and/or a group of subjects that will be taught; and b) mastering concepts and methods of relevant subject, technology and art which conceptually apply or are coherent with educational server program, subject, and/or a group of subjects that are taught (PP. No. 74, 2008).

Competency in Act No. 14, 2005 and the Government's Regulation No. 74, 2008 can be defined as knowledge, skills and attitude which are shown in form of willing, smart, fully responsible behavior belonging to a teacher in conducting his/her profession. A teacher is required to have competencies in performing his/her profession, ability to well interact socially with learners, other teachers, principals, and even with society. This thought is emphasized by Usman (2007: 262) that every competency basically contains 6 elements; (1) performance: performing based on their field; (2) subject component; mastering material/substance of knowledge and technical skill based on their field; (3) professional; substance of knowledge and technical skill based on their professional field; (4) process: an intellectual ability such as logical thinking, problem solving, creative, decision making; (5) adjustment: self-adjustment; (6) attitude: attitude, personality value.

In the context of the Aceh educational system, understanding the Act No. 14, 2005 and the Government's Regulation No. 74, 2008 above becomes juridical basis which can work and strengthen together with formulation of Act No. 11, 2006 about Aceh Government and *Qanun* No. 11, 2014 about performing education in Aceh. Normatively, these four juridical basis have been composed based on the value and philosophy that encourage improvements and changes in society. Normative dimension perceives that all policies, which are goals of society, basically are very normative. In relation with that, substance of value and goal which will be gained by implementing Act UU No. 14, 2005, The Aceh Government Act No 11,2006, Government Regulation. No. 74, 2008, and *Qanun* of Aceh No. 11 year 2014 in aspect of teacher is improvement of qualification and competency of teacher in order that improvement of educational quality and service will rise for Aceh people entirely.

Improvement of quality and service of education for the Acehnese is conceptually and technically explained in the Islamic concept of Aceh education. Concept of Islamic education is explained in *Qanun* of Aceh No. 11,2014, in chapter I article 1 verse (21) which defines Islamic education as "an education which is based on values of Islam teachings" (*Qanun* of Aceh, 2014). Islamic values become the basis and soul of education. Islamic education's principle is universal and binding as found in article two that "Islamic values, nationalism, Acehism, truth, humanity, justice, beneficial, affordability, professionalism, example, diversity, and non discrimination" (*Qanun* of Aceh, 2014). The explanation in article 1 and 2 provides an understanding that there is specificity of Aceh educational system, which is based on Sharia.

This specialty has direct influences on efforts made in improving teachers' competence in Aceh and other regions in Indonesia. As the Aceh educational

system has been based on the sharia law, its ways of improving teachers' competence are to some extent distinct to that of other regions across Indonesia. This is reflected from the *Qanun* of Aceh No 11, 2014 regarding the requirement to be a teacher in the Aceh province. Article 48, for example, states that "to be a teacher, one must fulfill requirements as follows: a. having academic qualification according to level and kind of education based on regulation and Act; b. having professional competency, pedagogical competence, personal competence and social competence which are proven by the result of competency test; c. having good attitude and being able to recite Qur'an for Muslim; d. Mentally and physically healthy; and e. free from narcotics" (*Qanun* of Aceh, 2014).

The *Qanun* of Aceh in article 38 states that to be eligible as prospective teachers, one has to be competent in pedagogical competence, personal competence, social competence, and professional competence). These important requirements are very much relevant to the Act No. 14, 2005 and the Government's Regulation No. 74, 2008. However, there is a different and unique aspect which is added as a requirement to be a qualified teacher in Aceh, i.e. free from narcotics and being able to recite the Qur'an (only for Muslim teachers). This policy is in accordance with the requirement of Islamic education system implemented in Aceh. Because Islamic education concept is based on Qur'an and hadith of Prophet Muhammad PBUH, reciting and understanding the content of Koran are required for teachers working in Aceh. The ability to read the Qur'an is an integral part of developing pedagogical competence which means that mastering content of Qur'an and Hadith as an enrichment of learning material. Logical consequence provides a logic conclusion that developing teacher's competency in Islamic education system in Aceh is in accordance to and not contradicts to national education system and strengthens contents of the Act No. 14, 2005 and the Government's Regulation No. 74, 2008.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ACT NO 14 OF YEAR 2005 TOWARD IMPROVING RELIGIOUS EDUCATION COMPETENCY AND LPTK

The comprehensive implementation of the Act No. 14 year 2005 nationally around Indonesia, including Aceh, contains of three massive programs to improve teacher's quality. First is a program to improve qualification of education for teachers (Bachelor of religious education teacher qualification). This program is advanced education program at undergraduate level (S1) for teachers who do not have Diploma of Bachelor. Second, certification program for teachers (PSG) is held to educate and select some teachers. Those who have competency will be eligible for educator certificate as a requirement to

obtain teacher certification. Third, education for teacher profession program (PPG) is held to professionally train teachers who have competency and skills related to teacher training. Besides PPG, there are other forms of education and training held in order to improve the quality of religious education teachers in Aceh including training for developing learning theory, learning methodology, media, and learning source, management and program, as well as developing learning evaluation for religious education teachers.

These three programs have been held since 2007 until now. According to data from faculty of Education and Teacher Training, UIN Ar-Raniry as LPTK which is given a mandate by the government to hold the program, it can be seen that there are some programs being done. DUALMODE SYSTEM program, from 2010 to 2014, has successfully trained and graduated 1.764 teachers of Islamic elementary school and Bachelor program of religious education teacher. In 2010, it has graduated 378 religious education teachers, Program of education for teacher profession (PPG), from 2013 to 2014: 156 graduates, Program of teacher certification (PSG), which has been being held since 2007 until 2014, and has successfully trained and graduated 1.584 teachers (a report of LPTK UIN Ar-Raniry, 2017).

Through various programs above, religious education teachers has generally perceived a benefit which directly affect on the improvement of self-quality and self-competency. Below is a statement of one of the religious education teachers in Banda Aceh.

After the implementation of Act on teacher, I get an opportunity to take part in teacher certification program in 2010 in Faculty of Education and Teacher Training IAIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh. During my involvement in the training program, I obtained so much knowledge, especially about the Act on teacher which is related to competency that is required for teacher in teaching. In addition, I perceived that I have knowledge and experience of active, creative and fun teaching by implementing PAKEM approach that is provided by the teacher. Moreover, I gain precious experience and knowledge during teaching practice through peer teaching pattern which is part of learning together process. In conclusion, after I finished my training, I obtained much knowledge about teaching theory, I can feel that there is a change and improvement of my quality and capacity rather than before (Interview with AR, October, 2017).

Improvement of capacity and competency of teachers as experienced by a teacher, AR, after following certification for teacher program, will give positive impact toward performance and improvement of education quality.

In this term, Destiana (2012) explains that there is a positive relationship between pedagogical competence and elementary teacher's performance. A bad teacher's performance is likely caused by lacks of knowledge, skills, motivation, and belief of the teacher himself. Teachers who perform well have good pedagogical competences. Consequently, an effort to improve teacher's performance can be done by giving more focus to their pedagogical competence. However, teachers who have low competence will give negative impacts to their profession and performance.

The research found that some teachers in Lhokseumawe have lack of competence in using instructional media effectively. This suggests that instructional media has yet to be developed effectively by the teachers they do not fully utilize media that they create. The use of media is still in consumptive matters as general media today. Writing media is often used to teach Qur'an and Hadith subject, *akidah akhlak* subject, and Islamic culture and history subject. Sometimes electronic media or kinds of it are used in teaching the Qur'an, especially teaching standard competency of Qur'anic recitation.

The existence of competency and quality of teachers which is mostly low is often pointed as LPTK's mistake, as the institution that produces them. It is recorded in explanation by Director General of Islamic Education, Prof. Dr. Kamarudin Amin, MA.

“There is a perception among society, if teacher's quality goes down. It is the mistake of LPTK. It is reasonably complaint because campus, as committee of LPTK, is often not in accordance with innovation in reality which emphasizes a practical thing. So far, there is a gap between theory and content which is taught in campus and practical thing in Schools. As a result, training process in campus is not only less relevant, but also less interesting, less challenging, and less supportive to the improving teaching's quality”. For that reason, we need to reform the process of prospective teacher preparation in LPTK PTKIN. In the future, graduates of LPTK PTKIN are expected to be more ready professional teacher in improving teaching quality in schools” (Kamaruddin Amin, 2017).

The idea of improvement and reformation of LPTK which is proposed by Directorate General of Islamic Education should be a strategic discourse to fix and empower the institution of LPTK. This idea is in accordance with Setiana's opinion (2015) that so far LPTK is only placed as the institution of licensing for teacher profession. By seeing the spirit of the Act for teacher which becomes the reference today, consecutive model will be a new direction of teacher training modal in Indonesia. LPTK function will only be functioned

as expanded certification institution (wider mandate) with basis of LPTK-ness. Concurrent model is pointed as reference by giving more enforcement in mastering subjects (subject matter). In conclusion, universities which has role as LPTK must be more strengthened and encouraged to be better. The government must pay high attention to the execution of teacher training in LPTK. There will be a tendency of the reduction of LPTK's existence and function as only institution for teacher profession certification.

The need of developing and enforcing LPTK is also explained by the Vice Dean of Academic and Institution Division of the Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training (FTK) UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh that it is required to improve and reform management of institution, academic service, facilities for training in LPTK entirely. The current condition of LPTK is far from expectation and standard as professional institution which is prepared for producing the next teacher. This indication can be seen especially at the inadequate teaching-learning-supporting facilities. For example, micro teaching laboratory is out of standard, science and language laboratory are not adequate, and the collection of standardized reference book in library is not complete yet (data was supported by the interview with the Vice Dean of FTK UIN Ar-Raniry, April 2018).

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ACT NO 14 OF YEAR 2005 AND TRANSFORMATION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Good implementation of Act No. 14 of the year 2005 will significantly affect the improvement of educational qualification and quality, and particularly professionalism of religious education teachers. These skilled and well-qualified religious education teachers will influence the quality of religious education for the Acehnese people. Finally, religion will give great influence to character shaping, worldview and culture among society. There are two dimensions of diversity which is related to people's life, i.e. (1) Religion for its believers is used as a worldview which explains the existence of human in the world, explain the direction and aim of human's life, (2) Religion does not only regulate the relationship between human and God, but also regulates relationship among human and relationship between human and other creatures (Nurcholis Madjid, 2001: 117). Religion is a faith which can be part and core of value systems which exist in people's culture and become motor and controller of human's behavior to become in accordance with cultural values and religious' teaching.

There are two big assets which support the implementation of values of religions in Indonesia. Both assets include the cultural assets (i.e. custom and

culture which is full of religious values) and structural assets by relying on Pancasila and UUD 1945 which juridically and constitutionally contain noble values which were born from universal Islamic values and religion values. Therefore, it is hoped that the two assets can be synergized and run well so that there will be a good governmental system. Furthermore, the presence of religious education teachers as part of civil servant who is directly involved in the process of internalization and implementation of religious values in daily life is very crucial. Internalization of religious values is given by teachers to learners. There will be further implication in term of bureaucracy system when they become part of civil servant, so that there will be a good and clean governance system.

A good government coordinates, controls, and balances between government and people. The government can put up the values of people's will that can improve people's ability to gain the independence, to conduct development and put up justice among people. Good and clean government is the reflection of manner in which ruling is conducted by people who are ruled by government related to social, cultural, political, educational, law and economical sources. Clean government can be seen from the appearance of the effective, efficient, honest, equal, transparent, and responsible government's activities. The clean government does not also commit a corruption, collusion, nepotism, and abusive power. Government officers apply justice, law supremacy, willingness, honestly, trusteeship, and human right as well as perform religious teachings (Deliar Noer, 2003).

The illustration of good and clean government above can be a model and ambitions which must be realized by the Indonesian government. To achieve these Nobel aims, the government must create a system, a police and a program which can improve and develop a good order in government. Government system must show a modern governance system which put up the values of humanity and democracy, as well as souled by the values of religion and values of culture. The governance order that is souled and decorated by those various values will form a dynamic, democratic, egalitarian, transparent, and strong governance system. Meanwhile, the government's policy which is formulated and conducted must be in accordance with the paradigm and system of the good and clean government. On the other hand, substantially, every policy of government must provide a big room for the implementation of religious values in system and order of the government.

Indonesia, as described in the earlier condition, needs real and systematic efforts by all people in every aspect of life, one of which is education. In this term, it is needed to make a transformation of Islamic education in the

development structure of Indonesia. Transformation of Islamic education can be implemented in three forms. First, religious education must be a core component national education curriculum. Religious education which is oriented to the improvement of quality of faith to Allah needs to be created as national education, especially in anticipating moral and behavioral crises, including improving education quality. One of the mistakes of national education policy which directly or indirectly affect educational performance is that religious education (especially Islamic education) does not become the substance of national curriculum and Islamic education institution is less noticed in national education system. It is time for the government to create a regulation and policy of national education in which religious teachings become main content in national curriculum to strengthen faith, fear, and moral among people (Sulaiman Ibrahim, 2014).

Second, religious education in schools and universities must be taught by teachers and lecturers who are well-qualified and professional. The government and related stakeholders must evaluate and regulate the existence of teachers and lecturers who teach religious education to students throughout Indonesia. It is conducted in order to ensure that teachers and lecturers who are appointed to teach future generation really have ability and good knowledge about religion, are pious individuals and have moral and good conduct. On the other hand, teachers and lecturers who have lack of understanding religious knowledge, not pious and have no good attitude cannot be a good example in daily life. Third, the Implementation of religious education material must be adjusted to the needs and the age of learners. To avoid the emerging of radicalism among students, there should be a concrete way in the process of learning; i.e. adjusting religious education materials to the needs and the age of learners. Those who are beginner and intermediate students should be taught religious teachings that are related to belief, worship, attitude, and teaching about social interaction. It should be avoided to teach them the materials about politics. After they understand main materials and perform them very well, it is allowed for them to be taught topic about politics and state administration since they are mentally ready and they have good knowledge. The logic consequence can prevent the next generation of this nation from radicalism which has been troubling the nation today.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of Act No. 14, 2005 and the government's regulation No. 74, 2008 about teacher is a form of intervention and hegemony of this country toward educational field. The born of those regulations is as an answer of

the problem of the low qualification and quality of teachers in Indonesia in general and Aceh in particular. This article, which is based on the analysis of literatures about qualification, competency and certification of teacher, shows that the existence of the Act and government regulation which regulate teacher's competency still needs deep evaluation because the first purpose of implementing of those regulation is not well achieved yet. This review provides the illustration that in one side of the formulation of the Act and government regulation together with social cultural context of the Acehnese, there is a difference which should be adjusted and completed, so that the purpose of the implementation of the Act and government regulations can be realized in the frame of people's benefits.

On the other side, the implementation of Act No. 14, 2008 does not fully affect the improvement of teacher's competency maximally. It is not ignored that there is improvement of qualification and competency of religious education teachers in Aceh after the implementation of the Act No. 14 year 2005. However, it can be found that correlation between the increasing number of teachers is not in line with the improving religious education teachers' competences in Aceh. The research shows that there is tight relationship between the obstacles of teacher's competency achievement and the existence of LPTK as an institution for training and empowering teachers' quality, which cannot get serious attention in the frame of regulation. Formulation of the Act No. 14 year 2005 does not enough discuss about LPTK, so that developing and improving LPTK does not become an attention and main program of the government. This work shows that a complete study is needed which is more based on substance of content of Act No. 14, 2005 related to improving qualification and competency of teacher which cannot be separated with improving the quality of LPTK as an institution which has duty and strategic function to improve quality and professionalism of teachers in Indonesia.

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BEING MINORITY IN PAPUA: Religious and Political Identity Struggle of the Dani Muslims

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ABSTRACT

The issue of religious and political identity of the Dani Muslims in Papua has been associated to social construction of the ethnic and religious aspects as the basis of political policies by the local government. The local government present in the form of Undang-Undang Otonomi Khusus Papua (UU OTSUS Papua) or the Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua has been understood to become one of the keys playing roles in constructing the identity of people in modern Papua. This work attempts to review the process of becoming minority of the Dani Muslims within the context of the Papua society. They live in the central mountains with limited infrastructure and access to modern life. The work suggests that the Dani Muslim has become minority in terms of political representation as well as religious identity due to three conditions. First, the practice and implementation of the Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua has significantly influenced the live of the Dani Muslims with regards to their political representation as well as religious identity. Second, they embrace Islam as a way of life and have to deal with the cultural conditions of the Dani community in general that are very consistent in maintaining their local tradition. Third, the domination of religious symbols used in public spaces has been found to have much influence to the identity of minority groups. The

Christian Papuans later made further claims of Papua as the Land of Christ has had a broad impact not only on the access to public services for the Dani Muslims but has also presented them with new pressure and marginalized in terms of political position and religious group existence.

Keywords: Muslim, politics, religious, minority, representation, identity, Dani, Papua

INTRODUCTION

When a Muslim indigenous child was born in Papua, at the same time he/she becomes a minority and a third class citizen. This phenomenon has been understood as the result of the socio-cultural construction and applicable law based on ethnicity and religion. The Dani people who embrace Islam in the Baliem Valley of Jayawijaya represent Muslim indigenous Papuans. Dani Muslims comprise only 1051 people (0.45%) of a total of 233,328 inhabitants of Jayawijaya Regency. This minority status is legitimated by Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Special Autonomy for Papua. This regulation has shaped the community structure into social levels with Papua Christians at the top, Christian migrants in the second, Muslim indigenous Papuans in the third, and Muslim migrants in lowest (Rumbaru, 2019).

The 2010 Population Census statistics show the classification of community groups in Papua. The population of Jayapura City, for example, was divided into indigenous population with 89,773 people (34.97%) and Non-Papuans with 166,932 people (65.03%) from a total of 256,705 inhabitants of Jayapura City (Baharuddin et al., 2016). Referring to the same data, Eben Siadari, an Australian writer, proposed the same claim saying that indigenous Papuans in several major cities of Papua had become the minority. The percentage of the population of non-Papuans is 62.73% in Merauke, 52.46% in Nabire, 57.49% in Mimika, 58.68% in Keerom, and 65.09% in the city of Jayapura (Siadari, 2017).

The literature that addresses the minority Muslim community in Papua focuses more on historical studies, religious participation, and education (Wanggai, 2007; Wekke, 2013, 2015, 2018; Murtadlo, 2018) or efforts to spread Islam that have caused opposition in society as a result of the involvement of religious followers who feel they have become the majority (Slama, 2017), with the aim of comparing, negating or refuting claims among religious followers. In contrast to this point of view, this paper seeks to look at how a Muslim community becomes the majority, an issue that receives little attention. The minority status of Papuan Muslims is not only limited to their number, but

also to the normative legal construction of the state which gains local political legitimacy for three reasons. First, the enactment of Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Papua's special autonomy has placed Muslims at the bottom of the list of the social strata. Secondly, the claim of birth right of Papuan land in the name of religion has provoked the Christian groups to become the owners of the land. Third, the existence of the domination of religious symbols in public spaces represented by the Christians has contributed to the religious and political dynamics in the region. Those three conditions influencing the status of Muslim minorities in Papua will be the core discussion of this work. This is based on the consideration of whether the minority position has narrowed Muslim access to resources and public services. This unequal position has become a precondition for the very important discussions in the work.

MINORITY MUSLIMS IN ACADEMIC WORKS

Discussions about Muslim minority groups have been widely reviewed by experts from various parts of the world. Muslim minorities in Western countries are certainly a common topic (Aydin, 2019; Hirsch et al., 2018; Özyürek, 2018; Roach, 2006; Salnikova & D'Arcus, 2019; Smart-Morstad et al., 2009; Trittler, 2018; Vanparys et al., 2013) with a focus on issues surrounding Islamophobia, immigrant identity, as well as several events regarding terrorism. In addition to Western countries, there is also works that includes the marginalization of Muslims minority in Congo (Leinweber, 2012), Muslim minority groups in Singapore (Roach, 2006), in Nepal (Dastider, 2000), and even Greece (Tsitselikis, 2004) where Muslims as a group have unequal access and treatment in various aspects. Other studies discussed Muslim minority groups in China (Bodde, 1946; Gladney, 1993; Gladney, 2003; Israeli, 1981) and India (Akhtar, 2009; Amin, 2013; Engineer, 2004; Habib et al., 1976; Misra, 2000). In fact, Bodde (1946) mentioned that traditional Chinese people generally are not interested in minority groups so there is no interaction between them and perhaps this has also been one of the triggers of problems today.

In addition, the case of marginalization of Muslim-Rohingya in Myanmar has also been in the spotlight in the literature lately (Alam, 2019; Bashar, 2014; Gunasingham, 2019; Kipgen, 2019). In this conflict, identity is indeed needed for the state to be approved accordingly. For the international community, this identity is important to solve. There are a number of problems where people who want to work on their own or may want to argue in a certain way but must accept an identity that might be compromised so there is tension between groups of people or with the state (Kipgen, 2019). In fact, Muslims are regarded as threat because of their increasing growth in number such as

the case in Papua New Guinea. Scott Flower (2009; 2012a; 2012b; 2015) looked into the development of Muslims increase which is expected to continue in Papua New Guinea. Because, the transition from the traditional to the modern life that is taking place there, has triggered social and personal crisis which causes people to look for new religions that are closer to the traditional, local, cultural, and material dimensions (Flower, 2015).

In Papua, tensions between minority Muslim groups and local people who embrace Christianity has also been covered in several studies (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008; McGibbon, 2004; IPAC, 2016; Wekke, 2013; Wekke et al., 2018). The Muslim minorities there are not always in a vulnerable position. In the works of Wekke, et al. (2018), the existence of *sasi* - a typical arrangement of the community for nature protection - is integrated with mosques, both in physical and spiritual forms, so that there is an attachment between the compassion of Muslims and their places of worship. After Islam arrived, this *sasi* ritual has undergone several changes, for example in the spells, time, and people who lead the rituals. The mosque ultimately has a role to manage and preserve tradition. The conflict that occurred in Papua, between Muslim minorities and indigenous Papuans was Tolikara, which was reported in detail by IPAC (2016). The majority of Muslims is also referred to by Aritonang & Steenbrink (2008) as immigrants. Papuans then began to identify Indonesians as those with fair skin, straight hair, and practice Islam. Thus, conflicts between religious groups are more easily ignited.

SPECIAL AUTONOMY LAW AND MINORITY CONSTRUCT IN PAPUA

Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning the Special Autonomy Law on Papua has in fact produced two frictions in the Papuan community, the indigenous and non-indigenous dichotomy, and two political representations. In fact, the phrase *indigenous* versus *non-indigenous* in this law is not explicitly found, but it is implied that the negation of the non-indigenous is obvious. In the consideration section of point (d) in the preamble of the Special Autonomy Law states that “the indigenous population in the Papua Province is one of the groups of the Melanesian race which is part of the nation’s ethnic groups in Indonesia, which has its own differences, history, customs, and language. Furthermore, it is emphasized by point (f) that the government has recognized that “the management of wealth of the Papua Province has not been used optimally to improve the living standards of the indigenous Papuans, which has created a gap between the Papua Province and other regions, as well as neglecting the indigenous rights of the indigenous Papuans.”

The crystallization of the concept of indigenous Papuans has increasingly found its form with a specific point that explains who is native in Papua, as stipulated in Chapter I of the General Provisions of Article one (1) point (t) which states that indigenous Papuans are people of the Melanesian race consisting of indigenous tribes in the Papua Province and / or people who are accepted and recognized as being indigenous by the indigenous Papuans;" At the same time, in the consideration section, especially point (e) it is stated "that the implementation of governance and development in the Papua Province has not met a sense of justice, has not supported the achievement of people's welfare, has not supported the development of law enforcement, and has not shown respect on Human Rights in the Papua Province, especially for the Papuan society." The use of the word "Papuan Society" at this point seems to provide complete guidance about the Papuan community being fully left behind in various fields, both indigenous and non-indigenous people (as if there were no dichotomy of gap between the peoples of Papua). The dichotomy between indigenous and non-indigenous people as stated in Law No. 21 of 2001 in seen in table 1.

Table 1.
Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Peoples in Papua

| Indicator | Criteria | Legitimacy |
|----------------|--|--|
| Indigenous | 1. Race Melanesia, 2. Native tribes in the Papua Province 3. Accepted / accepted by indigenous peoples | 1. Special Autonomy Law of Papua 2. Papuan People's assembly 3. Customary body |
| Non-Indigenous | 1. Not a Melanesian race 2. Not a native tribe in Papua 3. Not accepted / recognized by indigenous peoples | 1. Special Autonomy Law of Papua 2. Papuan People's assembly 3. Customary body |

Another perspective on the existence of minorities regarding the representation of politics which has resulted from the special autonomy law is the filling of the position of Papuan People's Assembly (MRP) members, as well as the elements and leadership of the MRP, where the Muslim community can only place 1 representative out of a total of 51 members in the third period of membership (3), 2017-2022, which can be seen in table 2.

Table 2
The composition of the MRP members based on religious affiliation

| Period | Muslim | Catholics, Protestants | Total |
|-----------------|--------|---------------------------|-------|
| I (2005-2010) | 4 | 38 | 42 |
| II (2010-2015) | 1 | 44 | 45 |
| III (2017-2022) | 1 | 50 | 51 |
| Total | 6 | 132 | 138 |

Source: processed from primary data and results of interview.

CLAIMS OF PAPUAN LAND BIRTHRIGHT IN THE NAME OF RELIGION

Indisputably, the claim of birthright of the land of Papua in the name of religion is really happening and even becoming a philosophical basis for the construction of a city. The statements of Ottow and Geisler, which were later used as a marker of Papuan Christianity as the first prayer, became the main foundation for the claims of Papua as the land of Gospel. They declare “*in gottes wahren betreten wir das land*” (in the name of God we set foot on this land). In another momentum, the affirmation of birthright of Papua in the name of religion gained reinforcement from the statement of I. S. Kijne, an evangelist whose name was enshrined as the name of one of the religious schools in the city of Jayapura. He declared “*On this rock I establish the civilization of the people of Papua, even though people have high intelligence, reason and wisdom but cannot lead this nation. This nation will rise up and lead itself*” (I.S Kijne, 25-10-1925)

In a contemporary perspective, the claim of birthright of land in Papua can be seen in the birth of several political policies that accommodate the spirit of religion, such as the appeal of the Mayor of Jayapura about the prohibition on Sunday activities in trade centers. The strict policy which was issued by the Regent of Jayawijaya regulates trading activities on this Sunday through the instruction of the Regent No. 03 of 2013 concerning the prohibition on trading activities on Sundays, as confirmed by the Secretary of Jayawijaya District, Mr Yohanis Walilo to reporters on September 4th 2017:

“We also ordered the leadership of the Civil Service Police Unit to continue patrolling on Sundays. The kiosks can open after four in the afternoon. This is part of giving lesson to the community, because many people don’t go to church every Sunday”

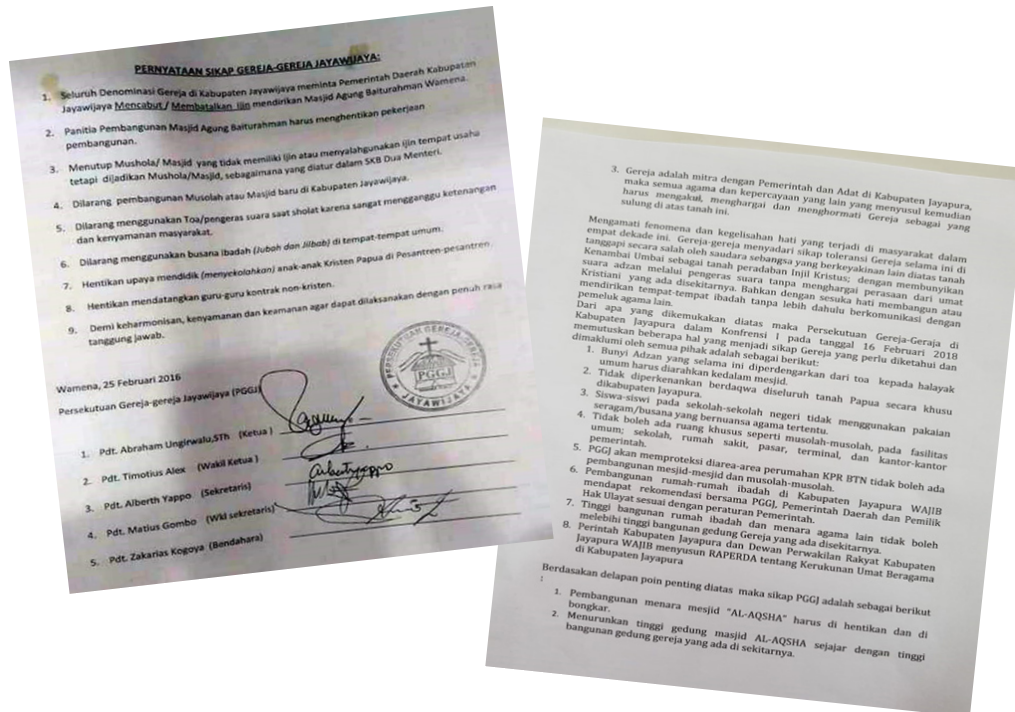
The statement from the Regional Secretary was reinforced by the statement of the Head of Jayawijaya District Civil Service Police Unit, Rustam Haji, as quoted in the Jubi tabloid:

“In accordance with the rules issued by the regional government regarding the prohibition of trading activities on Sundays, there are still many people who conduct trading activities before five in the afternoon, so I hope this (policy) can be obeyed wisely.”

In a broader perspective, the Papua provincial secretary, Mr. Heri Dosinaen on August 18, 2015, also proposed a flight ban on Sundays to get to or leave Papua. He said *“We request flight missionaries not to fly on Sundays except in an emergency.”* In line with the discourse of the Papua Regional Secretary, *Liputan 6* reported that 3 regencies, Tolikara, Lani Jaya and Puncak Jaya, have effectively imposed a ban on flights on Sundays to enter their territories. In addition, the use of city slogans with religious enthusiasm is a new trend, such as the slogan of the city of Jayapura that uses local language but with a religious spirit, *“Hen tecahi yo onomi tmar ni hanased”* which means “one heart (determined) to build a city for the glory of God.”

The affirmation of the claims of Papua as a region with certain religious characteristics is increasingly getting its context when observing a number of statements from religious organizations in Papua that require the order, rules and characteristics of the people be based on Christian values. The Indonesian Priests Association along with thousands of people from the Indonesian Christian Communication Forums during the August 4, 2008 staged a demonstration at the office of the Governor of the Papua. The people demands include, among others, refusal to Joint Decree of 5 Ministers in Papua, rejection of Islamic banks, closing of all Islamic boarding schools and Islamic Centers in Buper Waena, and prohibition of the use of Islamic attributes in the public space (headscarves and the like). The demands submitted by FKFI in 2008 were re-submitted by the Association of Jayawijaya Churches in 2016 and the Association of Jayapura Churches (see Image 1), taking the momentum of mosque constructions in Wamena and Sentani. Broadly speaking, these two associations of Christian religious organizations in two different districts voiced the same rejection even in different years with emphasis on rejection of the construction of mosques and prayer rooms even the desire for closure of existing mosques/prayer rooms, prohibition of the use of loudspeakers in mosques, prohibition of the use of Islamic attributes (Muslim clothing), and prohibition of educational facilities and public facilities with Islamic characteristics.

Image 1
Statement of the Association of Jayawijaya and Jayapura Churches
in 2016 and 2018



DOMINATION OF RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS IN PUBLIC SPACES

The presence of various religious attributes and markers that were mass displayed in strategic public spaces has become a new agenda in various cities in Papua. It can be directly witnessed that each city must have deliberately created a special space that is not only used as a name marker for a place, but also exudes a strong impression that the city is dominated by the followers of the largest religious group. In the city of Jayapura, public spaces are filled with religious symbols that have become commonplace. The Crucifix Statue that comes with an attractive lighting architecture that emits white light at night, built on a small island in front of the bay of Jayapura, greets travellers visiting the city of Jayapura when using sea transportation. Opposite this island stands the Jayapura Sea port located in a narrow and steeply lined region, which is administratively the district of South Jayapura. The people of Jayapura city refer to this area as the Gadjah Putih Complex. At the top of the cliff above the Gadjah Putih complex, the Jayapura city government places the name of the city of Jayapura icon which is adjacent to the other crucifixion symbols.

At present, the Papua Provincial government is planning to build a new religious symbol in the city of Jayapura, marked by a giant statue of Jesus Christ on the coast of Base G. The Head of the Papua Provincial Public Works

Office, Mr. Djuli Mambaya, as quoted and reported by BBC Indonesia on the 25th April 2017 stated:

“The 60-meter tall statue is scheduled to be ready by 2020 and part of the IDR 500 billion project includes building a port and access from the capital city of Jayapura to the peak of Mount Swajah. This statue is a symbol of religious diversity, a symbol of the belief of the Papuans ... at the western end there is the Veranda of Mecca and at the east end there is the Canaanite Porch or the Land of Gospel.”

Elsewhere, in the Mountain, a Giant Crucifix Monument in Wamena has just been completed which is named Wio Silimo, while in Merauke District, two giant statues of Jesus the Redeemer in Mopah Airport as high as 12 meters and Habe Island as high as 26 have also been erected. In general, almost every city in Papua will surely find religious symbols that are deliberately created and gain legitimacy from the local government. It is interesting to pay attention to the distribution of religious symbol construction, because it will display a unique configuration, which can be seen in the following figure 2.

Figure 2
Papua map and configuration of religious symbols



LAW NUMBER 21 OF 2001 AND ITS IMPACT TO PAPUAN MUSLIMS

In its application, Law Number 21 of 2001 concerning Papua's special autonomy has succeeded in giving birth to a new jargon, "Papuan must be the masters of their own country" and has formed hegemony of thought and understanding of Papuan people in ordinary community groups, politicians, bureaucrats and even among religious leaders. In fact, the jargon does not directly make a particular ethnic group a minority or majority in terms of numbers, but with this term, it can be a shortcut that can create a new reality in understanding the dichotomy between the majority and minority in Papua, especially in terms of controlling resources and access to various kinds of public service facilities. Government programs that have been planned obviously legitimize the dichotomies and classes in society. Unequal rights between indigenous Papuans and non-indigenous people (Non-Papuans) are exhibited massively and supported legal means that apply in a nation state. The division of employment due to ethnicity is clearly stated in open spaces, as a response to point (f) of the preamble of Law on Special Autonomy. Non-native Papuans are forced to accept the fact that they are of the same position as those who are considered to create disparities so that they are naturally positioned as second-class residents, who at the same time become citizens who receive public services lower than the indigenous Papuans, as a result of efforts to create justice for indigenous Papuans.

The real manifestation of this racial dichotomy is the birth of local and even national government policies that quantify the opportunity to obtain health service facilities, educational opportunities, and employment opportunities and representation models. Consequently, a product of the special Papuan health insurance policy has emerged, an opportunity to continue education in state universities with an allocation of 80:20 as occurred at the Cenderawasih University and the Institute of Public Administration. The recruitment of civil servants and military and police officers is also inseparable from this perspective, with priority being given on the basis of the racial principle, where indigenous people are given a very large portion while the non-Papuan population feel reasonable if they receive a modest portion, and again non-indigenous Papuans are forced to accept a policy model that actually violates their rights as citizens that should be equal in any case. This astonishing inequality can also be seen in the composition of the members of the Papuan People's Assembly of the third term (2017-2022). Based on religion, of the 51 members there is only one Muslim, or in other words only 1 (%) of the members of the MRP is Muslim, while 99 (%) is Christian (Protestant and Catholic).

The construction of the implementation of the Special Autonomy Law for Papua at least indicates three aspects. First, the population dichotomy based on race/ethnicity is a fact and has a direct impact to the opportunity of citizens to obtain public services, where there are favoured and disfavoured parties. Second, systematically being a minority, especially in the event that the opportunity is forced to be accepted by non-Papuan, because it is a legal provision that applies specifically in that area, because in law there is a principle called legal fiction. Third, the legal product made by the state in its implementation is capable of creating a situation of being a minority and the lack of equality of rights between citizens, as occurred in Papua. The consequence of this situation is that the construction of control of resources in the name of race and religion is inevitable which later can be a fertile ground for seedlings of hatred and a growing atmosphere of disharmony between ethnic and interreligious relations.

PAPUA THE LAND OF CHRIST

The Papuan perspective built on Christian civilization is based on evangelical values by paying attention to the interaction between the *zendings* and missionaries in the trajectory of the life history of the tribes in Papua that is difficult to ignore. At the same time, the success of the Christians in instilling religious ideology as the basis for social and political movements and culture increasingly found its form, when the era of openness and special autonomy found its way in Papua. The first prayer of Ottow and Geissler on Mansinam Manokwari Beach and the strokes of the I.S. Kijne statement in Wondama Bay are authentic historical evidence of the foundation of the Papuan civilization in the era of enlightenment, and continue to serve as a guide until the current millennial era.

Reproduction of birthright based on Christian values has recently been repeated not only among ordinary people, or religious organizations, but also by the bureaucrats in both the executive and legislative branches by basing arguments on the historical grounds and the special region of Papua where Christianity is the majority embraced by its inhabitants. Such a phenomenon is in fact not surprising since the feeling of being the majority gives rise to euphoria to egotism, and superiority. In other parts of Indonesia, the composition of the population of the majority religion shows the characteristics of government policies and religious leaders who also favour the religion that has the most followers. Aceh and Bali for example, can be used as the main reference to see the practice and expression in the name of a particular religion which is shrouded in a spirit of the majority (Jubba, 2019).

In several cities in Papua, the spirit of Christianity is paving its way to be legitimized through several regulations issued by local governments, with the main assumption of respecting and giving the majority the opportunity to regulate their territory, which through the rule it is expected that harmony will be created even tend to be controlled. The appeal of the Mayor of Jayapura, the instructions of the District Head of Jayawijaya, or the statement of the Regional Secretary of the Papua Province that placed the reason for making a policy of prohibiting trading activities and airplane flights on Sundays to honor Christian worship days are examples of how religious values are not only able to regulate private life, but also have a very strong contribution to organize and maintain public order, through majority power within government authority. In another perspective, policies in the name of orderliness and safeguarding public interests based on certain religious values have indirectly positioned the community in conditions of compliance not based on legal obedience, but also on the spirit of obedience to the majority.

The situation complies with the majority values above, if examined further, begins with the conditioning of the situation through thought movements on the political platform and religious podiums in closed and private spaces. Gradually the conditioning is then carried out in public spaces, through demonstrative action that tends to be provocative. Rejection of mosque construction, Muslim dress, educational and economic products with Islamic label by several Christian religious groups is an indicator that there is a disturbing feeling of the majority religious group, in the presence of another religion that has the potential not only to occupy and capture the da'wah territory, but also changes the established atmosphere that has already existed and it is feared that it will seize existing resources in the fields of politics, economics, and even changes in life behaviour as a consequence of changing times (Dixon and Berger, 2007).

The description of this section finally shows the emergence of Papuan birthright claims as the land of Gospel (Christ) that has gone through a fairly long and gradual process, involving many situations, and causing endless debate to date. Even so, this dialectical process of religion in the land of Papua enables us to understand three aspects. First, the emergence of the desire of the majority of the people of Papua to convert the island of Papua as the land of Gospel was driven by historical reality and feelings as the majority group. Second, the urge to claim birthright of the land of Papua has been influenced by other realities outside of Papua that display religious practices and models with a feature of partiality in the name of the majority. Third, birthright claims to a region are considered to be an effective way to maintain the existence of

the majority religion from infiltration of new religions, and can minimize the potential for tension due to encounter of religions that have expansive traits.

DOMINATION OF THE SYMBOL OF RELIGION IN PUBLIC SPACES

The logical consequence of the existence of a religion is the presence of religious symbols which are not only interpreted as distinguishing identities between religions, they can also be interpreted as an exhibition of the existence and symbol of the greatness and level of civilization of a religion if it is placed in public spaces. In religious symbols filled with artistic values, there are hidden meanings which affirm greatness, virtue, excellence or even power which must therefore be highlighted, mass produced and placed in strategic positions, made as a sign and demarcation that must be obeyed and respected by all concerned parties, in this case other religions that have fewer numbers and limited access to public legitimacy. In Papua, mass production of religious symbols in public spaces continues to occur and gain legitimacy from the power of the government. The various religious symbols that have been erected have cost a lot and funded from the Regional Budget, such as the construction of a Jesus statue in Jayapura which is estimated to cost 500 billion Rupiah. Constructions of the Statue of Jesus Christ in Merauke and the crucifix monument in Wamena were funded by the Regional Budget. It becomes difficult to argue that the emergence of a single religious symbol that has the full support of the regional government is a manifestation of religious hegemony that has received a majority of the spirit of enthusiasm which not only has forced power against followers of other religions who become the majority in one place turned out to be able to infiltrate to the stage of making a political policy and development in an area, even though in the process of making the policy it was always stated that it had been based on applicable rules and procedures.

It appears that the religious spirit of the majority is consciously encouraged to be the main argument of the importance of building religious symbols. The position and location of the construction of the statue of Jesus and the crucifix crosses from the north to the south of the island of Papua, gives a deep image and meaning of hegemony and religious domination enshrined in the form of inscriptions and monuments. The imagination of each person observing these symbolic positions will directly justify what religion is dominant in Papua. The main symbol of Christian identity in the form of monuments was built right in the heart of the island of Papua in Wamena, meanwhile, a gigantic Jesus Christ statues were built evenly in the districts and cities around the island. Finally, the dominance of the symbols of Christianity in Papua whose development

has been intensively carried out in recent years can show three things. First, the Christian religious symbols built in several cities are an affirmation of the religious identity of the majority group. Second, the majority of religious enthusiasm is able to create hegemony in all aspects of people's lives, including the government which should protect all citizens. Third, the domination of the majority religion is symbolized through the existence of eternal and magnificent inscriptions, as well as the creation of the largest religious image which is strong in the region.

CONCLUSION

The discussion provided in this work provides a thorough explanation of the various issues being faced by Muslims, especially the Dani Muslims in Papua. The condition of the minority Dani Muslims has placed them in difficult conditions and is faced with two problems at the same time. First, when they embrace Islam as a way of life, they also have to deal with the cultural conditions of the Dani community in general, who are very consistent in maintaining tradition. Second, when they choose Islam, it turns out that their condition is not much different from before. Islam, despite being the majority in Indonesia, is unable to free Dani Muslims from all the problems that surround them. Special Autonomy for Papua is one of the important aspects in the dynamics of the problems faced by the Dani Muslims. Special Autonomy provides vast opportunities for Papuans. However, this does not apply to the Dani Muslims. They are actually trapped in the two forms of situation above. They are at a crossroads between leaving tradition and continuing their belief as Muslims. Special Autonomy which is intended to exclude Papua from various problems has created a new problem for the Dani Muslims. Papuans who have been constructed as "Christians" have become a serious challenge in the midst of the efforts of the Dani Muslims to defend themselves. The Christian Papuans later made further claims of Papua as the Land of Christ. This has had a broad impact not only on the access to public services for the Dani Muslims, but has also presented them with new pressure. In fact, the Dani Muslims are considered to have left their 'destiny' as Papuans despite their physical traits.

In addition, the strengthening of religious identity in Papua has also made the Dani Muslims more creative in facing uncertain conditions. When the Islamic-Christian relation elsewhere heat up, it also affects the Papuans. However, the Dani Muslims do not feel the impact in their environment because they still have strong emotional ties with other Dani communities. Today, Papua has become an arena of identity contestation especially between Islam and Christianity. This has an impact on the relations between the Dani

Muslims and other Papuans. Therefore, what has been shown in this study at least provides a description of the various problems faced by minority groups, especially in Indonesia.

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RENEWAL PARADIGM OF THE LDII COMMUNITY IN KEDIRI

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ABSTRACT

This article attempts to explore the dynamics of the Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia (LDII) or Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institution community in Kediri of East Java, Indonesia in maintaining its existence, transforming and seeing the processes, patterns and strategies that developed by the LDII. The article elaborates how social actors of the LDII carry out social practices continuously, so that LDII can continue to survive, develop, and reform the doctrine and religious identity paradigm and its organizational identity thus being accepted by people in the region. The role of the actors as the agent in changing the character of the movement is discussed in this work. They have made strategies including building closeness to the authorities, building attitudes of openness, changing the image of the organization, strengthening identity, establishing dialogue and public cooperation with the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI – Majelis Ulama Indonesia) that positioning LDII as a heretical and splinter organization, and establishing cooperation with Religious Community Organizations (Ormas) that are considered mainstream, such as NU (Nahdatul Ulama) and Muhammadiyah. This work attempts to provide materials and considerations in dealing with the issue raising between the flow of splinters and established groups.

Keywords: cooperation, LDII, renewal, paradigm, Kediri

INTRODUCTION

Community of Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Institutions (LDII) is originally known as Jamaah Islam. LDII or Islamic Jamaah was founded around the 1970s. The people of Kediri are publicly understood to adhere to the ideology of the Jamaah Islam. The ideology of the LDII has been able to influence the daily activities of its members marking them to have a different character from most Muslims in the region. Unlike the followers of mainstream Islam, LDII/ Islamic citizens Jamaah often get discriminatory treatment, both from adherents of mainstream Islam and from the government. This was triggered by religious behavior practiced by Jamaah Islamic groups. The state

(government) has a strong intervention to determine which religion is worthy of being embraced by its citizens. Because that is not surprising if the type of freedom practiced in Indonesia as limited pluralism (limited pluralism) (Howell, 2005). Not only determining a number of official religions that are recognized for being embraced by their citizens, more than that, the state also regulates that the flow and community does not deviate from the mainstream of the recognized religion.

The LDII controversy among other groups is the use of the concept of congregation. The concept stipulates LDII to choose an exclusive path, even denying the Islam of other groups, for example the command of prayer must be led by people who only come from their group. Among them also developed the assumption that people who were not his group were considered unclean, people who entered the mosque, the mosque had to throw up or dipel the floor. Accompanying the congregation's doctrine includes the concept of Bai'at and Imamat, namely the provision of the system of Bai'at by a leader can become a member. This gift is also a way or entrance to enter heaven. The doctrine is well known in Jamaah Islam, for example: "Whoever does not follow the pledge of loyalty to the imam, they have not become Muslims; other than that, a legitimate congregation that is recognized by one, namely a congregation that has pledged allegiance to their imam who holds the title of believer in the faith. "

The next controversial doctrine is the *manqul* doctrine, which is the transmission of knowledge originating from the Qur'an and the new Sunnah which is considered true or has a background or out of the mouth of the imam or amir, namely Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's decision. *Asam*, the traditions included are history or excerpts from Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah. Other doctrines are the teachings of Taqiyyah, Fathonah, Bithonah, "Budi Luhur Luhuring Budi Kerana Allah". Taqiyyah is actually similar to the Shiite concept of silence. In the initial phase of the establishment of the LDII community in Kediri, Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah faced the Nahdlatul Ulama community who had religious rituals that were tradition. The community at that time had been formed as Muslims who did not feel deprived of their cultural roots. The community groups with Javanese Islam (Woodward, 2006). The process of Islamization in Java has not been completed due to two things (Azra, 2000). First, Java has the most established Indian court tradition compared to other countries in the archipelago that accept Islam. Second, taking away from being involved in the international Islamic network in the 19th century in Java is more clearly than other regions in Indonesia.

The word *Darul Hadith*, which was inaugurated by Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah, is a

form of reform of traditional Islam that developed in his area, Kediri, East Java. Borrowing Weber's theory in Giddens (1986: 154), Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's rift with traditional Islam produced a calendar of traditions in general, and specifically extinguished religious institutions in their old-fashioned form (Giddens, 1984, 1990, 2016) its deep undercutting of traditional habits and customs, and its global impact. It also radically alters the general nature of daily life and the most personal aspects of human activity. In fact, one of the most distinctive features of modernity is the increasing interconnection between globalizing influences and personal dispositions. The author analyzes the nature of this interconnection and provides a conceptual vocabulary for it, in the process providing a major rethinking of the nature of modernity and a reworking of basic premises of sociological analysis. Building on the ideas set out in the authors *The Consequences of Modernity*, this book focuses on the self and the emergence of new mechanisms of self-identity that are shaped by yet also shape the institutions of modernity. The author argues that the self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences. Rather, in forging their self-identities, no matter how local their contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications. The author sketches the contours of the he calls high modernity the world of our day and considers its ramifications for the self and self-identity. In this context, he analyzes the meaning to the self of such concepts as trust, fate, risk, and security and goes on to examine the sequestration of experience, the process by which high modernity separates day-to-day social life from a variety of experiences and broad issues of morality. The author demonstrates how personal meaninglessness the feeling that life has nothing worthwhile to offer becomes a fundamental psychic problem in circumstances of high modernity. The book concludes with a discussion of life politics, a politics of self-actualization operating on both the individual and collective levels.

author: [{"dropping-particle": "", "family": "Giddens", "given": "Anthony", "non-dropping-particle": "", "parse-names": false, "suffix": ""}], container-title: "Social Theory Re-Wired: New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives: Second Edition", id: "ITEM-1", issued: {"date-parts": [{"2016"}]}, title: "Modernity and self-identity", type: "chapter", uris: [{"http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=a31fdb7-2f06-41de-9641-bfa5dd9e98dc"}, {"http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=23d3bbc2-8cc4-47ce-99d6-0ebd8be4b015"}], {"id": "ITEM-2", itemData: {"DOI": "10.1007/BF01173303", "ISBN": "978-0-520-05292-5", "ISSN": "0147-5916, 1573-2819", "PMID": "2418146", "abstract": "Anthony Giddens has been in the forefront of developments in social theory for the past decade. In \"The

Constitution of Society\” he outlines the distinctive position he has evolved during that period and offers a full statement of a major new perspective in social thought, a synthesis and elaboration of ideas touched on in previous works but described here for the first time in an integrated and comprehensive form. A particular feature is Giddens’s concern to connect abstract problems of theory to an interpretation of the nature of empirical method in the social sciences. In presenting his own ideas, Giddens mounts a critical attack on some of the more orthodox sociological views. \”The Constitution of Society\” is an invaluable reference book for all those concerned with the basic issues in contemporary social theory.”author”:[{“dropping-particle”:””;family”:”Giddens”;given”:”Anthony”;non-dropping-particle”:””;parse-names”:false;suffix”:””}],“container-title”:”The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration”;id”:”ITEM-2”;issued”:[{“date-parts”:[[“1984”]]},“title”:”The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration”;type”:”chapter”];“uris”:[“http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=c90c3e3c-b2ad-40de-82b7-9e87924d420c”;“http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=feb3ab9b-cfdb-4556-a011-ab84b3f75cc1”]],{“id”:”ITEM-3”;itemData”:{“DOI”:”10.2307/591454”;ISBN”:”0745609236”;ISSN”:”15562646”;PMID”:”3401163”;abstract”:”In this major theoretical statement, the author offers a new and provocative interpretation of institutional transformations associated with modernity. What is modernity? The author suggests, \”As a first approximation, let us simply say the following: ‘modernity’ refers to modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence.\” We do not as yet, the author argues, live in a post-modern world. The distinctive characteristics of our major social institutions in the closing years of the twentieth century suggest that, rather than entering into a period of post-modernity, we are moving into a period of \”high modernity\” in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalized and universalized than before. A post-modern social universe may eventually come into being, but this as yet lies on the other side of the forms of social and cultural organization that currently dominate world history. In developing a fresh characterization of the nature of modernity, the author concentrates on the themes of security versus danger and o trust versus risk. Modernity is a double-edged phenomenon. The development of modern social institutions has created vastly greater opportunities for human beings to enjoy a secure and rewarding existence than in any type of pre-modern system. But modernity also has a somber side that has become very important in the present century, such as the frequently degrading nature of modern industrial work, the growth of totalitarianism,

the threat of environmental destruction, and the alarming development of military power and weaponry. The book builds upon the author's previous theoretical writings and will be of great interest to those who have followed his work through the years. However, this book covers issues the author has not previously analyzed and extends the scope of his work into areas of pressing practical concern.”;author”:[{“dropping-particle”:””;family”:”Giddens”;given”:”Anthony”;non-dropping-particle”:””;parse-names”:false,”suffix”:”}],“container-title”:”The Consequences of Modernity”;id”:”ITEM-3”;issued”:{“date-parts”:[[“1990”]]},“title”:”Introduction”;type”:”chapter”},“uris”:[“http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=55fecdd06-735b-4760-9e83-f2cdd2f4d482”;“http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=a2c7938d-65a8-4068-a39b-72138ba7e48c”]],“mendeley”:{“formattedCitation”:”(Giddens, 1984, 1990, 2016. Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah had indeed escaped his followers from the control of the Islamic tradition that had developed at that time. Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah also introduced the concept of Darul Hadith strictly so that her followers did not have time to relax and have fun with their old traditions. The LDII community also transforms from a closed community to an open one. Even though it is more open now, the LDII community is able to maintain its religious doctrine and identity and organizational identity. LDII’s convincing identity and symbol to exist with its distinctiveness as a form of expression of belief that has encouraged the understanding of society and the state to respect different beliefs, and support a calm and friendly life in a pluralistic society. The fundamental change made by LDII is that they began to open up to other communities and groups.

The birth of the MUI went hand in hand with the surrender of moral authority from the government to the MUI is indirectly benefiting LDII. MUI products have compressive power and save force. This condition was used by LDII, so they preferred to approach the MUI rather than approach religious organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. However, lately the LDII community also approached religious organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah. In addition, according to Azis (one of the administrators of the LDII Burengan Islamic Boarding School), LDII has now undergone changes, both from the pattern of internalization of the culture instilled and from social interaction with other groups. This work reveals the paradigm of a typical religious community in carrying out strategies to maintain its existence so that it can survive in facing various problems of socio-religious discrimination. This research is expected to be a reference for leaders or anyone in determining attitudes or policies towards socio-religious issues.

RELIGION, AGENCY, REGIONALIZATION, AND GLOBALIZATION

The study of religion has been developing for a long time. Some theories about religion can also be learned. Among them is what was done by Durkheim (Giddens, 1984) who states that the idea of society is actually the spirit of religion. This opinion was written in a book entitled *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, which was published in 1915. Durkheim's interpretation gave meaning that religion basically was crucial for the presence of social dynamics of a society. Religion plays a very important, even decisive role in building the social world. Religion is not only a means of control for all the actions of its followers, but also becomes a color giver for the social dynamics of society. The more religion is believed by the true beliefs of the adherents, eating will make the "color of religion" more thick on the character of the person concerned. So, all human actions are strongly influenced by religion. The other influential scholar within the studies of religion is Radcliffe-Brown. In understanding religion he followed Durkheim by arguing that there was no point in seeking the epistemological status of religion as a false illusory belief. Similarly, there is no point in examining the origin of religion. On the contrary, we must view religious belief and worship as part of a complex system by which humans begin to live together in a regular form. According to him we must look at the social function of religion, namely the contribution he gives in shaping and maintaining social order — we must focus more on rituals than beliefs (Morris, 2003).

In a different perspective, religious teachings are a spirit for humans in shaping civilization (Anonymous, 1986). In this context, modern theory clearly looks at the existence of religion as a functional value. Functional value is a value that can build people towards future progress and order. It is this life's order that is the main target or target of the human soul as a creature with two dimensions — the dimensions of the body and soul. Religion provides answers to statements about the origin of the universe and questions about human life after death (Giddens, 1984, 1990, 2016) its deep undercutting of traditional habits and customs, and its global impact. It also radically alters the general nature of daily life and the most personal aspects of human activity. In fact, one of the most distinctive features of modernity is the increasing interconnection between globalizing influences and personal dispositions. The author analyzes the nature of this interconnection and provides a conceptual vocabulary for it, in the process providing a major rethinking of the nature of modernity and a reworking of basic premises of sociological analysis. Building on the ideas set out in the authors *The Consequences of Modernity*, this book focuses on the self and the emergence of new mechanisms of self-identity that are shaped by yet also shape the institutions of modernity. The author argues that the self

is not a passive entity, determined by external influences. Rather, in forging their self-identities, no matter how local their contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications. The author sketches the contours of the he calls high modernity the world of our day and considers its ramifications for the self and self-identity. In this context, he analyzes the meaning to the self of such concepts as trust, fate, risk, and security and goes on to examine the sequestration of experience, the process by which high modernity separates day-to-day social life from a variety of experiences and broad issues of morality. The author demonstrates how personal meaninglessness the feeling that life has nothing worthwhile to offer becomes a fundamental psychic problem in circumstances of high modernity. The book concludes with a discussion of life politics, a politics of self-actualization operating on both the individual and collective levels.”;author”:[{“dropping-particle”:””;family”:”Giddens”;given”:”Anthony”;non-dropping-particle”:””;parse-names”:false;suffix”:””}],container-title”:”Social Theory Re-Wired: New Connections to Classical and Contemporary Perspectives: Second Edition”;id”:”ITEM-1”;issued”:{“date-parts”:[[“2016”]]},title”:”Modernity and self-identity”;type”:”chapter”;uris”:[“http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=23d3bbc2-8cc4-47ce-99d6-0ebd8be4b015”,“http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=a31fdc7-2f06-41de-9641-bfa5dd9e98dc”]},{“id”:”ITEM-2”;itemData”:{“DOI”:”10.1007/BF01173303”;ISBN”:”978-0-520-05292-5”;ISSN”:”0147-5916, 1573-2819”;PMID”:”2418146”;abstract”:”Anthony Giddens has been in the forefront of developments in social theory for the past decade. In \”The Constitution of Society\” he outlines the distinctive position he has evolved during that period and offers a full statement of a major new perspective in social thought, a synthesis and elaboration of ideas touched on in previous works but described here for the first time in an integrated and comprehensive form. A particular feature is Giddens’s concern to connect abstract problems of theory to an interpretation of the nature of empirical method in the social sciences. In presenting his own ideas, Giddens mounts a critical attack on some of the more orthodox sociological views. \”The Constitution of Society\” is an invaluable reference book for all those concerned with the basic issues in contemporary social theory.”;author”:[{“dropping-particle”:””;family”:”Giddens”;given”:”Anthony”;non-dropping-particle”:””;parse-names”:false;suffix”:””}],container-title”:”The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration”;id”:”ITEM-2”;issued”:{“date-parts”:[[“1984”]]},title”:”The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration”;type”:”chapter”;uris”:[“http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=feb3ab9b-cfdb-4556-a011-ab84b3f75cc1”;http://

www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=c90c3e3c-b2ad-40de-82b7-9e87924d420c";http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=9cae99ad-56f9-4f33-8c3b-d60f386c9fa8"]},{ "id": "ITEM-3", "itemData": { "DOI": "10.2307/591454", "ISBN": "0745609236", "ISSN": "15562646", "PMID": "3401163", "abstract": "In this major theoretical statement, the author offers a new and provocative interpretation of institutional transformations associated with modernity. What is modernity? The author suggests, \"As a first approximation, let us simply say the following: 'modernity' refers to modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence.\" We do not as yet, the author argues, live in a post-modern world. The distinctive characteristics of our major social institutions in the closing years of the twentieth century suggest that, rather than entering into a period of post-modernity, we are moving into a period of \"high modernity\" in which the consequences of modernity are becoming more radicalized and universalized than before. A post-modern social universe may eventually come into being, but this as yet lies on the other side of the forms of social and cultural organization that currently dominate world history. In developing a fresh characterization of the nature of modernity, the author concentrates on the themes of security versus danger and o trust versus risk. Modernity is a double-edged phenomenon. The development of modern social institutions has created vastly greater opportunities for human beings to enjoy a secure and rewarding existence than in any type of pre-modern system. But modernity also has a somber side that has become very important in the present century, such as the frequently degrading nature of modern industrial work, the growth of totalitarianism, the threat of environmental destruction, and the alarming development of military power and weaponry. The book builds upon the author's previous theoretical writings and will be of great interest to those who have followed his work through the years. However, this book covers issues the author has not previously analyzed and extends the scope of his work into areas of pressing practical concern.\""}, { "author": { "dropping-particle": "", "family": "Giddens", "given": "Anthony", "non-dropping-particle": "", "parse-names": false, "suffix": "" }, "container-title": "The Consequences of Modernity", "id": "ITEM-3", "issued": { "date-parts": [["1990"]] }, "title": "Introduction", "type": "chapter", "uris": ["http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=a2c7938d-65a8-4068-a39b-72138ba7e48c", "http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=55fecdd06-735b-4760-9e83-f2cdd2f4d482", "http://www.mendeley.com/documents/?uuid=3ce3a3f1-aa2c-45ca-9781-66cfe0c7400b"] }, "mendeley": { "formattedCitation": "(Giddens, 1984, 1990, 2016. This indicates that the explanation and meaning inherent in

religion transcends the limitations of human mind and logic. For the Giddens, there are always “objects” or supernatural beings whose existence is beyond the reach of the human senses and brings a feeling of awe. According to the Giddens, the creature could be a divine power or personalization of the gods. In Islam the power manifests itself in the existence of Allah. In Hinduism, the supernatural creatures that are being worshiped are single. They appear in many manifestations, such as deities, ancestral spirits, and others. However, Giddens underlined that religion establishes moral guidelines that control and limit the behavior of its adherents.

LDII's existence can be read from the perspective of the structuration theory developed by Giddens (1984). The core of the structuration theory is seeing agents and structures in relations of duality. However, agents are involved in structures and structures involving agents. According to him, all social actions require structure and the entire structure requires social action. The Giddens refused to see the structure merely as a force against agents (such as Durkheim). He looked more at the structure both as an enforcer and provider of opportunities. Structure not only functions to inhibit and determine forms of behavior, but also provides the ability for behavior. In other words, the structure provides opportunities and restrictions at once. Furthermore, Giddens placed humans in a very significant position which he called “agency”. That is, with this position humans can reproduce and have abilities, and understand the intent and purpose of all the actions they take. Agency is anything that an actor does in a particular situation that has certain consequences, even though the consequences do not have to be as intended by the perpetrator himself. The actions of every human being, therefore, must be seen as one duree or a series of actions that are stretched in a long dimension of space and time which have certain consequences.

Another structuring theory is regionalization. The character of the interaction location can be explored in relation to the different locations through which daily activities of individuals are coordinated. Location is not just a place, but a setting or setting of regionalization interactions. This location must be understood not only as localization in space, but also refers to the determination of space-time zones in relation to routine social practices. For Giddens, to live in today's modern society we must shape and reshape ourselves to be able to deal with changes in our environment. Giddens views that globalization is a restructuring of the ways people live their lives in a very deep way. But he also acknowledged that globalization was a two-way process, with America and the West being the most affected regions. Globalization also weakens local culture and revives it. Giddens said that globalization “sneaked

aside” produced new areas that might cross nations. He gave an example of the area around Barcelona in Northern Spain whose area extends into France. The main clash and challenge that occurs at the global level today is between fundamentalism and cosmopolitanism. Giddens (1990) saw the emergence of a “global cosmopolitan society”. However, even the main forces that oppose it traditionalism are products of globalization. Furthermore, fundamentalism uses global forces, such as mass media, to expand its objectives. Fundamentalism can take various forms including religion, ethnicity, nationalism, and politics.

This work is based on the studies of the people who have knowledge and information about the history of LDII that was established as an Islamic Jamaah and immediately felt the condition of Islamic congregation and the next generation that had joined since it changed to LDII. In-depth interviews were also conducted with religious, community and government leaders. The observation is the basis of the study of cultural anthropology carried out by researchers, considering that this method is a pattern of data collection which is the estuary of ethnographic processes. In the context of the involved observation, researchers are at the level of complete involvement with LDII. The observations done by the researcher do manifest in social and emotional relationships. Actors are people who become objects of observation in a natural setting (Spradley, 1979). A person must blend in daily activities and experiences more closely, both physical closeness and social closeness, to record the daily activities of the community being studied (Emerson, 1995). Therefore, researchers entered the center of the LDII community’s life to get to know them closely, both those that took place in mosques, study rooms, and recitations and meetings, to absorb what they experienced and understand their activities. The immersion of researchers into ways of life, speech, behavior, and thinking of the society they study is highly recommended to obtain data as complete as possible (Fetterman, 2010).

LDII WITHIN BURENGAN ISLAMIC BOARDING SCHOOL AND NUR HASAN AL-UBAIDAH’S BOARDING SCHOOL

Burengan Islamic Boarding School is located at Jalan H. O. S. Cokroaminoto 195, Kediri City, precisely in Banjaran Village with an area of +126 hectares (Anonymous, 1999). Currently Burengan is home to around 3,000 students. Burengan cannot be separated from the figure of a kiai named KH Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah, the main character and founder of the pesantren around 1952. According to Kuncoro, one of the informants in the fields and a LDII senior activist, former head of the LDII Burengan Islamic Boarding School, and former village head, the full names of important figure in LDII is Nur Hasan

al-Ubaidah Lubis bin Abdul bin Thahir bin Ershad, born in Bangi Village, Purwosari District, Kediri Regency, East Java, in 1915. In his childhood, Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah received direct religious guidance from his own father, H. Abdul Aziz bin Thahir bin H. Isyad. After growing up, Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah began studying from one hut to another cottage, such as Pedes, Samelo, Perak Jombang, Balong Jeruk, even once boarding at Lirboyoy, the largest pesantren which became the base and was known as "NU Pesantren". As told by K. H. Idris Marzuki when interviewed at the Lirboyoy Kediri Islamic Boarding School, "Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah once boarded here at Lirboyoy, but not for long. His son was quite intelligent and at that time like most santri who were here, followed the study diligently. I do not understand, suddenly he became an Islamic leader of the Jamaah, where did he get that understanding? Even though in this pesantren it is not like that understanding."

In the beginning, the target of Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's da'wah was his own family, then spread widely to the community. The precious moment of the da'wah process began with the allegiance of loyalty to Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah as a leader by his followers which occurred in 1941. When getting more followers of his recitation, a community was formed and called the Jamaah of the Quran and Hadith. Since then, there has been a legitimate community with legitimate leaders. As for the start of the movement, Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah community has made recruitment of members voluntarily. His teachings affirm the characteristics of the group as a religious group that is different from other Islamic groups. The presence of Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah empirically is a phenomenon of a figure that is able to construct culture. Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah can educate someone who cannot read at first to be able to recite. The method is to read first, while the tajwid is learned after being able to read.

THE DOCTRINE TO RETURN TO AL-QUR'AN & HADITH

Based on interviews with Kuncoro (LDII activist) and "lecturers" at the LDII Burengan Islamic Boarding School, Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah introduced the points of doctrine back to the Qur'an and hadith. Therefore, the activities of santri cannot be separated from studying the Qur'an and hadith. Reading the Qur'an is done with the target of completing the recitation of the Qur'an in a certain time, then in time the santri faces the teacher who has been assigned to check the reading and memorizing abilities at the level of each santri. The themes for holding fast to the Qur'an and hadith are central themes in LDII recitations.

Some of the doctrines taught by Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah include, first, the Manqul doctrine (transmission of science), that the followers of Islam

Jamaah must have scientific transmission from their leaders. Second, the Bai'at doctrine, which is the promise of loyalty to God to be consistent with the religion witnessed to Muhammad SAW or the leader (in this case is Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah). Loyalty is the command of God and the Apostle. Third, the doctrine of Jama'ah (community), Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah emphasized that Muslims must have community in order to survive. Communities are not limited to carrying out prayers, but also in other activities. Fourth, the doctrine of Imamah (leader). His teaching recognizes someone who is appointed as a single leader with a system of loyalty. The leader has the authority to determine everything, both the issue of religious rituals and profane activities. Fifth, the Doctrine of Amal Saleh, 9 (nine) virtuous deeds which must be adhered by LDII worshipers, namely to increase introspection and ask forgiveness to God; increase financial sacrifice for good; increase communication; happy to respect guests; trying to be honest and trustworthy; increase submission to God; always prejudiced good to God; order night rituals; and contemplate in one third of the night.

LDII: FROM KEDIRI TO JAKARTA

As a religious group, this school initially named itself as Darul Hadith and centered in East Java. Because it was considered disturbing to the community, East Java's Trustees of Public Trust (PAKEM) banned the teachings, so the Decree of the East Java Regional Military Commander VIII was issued signed by Mayjen Jasin in 1967 concerning the prohibition of the teachings of Darul Hadith. The ban was responded to by changing the name of Pondok Darul Hadits to the Jamaah Islamic Education Foundation. In various regions, various names have emerged with the same content of teachings. Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's followers in Jakarta named his group with the National Education Board Foundation (Yappenas); in the Tanjung Karang Jamaah Darul Hadits; in Bogor Darul Hadith Movement; in Yogyakarta and the Lamlus Sunah Wal Jamaah Educational Institution; in Gunung Kidul Pure Islamic Congregation; and in Bantul Manqul Islamic Jamaat. The vital role of Nur Hasyim was able to elevate the image of the Jamaah Islamic suburban movement into a middle-class movement that was equal to other groups, Thohir Nur Hasyim, the Jamaah Islamic reformist group (Thohir, 2009). The significant contribution of Nur Hasyim was also in the form of two books on the subject of Jama'ah Islamic teachings which now become their main points. Seven Facts as the Shahah of Jamaah Leadership in Indonesia and Delaying the Claim of Harming Themselves Nur Hasyim was also in the Islamic community of the Jamaah as the second person of the Jamaah Islamic teachers.

The efforts of Nur Hasyim to rationalize the Islamic doctrine of the Jamaah in fact cannot avoid this group from the public spotlight. One of the implications of public attention is the colorful names of Islamic group followers of Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah. Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's followers make movement with various names in the area lasted until the publication of a ban from the government. Islamic Jamaah/ Darul Hadith was banned by the Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia in 1971 (Anonymous, 1971), because it was seen as a deviant group of mainstream Islamic groups. Some of the religious doctrines of Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's followers and practices are considered controversial. The prohibition from the government caused Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's followers to experience difficulties in carrying out their activities. Several steps of approach and cooperation to all religious groups are increasingly increasingly fierce, including approaches to authorities at all levels. Some of Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah's students in East Java, including Nur Hasyim, R. Eddi Masiadi, Bahroni Hartanto, Soetjowirjoatmodjo, and Wijono, initiated the idea of forming the LEMKARI organization as an effort to encourage recitation activities more openly to the community. They then went to the notary who lived in Surabaya, Mudiomo, to make and sign the LEMKARI Establishment Deed on January 3, 1972. The colorful names of these institutions in various conquered areas became the LEMKARI Foundation based on a decision taken at the LDII Islamic Boarding School alumni meeting date 9–10 February 1975. The organizational structure was perfected a year later through working meetings in Kediri on 2–3 February 1976.

The existence of LEMKARI gave rise to a new strategy by approaching the state- in this case the ruler who was then dominated by Golkar - by declaring itself to be in line with Golkar. With the new name LEMKARI and taking refuge under Golkar, this group was able to build a broad network and be free to all corners of the archipelago. However, the challenge that must be faced is not over. LEMKARI was again confronted with a freeze by the Governor of East Java, Soelarso, with Decree No. 618 of 1988. The freeze came into effect on December 25, 1988 at the insistence of the East Java MUI because LEMKARI was considered disturbing the community. The change of name of this movement occurred again in 1990, in the LEMKARI VI Grand Consultation forum in Jakarta which decided the name LEMKARI to change to LDII. LDII developed an effort named "Success Chess". The first success chess is trying to improve organizational performance by organizing and improving the existence of LDII as a community organization that focuses on religious activities and community education. The second success chess is to increase human resources by establishing training centers, such as craft workshops and building skills as well as English and computer courses. The third success

chess is empowering the potential of the people. Success chess is directed at gaining happiness in life based on harmony in the world and the hereafter, namely by mobilizing joint business groups in the fields of fulfillment of basic needs, workshops, and contracting companies.

The change of name to LDII is not in vain. Islamic groups that often voiced opposition began to subside. LDII is also getting closer to the government. Another development is the spread of LDII which has expanded to have representation in almost all provinces in Indonesia. LDII also established intensive communication with other religious organizations, such as NU, MUI, Muhammadiyah, Persis, and others. LDII carried out structural consolidation along with the process of ideological renewal. In this context, LDII positioned the Burengan Islamic Boarding School as the ideological basis and center for the organization's ideological cadre nursery. Some LDII activities were even able to show their existence in the community. LDII's organizational network is growing and economically stronger. One of the administrators explained the pattern of relations between science and economics below.

“Science and economic activity go hand in hand because the economy is the source. With knowledge will bring economy, whereas without science the economy will not emerge. LDII knows the doctrine: if you look for the hereafter it will get the world. To the market for buying cattle, the bridle will also be able to win. But if you buy a bridle, you can't get a cow. Fundraising in LDII is done by not smoking. One third of the cigarette is for good deeds, one third for families, and one third for savings. The effect will be healthy and God willing, it will collect fantastic money for the people.”

According to H. Usman, LDII membership has two types: the permanent and the non-permanent. Permanent members include administrators and teachers, while non-permanent members include pengajian worshipers. The LDII membership system is open; anyone may join.

RENEWAL PARADIGM

Some people understand the LDII as an integral part of its historical roots, namely Jamaah Islam. Therefore, LDII also carries out certain strategies to maintain its existence. The first strategy was to change the outer skin of organizational identity by making a change of name and reformulation of the movement. This strategy was chosen given that state protection at that time could also be influenced by other dominant group battles which encouraged the government to judge LDII. The second strategy is to reformulate ideology,

namely the ideological paradigm shift and changes in religious behavior from the original to become more inclusive. When the first time went to Kediri, the researcher was accompanied by one of the LDII activists and LDII central management. At Juanda Airport, a number of LDII East Java officials have been waiting and we were warmly welcomed. After getting acquainted we were invited to the car that had been provided. But before leaving Surabaya for Kediri we were invited to lunch at one of the restaurants in the Juanda area. Later, researchers learned that such a thing was LDII's fixed procedure in receiving guests or anyone who would come to LDII. Furthermore, this turned out to be part of the implementation of LDII teachings to respect guests. A LDII activist explained:

“LDII has the task of straightening out Jamaah Islam. So how can we be the successors of the Jama'at Islam even though we were given the task of straightening out Jamaah Islam? This is what non-LDII friends need to understand. Some time ago a new identity was attached to us as a new paradigm group. We actually do not fit the term new paradigm because if there is a new paradigm, we have an old paradigm. Even though we are LDII, it is not related to any organization or group before.”

LDII changes to be an open organization and community together with fundamental changes in culture that occur in it. From a traditional religious group that has a cultural center in the countryside, LDII gradually becomes a religious group that is not only a splinter, but transforms into a religious group that has followers of the upper middle class even though its centers in the villages still survive. For people outside LDII, it is hard to get them to talk. But now there is openness. They are easily invited to dialogue, no longer close exclusive.

Indonesian traditional society basically has dynamic characteristics (Dove, 1988). Traditional societies always experience continuous social change according to internal challenges and external forces that influence it. The change in the paradigm of religious behavior from close to open is an inevitable change, because the LDII community interacts with the outside world in the era of globalization. According to Sahlins (1981) almost certainly there is not one society in the world that does not interact with the culture outside themselves. Therefore, the LDII community has undergone a change from only the religious community to a religious organization that applies modern organizational principles and complies with the prevailing laws and regulations. Changes that occur are caused by increasingly heterogeneous LDII citizens, both in terms of educational and professional backgrounds,

which provide a distinctive nuance in the change of view. The occurrence of marriage between LDII residents and non-LDII citizens is also unavoidable. For example, Mr. H. Usman, Chair of the LDII Kediri Branch, who is married to a member of Fatayat (NU youth organization). Although in the early days of the Islamic establishment of the Jamaah, Nur Hasan al-Ubaidah did not allow marriage outside the Islamic community of the Jamaah.

Internal actors play an important role in internal changes in the LDII Kediri environment. The first is Sunarto, which is intensely in the midst of the LDII Kediri community. Sunarto was born on October 28, 1952. Sunarto said, "At first I did not understand, but after learning gradually (I understand). In the past, only learned about the procedures for prayer, then the *sunnah* prayers, the arguments of discipline, and obedience. Now the teaching has developed. "The methods and teachings conveyed through the recitations carried out by LDII were deemed suitable by Sunarto, so that through his recitation he succeeded in studying and deepening the Qur'an and Hadith. According to him the teaching methods and subject matter in the LDII study have become a tradition that has lasted until now. The role of Sunarto in the LDII community is to provide understanding to the public about the importance of management in managing organizations or institutions. He also conducted intensive communication with various levels of society to build a positive image of LDII which had been considered tilted by the community.

The second is H. Usman, who currently serves as Chair of the LDII of Kediri Regency. He represented LDII at the Kediri Regency Indonesian Ulema Council. The author witnessed several roles of H. Usman in establishing communication with community elements such as the police and the army. He pioneered the construction of a tennis court that was specifically owned by LDII and always shared to people from other agencies three times a week for having exercise together. They initiated tennis championships conducted in an atmosphere that is harmonious, cheerful and full of family spirit among players from different agencies. The third figure is Kuncoro. For Kuncoro, the religious movement against the government was never lasting. According to him, basically Pancasila has provided an opportunity for the community to embrace the religion they believe in, so that it is suitable for a diverse Indonesian society. The fourth update figure is H. M. Bayu Afiudin, S.E. This figure holds the principle that Islam is a religion that is a blessing for all nature. He has developed 4 (four) things in the development of LDII, namely advancing the economy of citizens by empowering joint ventures (UB), developing concern for the social environment, developing awareness of the environment, and revitalizing political power.

CONCLUSION

It is the fact that before the new era of the renewal organization, the LDII people are not easy to give answers to questions before getting permission from the emir. Even when a community member speaks they will be accompanied by several people; they do not dare to be alone in having discussions with strangers. The development has been very surprising that the LDII has grown to a more open community. The members have been familiar to ask questions and convey their thoughts and proposals. When asked for an explanation, they can provide a complete and good explanation. But when there is a meeting of figures, the instructive tendency to the congregation is still visible. Even though the LDII members are the latest, they appear to be afraid to be unwilling to submit obediently. These are remnants of past habits that are still visible and have not disappeared until now. The four LDII activists have renewed the changes in the socio-cultural paradigm that is usually the other group, so that until now LDII still exists in the community. LDII with its new face at this time also begins to be able to give hope for the expectations of non-LDII groups, at a minimum on demands that LDII be moderate and tolerant. This achievement is inseparable from the actors of Usman and Sunarto. In addition to LDII activists at the local level, nationally this organizational reform was supported by the headquarter of the LDII office which always made fundamental changes by cooperating with government and religious organizations, so as to be able to build LDII's branding as a more inclusive and open organization.

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YOUTH IN THE AGE OF HATRED: Religious and Ethnic Factors Within the Islamic Senior High School Students' Reception Toward Hate Narratives

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ABSTRACT

The rise of hate narratives along with the new model of communication through the internet has become a new challenge for people in this digital era, especially for youth, the Z generation. This generation, in fact, has an intimacy with the internet. It means that they have more possibility for the influence of hate narratives. This study is aimed exploring the influential factors on Z generation reception to the hate narratives on the internet. Specifically, it proposes to recognize the influential factors on the reception of the students of Madrasah Aliyah Negri (MAN) or State Islamic Senior High School of Tuban (MAN Tuban), East Java. This work is based on two hate narrative issues of Suku, Agama, Ras dan Antargolongan (SARA) or religious, ethnic and intergroup diversity backgrounds, including those of anti Christianity and those anti Shiite. This work concludes that the influential factors to the students' reception toward hate narratives come from two categories. First, students are to be the audience of their social systems and backgrounds. The involvement of the students in fundamentalist Muslim groups, in fact, has led them to have exclusive views in seeing others and to feel always under intergroup contestation. Second, the role of the characters of the narratives that influence student's thought is very important to count. It includes the legitimization through emotion which specifically presents fear and feeling threatened. Those characters have further triggered the students' empathy to do something beneficial for the sake of the in-group (altruism). In addition, the characters of the narratives have the figures behind them that have influenced students to immediately believe in the narratives they offer only through seeing their profiles on the internet showing their expertise.

Keyword: hate, narratives, youth, reception, influential, factors, Tuban.

INTRODUCTION

Hate narratives have increasingly become a problem faced by the human

society which does not only relate to an individual or a group but also affects the stability of human population. Generally, hate narratives contain hatred and instigation leading to the violence which targets others. In the Indonesian context, the impact of hate narratives is more risky because the social condition is diverse. It gradually raises enmity among people and traps them into the condition which is full of hatred nuance. Moreover, when the emergence of hate narratives is provided by groups of people developing the legitimacy of violence and leading the audience to blame others as the enemy. Mostly, common issues used in hate narratives in Indonesia is about religious and ethnicity.

The religious and ethnic diversity often known in the acronym of SARA is a frequent subject of hate narratives. How the hate narrative led to activate violence is illustrated in the riot in Tanjung Balai in 2016. The hate narrative targeted Meiliana (41), a Chinese woman from Tanjung Balai, who raised a concern regarding the volume of Adzan from the loudspeaker system. Yet, mosque leaders felt not comfortable with her concern and regarded it as an offence from the minority. Finally, the emergence of riot coincided with the spreading of hate narratives and it also ignited many people's emotion. Consequently some worshipping houses (*vihara*) were burned by the mass (Amelia, 2016). Meanwhile, Meiliana further was jailed for two years with the accusation of religious blasphemy.

In the Indonesian context, the high number of the internet users has led people to become susceptible for its negative impacts. According to the Minister of Information of Indonesia, the numbers of the internet users in 2014 are around 82 million people. It puts Indonesia in the 8th ranking as highest countries of internet users. They are 80% of youth, specifically between 15 until 19 years old. Whereas, the Facebook users of Indonesia ranked in the 4th position (Kominfo. 2014). The data shows that youth is in the highest position as the internet users. However, the use of the internet brings them to choose between positive and negative interest. It is possible to lead them in a dangerous threat when the internet is misused. It is also in reference to the PPIM survey in 2017 concerning on Gen Z students' attitude and behaviour to the diversity. The research shows that in terms of attitude, 58.5% of students tend to have radical and intolerance religious view, while in terms of behaviour, 74,2% of students have moderate behaviour (Saputra. 2018: 6). The research also concludes that students who access the internet to study religious knowledge become more intolerant and radical. In fact, this survey found that for them the internet becomes the primary source (50.89%) to study religious knowledge (2018:7).

The earlier explanation indicates that youth are vulnerable for the influence of

hate narratives. However, the high possibility for the exposure of hate narratives is rare to be learned. Specifically on how the youth receive it; what kind of hate narratives' character which influence among youth; and what types of youth are most likely affected by hate narratives. Those questions further show the importance of doing this research considering that there were many studies under its subject but the specific studies focusing on the discussion of factors behind the youth reception to hate narratives are still small in number. This study examines the students' reception based on the enemy image reception concept which is taken from several kinds of literature such as from Dovidio and Reyes. In terms of the subject of the research, this study then focuses on senior high school youth age, specifically, examining reception of the students at MAN Tuban. The work shows how hate narratives have reached youth regardless of their urban-rural boundaries. Although Tuban is a small town, access to the online hate propagation has been possible and easy. Moreover, this study highlights what factors are essential on hate narrative reception within those students. The students were asked to respond the selected hate narratives from the internet which discuss about anti-Christian and Shiite. Those two narratives were taken from a website namely "Voice of Al Islam" (VOA Islam) which is indicated having an affiliation to the fundamental radical Muslim group. In addition, this study merely focuses on analyzing the students' responses who agree with the hate narratives. The narratives used in this study are presented below.

THE RECEPTION FACTORS TOWARD HATE NARRATIVES

According to a number of social psychological theories, people with specific psychological and social characteristics are more likely to be influenced by the enemy image of hate narratives. These characteristics include authoritarian background or personality, the content of the narratives, social system context (the intergroup competition and stress). *First*, the authoritarian background or personality in which it urges inferiority and superiority belongs to themselves and in-group and having a perspective to portray the social phenomenon only into two categories; black-and-white terms. On the other hand, the other/out-group is identified as disdainful and appropriate to be underestimated (Dovidio et. al. 2010: 13). The authoritarian personality in many cases was rooted from the childhood of individual memory, moreover, the one who has under punitive childhood nature of parenting. Otherwise, most of non-authoritarian were born under egalitarian circumstance (2010: 12). Indeed, the punitive model of parenting for the long turn shapes one's paradigm to be authoritarian and further influences on the way they see the world. The authoritarian background may relate to the social dominance orientation

(SDO) theory in which according to the theory people with SDO tends to defy equality and assert that the social system should be in hierarchically structured. People with a higher degree in SDO are having a possibility to see the world as a competitive jungle (Son Hing & Zanna. 2010: 167). Furthermore, it becomes even worse when he/she who has authoritarian personality ever experienced stress – which further will be discussed in the different part of this study – in the past because it enacts a view to differentiate other and to reflect with the personal memory which was ever being under oppression.

Second, the content of the narratives is also important, the extent to which the narratives contain symbols or substances that resonate to the experience of the audience. The effective model of approach in grasping the audience is that reverberate to the audience such as the way to speech, style of narration and diction identify them with themselves. Reyes identifies several characteristics of the message content which often influence the audience including the legitimization through audiences' emotion (Reyes. 2011: 788), predicting future occurrence (2011: 793), lead the audiences' to think rationally to take decision (2011: 786; McDonald, 2008: 65), voice of expertise (2011: 786), and altruism, the author attempts to attract the sympathy of the audience to accept the proposed meaning then to act as if it is advantageous for many people (2011: 801; Gobbles, 1945; Doob. 1950: 435). The famous aphorism also says that lies, when repeated, could be a truth as well.

Third, social system also influence of hate narratives. A certain context of social system is able to shape individual characters and mindset in seeing the world. As a social being, human in the social life generally needs to associate to the group based on such categories and later identifies themselves to which they affiliate as identity. The cause of this phenomenon is the appearance of many group identities in which certain groups for some instances come into the competition for certain goals. When two groups have a similar goal and both are very ambitious, it provides the possibility for competition model through expanding even dominating others that it is assumed as the only way to survive. Precisely, it happens if the goal can only able attained by a single group. Over time, the competitive effort transforms to be enmity between both (Esses. et. al. 2010: 230). Moreover, the competition then gradually becomes worse since the goal is the kind of limited resources (Yzerbyt. 2010: 148).

However, intergroup contestation also leads in creating prejudice and discrimination for each group but on the other side, it can reduce in-group biases (Dovidio et al. 2010: 6). In some cases, feeling under intergroup competition circumstance, such as, caused by social inequality among groups may become an issue motivating people to struggle for the group interest.

Regardless of whether inequality does exist or merely used as a tool of propaganda. This discourse is mostly related to the dominant, major-group vice versa the inferior, minor-group. Inequality may affect the people's perspective in responding to the occurrence which is experienced in his/her nature. The group which identifies themselves as the subordinated group tends to position themselves as disadvantaged and shaded by a threat from others. Furthermore, their perception constructs a justification of being discriminated.

Intergroup contestation also influences to construct group members' view when receiving the message about outgroup. The stronger one's identification of an in-group identity, the more misappropriate the one to have empathy against an out-group (Struch and Schwartz. 1989: 366). For example, the American people would have much possibility to believe in the narrative which says that Russians have a nasty attitude and so does otherwise. The main reason for this occurrence is because both nations are on the rivalry, hence each member are mostly portrayed with bad prejudice. This nature, of course, would sharply effects to the group's members in receiving the hate narratives about an out-group, especially, to which attributed as a rival. From the individual level, people experiencing stress tends to react aggressively as caused by having fear toward the enemy (outgroup), despite his effort of self-defence. From the psychological perspective, no one is totally free from the paranoid because it is kind of natural aptness belongs to human that it instinctively rises under stressful condition.

Fear to any peculiar thing on human mind exists because biologically they identify themselves with the people whom familiar. In seeing the peculiar, people tend to make clear-cut boundaries to differentiate with others. Indeed, this kind of people will be more comfortable with the familiar (in group) figure otherwise. On the other hand, under stress condition, people become tighter in holding on their identity whether nationality, religious and so forth which further is strongly ingrained with the self (Post. 1999: 339). Thus, stress obviously is also included as one of the influential factors; whether one receives (agree with) hate narratives or rejects. Of course, people who experience stress become easier to receive hate narratives about out-group.

SOCIAL CONTEXT AND STUDENT'S PERSPECTIVE IN SEEING OTHERS

In reference to the reception theory, this study found that the most influential factor on the students of MAN Tuban is their involvement in the fundamentalist group. This gradually shapes the students' personality to be an authoritarian character. Specifically, authoritarian refers to the Social

Dominant Orientation (SDO) concept in which people with SDO tend to see others within inferiority. In contradiction, they see themselves or the in-group as superior. The involvement is not related to the Islamic group that one student or their family affiliate. Instead, this comes from the friendship relation, where and whom they study Islamic teaching. One student may affiliate to moderate Islamic organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, but since they were engaged in fundamentalist groups' activities, they mostly received the hate narratives. The students following the fundamentalist' religious sermon are more vulnerable to be contaminated by hate narratives. For instance, UA (17), a student with Muhammadiyah family background, in responding to the hateful narratives confidently judged that all mentioned groups on the narratives are jeopardizing. This even emphasizes that although UA's family background affiliates to moderate organization, in fact, he has been heavy contaminated by the fundamentalist. In reference to Esack's view on the fundamentalist, he argues that the basic character of the fundamentalist group is "enmity toward all who reject views as people who have chosen Evil against God." (Esack. 1997: xi). This may relate with Ahnaf's argument that the fundamentalist generally considers under that Muslim is under siege of the enemies of Islam (2006: 15). The enemies here refer to the non-Muslim (infidel) and to the Muslim likewise who assail the fundamentalist' view so-called as liberal Muslim. Furthermore, Ahnaf's explains that the common enemy image is addressed to the Christian and Jews, also the ideologies such as atheism and communist which is categorized as infidel (*kafir*) ideology (2006: 13).

The different model of involvement with fundamentalist groups is shown from the three female students, SUK, VSN and VF. VSN joined into both WhatsApp groups named CHC (*Cahaya Hijrah Community*) and "the Great Woman." SUK is only the member of the first one while VF only joined to the second one. Both groups are special for Muslima (women Muslim). The students' involvement in this case only on the virtual media, WhatsApp group community. The member of both groups never organized gathering meeting as Pantura Hijrah. It is because of the members who are spread from many regencies on Indonesia. VSN stated "Group's members are from many places in Indonesia. It is not based on local regency. Meanwhile, for the CHC group, the total number of the member is 255 persons." Likewise, VSN explained that the members of the group usually discuss Islam including *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and other discourses. The discussion is set with the mentoring model in which on both groups, there are ustadzah, women religious cleric, who have an important role as the mentor. For instance, they commonly post or share the information about Islam, sometimes also give advice and

answer when the members question about the specific issue. However, it does not mean that the members are not allowed to do so. They freely share information about Islam and related issues. This is including photos and videos. For instance, VSN ever watched a video posted on The Great Women group about the different way of Shia on practising *wudlu* (ablution), praying and *sujud* (bowing down). She urged that comparing with Sunni tradition, indeed Shiite tradition is different from the Sunni's practices. Based on this view, she concluded that Shiite is deviant because they violated the "true" Islamic teaching from the Prophet.

In a similar vein, religious sermon and open-group discussion –including through WhatsApp group application– are the two model programs which are similar to HTI's model for the new member recruitment. According to Ahnaf, in every Indonesian region, HTI members establish similar activities including a public sermon and open group discussion. The second one generally targets and is organized by youth. The main purpose, of course, is to endorse awareness of the necessity for the establishment of an Islamic state (2006: 6). However, the appearance of a messaging application nowadays took the fundamentalist group consideration to extend their influence. This consideration further emerged a new model program like the finding on this study, utilizing WhatsApp group to catch broader audiences with easy access. Generally, the fundamentalists often present a horrifying image of current Islamic condition. They describe as if Islam nowadays is besieged and under contestation with the infidel. This is especially led by the Jews and the Christian who always struggle to battle against Muslim through all aspects of life. The fundamentalist depicted the current battle was transformed into a different model with the previous one. The previous one was the physical battle with sword represented by the crusade, while currently, it is through the non-physical attack (2006: 18). On the other hand, this battle led Muslim into the contestation to fight against the infidel. This includes the spreading of non-Islamic ideologies and gradually making Muslim to leave the Islamic way of life.

The feeling of under contestation with the out-group (intergroup contestation) basically is caused by a feeling of being oppressed and under siege. It furthermore shapes the harmfulness of out-group images as an enemy. This image is going to be worse when the contestation is related to the primary principle of groups such as ideology and nationality. Inter-group contestation in this study took place as one of the essential factors on students' reception to the hate narratives. However, this factor essentially has a close relationship with the first factor because this assumption emerged when they considered

that students' groups were targeted by others in order to be dominated. Specifically, on anti-Christian narrative, the feeling of under intergroup contestation is shown from VSN's (17) response. She said that generally Christian is an obvious menace but it also depends on the individuals. VSN addressed especially against the Christian who strictly follows Christian tenet as endanger figure. Furthermore, VSN said that she ever listened to religious sermon audio in which the *ustadh* explained his experience as a converter. She said:

The Christian clearly planned for an intentional attack against Muslim because they purpose to destroy Islam through its conspiracy. I also ever listened to religious sermon audio. This is from an *ustadh* who is a Muslim convert. He is a Sundanese who previously was a Christian and ever studied in five countries. His family background is Jews and Christian. Yet, he is the only one who decided to convert as Muslim and unfortunately because of his decision, he was abused by his family. Even, he had to divorce his way and leave the children.

VSN points out the abuse experienced by a Christian who converted to Islam from their Christian family. This occurrence is regarded as the evidence of Christian abhorrence on Muslim on the individual level. Accordingly, when an in-group member crosses to become a member of its rival (out-group), this decision is seen as a betrayal. The betrayal exacerbates the tension when the rivalry between two groups has been established for a long period. In line with van Bruinessen argument, the rivalry between Christian and Muslim was in high tension, specifically for the fundamental radical Muslim. He said that the high tension of its contestation is caused by many similarities belong to both. This includes sacred history, like the Semitic prophet, and religious concept. Not less important, for thousand years both have been neighbours who were contesting not only for theological influence but also for political interest (1995: 64-65).

Likewise, the feeling under inter-group contestation in terms of the anti-Shia narrative obviously occurs. In this narrative, Shiite is depicted as inherently dangerous for the Sunni followers, the mainstream Islamic ideology in Indonesia. The existence of the non-mainstream group in many cases, of course, challenges the domination of the mainstream which was well-established. According to van Bruinessen, the non-mainstream group furthermore is legitimated as aberrant and deviant (1992: 18). This is emphasized by the establishment of Indonesian The anti-Shia national alliance (ANNAS Indonesia) which massively propagates to reject Shiite existence. Most of the members are the fundamentalist group

including a few Sunni followers. In reference to Islamic history, the contestation between Sunni and Shiite was alarmed since the first period of Islamic. Hence, it sharpens the images of both in seeing each other. In accordance, the article on ANNAS Indonesia official website states why the Shiite refusal is necessary and the refusal does not violate Islamic unity. At least, there are ten arguments in legitimating Shiite image as peril which is used for its legitimation. One of those is that the mushroom of Shiite struggle to convert others into Shia in many Muslim countries whereas the others do not aware that they are being targeted for its conspiracy (ANNAS. 2018). This kind of statement implicitly rises tension of the contestation between Sunni and Shiite because Shiite may also view the same toward Sunni, mutual prejudice. In reference to the enemy image concept, it is called mirror imaging (PfSR, 1989: 59) in which both groups are seeing each other with full of curiosity. Additionally, the students who heavily regarded that they are under inter-group contestation, generally, are those who were contaminated by the fundamentalist view. Meanwhile, on the anti-Shia narrative, the reception was not only received by those who were contaminated by the fundamentalist view. The social condition in which Sunni as the well-established mainstream group inflamed the harmful image of Shiite likewise.

HATE NARRATIVES WITH CERTAIN CHARACTERS HAVE MORE POWER TO INFLUENCE

The narrative which contains such legitimations become more powerful to influence audiences' reception. As mentioned in the previous discussion, there are five legitimizations that refer to Reyes concept. Nevertheless, it does not mean that all legitimations always work for all kind of narrative. The audiences also must be a consideration whether all legitimacies work or only some. In this study, there are three legitimations which essentially contributed to the students' reception. Those are the legitimacy through emotion, the voice of expertise (the narrator) and altruism. Those will be discussed in the following paragraph. One of the essential factors on students' reception from the narrative content is legitimization through emotions. Attracting audiences' emotions may trap them to consider something matter for us as the narrator (Reyes: 2011: 785). Furthermore, Reyes also argued:

Emotions are key in the legitimization process because they condition and prepare the audience to receive proposals and courses of actions. Emotions skew the audience toward accepting and supporting the proposal of the social actor, who has triggered the motions in the first place. (1999: 790)

This shows that gaining audiences' emotion become one most important aspect to gain more attention and also to make audiences agree with what a narrator distributed. In line with Reyes argument, legitimization through emotion on this study became one most important aspect of students' receipt. Legitimization through emotions in narrow understanding means that the narrators manipulated audience emotion through arising and binding a similar sense to the audiences. Practically, the narrator builds clear-cut boundaries among the narrator and the audiences as "us," while the targeted group is imaged as "them" (others) with full of evil characters. This is related to the enemy image concept in which "us" and "them" is included in a biased thinking process. It builds a distinction between in-group and out-group. The in-group implies a superiority while the inferiority is addressed to out-group which commonly is depicted as less human. According to Liddle, the dichotomy on "us" and "the" is one of visible fundamentalist mentality. This includes a defensive process to see others as the enemy and building a sympathetic perspective to see non-Muslim planned to embattle Muslim under Jews command. (Liddle. 1998: 283).

Meanwhile, on the anti-Shia issue, the statement which shows the attempt of manipulating audiences' emotion is the statement of the plan for murdering Sunni ulama. It is even emphasized with Oqbah statement which insulted the previous riot in Sampang, East Java. The narrative drew Oqbah statement "Farid Oqbah argued that the barbarian attack in Arifin Ilham's Az Zikra village was merely a small scale assault from the holy shit Shia." Furthermore, the statement below is cited as an example to show how the audiences' emotion was manipulated. The statement is also from KAB. He said;

Shia diverges the Prophet teaching. principally, it is forbidden. There are much heresy's on their teaching whereas the Prophet clearly stated that *kull bid'ah dalalah* which means all heresy is a deviant. The model of Shiite's shahada is also different. They have one additional sentence from the origin of the shahada. Hence, they obviously different from and also jeopardize for us.

The argument shows that KAB previously also had a bad stereotype on Shiite. He pertained to Shiite shahada which is different from the Sunni. The shahada sentence on Shiite version according to him includes a witness on Ali bin Abi Thalib, "*Ashhad an La Ilaha Illa Allah wa Ashhad anna Muhammad Rasul Allah wa Ashhad anna 'Aliy Waliyy Allah.*" This witness is the common perception among lay people on Shiite that they have a different model of the shahada. The different model is also on the Shiite praying ritual. For the

fundamentalist, Shiite's praying ritual is strictly not in line with the Prophet thought. For instance, according to ANNAS, the national alliance in rejecting Shiite, the practice of Shiite's pray contains many heresies. This includes the use of small stone put on the floor and during the bowing, the Shiite forehead must touch it (ANNAS. 2016). The similar perspective between KAB and the fundamentalist proves that KAB has contaminated by fundamentalist view. It is rooted in KAB's participation in religious sermons and open-group discussion. Both agendas frequently discuss Islamic deviant groups, including Shia. Consequently, it is not weird when after reading the narrative, KAB immediately justified the narrative afterwards because he seemed to find confirmation argument for his view.

The similar model of justification was addressed on anti-Christian narrative. On this narrative, the highlighted issue is the image of Christians as an infidel who has endless enmity against Muslim. One of the clear legitimization through emotion is shown in Ridwan's statement. As the narrator asserted that the Christian always targets Muslim for their evangelical agenda. He said, "The Christian-Muslim relation is going to worse since the Christians always see Muslim as the target of the evangelical mission." The students' affirmation on this narrative which means that the narrator has succeeded in manipulating their emotion is shown from VSN response. She said;

For me, they (the Christians) intentionally attacked Muslim in Papua, because The Christian in principle will destroy Islam conspiratorially... So far, as I know, The Jews indeed will fight against Islam. Yet, if Muslim revenge them, they obviously will be afraid.

From the response, VSN who had a stereotype against Jews and Christian got legitimization from the narrative and then it made her feel in line with the narrator perspective. Thus, she easily received and confirmed the narrative as truth. VSN's argument is in a similar vein with the statement of Shiddiq al-Jawi, a previous leader of HTI in Yogyakarta. On his personal interview section with Ahnaf, Shiddiq insisted that all non-Muslim are adverse to Muslim and it is going to be worse and affirmatively seen when Muslim are powerless (2006: 12). Moreover, in this case, Muslim in Papua is the minority and they were the victim for this attack. Finally, it antagonized the Christians within its harmful agenda.

On the other hand, legitimization through emotion primarily has a common model. The emotion which is manipulated by the narrator is the emotion of fear. According to Reyes, fear maybe becomes the most powerful emotion in attracting audiences to give responses. This can be operated to manipulate

people to gain a goal although it imperils for their life (2011: 790). Through providing imperil image on the narratives, the narrators attempted to trigger audiences' (students) fear and make them feel in a dangerous situation. Thus, students' emotion is easier to be manipulated and finally, they agree with the narrative. A fear and threatened feeling, on the other hand, also trigger altruism. When students' felt that they are in danger and it is not only risk of them as individuals, but also against their groups, consequently it raises their sympathy and altruism.

Altruism furthermore becomes another factor in the students' reception which is triggered by manipulating students' emotion and make them feeling under inter-group contestation. In the present psychological literature, altruism is intimately related to empathy (Sesardic, 1999: 463). Apart from the different meaning of altruism in which in some cases are contradicting, the altruism in this study refers to the "altruistic altruism" which means proposing to benefit others. In a similar vein, this is also able understood as the empathy-based altruism which means "help and care born from empathy with another" (De Waal, 2008: 281). On the anti-Shia narrative, the altruism is manifested into sectarian fanaticism, while on anti-Christian, it is embodied on religious sentiment. The first one labels Shiite as the deviant Muslim and the opposite of the "true Muslim" (Sunni followers), while the second one puts Muslim vis a vis Christian as non-believers. On the anti-Shia narrative, the information of Shiite's plan to kill the Sunni ulama is the obvious harm for the students as the followers of mainstream Islamic ideology, Sunni. Moreover, the narrative presents that the target of the murder plan is the ulama. As the religious elite, the ulama for the believers is seen as an important figure, even, they have an eminent position among people on the social system. The discussion for its subject will be examined deeper on the other part of this chapter.

In terms of the content of the narrative, the statement which impels the students' altruism on the anti-Shia issue is obviously drawn on Oqbah's argument. He said "Since they (Shiite) execute their plan and something worse happened to these ulama, Muslims must react! We have to revenge and we finish them all." Through using Muslim term as group identity, Oqbah has raised altruism feeling from the students. The students furthermore felt that they are needed to contribute to the group interest. In addition, the hate narrative on the anti-Shia essentially provides the prediction of future occurrence because Oqbah urged that Shiite plan is valid information. It is drawn on his statement which said that the Shiite have held a meeting in 22nd December 2014 in Ngawi, East Java and the meeting concluded that they have agreed for the plan. Furthermore, the information was propagated by Oqbah as the

prediction of future occurrence which especially in this narrative becomes the consideration of the students' reception. However, this factor is only worked on this narrative because its content provides a clear statement of prediction whereas the similar statement is absent on the two other narratives.

On the anti-Christian narratives, there are many statements which raised the students' altruism. One of those is shown on Ridwan statement which said:

This is an irony to see the weak response of the Muslim society in Indonesia. That's only a press conference or, at best, demonstration. This occurrence shows that Muslim relation is fragile.

On this statement, Ridwan appeared his thoughtfulness in seeing the Muslims' response for the riot Tolikara in which according to him it shows the fragile Muslim relation. This may be the way he attempted to raise the audience empathy and altruism and hopefully, the audience could see in the same perspective as him. As the result, the audiences could agree and then understand the same. In fact, the students agreed with his argument and his call to react. Nevertheless, the students have a different opinion on how they should react to this issue, even though, basically Ridwan urged to revenge through violence within his metaphor "eyes by eyes, teeth by teeth." Some agreed with Ridwan but others suggested to let the government solve this conflict under the legal constitution.

Apart from the statement which impels students' altruism, in Islamic teaching, the altruism is strongly urged by its teaching. In reference to the theological basis, the Muslim brotherhood concept becomes its motivation in which all Muslims are bound on Muslim Brotherhood, "A Muslim is the brother of a Muslim (al Nawawiy. 2010: 100)." Another hadith, narrated by Nu'man ibn Bashir, even emphasizes that the Brotherhood is portrayed with the metaphoric image of a body entity as below:

Allah's Apostle said, "You see the believers as regards their being merciful among themselves and showing love among themselves and being kind, resembling one body, so that, if any part of the body is not well then the whole body shares the sleeplessness (insomnia) and fever with it (al Bukhariy no. 40).

The hadith clearly urges how Muslims are strongly bound under the brotherhood relation. The boundary further arises an empathy among Muslims, moreover, through the analogy of one body entity in which when the particular limb is hurt, thus the whole will feel the pain likewise. Accordingly, another hadith which is narrated by Abu Musa depicts the relationships among the believers (Muslim) is like one building in which each different

parts enforce each other (al Bukhariy, the number of hadith: 626). This logic shows that explicitly a Muslim is deemed to maintain their entity and to bother about the other Muslims. If the other Muslim, as the brother and single entity, is disturbed, moreover, by the non-believers, thus the other Muslims feel necessary to give help in the name of Muslim brotherhood concept. Besides, the Shiite who is seen as deviant in this case group is excluded from students' understanding as Muslim. Consequently, Shiite is excluded likewise from the brotherhood relation among Sunni followers as mainstream Muslim. On the other hand, this brotherhood concept, unfortunately, is often misled by the fundamentalist group in which it seems only prioritize the religiosity from symbol and appearance. For instance, they urge to call another Muslim with *akhiy*, meaning my brother, while for the Muslima with *ukhtiy*, meaning my sister. The fundamentalist implicitly often misuse this brotherhood concept to emphasize the Muslim single and global civilization (*ummah*) concept. The main purpose of its misapplication is to gain wider mass for demanding the caliphate.

Apart from the altruism which is strengthened by the theological basis, the figure of the narrator must be pointed out. The figure of the narrator as an expert becomes the consideration for the students in receiving hate narratives. In this case, on the anti-Christian and the anti-Shia narratives, the figure of the expert is obviously provided. Especially on the anti-Christian issue, the expertise is represented by Kyai Cholil Ridwan. He is one of MUI leader at the national level. His position as Kyai is heavily considered by the students thus it influences their reception. *Kyai* is a Javanese term which in this discussion means as a predicate for the Islamic religious cleric. This term has another meaning including a predicate addressed to the local district leader under the Javanese kingdom era, a name of an object which has magic power i.e. gamelan. Meanwhile, *ustadh* is cited from an Arabic word which literally means "the teacher man." In the Indonesian context, there has been a shifting paradigm in understanding this term. *ustadh* is still labelled for a teacher man but it is identically addressed for the religious teacher. However, *kyai* generally has higher social and religious position than an *ustadh*. The second one only refers to the figure of Islamic teacher or preacher while the first one has a broader role including a teacher, preacher and also leader for the society. Nevertheless, every single person who is entitled as *kyai* or *ustadh* commonly gain high social level on society. They are seen as an important figure and indeed respected for their words. The consideration for the importance of both *kyai* and *ustadh* figures as the narrator is shown from SPA. She said on Christian and the anti-Shia issue:

For this information, I agree with *kyai* Cholil because he is a *kyai* moreover he also the leader of MUI at the national level. Of course, he has deep considered the information before he shared it to the public.... For the Shiite's plan, I also believe because the spokesperson is an *ustadh*, moreover, it is delivered on a public religious sermon.

The statement shows that SPA obviously considered the narrator figure in which in this case is the religious elite, both *kyai* and *ustadh*. SPA obeyed with the religious elite said, even she could believe in the narrative only because of seeing their figure. This phenomenon in the Indonesian context is not a weird thing. The figure of religious elite has great social class and position among society. Especially, *kyai* is seen as a charismatic figure who has power and authority not only in terms of religious discourse but also in a social system. In other words, *kyai* is one of a social elite figure in terms of religious field. The wide and deep understanding of Islamic knowledge is the main factors that make the social system put them into elite category (Faridl. 2007: 239). According to Kellen, an elite has the role as a determinant and social object at once on three conditions. First, it has authority and power in taking the decision. Second, as the proponent for a moral system. Third, it has a high position in society and regarded as a successful one (1995: 213). As a religious elite, in one social system which put religious as the basic values, *kyai* obviously is put in the high social class. In the Indonesian context, based on PEW research centre survey (2015), Indonesia is ranked in the third position as the countries which see religion as important in social life. Thus, it emphasizes the high position of *kyai* among society.

In reference to the theological basis, the high level of a religious leader on the social system is caused by the view that they are the Prophet's inheritor. This predicate is based on the hadith which states "Indeed, the Ulama are the inheritors of the prophets..." (al Tirmidhi. 2681)." Another hadith also depicts the importance of ulama figure for the religious believers. The hadith is mentioned below:

Verily, Allah does not take away knowledge by snatching it from the people, but He takes it away by taking away (the lives of) the religious scholars till none of the scholars remains alive... (al Bukhariy. No. 100)

Both hadiths explain the importance and high position of ulama (*kyai*) among Muslim society. The label as Prophet Inheritor may shape people construction in seeing their figure as the manifestation of prophet image. In Abrahamic religious concept, the prophets or messengers are known individuals who

bring salvation from the god to human being through the prophecy. They are also depicted as the holy figure who mediates the relation between human being and the creator. Then, since the *kyai*/ulama is understood as the Prophet inheritor, thus it implicitly describes that they are also the image of God's guidance in the lower level than Prophet. It is also strengthened by the legitimation that the ulama is the representation of God's knowledge and He will take it away only by taking away the ulama's life. Finally, this logic shows that the narrator figures, especially on the anti-Christian and the anti-Shia narrative, is matter and truly contributed to the students' reception. The figure of the narrator, in this case, surely becomes one of the essential factors on students' reception especially on the anti-Christian and the anti-Shia narratives. At least, it is caused by two perspectives. First, the figure of religious leaders is a charismatic and an expert within their wide and deep knowledge of Islamic discourse. Second, the figure of a religious leader, likewise, is seen as an elite in the social system who have power and authority. In addition, the theological basis which strengthens their position as Prophet Inheritor, thus students can totally believe in the narrative only through seeing their figure within its image.

THEORETICAL REFLECTION

The work shows that the essential factors on the students' reception are not only caused by a single discourse. The main issue comes from numerous factors either from the students as the audience within their social context or from the character of narratives. In fact, the students' involvement in the fundamentalist group such as religious sermon and open-group discussion becomes the most influential factors. It clearly led them to have an authoritarian personality, meaning to construct their view in seeing others into a strict dichotomy between true and false. The true is portrayed as the manifestation of God image while the false represents evil desire. Those students view Islam as a sole true way, whereas other religions, including the non-Islamic ideology such as communism, are seen as an absolute mistake. This distinction furthermore impelled the feeling of under inter-group contestation between both parties, true and false, which impacted on their perspective. The students see the out-groups not only as a rival but also as the enemy which always harmful to the in-group.

In addition, this study considers the character of the narratives within its contribution to the students' reception. Specifically, by presenting the bad and harmful image of the targeted group, the narrator succeeded in manipulating the students' emotion (legitimization through students' emotion). Accordingly,

the hate narratives built a hard line between the students and the targeted groups that means those groups are excluded from the understanding as “us.” It is clear that the targeted groups were categorized as the out-groups apart from the narrator and the students as in-group. Then, the students would not have any sympathy even see those groups as a dangerous enemy. Meanwhile, the emotion which is legitimated here also means the dread. The narrators might consider that the stereotype against Christian and Shia still exists on Indonesian society perception. Therefore, through presenting the cruel images of the groups, it essentially proposed to affirm and strengthen the stereotype then it exacerbates the students view in seeing the targeted groups. Finally, the appeared dread coincides with the feeling of being threatened and in a dangerous situation.

The dread and feeling under inter-groups contestation consequently imposed an empathy feeling named “altruistic altruism” or the “empathy-based altruism” among the students. The altruism seems like a sequence effect emerged by those two previous factors. Since the students’ altruism were triggered, they desired afterwards to react to the issue for the benefit of the communal (in-groups interest), even though the ways they proposed to react are not uniform. Besides, the figure of the narrators as the expert on each narrative is obviously contributed to the students’ reception. The figure of religious leaders amplified the narratives’ power in guiding the students to believe in the hate narratives. Likewise, the narrators, in this case, are not only seen as the expert on religious knowledge but are considered as elite in their social system. They are accordingly regarded as the trustworthy figure hence the students became easier to believe in the narratives.

CONCLUSION

The rise of hate narratives for the last decade on the internet obviously has brought some negative impacts, despite the positive, for the young generation considering their intimacy with the internet. Through the internet, hate narratives are able to reach a broader audience from diverse backgrounds including age. Nonetheless, it is not the only motivation for youth to receive hate narratives. In this case, the students of senior Islamic high school age are motivated by numerous factors on their reception; whether it comes from the type of the audience including backgrounds and social context or from the way the hate narratives are presented. The students of MAN Tuban, East Java, receiving the hate narratives are generally those who engaged with the fundamentalist’ Muslim group activities like religious sermon and online discussion. Having this engagement, they further become easier to receive hate

narratives because they were familiar with the presented issue which mostly is the same issue discussed in the fundamentalist religious sermon; providing fear, anxiety under SARA sentiment and provoking them to react. On the other hand, the way the narrative is made, with certain characters mentioned earlier, also contributes to the students' reception. It drives them to think and to reflect on their backgrounds, social systems and experiences besides aiming to manipulate their emotions such as increasing a sense of in-group identity and distinguishing out-groups as dangerous others.

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BOOK REVIEW

Kritik Nalar Arab: Muhhammad 'Abid Al-Jabiri. Yogyakarta: LKiS. 2018

By Abdul Mukti Rouf

Reviewed By:

Achmad Tidjani

IAIN Pontianak

CRITIQUE OF ARAB REASON; EPISTEMOLOGY OF ISLAMIC AWAKENING

Reading the book *Critique of Arab Reason of Muhammad Abid Aljabiri* from the writings of Abdul Mukti Ro'uf requires sufficient intellectual energy. This book is classified as fairly serious research. Its material objects that touch the historical and philosophical aspects that are integrated together make the reader trapped and faced with the arguments of the great figures of the Islamic world with various dynamics that take place in it. Perhaps the involvement of the great figures of the Islamic world is an inevitable choice. Even not only the great figures of internal Islamic community, but a number of large external figures who concentrate in Islamic studies are also involved to present sharp analysis with sufficient weight in breaking down Al-Jabiri's great thought.

Broadly speaking, the weight of the analysis selected by the author above is equal to the big issue raised, namely about *turats* and modernity. The author began his writing with a "provocative" argument in the form of a simple argument "*kaifa nata'ammal ma'a turats*". This sentence is chosen from the simplicity of his words, but has a spirit of continuity which breaks through especially those related to the trend of contemporary Islamic thought. Next, the weight of the analysis of the study in this book is also equal to the figure of al-Jabiri himself who has an intellectual position as a philosopher who often gets praise on one side and also often gets sharp criticism on the other.

In fact, Abdul Mukti's study can be classified into three large segments. First, regarding al-Jabiri's thought on *turats* issues as a contemporary Arab-Islamic discourse. Second, the position of al-Jabiri's thought in mapping up contemporary Islamic thought. Third, the contribution and implications of al-Jabiri's thought on the issues of *turats* toward the ideas and movements of the contemporary Arab-Islamic revival.

Discourse on Reading *Turats*

Reading al-Jabiri's thought cannot be separated from the reading of Arab reason in His magnum opus, *Naqd al-'Aql al-'Arabi*. The term *aql* becomes the starting point of a very serious conversation that is connected to the question of the identity and existence of the Arabs who are confronted with the achievements of the Modern West. Al-Jabiri suspected that the Arab system of reason was too dependent on past authority (*turats*) which later caused the Arabs to bow before the West, especially in the 1967 war.

Abdul Mukti in this study was very ambitious to uncover the fundamental issues of the Arab-Islamic slump as a representation of the Islamic world. On the other hand, the empowerment of the West is the trigger for the emergence of the idea of resurrection (*nahdah*) which is also a consideration that cannot be excluded. These two sides seem to signify the present and past realities of Arab-Islam. The past is a tradition (*turats*) while the present reality is Western advancement. Self Criticism and the spirit of Islamic Resurgence are two manifestation movements of the discourse of self-reading and the reflection of the advanced West.

Between criticism and discourse, *turats* has been as an important component to unravel criticisms, while modernity in this context is the starting point toward awakening. The direction of the movement and foothold led to the change and reconstruction of the world of Arab-Islam after Arab Defitism in 1967. This is where scholars have a variety of views on the issue of *turats* and modernity in the context of the Arab-Islamic awakening.

Mapping the views of scholars regarding *turats* and modernity can be divided into three major groups. First, a group that offers ideal-totalistic discourse. The main feature of this group directs consciousness to the glory of the past and is presented in total to the present. The debate of authenticity (*al-ashalah*) has become the main axis and flag by overriding all views of modernity.

Sayyid Qutb, Hasan al-Banna and al-Maududi are often categorized as central figures of this group. The thought principle developed by a number of these figures is to place Islam as a complete ideology for every Muslim both personally and in communal life. So the issues related to the paradigm of thinking and behaving in private and public spaces, individuals and society must fully refer to Islam without the possibility of other alternatives. Next, the Qur'an is placed as the basis of life in a literal sense and ignores aspects of the context both in the past and the current needs.

This glimpse of the ideal of totalistic thought is similar to that developed by traditionalists who use the model of *al-fahmu at-Turats li al-Turats* (a literal and traditional understanding of tradition). The general characteristic of this

model involves only the past issues as an established reality without making criticism at all by presenting tradition as part of historical construction. The next consequence is that this group will narrate the negative stigma of all things that are new and foreign by always being melancholic about the past.

Second, the transformative group. This group wants liberalization by using Western traditions as a measure to define turats. Taha Hussein (1889-1973) and Salamah Musa (1887-1958) were in this group. The most prominent theory used by this group is Historical Heretagial dialectics. Simply put, the theory is that turats itself exists in the historical arena, so dialectical relations in social issues such as economics and politics must be involved in understanding turats. The extreme fundamental features of this group are truly in the West's domination with the utmost marginalization of tradition for the sake of modernity.

Third, the Reformistic group. Hasaan Hanafi is one of the leaders of this group with a discourse proposed with a number of sufficient considerations. Hasan Hanafi views that turats and current needs are two elements that cannot exclude each other. Turats and its relation to tradition has become a force that cannot be eliminated by the presence of the character of the Arab-Islamic community. Next, the Western spirit which gave birth to the modernization of thoughts and challenges of the Muslims themselves is also a consideration to reinterpret turats. In the same spirit, this is the group where al-Jabiri is also part of, of course with different characters and discourses, such as linearity lines that compliment each other from the reformistic discourse and spirit.

Abid al-Jabiri's Epistemic Interpretation of Turats

Using the term *episteme* in the context of the study of al-Jabiri's thought is a consequence of all the discourses presented by al-Jabiri, which directly really concentrates on Arab-Islamic reasoning. Its clarity with modernity and the number of contexts of Arab-Islamic backwardness as compared to the West are not urgent to leave the turats at all. Indeed, al-Jabiri made turats the root of consciousness, culture and the most authentic identity. The deterioration in al-Jabiri's assumptions is caused by the way to understand and enforce turats. Here lies the assertion that al-Jabiri concentrated on the philosophical episteme elements.

It is not easy to elaborate a system of thought (episteme) that moves toward reform. The historical concern over the backwardness and the direction of the goals which are the ideals are two considerations to clarify what has happened and where to move. So on that consideration, al-Jabiri began his project of

he critique of Arab reason. This is where an encounter between reflection of failure and resurrection ambition takes place. Thus, the critique made by al-Jabiri is a big agenda that seeks to reconstruct the basic principles by rereading history and relativity and progressive views to build the future.

In the process of elaborating the episteme of the turats interpretation, al-Jabiri carried out a series of criticisms not only at episteme which had already proceeded in the midst of Muslims, al-Jabiri took very basic criticisms starting from *tahlil takwin al-aql Arabi* which contained historical critique of analysis, epistemological and ideological processes, and then in the *tahlil al-Bunyawi* which contains explanations and criticisms of epistemological models that once lived in the Arab-Islamic tradition.

In examining the thought of al-Jabiri that is very complex, Abdul Mukti succeeded in explaining together the dynamics of each stage. For example, at the *Bunya Aql Arabi* stage there were a number of sharp criticisms on Bayani, Irfani and Burhani's reasoning, even though al-Jabiri had to take sides with the Burhani reasoning model with its influence on the ideas developed by Western Muslim thinkers, such as Ibn Hazm, as-Sahtibi, Ibn Ruayd and Ibn Khaldun. These alignments are implicit alignments with respect to ratios and sensory experiences that do not contradict with revelation. This is where objectivity serves as one of the most possible measures to bridge the divine ideological elements. Simply put, the basic construct of episteme is based on reality to text.

Alignment to the ratio cannot immediately place al-Jabiri part of a transformative group. Al-Jabiri prefers reformative patterns while still giving appreciation to turats as a historical achievement. On the other hand, al-Jabiri also takes input from the insights of liberal contemporary interpretation from outside (*alfahm alharaji lil turats*) in a very selective manner through the process of harmonization and dialectics between modernity and turats. As a key method in taking the old and adopting from the outside, there are at least three methods offered by al-Jabiri, namely, hermeneutics, critique and deconstruction.

Presumably Abdul Mukti here did not only succeed in understanding in detail the episteme of interpreting and using al-Jabiri turats, but he could simplify it in one argument on one popular adage i.e. *al-muhafadhah 'ala qadimi al-sholeh wal akhdzu biljadidil ashlah*. One simple argument has two meanings at the same time, one being the episteme of understanding turats, while the other a bridge between the past, reality and ambitions of future awakening.

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