

# AL-ALBAB

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## MUSIC IN THE LITURGY OF THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY IN JAKARTA, INDONESIA

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### ABSTRACT

*This article discusses music in the Catholic liturgy in Jakarta, Indonesia in the postmodern era within the context of the autonomy of the Catholic Church. The Indonesian Catholic Church is an independent and autonomous church where liturgical music is a form of original artistic expression. However, in practice, the majority of Catholics in Indonesia view the liturgical celebration as uninteresting and dull. Conversely, pop music has increasingly influenced liturgical music. This reality is discussed and analyzed specifically in regards to liturgical music that experiences contextual data inference, especially in the specific cultural contexts of the community. The data analysis shows, in perception of Catholics in Jakarta, the role of liturgical music in worship is not homogeneous, but rather depends on the educational background, attention from Pastors of the Parish, cultural factors, and individual past experiences. For the most part, the level of understanding regarding the nature and important position of liturgical music in religious holy celebrations is low. Most consider that all music is the same and can therefore be used in the liturgy. Music is considered only a complement to enhance religious celebrations. In this context, the government and the Indonesian Catholic Church established the Catholic Church Choir Development Institute (LP3K) as a forum for fostering Catholics in Indonesia in the liturgical field and discussing issues related to music. This article confirms that the position of the liturgical music is crucial and has an irreplaceable significance in the liturgy, and the two are inextricably woven to each other.*

**Keywords:** Music, Liturgy, Indonesian Catholic Church, Jakarta.

### INTRODUCTION

Music is God's gift to creation for the necessities of life (Westermeyer, 2015). Basically, music is a type of sound. Almost anything that is hit will produce sound, but that does not mean it is necessarily music. For sound to be musical, waves must be arranged into regular space and time rather than random. So music is arranged with certain patterns, rhythms, and harmonies to produce beautiful sound. Music has existed since the dawn of civilization in every

culture, though its origin is not known for certain. It has been suggested that our predecessors mimicked and adapted 'musical' natural sounds - the wind blowing through reeds, the loud tone of an object hitting a hollow log, and the vocalization of animals including birds (Lowis, 2011).

There is evidence that music has been played among others in ancient Greece, India, China and other Asian countries, maybe for 3000 years or even longer (Lowis, 2011). From the ancient Egyptian civilization, several musical instruments have been found such as the harp, lyra, guitar, mandolin and flute. On the Gizeh's grave there are pictures of two harp players. Egyptian manuscripts mention artists have a prominent place in palaces. The Greeks considered art to come directly from gods. Musical instruments were used at banquets of gods, marriages, and deaths. (Prier, 2011). The Greek philosopher and mathematician, Pythagoras, found that the notes of the strings that were picked became higher when the strings were shortened, according to a simple arithmetic ratio (Lowis, 2011). Plato defined music as a system of tone, regulated rhythm, and language (Liu, 2010). Plato viewed music as existential for humans because it is capable of touching the human mind, forming the ethos of his soul, and becoming a source of inspiration (Plato, *Dialoge No. 654, 665* ). This was confirmed by his students. Aristotle claimed that music can shape human nature, provide entertainment, relax and refresh the human heart, and provide spiritual happiness to humans (Prier, 2011).

The rapid development of pop music and modern music has an impact on liturgical celebrations. The celebration of the Catholic liturgy for some people is considered uninteresting and uninspiring. The argument is that music is monotonous, less varied, and conventional. So that the atmosphere of celebration is not alive and causes people to feel bored. This study relies on different arguments, not only looking at the common sense of liturgical music, but also indicating that a proper understanding of the nature of liturgical music and local cultural contexts has an important impact on people's ability to behave towards liturgical music and other types of music. More specifically, this article aims to analyze the dynamic correlation between music, culture, and liturgy, where the construction of values built in these three aspects is determined by people's perception.

This article is based on the results of qualitative research, targeting worshipers of the Indonesian Catholic Church. This article aims to explore people in the Catholic Church in Jakarta's perception of use of music in the Catholic liturgy in-depth and in detail. Direct observation and the experience of the researcher is beneficial to the opportunity to discuss the matters with the pastor, conductor (choir coach), church music practitioners, and Catholic laymen



provides a detailed understanding of this topic. This case study of the Catholic Church in Jakarta provides an opportunity for the researcher to thoroughly examine the practice of using music in a liturgy that occurs in several parishes in Jakarta. Generally, this situation and experience provides a framework to understand other parishes in the dioceses in Indonesia. This was revealed by the participants in the Choir Trainers Workshop and Technical Meeting of the 2018 National Catholic Church Choir Meeting in Jakarta and the Workshop on the Composition of National Ethnic Liturgical Songs by LP3KN in Jakarta in September 2019.

In the Indonesian context, some liturgical music reviews have already existed before. Marzanna Poplawska wrote about music and Christian inculturation in Indonesia. From the author's perspective, Poplawska's work is less focused and seems to generalize other Catholic and Christian perspectives. Related documents about the Catholic liturgy were also not used as a foundation or reference in the research (Poplawska, 2011). In addition, Yohanes (Don and Bakok, 1993) wrote about inculturated liturgical music in the Ganjuran Church of Yogyakarta and Theresia. Adimurti (2005) also wrote about church music in Toba and Simalungun Bataks. However, the two works do not pay attention to the nature and central role of music in the liturgy and the reasons why it must be inculturated and thus the differences in liturgical music and other music receive little attention. The blank space is to be filled in this article.

## **MUSIC IN HUMAN LIFE**

Musical instruments also existed in Ancient Roman times. The double flute from the Etruscans was a musical instrument that had long been used by the Romans. The art of music in the Roman period reached its peak in the theater. Traces of music can be found from the time of the Islamic occupation of Arabia. The first source of Arabic music is found in the Assyrian inscriptions from the seventh century B.C. where Arab prisoners are said to have worked while singing so beautifully that the Assyrian masters were fascinated and wanted to hear more songs. Kings in South Arabia supported music and literature (Prier, 2011).

These facts reveal that art is not something foreign in human life. Art is inseparable from human life. It is a basic need, a human existential need. Plato once said, "If there is something that makes life meaningful, that is a reflection on beauty" (Hauskeller, 2015). Music is an expression of the depth of the human personality. Music is a representation of the integrity of humans, as well as a representation of the socio-cultural conditions of humans. The role of art was prominent and dominant in the Middle Ages, namely the art of

serving religion. This means that art always deals with divinity. Art is a symbol of divine presence (Agung, 2017; Kristi, 2018). Saint Thomas Aquinas was an exponent of the Middle Ages who explicitly defined art as a beauty if it has three qualities, namely: integrity, harmony and brilliance (Hauskeller, 2015). The art of music is something that can restore the balance of an insecure soul, comforting a depressing heart, and stimulating a sense of patriotism and heroism (Prier, 2011).

Music is present in all dimensions of human life, including religious celebrations. According to Hildegard, music allows contact between the divine and humans, which reminds the human soul of its condition (Kirakosian, 2017). In Catholicism, music has a crucial place in the liturgy. Even music and liturgy are inseparable. Music is not merely an addition or accompaniment but instead becomes an integral part of the liturgy itself. This is also what is seen by students in Catholic education in at SMA Theresia Jakarta (Kris Sejati & Gazali, 2016).

People's perspective on music has long been developing along with the progression of culture, science, and technology. Since the 15th century, there have been very stimulating debates about the values and status of music in the church. One of them was Mengozzi who investigated modern perception of the concepts of Medieval and Renaissance tones. Guido Adler (1885) wrote the structural history of music by dividing historical and systematic musicology. Then his student, George Knepler (1961) --a German music expert, developed it with the perspective of the sociology of music in terms of musical life, composition techniques, and aesthetic ideals (Dumitrescu, 2011). Carl Dahlhaus completed the process of systematizing structural music history in the aesthetic dimensions of music, music sociology, and composition techniques (Liu, 2010). Since the development of ethnomusicology, music research in culture and anthropological viewpoints have replaced Adler's dichotomy.

In later developments, the role of music is increasingly widespread in human life. North and Hargreaves conducted research on the role of music in human life. The research has proven that everyone is related to music, and music is one of the most important things in human life. It is even believed that music is intertwined with a person's identity as it can express feelings about oneself and others. It was found that music can regulate emotions, thoughts, arouse enthusiasm, help individuals to be calm, reduce stress, relieve depressive feelings, and help a person to meditate (Upadhyay, 2013). Research on music on children has also been carried out by Sandra Trehub and her colleagues. Trehub concluded that since birth, there has been a biological tendency to

understand the structure of music, as well as an innate preference for melody. The research has also proved that there is an inherent universal ability to understand and respond to music (Lowis, 2011).

### MUSIC IN CATHOLICISM

Early Christian Church music was monophonic, called Gregorian chants, sung together, evolved, and then polyphonic music emerged in the Middle Ages (1100 -1400), Renaissance (1400-1600), and Baroque (1600-1750). The word 'monophones' comes from the word *monos* (Greek) meaning singular, and *phooneo* which means *to sound*. So, monophonic music is a type of music that consists of only one sound, without accompaniment. Church music began to be clearly distinguished from other types of music in the Middle Ages. Gregorian music was perfected by Pope Gregory thus its name is called Gregorian. Abraham Zebi Idelsohn conducted an investigation and pointed out the influence of synagogal Jewish music on the development of Gregorian music. In addition to monophones music, there is also polyphonic music in European cultural styles. The change in music history is that music no longer focuses on religious interests but is also used for worldly affairs as a means of entertainment. Gregorian music does not recognize the fixed principle of time. Birama maintains the same movement principle, but more abstract, static, and remains the same. Birama is bound to a fixed pressure system, for example the first hit on any type of bar is also considered heavy. The history of music clearly proves the principle of constant birama began to be used when the art of choir developed, where singing together requires a count that unites all sounds (Prier, 2011).

Gregorian music is vocal music and was born as an interpretation of the Latin word. It means music is a rhythmic movement based on Gregorian language accent and musical motive itself. In addition, another difference lies in the rhythm of the Gregorian, depending on accent and pronunciation of Latin words. Rhythm is a principle of melodic movement which is full of life, full of dynamics, full of variety. Gregorian songs are monophonic music, so it is not for the choir, but for unison. It must be admitted that for the beauty of Gregorian music to be fully enjoyed it requires knowledge of Latin. Armed with Latin knowledge, the aesthetic value of Gregorian listeners / singers will realize that this music equals or even exceeds the beauty of other types of music, as is often justified by many famous composers (Prier, 2011).

Catholicism in Indonesia was brought by missionaries from Europe. At the beginning, missionaries introduced and taught the teachings of the Catholic faith in nuances of European culture including its songs and music. The

milestone of major and fundamental changes in church life in Catholicism occurred after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). The church recognized and gave space to the Catholic faith to be expressed in nuances of local culture. Only then could Latin and Gregorian chants be replaced with local languages and music in a process called inculturation. Then, came the ethnic liturgical chant, a chant with an ethnic nuance. Here, liturgical chanting is in harmony with the cultural norms of the local people but has the general character of sacred music.

In Christian liturgy, singing is an expression of communal praise so that those who gather, celebrants, and other believers, all take part in singing (Suárez, Sendra, and Alonso, 2013). Augustine described the art of music as a means to move from the physical to the spiritual (Kirakosian, 2017). The role of music in the liturgy was more significant after the Second Vatican Council. The Catholic Church made fundamental reforms in church life. One of them is the use of liturgical music. Catholic liturgical music as it is known today has gone through a long process of development. Liturgical music has gone through development and changes due to the process of adjustment to various cultures and customs in many nations and countries. Catholic liturgical music began with the emergence and development of Christianity. At the time of Jesus' life in Nazareth, people were accustomed to praying in the form of songs (Don and Bakok, 1993). Jesus and his disciples sang the Hallel psalm during the last supper (Mt 26:30). Hallel (Hebrew "Praise") is a prayer in Judaism (da Cunha, 1992).

### **MUSIC BECOMES THE FOUNDATION OF LITURGY**

Music and singing are related to religious experiences and expressions. Even music is an expression of faith. Calvin argued that music is a sung prayer (Lebaka, 2015). Since the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church has opened up and provided space for local churches to express their faith and ways of worshiping in conjunction with local culture. One of them is in the use of language, music, and local singing, which is called inculturated music. Within, there lies a meeting between aspects of the universal liturgy and aspects of local culture aimed at bringing people to an encounter with God in prayer and praise. Shorter in Poplawska (2011) defined inculturation as "an ongoing dialogue between faith and culture" and as "a creative and dynamic relationship between Christian messages and culture" because inculturation cannot exist except in the form of culture. That means that the Christian faith must be integrated with the local culture so that there is a taste in the appreciation of the people concerned. Traditional cultural elements that are

commonly used in liturgies are arts such as music, dance, literature, and fine art (Poplawska, 2011). In this context, it justifies the idea that states that songs are a form of cultural expression.

The word “liturgy” comes from the (classical) Greek, namely *leitourgia*, which means activities / actions / works (*ergon*) of many people for public use. The word is used to indicate joint work, community service, service work for the public interest or for the benefit of the nation. In other words, liturgy is an activity carried out together, in joint work. According to Benson in Cockayne (2018a) liturgy originally referred to how people lived. Liturgy was never meant to be something only done on Sundays. In reality, liturgy is a way of life. From its inception, liturgy was not practiced only in formal or traditional churches.

According to Edgardh, *raison d'être* of the liturgy does aim to escape from everyday life in the world, but to prove that through human worship it is empowered to work for the lives of all people (Adiprasetya, 2019). It means that worship is a place where humans draw spiritual determination needed by the soul. In fact, the main goal of people practicing religion is to know God, not theorize about God. In this case, the liturgy can help fulfill the conditions needed to know God personally by actively participating in the liturgy. According to Coackley, liturgy allows us to experience God personally because it can provide humans with the knowledge of God through the introduction and personal relationship with Him. Personal knowledge of God is made possible with involvement in liturgy. Such knowledge is obtained slowly through repetition of certain practices in order to find out how to properly relate to and see God (Cockayne, 2018b). Thus, liturgy becomes an effective means of meeting and knowing God. Coackley (2018) referred to the liturgy as a means of full integration of all aspects of self contained in the life of Christ. Liturgical participants bring themselves and their conscious bodies into focused and intentional interactions with the sacramental reality they feel (Lebzyak, 2018).

Since the second century AD, the word *liturgy* has had a cultural meaning. The Church uses liturgy in the sense of celebrating faith together or official worship of the Church to God which is held together by people who believe in God as the ‘face’ of the world (Martasudjita, 1999). The Second Vatican Council defines liturgy as “carrying out the priesthood duties of Jesus Christ, where the sanctification of the Church takes place as the mystical body of Christ, and Christ as its Head”. So liturgy, in this article, means a celebration of God’s work of salvation for humans which is carried out together, requiring an active and full participation of the people present (KL No. 5, 7, 27). According

to Schmeman in (Lebzyak, 2018) active participation in a liturgy is a divine center, a locus of divine action in the world that can truly recreate and glorify the entire human race. It means that the Church can feel the presence of God and liturgy is effective if there is an active involvement in responding to the appeal of God's Word. The people present must have a matching inner attitude, harmonizing the heart to what they say and cooperating with heavenly grace, as to not leave their faith to waste. Community participation consists of two parts, namely inner and outer participation. Inner participation means that the faithful combine their hearts and minds with what they say and additionally cooperate with heavenly grace. Outer participation means expression in the form of motion and posture, and can be realized through acclamation and singing. In short, the faithful celebrate with full awareness, activity, and meaningfulness so that the impact of the celebration can be fully felt (SC No. 11).

Therefore, liturgy is in fact a celebration of the faith held together, in a holy, formal and beautiful manner. The beauty, grandeur, and service of liturgy is reflected in the attitudes, liturgical attire, dynamics, worship, church atmosphere, festive atmosphere, music-singing, and prayers that are artfully arranged. Meanwhile liturgy is considered to be official when it complies with the standard structures, and the festivals, order, prayers, symbols, texts and chants used have been approved by Church leaders. In addition, a liturgy is led by formal leaders who have been ordained such as bishops, priests, deacons. A liturgy is called a holy celebration because it is led by Christ through a priest (KL No. 7), and the people who celebrate it are believers and use equipment, means of worship that have been consecrated in advance. This requires that the liturgy be meaningful only to the faithful. Schmemann, 1963 states that "to the unbelievers, a liturgy seems like a mirage. People only hear words and thus see ceremonies that are incomprehensible to them (Lebzyak, 2018).

The final thing about liturgy is a collective celebration. It means that it is not an individual act, but instead a communal celebration organized under a bishop (KL 22, 26-27). As a collective celebration, it also reflects the movement of the body as well as the songs sung together. Wolterstorf argued that one of the key values of the body's dimension in acting liturgically is that it enables people to worship communally. Without the body, the communal dimension of the liturgy would be completely lost (Cockayne, 2018a).

In the ecclesiastical life, the liturgy is the source of all its strengths and the culmination of the activities of the Church (KL No. 10). From the liturgy, the sanctifying grace of man and the exaltation of God in Christ occur. In order for the mystery of Christ's salvation to be delivered and permeated to

everyone, the liturgical celebration must be in accordance with the soul and culture of each nation (KL no. 37-40). However, it must be understood that in the liturgy, there are parts that are permanent and unchanged because they originate from God and must be protected by the Church (John Paul II, Apostolic Epistle *Vicesimus quintus annus*, No. 16).

In order to increase the participation of the whole congregation and create a simultaneously solemn and grand atmosphere, music has a foundational role. This is in line with Arnold's argument which states the central theme of church music is grace (Martin, 1984). Therefore, the existence of music is very important in the liturgy. Dimitri Conomos asserted that church music is not a decoration but integrates with the liturgy itself. Liturgical music has a noble and holy dignity because the sacred chanting comes from the scriptures and is an integral part of a liturgy.

Music has the potential to increase participation and attendance in liturgical celebrations. This was proven in Morakeng Lebaka's research (2015) which revealed that the use of traditional religious music into the liturgy provided enthusiasm and active participation of local people. Singing specifically helps people recognize themselves as a unified Church, so they may build their own identity through music while increasing their attractiveness to outsiders. The findings also support Scott's statement that using cultural music increases participation in worship (Lebaka, 2015). This fact supports the idea that traditional religious music has a positive impact on the development of active participation and interest of people in liturgical celebrations.

Therefore, the purpose of liturgical music is to enhance the glory of God and the sanctification of the faithful. Liturgical music expresses more prayers profoundly, fosters the unity of heart, and enriches sacred ceremonies with more lively festivity. Liturgical celebrations become more glorious if the worship of God is celebrated with festive singing supported by skilled liturgical servants and people actively involved in them (KL No.113). So, the liturgy truly prioritizes the active participation of the faithful in the liturgical celebration. This is especially evident in the involvement of the people in singing (KL No. 114). Smith argues that "worship is not a personal matter; we have gathered as a people, as a church, and together we depend on our redeeming Creator, so we depend on each other (Cockayne, 2018a).

For that reason, education and coaching on liturgical music is required so people have the proper knowledge and understanding to properly appreciate liturgical celebrations. In that context, it is appropriate for the government, particularly the Directorate General of Catholic Community Guidance, to collaborate with the Church/Indonesian Bishops' Conference (KWI) to establish the Catholic

Church Choir Development Institute with the Regulation of the Minister of Religious Affairs (PMA) No. 35 of 2016. This institute serves as a means, or a forum, for fostering and developing Indonesian Catholic Church music with the ultimate aim of improving the quality of music in worship.

The main criteria that must be considered in the selection of liturgical singing music are in harmony with the spirit of liturgical celebration (KL No. 30) and support the participation of all believers and the lyrics must be in accordance with Catholic teachings, drawn from the Scriptures and Liturgical sources (KL No. 121). Liturgical music is deliberately created for the purpose of worship, has an internal position in worship, and is devoted to the interests of worship and to increasing people's participation (KL No. 112, 114). Therefore, the use of music in the liturgy is very clear according to its function. The lyrics and melody of the liturgical singing must be in harmony with the liturgical time and the liturgical part. It means that the song is used as an opening song, preparation for offerings, a celebration of thanksgiving or closing during Ordinary, Advent, Christmas, Lent, and Easter. The melody should also go along with the lyrics. Happy lyrics accompany a happy melody, and sad lyrics accompany a sad melody. The melody must be in accordance with the soul and the words of the lyric.

The description firmly and clearly shows that liturgical music is not a tool or property of any interest group (Westermeyer, 2015). Church musicians and singers are called upon to help the church in the community create liturgies that are regal and lively. Church musicians are called upon to understand music in the context of beauty, past culture, culture, skills, liturgical varieties, and pastoral concern. According to Conomos (in Martin, 1984), church music must be worthy of the sacred and respectful of written text so as to encourage prayer, not reduce or distract from it.

In fact, many people are often confused about distinguishing liturgical music and pop music. As a result, trending spiritual pop songs are used in liturgical celebrations. Spiritual pop music is music that is deliberately created for purposes outside of liturgical worship, for example in devotional activities. The songs do express spiritual feelings and create a spiritual atmosphere, but are not intended to be used in the liturgy. This means they do not have a clear position in worship (KL No. 112). The point is that the spiritual song, whether it is an opening song, preparation for offering or closing, is unclear and does not match. In addition, spiritual pop songs are not closely related to worship and do not properly express prayer. Their lyrics are very individualistic because they do not come from holy books or liturgical literature, thus they do not foster the unity of people's hearts and are not liturgical in nature.



With regard to the church's musical instruments, the pipe organ is typical as a traditional musical instrument, whose sound is capable of enlivening the celebration of the Church and elevating the hearts of people to God and to heaven" (KL No. 120). Pipe organs must be upheld in the Latin Church, because they are traditional instruments. The sound of the pipe organ can add to the splendor of the Church's liturgy and powerfully elevate the human mind to God (Sygulska, 2019). However, other musical instruments can be used in holy worship if they get the approval of the local authorized ecclesiastical authority. They must be in accordance with the spirit of the liturgy as well as be deemed helpful in strengthening the appreciation of the people in celebrating the liturgy (KL No. 120).

Liturgical music is music composed for the celebration of holy worship and in terms of form, has a certain sacred significance (MS No. 4). By means of sacred significance, it is intended to serve the purpose of liturgical music, which is to glorify God and sanctify the faithful (TLS no.1; KL No.112), integrated with actions and rites in celebration or sacred worship (KL. No.112). There are three qualities of liturgical singing, namely holiness, true art, and universalism (TLS No.2). Holiness is intended to eliminate all worldly and profane things from the music itself (lyric and melody) in addition to the way music is performed by the artists. In line with true art, music must be beautiful to hear. Whereas universalism means "God's Church is universal; it is no stranger to any nation" (*Maximum Illud*, no. 16) and can be accepted by the faithful (TLS No. 2).

As holy music, liturgical singing has the main principle of melody in accordance with the liturgical text. It is intended to add greater usability to the liturgical text. The sung liturgical text is more memorable than just being read or spoken because music carries an emotional impact that deepens the level of human consciousness (Joncas and Joncas, 2016). Therefore, the function of liturgical singing is to create an atmosphere of grand celebration and express prayer more attractively (MS No.5; KL No.112). Unity of heart is achieved in greater depth thanks to the combination of voices. The heart is more easily raised towards heavenly entities thanks to the beauty of sacred ceremonies. Through this text, the faithful are more easily directed towards respect and a better intention to receive mercy from liturgical celebrations (TLS No.1).

The content of the liturgical songs express faith in the Church or mystery that is celebrated, and the Church's response to the proclamation (praise/gratitude/ prayer). Basically, there are only two types of liturgical songs, namely Gregorian and sacred polyphony. The previous section explained that Gregorian is singing in unison, while the holy polyphonic is singing with a multitude of voices, usually called choral singing. The Roman passion for

religious music has grown rapidly since the nineteenth century when the sacred choir was first founded by Professor Gavriil Musicescu (1847-1903) (Opriş, 2015). The provision of its use must be in harmony with the spirit of liturgical celebration (KL No.116), namely increasing the active participation of the faithful (KL No.30). The Church recommends that Gregorian chants be prioritized in liturgical celebrations, (KL No.116) since Gregorian is typical singing for Roman liturgies.

In this light, it appears that the Catholic Church is very sincere in liturgical arrangement by making clear rules so that the nature, meaning, and sacredness of the liturgy is maintained. The use of music in liturgies is clear and clean. Selecting and determining songs that are appropriate for use in the liturgy requires a process by a selection team consisting of people who understand the science of harmony, liturgy, Scripture, and Theology. The results of the song selection by the team are then submitted to the authorized officials to obtain *nihil obstat* or zero obstructions and *imprimatur* (official permission). *Nihil obstat* is meant to ensure there is nothing contrary to the teachings of the Church within the songs and the lyrics do not conflict with the teachings of the Catholic faith. *Nihil obstat* is given by a religious expert. *Imprimatur* is intended for getting an official stamp by declaring the song is a valid liturgical song and may be distributed for use. *Imprimatur* is given by the Regional Ordinary; a Bishop or a Vicar General for the diocesan level; or the Chairperson of the Conference or commission for a conference or on a national level. In the liturgical arrangements, the authority lies with the leadership of the Church (KL no.22; KHK Kan.838).

## CONCLUSION

Humans are cultural creatures that need music and liturgy to fulfill their human existential needs. Music adheres to and permeates all dimensions of human life. Music has existed since humans have known civilization. Music is a gift from God that is used by humans as a means to communicate themselves with the Creator in liturgical celebrations as well as expressing their depth of faith. The complexity of humanity cannot be expressed merely by verbal language. With music, humans are able to express their true personality and selves. Humans are *homo liturgicus*, meaning they are entities that always yearn for an intense relationship with God as their origin and source of life. Therefore, humans need liturgy as a celebration of faith, revealing that humans only exist and are meaningful in life when in a relationship with God and other humans. In this context, music plays a central role. Liturgical music is able to connect the heavenly and earthly worlds.

The Catholic Church was born in a human culture so that humans are capable of understanding, appreciating and feeling religious experiences. Therefore, when Christianity became a universal religion, the expression of faith and its method of its liturgy need to be expressed in accordance with local culture. Thus, religion can really permeate all human life. This awareness has inspired the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council as it was given space to express faith in the liturgy with local culture. Hence, Gregorian Latin singing typical of the Roman liturgy changed and adapted according to the language and culture of the local people. The Church realizes that giving space for the inclusion of local culture in the liturgy is not without the risk of practices and acts of using local cultural content that are not appropriate or compatible with the noble dignity of the Catholic faith. The profane elements can easily permeate the heavenly liturgy. To prevent this, the Church issued clear and comprehensive guidelines for local churches. In the Indonesian context, all the rules set by the Vatican Catholic Church need to be adequately disseminated so that the guidelines are well-understood by the people. People still have difficulty distinguishing between spiritual pop music and liturgical music, so it is not surprising that errors sometimes occur in the selection of music and singing in the liturgy. In this context, the establishment of LP3KN found its urgency.

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## MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM TOWARDS GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN THE ERA OF DIN SYAMSUDIN'S LEADERSHIP

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### ABSTRACT

*The liberalization policy through Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Natural Resources and Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas, elicited a strong reaction from the Muhammadiyah movement. In response to the laws, Muhammadiyah used their role as both a civil society movement and Islamic movement and took the step of constitutional jihad. This article looks at the steps and attitudes of Muhammadiyah's criticism towards government policies under the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (SBY). The findings showed the constitutional jihad was based on the spirit of the Muhammadiyah indictment and the spirit of progressive Islam Muhammadiyah. It was within this spirit that the Muhammadiyah movement was encouraged to be critical of SBY's policies. This study also explores Muhammadiyah's critical attitude which has had an internal and external impacts on the movement as a whole and Muhammadiyah leaders. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude is a form of action and rational choice. The rational choice being made by Muhammadiyah through observation of the impacts of the application of the two laws. Muhammadiyah and its leaders indicate the rational choice of Muhammadiyah actors based on Muhammadiyah's spirit orientation, and the social conditions of the Indonesians in response to the application of both of these laws.*

**Keywords:** Muhammadiyah; Criticism; Oil and Gas; Natural Resources; Law.

## INTRODUCTION

The Muhammadiyah movement is based on the spirit of purification of the creed, social care as the core of the implementation of the true creed, preaching promotion of virtue and prevention of vice, and fighting in the path of Allah. The movement often faces social realities that are not in line with Muhammadiyah thought. The reform era has brought rapid, broad, and massive social changes. These changes led to liberalization which was marked by changes in regulations resulting in water resources being controlled. The problems occurring in the wake of the reform have since encouraged Islamic organizations to move more broadly (Jason F Asaacnon, 2017). The Muhammadiyah movement played a part as a supervisory body by providing criticism to the government. The movement's evolving role shows there needs to be an institutional and legal formal role (Parmudi, 2015: Nashir, H at.al., 2019). The dynamics of social change during the reform period are fast, broad, and massive. The relationship between Islam and the state is seen as tenuous so that there is no criticism of the government (Moser, 2006). The order of political life that was originally authoritarian and confined strictly to being democratic and free after the reform movement, is based on the desire of Muslim groups to respond to changes in the first ten years of Suharto's leadership (Hakim, 1998). At the same time, economic liberalization has positioned capital owners to freely take the bigger role in controlling national economic life, which is contrary to the spirit of social democracy or social liberalism, not as individualistic liberalism (Eckersley, 2007).

In 2005, when Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) came to power, there were several policies that benefited capital owners in controlling water resources. Between 2005 and 2015 there were 115 laws that harmed national interests, one of which was Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas, and Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources. The enactment of this law raised many problems because it sided with the capital owners. President Yudhoyono's policies tended to favor capital owners opposed to individuals and smaller communities. The policy thus introduced a series of criticism from the Muhammadiyah movement about the government, specifically suggesting the management of water resources be oriented to the welfare of the people as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution instead of serving larger state interests.

Muhammadiyah is an Islamic reformist movement that is constantly adjusting and evolving based on the context of larger society, driven especially by the insight of cadres within the sect. Muhammadiyah has a large role as an NGO on Indonesian society (Saguni, 2018). Its ethos is influenced by the idea of Islamic modernism (Parmudi, 2015), whereas as a civil society



it is influenced by the socio-political conditions of Indonesia in general. For example, Muhammadiyah educational institutions have contributed greatly in society despite being a minority religion (David Efendi, 2017). Additionally, the Muhammadiyah attitude is also modern and in support of democratic politics. This is based on Muhammadiyah's involvement in fighting for independence and being involved in controlling the New Order government (Argenti, 2017). Somer (2007) argues that changes in the perspective of Islam have set a milestone between conservative Islam and secular Islam, especially in countries such as Turkey and Egypt whose influences have stretched to Indonesia. Islamic movements can be flexible with the aim of avoiding repression from the state (Munson, 2001; Nursita, R & Sahide, A., 2019). The Islamic movement also supports the modernization of democracy and human rights (Freedman, 2009). Indonesia experienced a similar trajectory post their reform movement, and the results have been more accommodating towards contradictions and global capitalism (Hadiz, 2011).

The democratic climate allows Muhammadiyah to fight for Islamic values and interests in the public sphere. Muhammadiyah's criticism is inseparable from its position and values. Such criticism is also inseparable from the relationship between Muhammadiyah leaders and the reality of national and state issues. Various national problems have encouraged Din Syamsudin's criticism to make changes supported by his belief in Islamic teachings and modernist Islamic values. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude is considered to be in opposition, but it remains within the constitutional framework, so that the opposition movement is not destructive to the state and to the strengthening of civil society. The state authorities also do not see Muhammadiyah's criticism as a threat to the state ideology so that the opposition attitude of the Islamic movement, as represented through Muhammadiyah criticism towards the state in the Din Syamsudin era.

The Muhammadiyah Central Chairman, Din Syamsuddin, argued that the steps taken by the government were detrimental to his community, so Muhammadiyah took a stand by making an appeal to revoke the two laws. The attitude taken by Muhammadiyah was part of the work of promotion of vice and prevention of vice. During the two terms of SBY's leadership, Muhammadiyah made many criticisms of the government, with the aim of rectifying the direction of change initiated by the SBY government. This study aims to look at the attitude of the Muhammadiyah criticism during the leadership of Din Syamsudin in dealing with national issues, to analyze the cause of the Muhammadiyah system towards Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's government policy, and to examine how Muhammadiyah stabilized its choice

in criticizing the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono government.

### THE EMERGENCE OF MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM

Muhammadiyah's prominent public attitude was developed through an in-depth study that influenced organizational decisions. Muhammadiyah's decision-making is very hierarchical namely going through processes of conference, *tanwir*, central leadership meeting, leadership work meeting, and *tahfidz* meeting as a meeting to determine the outcome of the decision. Current issues that develop through expert studies are presented in daily meetings and plenary meetings of the Muhammadiyah central leadership. Muhammadiyah's criticism was publicly conveyed through the central leadership, and a critical attitude towards government power was shown by Muhammadiyah in this research refers to the leadership of Din Syamsudin in his response to social, political, economic issues. As an organization that has political power. Muhammadiyah can put pressure on the government, especially policies that are contrary to the spirit of the Muhammadiyah *da'wah*.

According to Kosasih & Suwarno (2010) Muhammadiyah leadership uses the Quran and Hadith as its core principles. Adhering to these all-encompassing principles means the Muhammadiyah movement is morally, socially, culturally, and spiritually obliged to address any political issues impacting the lives of its members. This view is similar to the *ijtihad* and *tajdid* movements. As Muhammadiyah is a modern Islamic movement (Setyawan, 2013), it understands and responds to complex problems, strengthened in its position as a modern organization and its ability to read social, political, and economic issues. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude in Congress in 2010 encompassed various fields, but most strongly in the economic field. In these discussions, Muhammadiyah criticized inconsistent economic paradigms, dualistic economic structures, dependent fiscal policies, financial and banking systems that did not side with the people, trade policies, liberal industries, and the grip of the neoliberal economy which introduced many dilemmas in building a constitutional economy that favors the people (Muhammadiyah, 2010).

Progressive Islam promotes substantive values including democracy, justice, social justice, etc. (Manalu, 2019). Muhammadiyah stated its position as a movement promoting substantive values by looking at the prevalent modern problems facing Indonesia. Din Syamsudin became a staunch critic of Yudhoyono's policies. His strong attitude was inseparable from Muhammadiyah's position as an established organization and together they were able to respond to critical issues as a unified front. Among their identified critical issues was Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources and Law No.

22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas. The attitude became a reform movement in the economic outlook (Setyawan, 2013). Muhammadiyah builds relationships with religious leaders pushing both issues to the public's attention.

Muhammadiyah's criticism of the Water Resources Law led to their submission of constitutional jihad. Constitutional jihad is a reform movement in the field of law and a corrective effort carried out through formal channels, namely by submitting a judicial review to the Constitutional Court on a number of laws that are considered contrary to the 1945 Constitution. The Petition for Judicial Review on Law Number 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources in 2013 was finally granted by the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court (MK) in its Decision Number 85 / PUU-XI / 2013, stated that Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources (UU SDA) is contrary to the 1945 Constitution, therefore it does not have binding legal force. In the decision, the Court also stated that Law No. 11/1974 concerning irrigation, should be reinstated. The consequence of this Constitutional Court decision was the immediate cancellation of all government regulations and various types of permits that had been issued under the Natural Resource Law regime, but their legality had to be recognized until the expiration of the permit period. This was in line with the principle of applying the law which could not be retroactive.

Din Syamsudin viewed that Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas opened opportunities for foreigners to control oil and gas resources in Indonesia. In addition to the establishment of BP Migas, the 2001 Oil and Gas Law reduced the state's role in water resources as a result of violations of article 33. Contracts signed by BP Migas and foreigners resulted in the state losing its freedom in managing its water resources (Simon Butt, 2013). Muhammadiyah criticism led to the constitutional jihad granted by the Constitutional Court regarding both Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas and Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources. Muhammadiyah's criticism of the water resource management law led to a judicial review derived from the results of the 2009 Tanwir session. Muhammadiyah, first, urged the government to implement a sustainable development that utilizes natural resources in an eco-democratic manner with economic political policies that favor the interests of the people and upholds the nation's morality and sovereignty. Second, Muhammadiyah urged the government (both central and regional) to save state assets and manage wealth and natural resources by prioritizing long-term interests and environmental preservation with the intent of using them for the prosperity of the people.

## FACTORS INFLUENCING MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM

Muhammadiyah's criticism of SBY's government is inseparable from the subjectivity of actors, especially with the strong voice of Din Syamsudin. This interconnectedness reveals how subjective factors influence Muhammadiyah in voicing criticisms. Criticism has positive and constructive values with the purpose of improving the condition of the nation. According to Surbakti, factors influencing elites to participate include socioeconomic situations, organizational experience, political awareness, and trust in government (Simangunsong, 2004). This attitude has proven the relationship between religion and government politics (Kaptein, 2016). Din's subjectivity appears in his view of the socio-political situation. This attitude reflects the Muhammadiyah movement which is not only concerned with its group but also with Indonesian society as a whole. Modern and liberal democracy do not only see issues for their personal interests but also for the wider community (Couture, 2012). That was the attitude of Muhammadiyah in criticizing SBY's government policies.

According to Kaptein (2019), Muhammadiyah is an organization that is tolerant of minorities, especially in regard to social and economic issues. Kaptein refers to this notion as a communal tolerance. This has become an objective social, economic, and political condition as Muhammadiyah's reason for criticism. The objective conditions include economic liberalization and an impact upon its people, Muhammadiyah as a civil society, a democratic constitutional system, and Muhammadiyah as a reformist movement. Trade and industrial policies are still oriented towards liberalization and thus do not protect domestic products, or provide enough impetus for the creation of added values. As a result, domestic industries lack competitiveness and are vulnerable to the invasion of imported products, which means they tend to export raw materials and semi-finished goods. Furthermore, the existing policies cause the growth of the manufacturing sector to be low.

The old views of the classical doctrine of democracy are concerned with the common good and the people's will (Schumpeter, 1942). To realize this, the state needs to position itself to fulfill the will of the people. Mark E. Warren and Hilary Pearse (2008) argue that in the social science paradigm, those who control the agenda can control the outcome and that the setting of the political agenda must be consistent with the current issue. Muhammadiyah has become one of the institutions that controls setting the agenda, though the position is outside the government. Muhammadiyah is based on democratic deliberation. In a deliberative democracy, it is necessary to institutionalize ideas, possible actions, and listen to the people's opinions. Muhammadiyah

takes actions so that the government and the House of Representatives will not arbitrarily make regulations considered contrary to the 1945 Constitution. Overlapping regulations have caused problems in the system of law drafting in Indonesia, such as laws on oil and gas and natural resources which are clearly contrary to the 1945 Constitution. Wiratraman (2018) asserted that there is a need to strengthen the judicial apparatus of the court so that there is no law contrary to the 1945 Constitution.

Muhammadiyah's criticism was influenced by the Muhammadiyah leadership's mindset and the SBY government's social, political, economic circumstances, and economic liberalization efforts, wherein the policy of undoing the law had the potential to destroy the people's economic activities. Criticism of Muhammadiyah demonstrates the concern of Muhammadiyah and his leadership, as well as the perception of Muhammadiyah as a movement of civil society that has to govern the nation. Criticism by Din Syamsudin demonstrates the need for allocative policy against the state to allow the nation to be powerful and not to become an instrument of global capitalism. Din Syamsudin was strict on policies that affected Muslims. Reforms have strengthened the position of civil society in order to increase its political role in determining the direction of the nation and state. Muhammadiyah as part of civil society has a very important role to determine the direction of action for the creation of empowered society. Muhammadiyah is not the only civil power in Indonesia. There are many other civil forces. But as a reform movement, Muhammadiyah's active role in criticizing the government shows that Muhammadiyah is capable of being a locomotive for others. This is inseparable from the Muhammadiyah movement as a modern Islamic movement through its *tajdid* and social and political movements. Modernization is a movement to reform Muhammadiyah thought to find solutions to the various problems they face. The Reform Movement in Muhammadiyah is based on the belief that Islam aims to create a socio-political system on a strong ethical and moral foundation in order to actualize the principle of *rahmatan lil alamin* in certain space and time.

### **THE INTERNAL IMPACTS OF MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM**

Muhammadiyah's central position has made major contributions to Indonesia's socio-political dynamics. Din Syamsudin, the central leader of the Muhammadiyah, showed an attitude of brotherhood amongst his people (Munson, 2001), and as a pluralism movement that saw major issues for the community (Mu'ti, 2016), a substantial Islamic movement by looking at all aspects (Parmudi, 2015). Muhammadiyah's critical attitude had an impact on Muhammadiyah's organization, causing conflict within the organization. The

opposition also gave the same attitude specifically regarding the issue of law. But the government on behalf of the state seeks to strengthen the position of the state in maintaining the stability of social order. Muhammadiyah's criticism of the administration of President SBY was seen as weakening the government in controlling the stability of the country. Therefore, the government tended to be negative towards the Muhammadiyah elite.

Muhammadiyah's criticism of the government had an impact on Din Syamsudin as a person. The relationship between Din Syamsudin and state officials, especially with President SBY, became strained. For example, Din Syamsudin was not included in the list of religious leaders who were invited by SBY to a meeting at the state palace in 2011. Din seemed to be purposefully kept away from state policy makers. This seemed to be detrimental to Din politically. However, the opposite happened in reality when Muhammadiyah was able to follow up on its criticisms about mismanagement of the state by showing many laws that were contrary to the 1945 Constitution. Constitutional jihad, a term that was put forward by Din Syamsudin and Muhammadiyah, brought success in conducting a judicial review of a number of laws that were considered detrimental to Indonesia's sovereignty.

The success of the judicial review shows the strength of Muhammadiyah as a civil society in regards to state power. Civil society includes areas of social life that are organized and characterized by, among other things, volunteerism, self-sufficiency, and high independence in dealing with the state from being attracted by legal norms and values followed by its citizens (Parry, 2011). Din Syamsudin's attitude reflects the right choices and rational attitudes that reflect Muhammadiyah's modern perspective. Rational choices tend to follow culture and religion (Zafirovski, 2016). In the context of bringing Muhammadiyah as a civil society, Din was considered successful in strengthening Muhammadiyah's position when dealing with the state. The rational choice of the leaders of Muhammadiyah, especially the actors representing Muhammadiyah in expressing criticism to the government, yielded more benefits than Din's good relations with the president at that time.

Muhammadiyah's criticism found a successful channel in a democratic state system. Muhammadiyah is seen as a civic organization that is not in conflict with the system or the interests of the government because the state has provided a channel of participation for civil society. However, personal criticism of the Muhammadiyah elite towards the government had an impact on the absence of Muhammadiyah cadres in the second United Indonesia Cabinet structure. The attitude of the Muhammadiyah elite who frankly supported the other pair in the 2009 Presidential Election revealed that there was no position in the

government for Muhammadiyah cadres. The support of the Muhammadiyah elites was more likely given to Jusuf Kalla, even though Muhammadiyah during SBY's leadership still gained space as an Islamic organization.

### **EXTERNAL IMPACTS OF THE MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM**

Muhammadiyah's criticism of SBY's government had a positive impact on society. Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources granted the right to the private sector to use water widely while participating in managing water resources. An understanding of social and economic functions arises and the privatization and commercialization of water resources is detrimental to the community. With the cancellation of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources, the community is free to use water resources in accordance with the constitutional basis of the 1945 Constitution Article 33 Paragraph (3) (Kurniawan, 2013). This means that access for the community in utilizing Water Resources becomes wide open.

The annulment of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning natural resources has gained momentum by the government to improve itself by drawing up pro-people and equitable water resource management rules for all parties. Law No. 11/1974 concerning irrigation as a legal umbrella was reinstated which means the state again has the right to control water resources. The top priority to control water is given to state-owned enterprises (BUMN) and regional government-owned companies (BUMD). The impact of the annulment of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources is a breath of fresh air for BUMN and BUMD to further develop and carry out the main tasks of the functions of state-owned and regional-owned enterprises, in addition to being profit-oriented, it is also permissible to leave the service function to the community (Kurniawan, 2013).

Muhammadiyah's criticism of the management of oil and gas which led to the cancellation of some articles of Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas has had an impact on legal protection of state assets. Articles regulating BP Migas as BUMN were canceled. To fill the legal vacuum, SKK Migas was formed to continue the duties of BP Migas, which no longer has legality. SKK Migas is not a State-Owned Legal Entity (BUMN) like BP Migas but is a work-unit under the minister (Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources). That is, the government fully controls the management of oil and gas as a fulfillment of the needs of public services, and therefore the government can be petitioned to meet these needs permanently and routinely for the welfare of the people.

The methods undertaken by the government in meeting the intended needs is the case with individuals. They have attempted to do this namely by entering into a contractual relationship with another party. Contract legal

instruments become a very important legal corridor as an effort to protect the law of state assets. Cooperation Contracts are rules of the game for parties acting as contractants involving the government as one of the parties. The characteristics of these contracts are not fully subject to private law. One of the most important aspects of contracts involving the government is the immunity of the government when it is sued in court. In order to protect the country's financial assets there are regulations that also function as efforts to protect the country's wealth.

Muhammadiyah's various criticisms of the Indonesian Government under President SBY departed from the empirical reality of the Indonesian Nation which was indeed confronted with the torrent of liberalization. The rationality established by the government that liberalization as a door to prosperity seems to have received many protests because liberalization is only beneficial for capital owners. Muhammadiyah's critical attitude is reminiscent of Emmanuel Kant's philosophy of criticism which tries to correct rationalism and empiricism (Khuza'i & Kamil, 2015). The truth derived from the power of the ratio is not always in line with the truth felt at the practical level. Ratio or thought about exploitation of water resources that brings prosperity is not always true, because empirical facts show the existence of natural damage that is not proportional to the welfare enjoyed by the people. On the contrary, the prosperous life enjoyed by the people is often considered irrational when compared with the figures for the increase in future exploitation.

### **MUHAMMADIYAH'S CRITICISM AS A RATIONAL CHOICE**

Muhammadiyah criticism in the Din Syamsudin era appeared as a correction to the rationalism of policies issued by the state during SBY's administration. Analysis of Muhammadiyah criticism based on rational choice theory rational choice is a choice based on values (Hechter, 1997) that rational choice takes into account the issues and voices of the people (Jung, 2017). According to McBride (2016) rational choice in religious authority takes into account the objectives and benefits, and the groups that accept their impact. The laws regarding oil, gas, water resources from a Muhammadiyah perspective are laws that are detrimental and unfavorable to the community. They only form new capital groups through the IMF. Ostrom (1991) argued that rational choices made by Muhammadiyah as a normative analysis of problematic laws, explaining the problems and impacts of the policies, and retelling the purpose of the 1945 Constitution on natural resources that must be managed for the welfare of the people.

Muhammadiyah measures have shown that the oil and gas and natural resources



law has great potential to impose new capital domination. Muhammadiyah criticism is seen from the perspective of rational choice theory, which is a rational choice of the Muhammadiyah elites. This is seen particularly in Din Syamsudin's decisions based on rational considerations. However, the assumption of rational choice theorists is that individuals are rational and selfish (Andrew Hindmoor, 2015). The criticism voiced by Din is inseparable from the spirit of promotion of virtue and prevention of vice which is based on the values of spiritual and transcendent teachings. The transcendent aspect felt by the individual is not captured as a reality so Din's argument is built from his actions to achieve some goal or self-interest.

Din's attitude as an ethical choice whose consequences lie in individual responsibility (Dekker, 2017), makes it so that the attitude taken is the decision of his and Muhammadiyah's moral attitude. Each social behavior is basically an exchange of something useful for individuals with rational considerations (van Aaken & Kurtz, 2019). Din, as an actor, made a decision along Muhammadiyah lines. Based on the condition of the state that can be monopolized by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Muhammadiyah saw this action as having a negative impact on society and gave advantages to investors. Van Aaken & Kurtz (2019) saw Muhammadiyah's position as an actor who understood the problem so it decided through a meeting of the central leadership. Rational choice theory has character tenants that lie within the actor. As a social theory, rational choice builds the actor's action model with the social context that is happening (Hechter, 1997). Muhammadiyah's long-standing understanding and experience in driving change shows that he understands the prevalent social reality. The social conditions in the above views are in line with Hoffman (2015).

Muhammadiyah's decision, according to the rational-actor model, is based on logic or rationality to achieve organizational goals or interests. This means that actors or elites who convey criticism to the Yudhoyono's government associate their personal benefits with that of the organization. Rational choice theory views one's actions as beneficial (Ratcliffe, 2014). Actions taken by an actor need to pay attention to several things, such as making difficult policies implementable. In this position, Muhammadiyah was able to control power with constitutional jihad so that the oil, gas, and water resources laws were annulled. Second, considering the macro and micro aspects, both of these apparatus, as put forward by Ratcliffe (2014), are aspects that influence each other. Actors need to understand the phenomenon and its impact so they know the effect. Rational choice theory views a person's action as an act of "utility maximizing approach", namely someone will make a choice that is

very beneficial for them. Rational choice theory has six postulates, namely: (1) every social phenomenon is a result of one's choices, behavior, attitudes, etc. (2) behavior can be understood (3) behavior arises as a result of reasons in the mind (4) the reasons for the choice of a behavior are based on the assessment of the consequences of that choice (5) the assessment of the consequences is based on the consequences that will be felt by individuals making decisions (egoism) (6) individuals will make choices that are most beneficial for them (Boudon, 2003).

Muhammadiyah's attitude is explained by Al-ansi, Sulistyaningsih, & Kartono (2019) that the organization has a very important role in binding in Muhammadiyah's moral practice. Muhammadiyah's attitude as a practice of collective morality follows the teachings of the Qur'an such as justice, equality, brotherhood, love, solidarity, and freedom of choice. This attitude can be described as having three associations: first, how the environment influences the individual into action; second, how action orientation influences individual actions; and third, how actions affect social outcomes (Peter Hedström, 2011).

Judging from the decision making through the organizational process model, Muhammadiyah's criticism is the collective behavior of management involved in the decision making process. The management must be bound by the rules of the organization as written in the Statute and the unwritten habits in decision-making meetings such as daily meetings, plenary sessions, *tanwir* sessions, and conferences. The decision making model through this organizational process will suppress the interests of individual management. That is, the argument of rational choice theory that a person's actions are to achieve his own interests is not entirely true. In addition, according to Bateson (2010), rational choice draws a logical reasoning of decision makers to describe results. Muhammadiyah's choice to conduct constitutional jihad has considered logical reasoning and the results to be achieved (Bateson, 2010; Peter Hedström, 2011).

The general will becomes an incentive in the choice of ratio by observing the wishes of the public (Hoffman, 2015). In this light, Muhammadiyah made extensive criticism of the oil, gas, and water resources laws, and Muhammadiyah saw a visible gap between people at the lower economic class. If the law is enacted, it creates an even bigger inequality gap for these individuals and possibly kills the small economic movement pioneered by Muhammadiyah. The rational choice view of the Muhammadiyah's attitude has shown that the constitutional jihad movement is a moral movement. Dekker (2017) considered that bad results are not generated by immoral humans but by human interaction with the system. Dekker's views in several

studies also assess that theories are categorized as rational or irrational due to wrong perspectives about a case, and not human behavior. The ability of Din Syamsudin to accumulate the strength of Muhammadiyah to reject government policy is different when compared to some countries that are not able to accommodate socio-political forces using their leadership to address problematic external conditions (Faris & Parry, 2011). However, the position of moderate and progressive Islamic organizations advocates for greater protection of people's rights (Freedman, 2009).

The collective-action approach, especially regarding environmental problems, modifies the regulatory structure (Villamayor-Tomas, Thiel, Amblard, Zikos, & Blanco, 2019). These modifications create a collective action of large organizations that are concerned with these issues, so that policy instruments are born only in the form of strict regulations. But Sweetman, Maio, Spears, Manstead, & Livingstone (2019) assumed that the larger a group of interests, the smaller the significance of the involvement of individuals within it. Meanwhile, the benefits achieved if the interest group succeeds in pushing its interests in the policy process will be felt by all group members, without considering the contribution of each member to the group. Such an attitude is politically motivated toward the people and groups who are unfortunate due to policy thus making a message of mass mobilization. However, the form of protest should be staged through descent ethics or deliberation (Sweetman et al., 2019). The form of protest in deliberations reflects the application of democratic ideals in Islamic organizations, (Kaptein, 2016; Susanto, 2011; Svulik, 2019).

## CONCLUSION

This work suggests that Muhammadiyah's criticism was based on SBY's government policy in issuing Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources which was assessed as a result of the strong pressure of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on the government, both of these laws have given a large private role to manage Indonesia's natural resources and contrary to the principles of Indonesia's economy where all-natural resources are managed by the state for the prosperity of Indonesia. Muhammadiyah took the step of constitutional jihad as a formal step to cancel both of these laws, criticism, and jihad of the Muhammadiyah constitution ended in the cancellation of the oil and gas law and natural resources. The factor influencing the Muhammadiyah system was Din Syamsudin's view as Chairman of the Muhammadiyah Central Leadership and other Muhammadiyah leaders. The policy of the jihadist constitution was adopted through Muhammadiyah hearings.

Muhammadiyah's attitude in responding to the law as a form of organization has had an important role in society, the role is binding in the moral practices of Muhammadiyah, Muhammadiyah's attitude as a practice of collective morality following the teachings of the Qur'an such as justice, equality, brotherhood, affection, solidarity, and freedom of choice. Muhammadiyah's criticism was influenced both by Din Syamsudin's leadership factors, Din Syamsudin's views regarding the socio-political situation, and his thoughts prompted him to be critical of the government. Din Syamsudin's attitude towards economic liberalization shows Muhammadiyah's strong character in the role of civil society. Muhammadiyah's criticism had a huge impact on society, with the repeal of Law No. 7 of 2004 concerning Water Resources and Law No. 22 of 2001 concerning Oil and Gas. As a result, the management of water and natural gas returned to the state is no longer controlled by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Muhammadiyah's attitude gave rise to internal and external impacts on Muhammadiyah due to the constitutional jihad carried out by Muhammadiyah, the impact of which was that Din Syamsudin's relationship with the state was hindered. Din's step is an attitude that the consequences are on the individual, but the attitude of Din Syamsudin and Muhammadiyah has reflected the moral attitude of Muhammadiyah which is in favor of economic justice, equality, and brotherhood.

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# WHY INDONESIA PREFERS A MONO-RELIGIOUS EDUCATION MODEL? A DURKHEMIAN PERSPECTIVE<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

*This work aims to investigate the preference of the Indonesian for a specific type of religious education model, and to provide a theoretical understanding of this preference. In particular, this study aims to answer two research questions: How do Indonesian practice mono-religious education model? How should this practice be understood from Durkheim's concept of mechanical solidarity? Three models of ethnographical study were conducted to answer the research questions: Analysing the state's law on education, particularly with regard to religious education, in-depth interviews with school managers (Kepala Sekolah) and religious education teachers as well as the students. This study found that Indonesia prefers a mono-religious education model, as shown in the State's laws on education and the practice of religious education in schools. Unlike previous studies that mainly describe the practice of certain model of religious education, this study offers conceptual understanding of the practice of religious education by Durkheim's notions of mechanical solidarity. The mono-religious model is a social fact because it consists of the norms and values that are practised by and commonly found in all members of society. Comparative studies on the practice of religious education in Muslim countries might be needed as this mono-religious education model is a common practice by Muslim societies.*

**Keywords:** education; Indonesia; mono-religious; model; solidarity; Durkhemian.

## INTRODUCTION

Considering the important role of religion, and particularly religious education, in identity formation in Indonesia (Hefner ed., 2009; Pohl, 2006), there have

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been attempts from both Muslim and secular (together with non-Muslim) groups to influence the State's law-making processes concerning religious education<sup>2</sup>. On the hand, Muslim-majority groups fight for their interests to be accommodated by State laws, including those regarding the national education system. On the other hand, secular and non-Muslim groups have enforced the State's position of impartiality towards all religious communities and attempted to secure it from Muslim influence.

The first regulation concerning religious education passed after Indonesia's independence was Law No. 4/1950, Article 20 of which stipulates that "*Religious education is provided in public schools and parents shall decide whether their children attend such instruction.*" Several studies (Hing, 1995; Azra, 2007; Raihani, 2014) have investigated that the implementation of Law No. 4/1950 was suspended due to political instability. In 1954, the State passed Law No. 12/1954 on the implementation of Law No. 4/1950 (*pernyataan berlakunya undang-undang no. 4/1950*), which included additional elucidation of Law No. 4/1950. This law clarifies that:

"[...] a. *whether or not a school provides religious education is determined by the age and the intellectual level of its students; b. mature students have the right to decide whether or not to attend religious education; c. the nature of religious education and its relative proportion in the curriculum should be regulated in a separate Act of Parliament, relating to different types of schools; d. religious education should not influence the promotion opportunities of a child.*"

This explanation of Article 20 clearly affirms that religious education was an option for students.

How was religious education organised? According to the law, the provision of religious education in public schools was entrusted to the Ministry of Religious Affairs – even as the general administration of public schools was handled by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Murray, 1988). For religious education, the Ministry of Religious Affairs prepared materials, curricula, and textbooks for religious education. The elucidation of Article 20.2 of Law No. 12/54 mentions that "*How to organize the teaching of religion in State schools is set in regulations enacted by the Ministry of Education and Culture, together with the Ministry of Religious Affairs.*" Kelabora (1979) showed that the State presumed that religious education had something to do with religion, and therefore should be managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

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<sup>2</sup> There were also some Muslim groups supported secular groups, but their number were quite small.

The early Suharto period, beginning in 1966, was characterised by State attempts to abolish secular and communist ideologies through the use of the *Pancasila* ideology, replacing *Nasakom* (Schröter ed., 2010). The only State law concerning religious education enacted in this period was a decree passed by the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara*, or MPRS), TAP MPRS No. XX, MPRS/1966, concerning religion, education, and culture. Article 1 of the Decree holds that “[...] *religious education is a subject in schools ranging from elementary schools to public universities.*” The Decree eliminated the optional character of religious education provided by Law No. 4/1950. Since then, religious education has been a compulsory subject in public schools.

The government replaced Law No. 4/1950 with Law No. 2/1989 in September 1989. This law introduced three important changes in State policy on religious education. The first concerned the obligation to enforce religious education. According to the 1989 law, religious education should be a compulsory subject for all students, at every study level. While this obligation was first mandated by TAP MPRS No. XX, MPRS/1966, Law No. 2/1989 strengthened it, requiring private and non-religious schools to teach religious education. Article 39.1.b of Law 2/1989 stipulates: “*The curriculum content of basic education consists of materials and subjects of Pancasila education, religious education, civic education [...]*” The second change was that the State acknowledged the existence of religious schools in the national system of education, though it did not provide funding for these schools. Article 11.6 stipulates: “[*a*] *religious school is an institution that prepares students to be able to master specific knowledge about their own religion.*” The third change is related to the aim of national education, “[...] *to develop the intellectual life of the nation and to develop a moral Indonesian human being, namely one who believes in and is devoted to the one and only God; people of immaculate character, blessed with knowledge, skills and personality [...]*” (cf. article 4 Law No. 2/1989).

Hefner (2000, 98) and others scholars like Liddle and Baswedan (Liddle, 2000; Baswedan, 2004) have observed that the growing role of Muslim power in law-making, particularly in educational system that began in the last 10 years of President Suharto's administration was triggered by at least two connected events. First, Christians were replaced by Muslims in the State's bureaucracy, which implied a new composition that would benefit Muslim groups in accessing political decision-making processes. Second, since the late 1980s, the Golkar Party – i.e., the government political party – has accommodated Muslim intellectuals, such as alumni of the Muslim Students Association (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*, or HMI). According to Hefner (2000) and

Liddle (1996), HMI alumni are currently found in all political parties, but Golkar is practically dominated and led by them.

Several studies have attempted to understand the practice of religious education in Indonesia post *reformasi* 1998 from political (Eddyono, 2018; Sirozi, 2004) historical (Suwignyo, 2014; Elson, 2009) pedagogical (Azra, 2007; Qodir, 2018; Buchori and Malik, 2004), and sociological (Pohl, 2006; Hefner, 2009; Mujiburrahman, 2019) perspectives. Few studies, however, have attempted to conceptualise the practice of religious education in Indonesia. Therefore, this study aims to investigate the practice of religious education in Indonesia and to understand this practice from conceptual framework. In particular, this study aims to answer two research questions: How do Indonesian practice mono-religious education model? How should this practice be understood from Durkheim's concept of collective solidarity and social fact? Before providing answers for the research questions, in the following discussion is introduced two theoretical concepts, namely mono religious education model and mechanical solidarity.

### **THE MONO-RELIGIOUS EDUCATION MODEL**

We describe the mono-religious model of religious education based on its pedagogical aspects (goal, cognitive, affective, attitudinal, and teaching methods), normative basis, and societal context. The goal of the mono-religious model is to construct a religious identity that is in-line with one's own religion. Through this model, students can grow deeper in their faith and in their sense of belonging to a specific religious community. Cognitively, the mono-religious model provides students with knowledge of, and insight into, their own religion. Although this model focuses primarily on one religion, it does not necessarily imply a complete disregard for other religions. Other religions might be discussed, albeit from the perspective of one's own tradition, and with the aim of affirming that tradition (Sterkens, 2001). Affectively, the mono-religious model aims at increasing students' interest and involvement in a particular religion.

As for the attitudinal aspect, the mono-religious model is meant to encourage students to accept the values and beliefs of their own religion and live in accordance with their own religious values, and to inculcate students with the motivation to participate in religious practices such as prayer. The mono-religious model is also known as the transmission model, because it aims to transmit a particular religious tradition. According to Hermans (2003), 'transmission' means an appropriation of religious values, which implies personal interpretation of the meaning of religious tradition in relation

to students' existing knowledge. The normative basis for this model is the particular religion's claim to absolute truth. According to Sterkens (2001) and Hermans (2003) this truth claim has two variations: exclusivism and inclusivism. Exclusivism perceives other religions positively only if these other religions show similarities with one's own religion, as one's own religion is held to be the only religion that can claim truth (Subagya, 2015; Jackson, 2016). Inclusivism, meanwhile, evaluates other religions positively as long as they display signs of divine revelation; other religions mediate salvation through general grace.

According to Hermans (2003), the mono-religious model is a traditionalist concept in which religions are seen as self-contained phenomena. Each religion has its own rituals, stories, symbols, and customs that are unique. There is no need to contextualise, since context adds nothing to these rituals, stories, and symbols. Sterkens (2001) states that one of the weaknesses of the mono-religious model is its lack of recognition of religious plurality. A mono-religious society is a segmented society, one not yet characterised by religious plurality. This model is found in places in which there is social uniformity and unquestioning acceptance of the exclusive truth claims of a certain religion (Sterkens, 2001). However, as Küng (1991) has indicated, this situation has never existed in a global society.

### **THE MECHANICAL SOLIDARITY**

We begin with Durkheim's concept of society. Durkheim offers a concept of analysing how collectivity works in a society, and the extent to which an individual is bound by said society. He studies how a society affects the way that individual persons perceive the world (Allan, 2011; Jones, 1986). For Durkheim, society is not only a group of individuals who occupy a particular geographic location, but an ensemble of ideas resulting from the fusion of individual consciences and the product of individual interactions (Jones, 1986: 60). What is interesting in Durkheim's concept of society is that his emphasis on the role of collectivity makes his approach different from that of other sociologists, such as Marx and Weber.

The role played by social collectivity in a society is influenced by the social relations between individuals, and the kind of moral influence they have over the individual (Ceri, 1993: 146). Durkheim is considered a social realist because of his belief that society is an objectively real entity that exists independently and autonomously of any particular individual. His notion of objectivity, which underlines the importance of the roles of collective solidarity, has been criticised by other sociologists, such as Giddens (1972)

and Turner (1993), who perceive Durkheim as being anti-individual, leaving no place for the individual or for subjective interpretations of social phenomena. This critique is probably adequate for current modern Western society, where there is strong differentiation of tasks and individuals are more autonomous. In contrast, the specialisation of people in Indonesian society is less dominant, and individuals are less autonomous. Therefore, we think that Durkheim's concepts of objectivity and collective solidarity can help explain the mechanisms of the preference for the mono-religious education model at all levels of Indonesian society: students, politicians, school leaders at religiously-affiliated schools, religious communities, and the government.

Durkheim introduces the concept of 'social fact' to analyse society objectively (Thomson 1985, p. xiv). He aims to study human behaviour through observable cause-and-effect relationships while eliminating subjective bias. In so doing, Durkheim strives to find general laws to measure objectivity in the social sciences that are universally applicable (Allan, 2011: 110). His goal is to find commonalities between different societies and their social facts. Durkheim defines social facts as

“[...] ways of acting, thinking, and feeling that exist outside individual consciousness, that are diffused widely within a group, and that exert a coercive power over the activities of individuals, recognizable by the resistance that it offers any individual action that would violate it” (Durkheim, 1961: 2).

There are two key points in Durkheim's definition of social fact; a fact is perceived as a social fact because it is *external to* and *coercive of* the individual. According to Jones (1986), Durkheim's concept of social fact is often misunderstood, especially with regard to the externality aspect. Indeed, a social fact is *sui generis*, which means that it is both exterior *and* interior to individuals. Externality, in this case, means interior to individuals other than the individual subject (Jones, 1986: 66). The second important characteristic of social facts is their external coercive power. Social facts can be recognised by the existence of predetermined legal sanction, or – in the case of moral and religious beliefs – by their reaction to those forms of individual belief and action they perceive as threatening (Jones, 1986: 60–61). According to Jones, social facts might not be limited to ways of functioning (e.g. acting, thinking, feeling, etc.), but can also be extended to ways of being (Jones, 1986: 62). Because social facts are a thing, people can never succeed in understanding them except by going outside themselves through observation and experiment.

## MONO-RELIGIOUS EDUCATION MODEL AS THE PREFERENCE

Law No. 20/2003 expresses the preference of the Indonesian government for a mono-religious model. Article 12.1.a of the Law stipulates that every student deserves religious education in accordance with his or her own religion, to be imparted by an educator from a similar religious tradition. In fact, Law No. 20/2003 uses the word 'deserve' [*berhak*], referring to the student's rights, which implies an obligation to be fulfilled by the school.<sup>3</sup> However, these are not individual rights, but rather the rights of the community. The State demands that students be committed to their own religious communities by holding and practising similar normative.

The law clearly indicates that Muslim students need only learn Islam; Christians need only study Christianity; and Hindu students need only study Hinduism. In other words, religious education need not provide an opportunity for students to learn about other religions, come to mutual understanding, or have dialogue with other religious believers. Article 2.2 of Government Regulation No. 55/2007 stipulates that: "*Religious education aims to develop the abilities of students to comprehend, embrace and practise religious values [...]*" This article lists three important activities involved in studying religion, namely, to comprehend, to embrace, and to practise religion. To comprehend [*memahami*] refers to the cognitive aspect of education. To embrace [*menghayati*, a typical Indonesian term] implies the affective aspect of education. To practise [*mengamalkan*] implies a continuous activity, referring to the attitudinal aspect.<sup>4</sup> According to the State, religion should play a role in building the nation. This can only be achieved if students have knowledge about their own religions, embrace their own religions, and practise their own religious rituals. Religious values should be the foundation of every individual's noble, moral character, as seen in each individual's personal life, family life, and life in society as good citizens, as mandated by Ministry of Religious Affairs Regulation [*Peraturan Menteri Agama*] No. 10/2010 – particularly article 6.c, which states:

"The standard formulation of the content of religious education stated in Article 5, Verse 1 is: (a) to deepen and to broaden students' knowledge and religious insight; (b) to encourage students to practise their religious learning in daily life; (c) to position religion as the foundation of a noble character in personal life, family life, society, and national life."

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<sup>3</sup>The law stipulates: "Every student at every education unit deserves to receive religious education in accordance with his or her religion, imparted by a teacher from a similar religious background."

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Article 6 of Ministry of Religious Education Regulation No. 16/2010 concerning the formulation of the content of the religious education curriculum.

Religiously-affiliated schools in Indonesia predominantly favour a mono-religious model. Schools expect students to grow into their own religions. Religious education teaches only one religion, with the aim being for each student to interiorise the teachings of his or her own religion and to practise the rituals of that religion. In line with the mono-religious model, religious education is delivered by way of transmission. Students are expected to memorise Holy Scriptures and identify the teachings of their own religions. The curriculum content consists of the teachings, values, and practices of the religion with which each school is related. Some religiously-affiliated schools also admit students with different religious backgrounds. This is the case for Hindu schools in Bali, where Hinduism is the majority religion. It is also the case for Christian schools in Bali, where Christians are a minority group. These schools provide mono-religious education for students with other religious backgrounds.<sup>5</sup>

### **MONO-RELIGIOUS MODEL AS A SOCIAL FACT**

How can one explain this congruence in the preference for the mono-religious model in Indonesian society? We will reflect on this finding using Durkheim's notions of mechanical solidarity, consisting of collective solidarity and social fact. The concept of collective solidarity is discussed extensively by Durkheim in his *Division* (1964), while the social fact concept is explained in *Rules* (1961). In addition to these two major sources, we employ three authoritative interpretations of Durkheim's works, by Jones (1986), Allan (2011), and Turner (1993). We will focus on three questions: (1) How do individuals and groups within society come to think and act in similar ways? (2) To what extent can the concept of social fact help us understand this congruence in the preference for the mono-religious model in Indonesia? (3) What mechanism can explain how certain practices and norms in Indonesian society become social fact?

How does the concept of social fact explain the preference for the mono-religious model in Indonesia? We can understand the mono-religious model as a social fact because it consists of norms and values that are practised by and commonly found in all members of society. In Indonesia, there is clear agreement with regard to the practice of religious education by the policy-making body of the State (politicians, government); the educational system of religiously-affiliated schools (school leaders, teachers); and student ideas on religious education. In our research, we did find some differences in the mono-religious model employed at some religiously-affiliated schools, notably

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<sup>5</sup>This is the case for Hindu schools in Bali, where Hinduism is the majority religion. It is also the case for Christian schools in Bali, where Christians are a minority group. These schools provide mono-religious education for students with other religious backgrounds



where schools introduce students to the teachings of other religions using an outsider's perspective, or the school provides mono-religious education for students not belonging to the religion with which the school is affiliated.

But these differences are within the same social order, or as Durkheim says, "within the narrow limit of variation" (Jones, 1986). They all practise religious education in such a way that students (should) develop knowledge based on their own religion, are committed to their own religion, and become pious and moral persons based on the teachings of their own religion. From the aforementioned framework, this model of religious education can be understood as a social fact not only because it is accepted by the majority of society or *sui generis*, but also because of its relationship with two other social facts: (1) the regulation of behaviour, and (2) religious group attachment (Allan, 2011; Ceri, 1993).

*First*, the obligation to practise the mono-religious model was stipulated by Law No. 2/1989, passed by the New Order regime in 1989. Durkheim defines the State as the agent of sovereign authority and political society (Vogt, 1993). According to Vogt, Durkheim perceives the State as a representation of society's consciousness, where deliberation takes place regarding the policies with which society needs to comply. The character of the State is determined by the extent to which decision-making is open to and in communication with society. The elucidation of Article 39.2 of Law No. 2/1989 states that "*Religious education is an effort to strengthen religious commitment and religious devotion to the one and only God, according to the religion professed by the student [...]*". Moreover, Article 28.2 of this law stipulates that religious education must be taught by a teacher from a similar religious background.<sup>6</sup>

From our theoretical framework, this law shows a preference for the mono-religious model; it is only regulated in the explanatory part of the law. The current State laws on the national education system – Law No. 20/2003 and other regulations – affirm Law No. 2/1989, particularly with regard to the obligation to practise the mono-religious model. For instance, the State formulates manuals and curriculum content for the implementation of the mono-religious model to ensure that schools' practice of the mono-religious model is consistent with State laws.

*Second*, when parliament members enacted Law No. 20/2003, they represented another social fact – that is, the fact that they were part of their own religious communities. This is illustrated by the fact that the arguments of the parliament members in support of the draft law were very often derived from the teachings of their own religions. Their agreement with Law No. 20/2003 should also be

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. the elucidation of Article 28.2 of Law No. 2/1989.

seen as a form of community loyalty. The Christian community was in favour of the mono-religious model, but disagreed with Islamic parties regarding the need to provide religious education that differed from their Christian religious background and to hire teachers from other religions.

Mulligan and Lederman (1977) observe that a certain practice and norm becomes a social fact when it is brought under the governance of rules and imposed by sanction. In our study, both the State and religious communities have established the mono-religious model as a standard for teaching religion, one imposed by sanction and complied by school policies. The State supports schools through funding, curricula, and textbooks, and sends people to observe religious education in the classroom to ensure that the mono-religious model is implemented consistently with State laws. Schools, thus, can immediately feel the objective influence of the State on the practice of the mono-religious model.

In addition, schools take into account their religious group's attachments, because these schools belong to certain religious communities. In fact, Indonesian religious communities' vision of religious education is similar to that of the State. Sharing the same values as the State in the teaching of religion, they are likely to affirm and strengthen State laws by providing additional time for teaching religion. Religiously-affiliated schools will not contradict the social fact of law (the State) and the practice of their religious community to educate the next generation in the teachings and moral character of their own tradition.

According to Allan (2011) and Jones (1986), Durkheim distinguishes between material and non-material social fact. In our study, material facts might include the curriculum content and textbooks from the State and from the religious community, as well as the inspections and financial support from both the State and the religious community. School headmasters – who represent the religious community in the school – formulate school policies on religious education through discussions with the State's apparatus, who inspect the implementation of the mono-religious model. Teachers in religious education produce their syllabi within the framework of the mono-religious model based on the State's curriculum and preferences of their religious community. Also, the school conducts examinations, which aim to ensure that students' knowledge and moral character are in accordance with the objectives set by the State and the religious community.

The non-material facts are the normative teachings themselves, as well as the values that are inherent in the mono-religious model. Religious education aims to enhance knowledge of their own religion and create pious students

based on the teachings of their own religion to ensure students construct a religious identity based on their own religion. Students are expected not only to understand the way religion is practised in accordance with certain normative teachings, but also encouraged to practise religious rituals often. According to Durkheim, religious rituals should be repeated in order to reaffirm the collective unity of a society. Religious rituals are important in maintaining social cohesion and preventing conflict. Religious rituals might serve “[...] to sustain the vitality of [common] beliefs, to keep them from being effaced from memory, and in sum, to revivify the most essential elements of the collective consciousness. Through it, the group periodically renews the sentiments which it has of itself and of its unity; at the same time, individuals are strengthened in their social natures” (Durkheim, 1965, p. 420). Indeed, when schools oblige students to practise religious rituals, this expresses the importance of the fact that students are members of the State and of the religious community.

One of the most critical issues for teaching religion in school is the transmission of values. Through socialisation processes, schools promote certain normative values to their students and ensures that students appropriate them. Students behave in accordance with the directives supported by the school. For students, mono-religious education is a social fact. Students do not question, for instance, why they only learn their own religion; why they have to pray before class begins; what the reasons are for certain religious instructions; and what are the meanings of every religious practice (e.g. why do they pray this way, and not the ‘other’ way). For students, the continuous religious education in school practices is a social fact (Durkheim, 1961). By which mechanism is this congruence of social facts created? Using Durkheim’s distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity, we might perceive that religiously-affiliated schools in Indonesia, particularly in the practice of religious education, are likely to be considered to belong to the mechanical solidarity model. Unlike organic solidarity, where the distinction between social and individual differences produced by the division of labour is obvious, mechanical solidarity is based on likeness. Society is characterised by a weak division of labour; or rather, homogeneity, where sentiments and beliefs are shared in common, where individualisation is minimal, and collective thinking is maximal (Ceri, 1993). Of course, this might only be the case in the matter of religious education; in other issues, there might be different examples. In this type of solidarity, we assume three important characteristics: (1) Individuals are related by collective consciousness; (2) People are joined by common beliefs and sentiment; (3) Punitive law is applied more often than restitutive law (Allan, 2011).

*First*, individuals are directly related to the collective consciousness. In the mechanical model, society is built on the foundation of shared values, and people are emotionally bound to their society (Allan, 2011). Individuals are immediately related to the collective consciousness by being part of their group. This is the case when members of parliament produce laws on the national education system. They are directly integrated in the collective consciousness of their own religious community, and they feel obliged to convey the intentions of the religious community in State law. Similarly, when a teacher employs the mono-religious model, he or she does it as a part of the collective consciousness of the religious community. Teachers perceive the practice of the mono-religious model as being obedience to the norms of the State and of their own religious community.

Students are also not able to choose a certain model of religious education. They follow the mono-religious model of education and take this model for granted. According to Allan (2011), collective consciousness is an important element in the mechanical solidarity model. Individual consciousness does exist, of course, but individual consciousnesses are actually very similar to one another (Allan, 2011). Through the collective consciousness that is created by the State and socialised by religiously-affiliated schools through the mono-religious model of religious education, individuals become aware of themselves being part of a bigger social fact (e.g. a religious community, and the State).

For Durkheim, the aim of education is to create social beings connected to their society. Durkheim sees the education system as a good mechanism for establishing social facts. Education is a continuous effort to socialise students' ways of seeing, feeling, and acting, which do not come spontaneously (Thomson, 1985). It may be claimed that educational institutions should allow students to act in freedom and develop themselves as responsible, autonomous persons, but the social facts in Indonesia are different.

*Second*, individuals are bound by common beliefs and sentiments. People have an emotional sense of something greater than themselves. This feeling is what underlies morality. According to Allen, when Durkheim discusses morality, he does not refer to something that people might think of as being good. A group is moral if its behaviours, beliefs, feelings, and so forth are controlled by a strong group of norms and are viewed in terms of right and wrong (Allan, 2011).

In the mechanical solidarity model, people act socially because others do, and because it is moral to do so. While they can always give reasons for their actions – especially social actions – they generally occur because of feelings of

responsibility. It is because, as Durkheim believes, human beings are not purely rational. Durkheim considers humans to be emotional creatures (Durkheim, 1961). According to him, at the heart of morality is a central moral authority that commands the individual to follow the moral instructions of the collective. Through this central authority, the individual feels an external constraint to conform to his or her society's moral code. Therefore, for Durkheim, obligation is a fundamental element of morality.

*Third*, the punishment is punitive, rather than restitutive. The function of punitive law is not to correct; rather, its purpose is expiation, making atonement. Punitive law deals with moral outrage and clarifies moral boundaries. In punishing deviances, it aims to draw a clear line that demarks those who are in the group from those who are outside the group. Although punishment proceeds from a totally mechanical reaction, from passionate emotions that are largely unconscious, this does not prevent it from playing a useful role. However, this role is not the one that people ordinarily perceive. Its real function is to maintain social cohesion by preserving the vitality of the collective solidarity. According to Durkheim, regulations are enforced because upholding them is considered a duty. Duty means the imposition of behavioural regularity, the adoption of impersonal codes of behaviour. It follows that deviants do not do their duty: they set themselves outside morality (Durkheim, 1961). Durkheim analyses the autonomy of will as a function of the moral order, as moral order means duty and duty means obedience to norms. Thus, individual autonomy cannot negate duty. Individual autonomy should be perceived as voluntary and self-conscious acceptance of duty (Ceri, 1993).

According to this framework, schools that do not implement the mono-religious model might potentially be socially isolated and experience social resistance as an indirect sanction, even if the State does not execute its powers directly. However, this situation does not exist in Indonesia. Sterkens (2015) have investigated that even the Catholic school that offers a different type of religious education (i.e., uses the inter-religious model) is not considered totally deviant. Even though students are not studying their own religion and not growing into their own religious traditions, the fact that teachers do not teach a religion different from the students' own indicates that the school does not break the law.

## CONCLUSION

This article aimed to answer two research questions: How do Indonesian

practice mono-religious education model? How should this practice be understood from Durkheim's concept of collective solidarity and social fact? The results confirm that Indonesian society prefers a mono-religious education model. Using Durkheim's framework on a mechanical solidarity model, we might argue that mono-religious education is a social fact because it consists of the norms and values that are practised by and commonly found in all members of society. In Indonesia, there is clear agreement with regard to the practice of religious education by the policy-making bodies of the State (politicians, government); the educational systems of religiously-affiliated schools (school leaders, teachers); and students' ideas of religious education.

However, the practice of the mono-religious model contradicts the fact that Indonesia is a religiously pluralistic country. According to many scholars, the mono-religious model has at least two weaknesses: (1) its recognition of the dynamics of religious interpretation, and (2) its recognition of religious plurality (Sterkens, 2001; Hermans, 2003; Ziebertz, 2007). First, with the mono-religious model there is no need to contextualise, because context does not add anything to the teaching of religion (e.g. rituals, stories, etc.) (Sterkens, 2001). In some religious traditions, contextuality in religion is perceived as imperfection and as deviation from mainstream traditions. For instance, ideas of religious purification confirm religious communities' resistance to new ideas and insights.<sup>7</sup> This idea is reflected in the aims of the mono-religious model, where the identity of each new generation is perceived as a repetition of what is considered to be the 'original' religious identity.

Second, with regard to the recognition of religious plurality, the mono-religious model does not provide students with the opportunity to learn about different religions and from other religious believers. Students are only able to enhance their knowledge of their own religion while pretending to live in a mono-religious situation that does not actually exist in our global society (Küng, 1991). Recognition of other religious traditions is a problem for the mono-religious model, as it does not approach other religions in terms of their own self-understanding. Other religions are interpreted and evaluated entirely from an outsider's perspective, i.e. from the seeker's own frame of reference.

There is a possibility that the mono-religious model could lead to ethnocentrism or religiocentrism (Anthony et al., 2005). The model runs the risk of strengthening positive in-group attitudes and negative attitudes towards religious out-groups. As predicted by contact theory, a consequence

<sup>7</sup> The jargon 'Back to the Qur'an and the Prophet's tradition' leads to the understanding that the only sources of truth are those written in the old traditions. People are imagined to have lived in a 'golden era' during the time of the Prophet Muhammad.

of religiocentrism is that students trust only those who share their religious identity. As a result, they may potentially refuse to have more than minimal social contact with persons from other religions and even claim absolute religious truth (Putnam, 2007).

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## THE BORNEO ISLAMIC HERITAGE AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF IDAHAN JAWI MANUSCRIPT

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### ABSTRACT

*Borneo Island is the third largest island in the world, rich in natural resources, biodiversity and cultural diversity. The uniqueness of Borneo is that it is home to three countries; Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, each with their own valuable cultural heritage. One of the unique aspects of the Borneo archipelago is the shared wealth of civilizations derived from the dissemination of Islam. Treasures known as the "Borneo Islamic Heritage" are not only valuable as cultural artefacts that need to be preserved, but they can also be elevated and commercialised as regional economic drivers. This paper discusses the Idahan manuscript written in Jawi script as one of the treasures of Islamic intellectual legacy in Borneo. The method of study is based on content analysis which depicts the descriptive history of the discovery of the Idahan Jawi manuscript. This manuscript not only serves as evidence of the early embrace of Islam in Sabah, but also as a reference to matters pertaining to religion and the laws of Islamic jurisprudence. This factor leads the Idahan community be considered as the first native people embracing Islam at the east coast of Sabah. The contribution of this study is to enhance understanding of the development of Islamic heritage in Borneo Island and to inculcate the spirit of solidarity among the people living in the region.*

**Keywords:** Islamic; Heritage; Idahan; Borneo; Idahan; Jawi; Writing.

## INTRODUCTION

Efforts to preserve the Borneo Islamic Heritage have arguably only been of recent concern in academic discourse. With regards to the studies on Borneo, there have been several researches conducted since the 1940s by Western scholars, especially anthropologists and have been mostly concentrated in Sarawak. King et al. (2017) argued that the study of Borneo can be early traced from the research findings on Iban carried out by George N. Appell and this could provide the basis for a Borneo-wide arrangement of research. The survey proceeds from ethnographic studies which have been conducted since the 1960s-1970s involving several ethnic surveys in Kalimantan (Conley, 1976), Brunei (Brown, 1970), Sabah (Apell, 1960) and Sarawak (Conley, 1973). The 1980s study focused more on policy development issues carried out by local researchers, while research in the 1990s focused on cultural issues and identities involving various themes and disciplines. The research on Borneo has become more specialized through the study of Islam in Sabah when the early spread of Islam at the eastern coast of Sabah has been traceable back to 1408M (Johari, 1998; Mokhtar, 1988; Muhiddin, 1990; Jamdin, 2003; Suraya, 2018). Brunei played an important role in promoting the spread of Islam in Borneo particularly Sarawak which link to the Brunei Sultanate's entry around 1500M and the islands of Maluku (Al-Sufri et al., 2001; Ibrahim, 1998) .

Based on this premise, it can be said that the early studies of Borneo's heritage have been of particular interest to Western researchers, especially to those involved in socio-cultural studies conducted through ethnographic approaches. The tendency of Western researchers to carry out research in Borneo is due to the apparent lack of exploration of the island with its uniquely diverse culture emanating from Malaysia, Indonesia and Brunei. Although the study of Borneo has long been discussed from various socio-cultural perspectives (and it has been a trend for local researchers to attempt to explain the development of Islam in Sabah and Sarawak), the current study does not emphasize the historical anecdotes of Borneo Islamic Heritage as a bond of cultural unity among the three countries in the Malay archipelago. Instead, this paper aims to shed light on the intellectual legacy of Borneo Islamic Heritage by focusing on the Idahan Jawi manuscript, a relic which provides evidence of the origins of Islam specifically in Sabah.

## THE BORNEO ISLAMIC HERITAGE

The Borneo Islamic Heritage is a historical legacy that seeks to highlight the privilege this island possess. Beside having this kind of advantage, the island has also been known for several aspects such as the value of harmony in diversity, various local wisdoms and Muslim-friendly tourism-oriented

economic potential. For the purpose of writing this paper, the focus of the discussion is on specific aspects of history highlighted through the Idahan Jawi manuscript. This manuscript was selected on the basis that it is written proof of the early founding of Islam in Sabah and one of the most valuable treasures from the Borneo Islands. The presence of this manuscript belonging to one of the Idahan community members in Lahad Datu also indicates their traditional expertise in the field of Jawi writing.

The Borneo archipelago is less prominent than it used to be despite its unique privileges. Borneo is one part of the Malay archipelago that embraced Islam without war, but rather as a result of trade activity and inter-marriage (Hamka, 2016; Arnold, 2012). Compared to other regions, such as the continents of South Asia, Central Asia, Africa and Europe or the western world in general, the advent of Islam faced many obstacles and challenges that led to war to defend the purity of the religion and also to liberate humanity from any form of slavery. Arab traders and preachers were the first to spread Islam in Borneo. Prominent Arab individuals such as Pu-Ali (Abu Ali), Sharif Ali, Sharif Awliya Karim al-Makhdum, Sheikh Syamsuddin, Sharif Abdurrahman al-Kadrie (Pontianak) and others (Mohammad, 2011; Hamka, 2016; Muhiddin, 1990; Ismail, 1997) are synonymous with the Islamic development of the island. As a result, there is a Muslim community called “Malai” which arose as a result of inter-marriage within the local community, as well as through their contribution to the construction of Islamic institutions such as mosques and religious schools. It is arguable that inter-marriage was a major factor in the development of Islam in Borneo in the past that continues to this day. However, this factor is discussed in less depth due to the lack of information and studies focussing on Islam in Borneo.

The influence of Islam in Borneo can also be seen in the extent of the Islamic empire under the rule of the Malay sultanate of Brunei, encompassing the Sulu Sultanate, the Sultanate of Sambas, the Pontianak Sultanate and the Sultanate of Banjar Hole-Tarakan (Hamka, 2016; Arnold, 2012; Amin, 2014; Patmawati & Wahida, 2018). The presence of this sultanate that once conquered all and ruled Borneo Island shows that not only has Islamic dominance resulted in a significant historical legacy, it has also left behind treasures of civilization that can be recognized as belonging to the world heritage. However, this empire did not prove to be known as the Melaka Malay Sultanate, the Sultanate of Patani or the Islamic empire in Peninsular Malaysia.

The existence of Islam in Borneo was first detected in Brunei, one of the oldest countries in the Malay archipelago. Suraya (2018) cites a number of historical studies (Cesar, 1973; Fatimi, 1963) which refer to records from the Sung

Dynasty stating that there was a government ruled by Muslims somewhere along the west coast of Sabah. This place was known as Pu-ni in the 10th century. Among other sources, “in 977 the Pu-ni government sent Pu-Ali (Abu Ali) as envoy to China (;). Some historians argue that Pu-ni is another name for Brunei, while others think it is located somewhere else on the west coast of Borneo Island. In Chinese historical records, Brunei is known by the names Po-li, Po-lo, Poni or Puni and Bunlai, while Arabic records say Brunei is known by the name Dzabaj or Randj.

Archaeologically, evidence of Islam’s early existence in Brunei comes from the discovery of a tombstone in a cemetery located in Jalan Residency. On the tombstone is written the name of the deceased, Makhdadra binti Ali with the words, *Ta, mim of the hijratun of the Prophet Sallah Allah ‘alayh wa sallah* and at the time, “Sultan Abdul Majid .... son of Muhammad Syahal-Sultan”. Based on the date on the tombstone of 440H / 1045M and the sultan’s name, it is probable that the people of Brunei embraced Islam earlier than the date suggested in this study (Jamdin 2003). Similarly, a tombstone was found at Rangas cemetery, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei. The inscription is written in Chinese and concerns a Chinese ancestor who is believed to have embraced Islam and died in 1264 (the time of the South Sung Dynasty), called “P’u Kung Chih-mu”. If you look at the name “P’u” as described, it comes from the Arabic word meaning Abu. The use of “P’u” refers to Chinese descendents who are Muslim. According to his tombstone, P’u Kung Chih-mu is from Chuan Chou and this reinforces his predictions of his Islam (Muhammad’s Intent, 2007). Islamic teachings are said to have spread to the country around the seventh century through Arab traders and preachers. Awang Alak Betatar was the first King of Brunei to convert to Islam in 1368, when he took the title of His Majesty Sultan Muhammad Shah. He is well-known as the founder of the Islamic State in Brunei and Borneo. The Chinese trader who came to Brunei later called him Ma-HaMo-Sha. This prominent sultan died in 1402M.

Through the role of the Brunei Sultanate, Islam began to spread to Sabah, Sarawak and Kalimantan. Records pertaining to the Muslim, Awang Khalak Betatar of Limbang, marks the beginning of Islamic development in Sarawak in 1476M. The past history of Sabah (North Borneo) shows that the Idahan (or Ida’han) was first converted to Islam even before the Malays of Malacca. Based on the manuscript evidence of the Ida’an tribes in Madai, Islam was practiced in the Lahad Datu area from approximately 1408, only eight years after Malacca purportedly opened up in 1400 (Ahmat, 2013). Harrison (1971) argues that the date of Islam’s arrival in West Kalimantan and North Kalimantan is not significantly different from Ming’s record. His research is

based on three sources; first, the manuscript from Sabah; second, Tarsilah Brunei and third, Iban or genealogical studies. The Idahan manuscript is a genealogy dedicated to Abdullah, who was said to be the first convert to Islam in 1408M. Indeed in the Tarsilah Brunei as Harrison argues that the Brunei government had embraced Islam in 1350M. According to him, the Iban people began with Merom Pangai based on the beliefs of the Iban people from western Sarawak. Starting from Merom Pangai in Tusut, the line has persisted for 27 generations. The third generation of Merom Pangai was named Abang Musa, who lived in Sumatra and carried his trading activities as far as Brunei. This proves that Brother Moses lived around 1380M, a date that Harrison identified as “The first significant Muslim impact in Brunei” based on the Brunei idea and Tarsilah manuscript.

### **JAWI WRITING IN THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO AND BORNEO**

Jawi script was introduced from writing letters to spell words in the Malay language of Kawi and Nagari letters then replaced with Arabic letters. The word Jawi is closely related to the Arabs, especially in Mecca amongst the Malays of Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. These are the adjectives attributed to the people of Malay origin from Java. The Javanese word is derived from the Arabic word *al-Jawah* that refers to the island of Sumatra, based on Arabic records dating to the middle of the 14th century. This opinion is supported by Ibn Battuta (H.Th., 617) in the first Muslim voyage (1304-1377) that the Jawi script may be associated with the word Java, which is the result of naming the Arabs as people on the island of Sumatra from the Malay community who use Jawi writing on artifacts and in literary works (Berhanundin et al., 2012).

Thus, the Jawi script was said by the Arabs to refer to the letters and spellings used by those on the Muslim Malay Archipelago and speaking the Malay language. Jawi writing had been introduced by Muslim missionaries to enable members of Malay society to read the Quran correctly as it refers to the correct Malay adjustable language by using the Arabic terms for certain words as well as those used in the study of various fields of science. In other words, Jawi is a script introduced by Arab preachers which resembles Arabic writing. It is believed that the Malays received instruction in Jawi script directly from the Arabs. The Arabs began to use this text to write a new version of Malay known as Jawi. According to findings on the early history of Jawi in Terengganu, the Malays are thought to have been using Jawi writing in religious studies since 1303.

Jawi writing is a valuable addition to Malay heritage. It has played an important role in the development of knowledge and specifically the Malay

culture. Various fields of knowledge, such as Islamic studies, history and medicine have been written about in the Malay language using Jawi script. The Malays highly regard Jawi writing as it is a gateway to the understanding of Islam and its holy book, the Quran. The uses of Jawi is one of the main factors contributing to the rise of the Malay language as a regional language in addition to the spread of Islam. Jawi has been widely used in the sultanates of Malacca, Johor, Brunei, Sulu, Patani, Aceh and Ternate since the 15<sup>th</sup> century for royal correspondence, creature-order, poetry and also as the main means of communication among merchants at the port of Malacca. An overview of ancient jurisprudence shows that the laws of Malacca, Johor, Pahang, Kedah and Brunei are all written in Jawi script (Abd. Jalil, 2012).

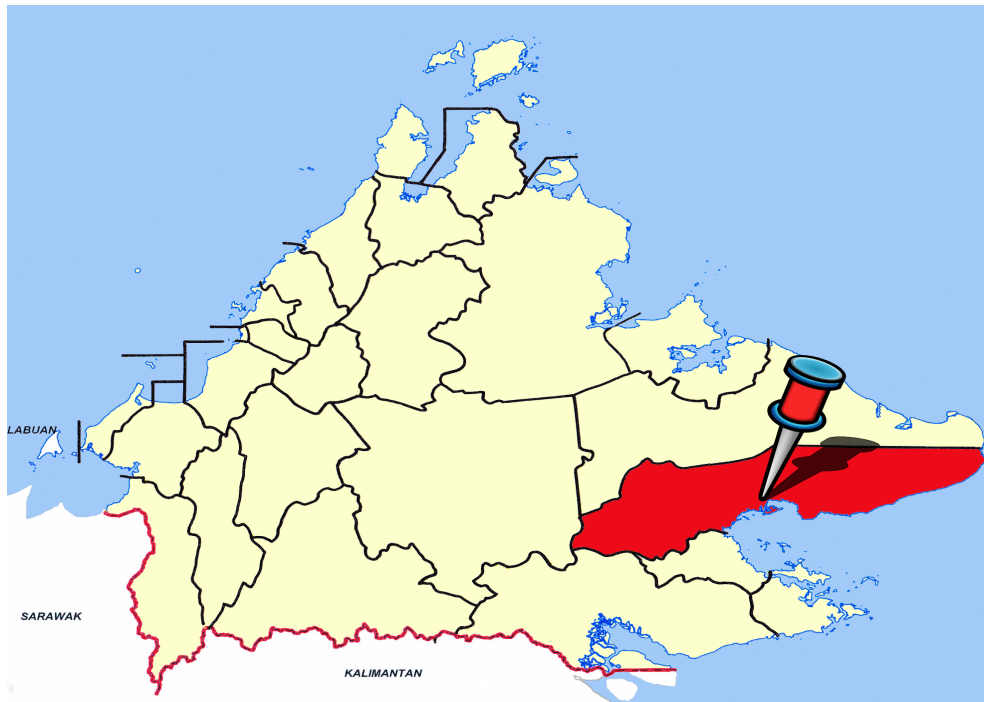
According to the historical literature on the development of Islam, the Idahan manuscript was the first text found in Sabah to use the Jawi script. It has been a major source of evidence of early Islamic dissemination in Sabah since the 13th century (1408 AD). The manuscript is also one of the most important forms of heritage not only to the Idahan people, but to the whole Muslim community in Sabah. This manuscript is considered important because it has played a role in preserving the heritage of Borneo and Sabah's Islamic heritage.

### **THE IDAHAN MANUSCRIPT**

The Idahan is an ethnic group residing in the Lahad Datu district in a region stretching from the Kinabatangan River to Sandakan (Jusman 2016). Idahan or Ida'an is a term used by outsiders to refer to the indigenous people or native people who inhabit the Borneo Islands. Shim (2007) considers the Ida'an to be the first group to migrate from Nunuk Ragang (with the Dusunik and Paitanik groups) before moving on to Kinabatangan and finally settling in the Gulf of Darvel. Shim (2007) estimates the date of arrival of the Ida'an to have been around 1200M, while their move to the new settlement in Darvel Bay, is considered to have been around 1300M. These estimates are based on a mythical story that briefly summarizes the history of the Ida'an ancestors as recorded in the Ida'an manuscript. This theory contradicts Idahan oral records which claim that the in-fighting began in the Tingkayu valley, located between the Kunak and Lahad Datu border.

At present, the Idahan people live in several villages located in the vicinity of Lahad Datu. Their main settlement is Sapagaya Village situated 10 kilometers from Lahad Datu city. The Lahad Datu district is on the East Coast of Sabah under the Tawau Residency bordering the Kunak and Kinabatangan districts. With an area of about 2,510 sq km, the district has 199,830 residents based on the 2010 census.





*Map of Lahad Datu District*

When the British took control of the Darvel Bay area, the Idahan people were divided into groups of large families and placed in new settlements. These include Binuang Village, Segangan Village, Bikang Village, Tabanak Village and Segama Village (Jusman, 2012). It is believed this break-up was facilitated to allow the British to monitor and control the locals more easily.

### **THE IDAHAN MANUSCRIPT IN JAWI AS BORNEO'S ISLAMIC HERITAGE**

The original manuscript of the Idahan tribe is believed to have been written after the coronation of Abdullah in the 15th century. While the manuscript is still preserved by his heir it is only a copy of the original. Based on water marks on this manuscript it is believed to have been written around the 1880s. It contains 140 pages some of which have been damaged by age. The manuscript was written using a bamboo pen and black ink which is now fading. At this time the manuscript is still kept by the current heir, Haji Imam Injir bin Panjang, who believes that part of the Idahan genealogy and records have been preserved for the next generation of Idahan writers (Suwaid, 1988).



*Idahan Manuscript in Jawi Writing*

This text is also believed to have been used as a religious book since it contains principles of faith (aqidah) and Islamic jurisprudence (Feqah), and at the time of writing there were no printed books on Islam. According to the owners, the contents of this document are divided into Islamic teachings and matters pertaining to everyday life. From the final clauses of this document it appears that the practice of animism gradually diminished due to the influence of Islam through prayer and matters of faith such as calling to Allah. Matters relating to Islamic teachings in these final clauses are believed to have been communicated by external preachers and were added later to the document.

The handwritten Jawi manuscript represents an important genealogy of the Idahan tribe in Sabah. Although it is primitive in nature and a copy of the original document, it is still nevertheless a very valuable source of pre-Muslim chronicles. The document reveals how the Idahan people converted to Islam from animism over several decades. The contents in this section can be divided into two sections:

1. Ten generations (descendants) before Islam. Abdullah was the first convert to Islam. The names of such individuals from one generation to the next are recorded, as well as magical events shaped and influenced by the religious influence of Hinduism, such as myths relating to eagles, golden deer and magical dogs.

2. Six to ten generations after Abdullah. This document records that Abdullah embraced Islam in 1408M.

In other genealogical studies, it can be generally assumed that each generation or line of descent is an average of 25 years. Then we will find:

a. Starting from Abdullah  $10 \times 25 = 250$  years = 1400M

-250 years = 1150M

b. Abdullah to 1900M  $20 \times 25 = 500$  years = 1400M

- 500 years = 1900M

Based on the above assumptions, we can say that the year 1150M was the earliest date at which the Idahan community was ready to accept a new teaching or faith, namely Islam. They embraced Islam due to the influence of Abdullah and to this day he is considered a guardian. Abdullah was converted to Islam in 1408M after being Islamized in the Gulf of Darvel by Sharif Karim Aulia Makhдум of Sulu, and he was clearly a prominent individual according to the document. Thus, based on the evidence of the manuscript, it is believed that Islam was established as a religion on the east coast of Sabah in the early 15th century.

The discovery of an Idahan manuscript in Jawi script owned by an Idahan family in Lahad Datu district was highlighted by Harrison & Harrison (1971) when conducting a prehistoric study in Sabah to uncover the story of Abdullah and the Idahan people as the first natives to embrace Islam. Although some of its content is primitive, its origin is clearly not contaminated by any element of addition. It also contains a very valuable pre-Islamic chronicle as well as Idahan genealogical records covering about 25 generations. The manuscript not only relates decades of conversion to Islam from animism (and even there the content is written using Jawi in Malay), but also serves as the reference book of religious affairs and Islamic jurisprudence (Suwayd, 1988). This manuscript is believed to have been copied several times since it was first written. The Muslim preacher or imam would have been responsible for this manuscript and would have usually taken the initiative to copy faded or worn parts to ensure that their contents were always preserved (Harrison & Harrison, 1988).

The roles of the copyist, translator and owner of the manuscript were important as they were responsible as the heirs and disseminators of knowledge. Based on the researcher's observations, the first manuscript was written in the Idahan language using Jawi script, while the second manuscript was recorded in the Malay language. The first part was probably carried by the preacher who claimed to be Abdullah, whereas the second was believed to have been carried out by outside preachers who came to the Darvel Bay area and copied

it immediately from the manuscript owner (Suwaid, 1988). No mention of the author's name or date is to be found in the entire manuscript. However, it is the nature of Malay manuscripts driven by the Malay community to be heavily influenced by Islamic values such as humility or humbleness (*tawadu'*), which govern their writing practice (Amin, 1980). Therefore, it is not surprising that this manuscript does not mention any author's name because the main purpose of writing was to record and pass on the knowledge to the next generation. Harrison & Harrison's (1988) study divided the content of the manuscript into three parts:

1. Information on paddy cultivation and other crops and astrological observations.
2. The story of idols that led to accounts of several generations of Idahan.
3. Information on Islamic teachings copied from various sources.

The discovery of this Idahan manuscript not only reflects the existence of the Muslim community on the east coast of Sabah but also reflects its commitment to the Islamic teachings. It also shows the capability of the Idahan people in terms of Jawi writing, as evidenced by the fact that they managed to write the manuscript using the local language of Idahan. Such a process must have been a slow and painstaking one. This further supports the opinion that the Islamic teachings have long been accepted by the Idahan people.

In addition, there are other manuscripts of the book of feqah written based on the translation of the feqah scriptures in Arabic. The content is written in Jawi and an Arabic translation of a book published in Hadramaut in the early 14th century. While the author's name is not stated, the manuscript is believed to have been written by Muslim preachers who came to Darvel Bay area from Sulu. The existence of these two manuscripts seems to be sufficient proof of the early emergence and development of Islam on the east coast of Sabah, and the practice of its teachings by locals. The arrival of the preacher from Sulu illustrates the ongoing process of preaching and scholarly activity in the area, especially in relation to Islamic teachings. The number of Idahan converts to Islam at this time is uncertain, but the study does not rule out the idea of conversion in phases, as is evidenced elsewhere in the archipelago.

The arrival of the Sulu Datu in the Darvel Bay area in the 17th century was significant, as not only did they dominate trade, but they also brought with them a religious mission. It is likely that the arrival of the people from Sulu marked the second phase of Islamic development on the east coast of Sabah. Unity is a term derived from the title Datu, and one that originated in the Sulu archipelago located in the southern Philippines.

The spirit of leadership of the sultan and the Datu, who always adhered to Islamic values led to good relations with foreign communities including those in North Borneo. Some of these can be seen in Tom and Barbara Harrison's (1971) article in *The Prehistory of Sabah* which speaks of the friendship between the Suluk and Idahan that dates back to the 17th century. In fact, this good relationship is said to have been established during the Islamic conversion of the Idahan people, long associated with the Sulu. Mutalib M.D. (1995) argues that if the relationship between the two groups had never occurred, the Idahans would have retained their animist beliefs to this day. The string of religious interactions led to significant trade relations between the two to the extent that Idahan are now strongly bonded to the people from the Sulu archipelago, especially through mixed marriages. In the Gulf of Darvel, it is believed that marriage to a local will imbue the spouse with special powers over areas where birds choose to nest.

## CONCLUSION

Thus, it can be concluded that the legacy of Borneo Islamic Heritage has been realized through the discovery of an old Idahan manuscript in Sabah which constitutes a cultural treasure of considerable historical importance. Jawi writing has played a significant role in the accumulation of Malay heritage and specifically in the development of Malay culture across various disciplines. This Jawi-scripted Idahan manuscript is important because it has bolstered and strengthened both the heritages of Borneo and Islam in Sabah. Furthermore, the manuscript has the potential to be a catalyst for the continued preservation of local wisdom. In fact, the description of Borneo's Islamic Heritage also reveals the bond of cultural unity among the three countries which form the Borneo archipelago: all embraced Islam not as a result of war, but through trade, religious teaching and intermarriage. It is hoped that this research will enhance understanding of the development of the rich Islamic heritage to be found in the Borneo region. Further study needs to be carried out to provide greater insights into this valuable heritage, the source of which will be local knowledge and wisdom acquired through the ages.

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## HAMKA, SOCIAL CRITICISM AND THE PRACTICES OF POLYGAMY IN MINANGKABAU

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### ABSTRACT

*The character and style of a text describes and reflects the cultural structure and nature of the author's mind. This work attempts to describe social criticism and the interpretation of Hamka—the eminent Indonesian exegete—in the Al-Azhar (a fairly recent encyclopedic Quran commentary) of the verses which are legitimized as the verses of polygamy. This study finds that Hamka's interpretation of "polygamy verses" is influenced by the social dynamics of his birthplace, Minangkabau. Hamka criticized religious and adat leaders for the polygamy tradition in Minangkabau. Paradigmatically, Hamka contributed a unique tradition in the dynamics of the interpretation of the Quran in Indonesia where interpretation becomes a social critic. This study reaffirmed the statements that the contestation in interpreting texts is a reflection of social and political contestation and not merely theoretical contestation and that each product of text interpretation expresses empirically the socio-political conditions of the interpreters. This work offered the idea that the interpretation of the Quran with a social approach is to voice criticism of the application of the text to be an alternative to continue in contextualizing the Quranic messages.*

**Keywords:** Hamka, Al-Azhar, Social Criticism, Polygamy, Minangkabau.

### INTRODUCTION

This study discusses Hamka's interpretation and social criticism of polygamy verses of the Qur'an and practices in Minangkabau. The work is supported by the data that was collected through searching of library materials as data sources. The data sources used in this study are literatures that are directly related to the area of the research, namely the book *Tafsir Al-Azhar* by Hamka and other books that talk about verses claimed to justify the practice of polygamy. This research is also accompanied by the use of explanatory analysis that serves to provide a more profound explanation rather than merely a description of a text. This content analysis provides understanding, among others, about why and how the facts emerge and the reasons for what lies behind them (Soekanto, 1986: Qudsy at.al., 2017). So, in this study, explanatory analysis is used to view

thoughts that influence Hamka's interpretation of the verses claimed to justify the practice of polygamy. There are a number of previous studies which agree with this research. Nur Azizah (2015) in Hamka's Thoughts on Polygamy in Al-Azhar's Interpretation, for example, concludes that Hamka's position tends toward monogamous marriage when interpreting the Verse of al-Nisa: 129. The approach taken by Azizah is descriptive-normative without trying to elaborate on the socio-cultural background of the people of Minangkabau that influenced Hamka's interpretation. Sudrajat (2016), in "*Shaykh Nawawi al-Bantani, Buya Hamka and Quraish Shihab: Legal Views on Polygamy and Its Background*," put forward two of his assumptions on the basis of psychological and social approaches, but has yet to touch the psychological and social aspects that focus on the Minangkabau community where Hamka originated. In other words, Sudrajat describes the psychological and social approach on a very general level.

Ranuwijaya (1998) in *The Hadiths of Hamka's Tafsir Al-Azhar: Analysis of the Sanad* (chain of narrators) of Hadiths on Verses Regarding the Law of Marriage inventoried the verses regarding the law of marriage. He also collected Hadiths contained within the verses, referred them to the main book, and then ensured the *sanad* of the hadiths quoted by examining their quality. Ranuwijaya found the hadith reference used by Hamka in interpreting the marriage law verses in the Al-Azhar interpretation book. In addition to Bukhari and Muslim, he also used the Hadiths from Abu Dawud, al-Tirmidzi, al-Nasa'i, al-Darimi, al-Dailami, Ibn al-Mundhir, al-Daruquthni, and al-Thabrani. Ranuwijaya concluded, especially considering the Hadiths about justice to wives, the quality of the *sanad* deems them valid. The validity of this Hadith is included in seven categories of valid Hadith. Three Hadiths are used in the *hasan* category and 1 Hadith in the *da'if* category. Although Hamka wrote *Tafsir Al-Azhar* which contained marital issues, there has not been a researcher who has specifically examined his interpretation of the verses that are believed to be the legitimacy of the practice of polygamy and his criticism of the practice of polygamy in Minangkabau. This research is thus the first of its kind and fills a unique niche in academia.

Criticism in the Qur'anic discourse has begun since the time of Prophet Muhammad, although it is still in abstract (*embryonic*) form. In the next stage, along with the rise of sectarian interpretation, the discourse of interpretation criticism strengthened and found its form. There was also strengthening of the paradigm of interpretation absolutism which assumes the interpretation of a person or group is the most correct (Ridwan, 2017). Due to humans' natural need to change, criticism is inevitable (Amin, 2019). Critical thinking always

emphasizes reflective judgment and criticism. Therefore, critical thinking to read and understand reality in a broad and diverse perspective should be directed toward reform and reformulation of the products of thought. Thus, critical thinking is a way to seek understanding of the reality, events, and statements behind meaning (Sirri, 2014; Irfan Hamka, 2017). Among the interpreters who were considered to be critics of the social conditions of his time were Abduh, Sayyid Qutb, al-Zahabi, and al-Farmawi (Mahfudz, 2013).

According to Hanafi (1989), there are five stages that must be followed by a *mufassir* (interpreter) in interpreting the Qur'an. First, let the revelation stand as is, neither negated nor confirmed. Second, interpret the revelation as other works, such as history, literature, philosophy, etc. Methodologically, the Qur'an cannot have a special position because it is interpreted according to the same rules. Third, understand the relativity of a truth. Thus, there is no absolute interpretation. There are only differences in approach to the text due to differences in motivation and interests. Fourth, understand that there is no single interpretation. The *nass* interpreted by a *mufassir* is only an instrument of interest, even human ambition. It is interpreters who then contextually color it. Fifth, understanding that the struggle in interpreting the *nass* is a reflection of the socio-political struggle and not a theoretical struggle. Each product of *nass* interpretation expresses empirically the socio-political condition of the interpreter. According to Saenong (2002), the Hanafi model in interpreting texts is the implication of the reduction theory in Husserl's phenomenology which states: to look for the essential nature of reality is to let the phenomenon speak alone without any presupposition (*presuppositionlessness*). According to Husserl, to capture the nature of objects, at least three reductions are needed. *First*, getting rid of subjectivity; *second*, placing the object as the main object and source while getting rid of all knowledge about the object investigated and obtained from other sources; *third*, getting rid of the whole reduction of knowledge by ignoring everything that is already considered correct by others. Symptoms can manifest themselves if these reductions are accomplished (Muslih, 2008; Hamersma, 1983: 117; Syarif, 2019).

With regard to the theme of interpretation and social criticism, Engineer as quoted by Nuryatno (2007), has provided space for modern interpreters to interpret verses because the Quran itself has normative and contextual sides. There are three approaches to understanding verses about the position of women including verses on polygamy. *First*, the Quran has two components, normativeness and contextualism. The Quran's normativeness is a fundamental principle and values, such as equality and justice that is eternal and can be applied in a variety of social contexts. On the other hand,

contextual revelations are in line with the verses that are in accordance with social-historical problems. *Second*, the interpretation of the Quran verses depends on one's personal perception, his world view, and the socio-cultural background in which he lives. Therefore, a pure interpretation of the scriptures is impossible because it will always be influenced by social-logic circumstances. *Third*, the verses of the Quran vary from time to time. The interpretation of contemporary scholars can be radically different from that of classical scholars. This is because the verses of the Quran always use symbolic-metaphoric language. On one hand, they look ambiguous. On the other hand, this ambiguity offers flexibility and creative change. These three approaches can be used in understanding the interpretation of verses related to women in Islam, and of course, verses on polygamy.

### SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF HAMKA

Hamka is an abbreviation of Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah. This lengthy name contains the names of his father and grandfather. His father's name was Muhammad Rasul Abdul Karim Amrullah and his grandfather was named Muhammad Amrullah. His parents named him Abdul Malik. The name was chosen because Hamka's father highly respected one of his teachers, Sjech Ahmad Chatib, while studying Islam in Mecca. Therefore, he named his child after his teacher's son, Abdul Malik. Later on, Hamka deliberately combined the names of the two men who he respected highly and hoped to emulate. In addition to being known as Hamka, he also had other pseudonyms: A.S. Hamid, Indra Maha, and Abu Zaki (Hamka, 1979: pp. 3, 57, 58, 66). Hamka was born into a family of scholars in Minangkabau. His grandfather was Tuanku Pariaman, a Minangkabau cleric widely known as Abdulmalik ibn Abdulkarim ibn Muhammad Amrullah ibn Tuanku Abdullah Saleh. Abdullah Saleh is also known as Sheikh Guguk Katur. He was a student of Abdullah Arif, an ulema from Pauh Pariaman who allegedly came from the Middle East at the beginning of the 13th century AD, a teacher of Sheikh Burhanuddin.

In 1928 Hamka visited the Land of Deli after returning from Mecca for his pilgrimage in 1927. He lived there for more than seven months. The name of Hamka was first introduced and popularized through the weekly magazine, *Pedoman Masyarakat* (Community Guidelines) in 1934, when he and M. Yunan Nasution (d. 1996) led the magazine. That year, many Sumatran pilgrims left for Hajj. This was also the year with a significantly rising price of latex on the island and also the year with the highest number of pilgrims compared to the previous years. Hamka, then 18 years of age, was a young pilgrim who was "stranded" in the Land of Deli. When returning from Mecca, he did not

return directly to his hometown in Maninjau nor settle in his father's house in Padang Panjang since it was ravaged by the 1926 earthquake that struck the region. This period was his initial phase in the Deli Land. Having received an education in Thawalib Padang Panjang and Thawalib Parabek-Bukittingi and gained experience in organizations, he then returned to study religion, sociology and logic in Java from a number of national figures in Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Pekalongan. These important figures were people such as H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto (d. 1934), Haji Fachruddin (d. 1929), R.M. Soeryopranoto (d. 1959), Ki Bagus Hadikusumo (d. 1954), and Buya H.A.R. Sutan Mansur (d. 1985), as well as the performing of the fifth pillar of Islam in the Holy Land, Hamka's destiny finally took him to the Deli Land despite spending the last period of his life in Jakarta and died there.

Hamka received a request from the Delegation of Deli Plantation Workers to become a Religious Teacher at Pekan Bajalinggai, a small marketplace near Tebing Tinggi where small traders were domiciled. Although he received a stipend and room and board from this job, he continued with his passion of writing. Before becoming the author of a famous romance book, he wrote a Minang novel titled *Si Sabariah* (1926), which he wrote in Arabic-script Malay. The novel was published in Bukittinggi and Padang Panjang. This novel has yet to be read by many people, as Hamka was not widely known before he set foot in Medan. In his book, *Memories of Life volume I* (1974: 153), he said that his purpose of coming to Medan was to enter the world of literature. He met with the editor of *Pelita Andalas*, a Dutchman named J. Koning at Ninewemaarkt 16-18 (now *Perniagaan Kesawan Street*, Medan). He later said that he had come to Medan because this city had opened his eyes, inspired him and his pen which never dried. While busy with this activity, his uncle Buya H. AR. Sutan Mansur, who had been the Chairman of PB Muhammadiyah (1956-1959), picked him up to return to his native hometown in Maninjau. In his village, on the 5th of April 1929, Hamka married Siti Raham (d. 1971). But before returning home and getting married, he published a series 1928 in Medan entitled *Di Bawah Lindungan Ka'bah* (Under the Protection of the Ka'ba). Another series that was published a year after that (1929) was *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck* (The Sinking of the Van der Wijck Ship).

In addition to his earlier works, Hamka also produces a very well-known book of tafsir: *Tafsir Al-Azhar*. It is unique because it displays multi-dimensional features such as literature, history, politics, language and *dakwah*. The development of Indonesian interpretation from the beginning of the 20th century through the 1960s provides three interpretive features, namely: *First*, Interpretation of certain verses; *Second*, interpretation of certain juz; *Third*,

overall interpretation of the Quran. Examples of the first style include *Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Karim Yaasin* by Adnan Lubis published in Medan in 1951. This interpretation only interprets one *surah*, namely *Yasin*. An example of the second style is *Al-Burhan, Tafsir Juz 'Ammah* by H. Abdul Karim Amrullah, published in Padang in 1922. While Hamka's *Tafsir Al-Azhar* became one of the third interpretation models, namely a complete 30 *juz* (parts). This interpretation was first published in Jakarta in 1967 (Gusmian, 2003: 67). *Tafsir Al-Azhar* contains social problems, therefore, this interpretation is categorized as *tafsir ijtima'* (Muradi, 2007).

### HAMKA AND SOCIAL CRITICISM

The teachings of the young people have progressed quite significantly and phenomenally among the people. The deadlock of discursive moments between these youth and elders encouraged the elders to make a correspondence with the scholars of the holy land of Mecca about the religious trends of the Muslim community in Minangkabau. Finally, from Mecca, a circular, known as the *Mecca Fatwa*, was published containing 17 social-religious issues. Hamka thought that the elders' disagreement with the youth was not purely religious, but rather tinged with economic motives. This point later becomes the basis of social criticism of Hamka to the dynamics of social life in Minangkabau and Nusantara in a broader field.

Table 1  
Contestation between the elders and the youth in Minangkabau

No	Practice	Actors
1	Cindur-butua	<i>Penghulu</i> (Muslim wedding officiants) and public figures
2	Kenduri	<i>Penghulu</i>
3	Fidyah salat	Ulemas

In dealing with social practices in his surrounding, Hamka produced *Si Sabariah* in 1928. This work differs from Hamka's previous writings on marital matters. This first work took a story idea from his hometown of Maninjau. The language Minangkabau is used in this work. The work illustrates a deep sympathy for those who are weak, poor, or persecuted, as the story revolves around an impoverished husband and wife. The difficult situation pushed Pulai, Sabariah's husband, to commit suicide by hanging himself. He was not strong enough to live a poor life. The story in this novel illustrates that readers should care about their surrounding environment. In addition to

taking story ideas from his hometown, Hamka also often poured experience from places he had visited into his literary works. The experience of the *Hajj* (pilgrimage) gave him inspiration. As a religious pilgrim, he felt that humans are all equal when they go to meet Allah. Therefore, he wrote a novel entitled *Under the Protection of the Ka'aba*. Among the issues raised in this novel are the classification in Minangkabau society based on wealth, rank, and descent which makes the two human children unable to get married. Hamid and Zainab could not be united in love because of the vast status gap between the two. Zainab's family is higher in status than Hamid's, both in terms of wealth and descent.

Those two works is one of the ways he criticized the Minangkabau custom which often distinguishes people based on wealth, rank, and descent. According to Hamka, the custom is contrary to the Islamic values which put the position of humans equal before Allah. The difference is the piety and faith of a person to Allah. Even it cannot be judged from the outside, like how a person dresses because it is a more complex human relationship with God. The emphasis of Islamic teachings in the story written by Hamka is an important factor. This has become one of his characteristics in each literary work by writing something that should be in line with Islam.

The earlier point was repeated in Hamka's novel entitled *The Sinking of the Van Der Wijck Ship*. The idea of the story in the novel emerged from his association with the people of Makassar. He heard a lot about unrequited love because of ethnic differences, especially those of the Minangkabau group trying to maintain their ethnic purity. This story discusses the fate of the love of two human beings that ended tragically. Zainudin has Makassar blood from his mother, while Hayati is a native Minangkabau. Therefore, Hayati's family does not allow her to marry an outsider. When she instead married someone else, Zainudin went from his hometown to Surabaya in order to forget her. In the end, Hayati's marriage did not last long and she went to Surabaya to find Zainudin. However, her arrival did not get a positive response from him. Finally, Hayati returned to her hometown aboard the Van Der Wijck ship. Unexpectedly, the ship sank and she lost her life. Zainudin regretted what he had done to Hayati before she died. In this work, Hamka addressed the Minangkabau custom that is contrary to the Islamic religion. He criticized Minangkabau customs which prevent marriages to people outside the Minangkabau area. Most Minangkabau people try to maintain the ethnic purity of their offspring by marrying their children to people of the same ethnicity or village. According to Hamka, in this way they can prevent bad things from happening to their children's marriage. As part of the

Minangkabau community, Hamka wanted a change in the implementation of a good marriage for the Minangkabau community. Therefore, his efforts did not stop by relying on sermons. He also poured ideas on the implementation of absolute Minangkabau custom through his written works. In his works, his authority to write stories was indisputable. It is possible that the characters and themes are fictitious. However, there is one thing that is noticeable in his writings. He was determined to continue preaching under any circumstance. Although it was his own people that he criticized, nothing would stop him.

Similar to previous works, *Merantau Ke Deli* (Setting out for Deli) also criticized the Minangkabau custom of marriage and its diaspora culture. A character named Leman, a native of Minangkabau, set out for Deli to look for a job. There, he married Poniem, a Javanese woman. When they visited Minangkabau, the Leman family wanted to marry him to a native Minangkabau woman. His family thinks that it would be incomplete if Leman does not have a wife from his own village. Eventually, the marriage occurs and Leman abandons Poniem. With this work, Hamka criticizes the judgment about marriage within one ethnic group or region as it, in fact, did not guarantee marriage will be everlasting. In addition, he also describes the cultural view of migration from the perspective of the Minangkabau people. Most Minangkabau people assume that migrants returning to their villages must have a lot of money and high positions. So, being wealthy is a must for anyone who migrates. In fact, wealth is not the only guarantee that life will be happy. Hamka also wanted a change in the Minangkabau community's evaluation of the success of migrants, instead of merely a monetary assessment. A number of literary works produced by Hamka also show he wanted a change in the Minangkabau people regarding their traditions. He did not want the Minangkabau community to believe that traditions are always good to be used without question or reevaluation. In addition, he also wanted the custom to be implemented according to the Minangkabau customary principle and teachings of the Qur'an.

Table 2  
Hamka's criticism of the Minangkabau Custom through written works

No	Works	Criticism
1	<i>Si Sabariah</i>	The indifference of the Minangkabau people toward a husband and wife who live in poverty without the care of local residents when finally Sabariah, the wife, hanged herself as she cannot bear the burden of life



2	<i>Di Bawah Lindungan Ka-bah</i> (Under the Protection of Ka'ba)	Minangkabau custom which classifies people based on wealth, rank, and descent causing two people to be unable to get married.
3	<i>Tenggelamnya Kapal Van Der Wijck</i> (the Sinking of van de Wijck Ship)	Minangkabau custom that prevents marriages to people from outside the area of Minangkabau
4	<i>Merantau Ke Deli</i> (Setting out for Deli)	Customs that prefers marriage within one's own ethnic group/region
5	<i>Tafsir Al-Azhar</i>	Polygamy in matrilineal system in Minangkabau custom

### HAMKA AND THE PRACTICES OF POLYGAMY IN MINANGKABAU

In Minangkabau, the issue of polygamy was once a hot topic of discussion in the community. The polygamy rate in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, based on data released by reports of a leading newspaper namely Bintang Hindia, was very high. Suryadi Sunuri (as quoted by Arya, 2017) said that polygamy in West Sumatra, compared to a number of regions such as Java, Madura, Tapanuli, Aceh, Bali and Lombok, was the highest. The report stated that the number of polygamists in West Sumatra reached 78 per 1000 people. This figure was the same as that of Lampung but higher than Java and Madura, Aceh, Tapanuli and Bali, and Lombok. According to the report, polygamy in West Sumatra was due to prevailing custom and it was also the case in Lampung. The high rate of polygamy in West Sumatra was due to the *semanda* custom (Poespasari, 2018: 35), where the husband relinquished his customary citizenship to acquire the customary citizenship of his wife upon marriage. The data show that the level of polygamy in Minangkabau was among the highest at the time. It was also reported that the voices that opposed the polygamy tradition in Minangkabau have been around for a long time. Many women voiced their objection to their husband marrying another woman. This trend continued and only after the New Order era, the tradition of polygamy began to fade away (Arya, 2017). According to Keimmy (2018), throughout Indonesia's history, male political leaders, influential figures, and even clergy have adopted the tradition; including the nation's first president, Sukarno, who took more than five wives.

In Indonesian Muslim society, perception of the principles of marriage in Islam is polemic. Hamka, for example, was a scholar who thought that the ideal marriage is monogamy, despite there being many practices of polygamy in his time. He criticized the practice of polygamy because a *sakinah* (peaceful/serene) family is difficult to achieve if the husband is polygamous. As quoted by Rush (2016: 89-90), from Hamka's statement that polygamy in Minangkabau

was not polygamy that originated from Islam but originated from the custom of the Minangkabau people (the polygamy of Minangkabau was customary polygamy, not Islamic). For those who practice polygamy, the normative reason in the surah An-Nisa, verse 3 is always used as a justification for their attitude. Although Hamka rejected polygamy, women in West Sumatra gave their support to polygamy. This was conveyed at the 1930 Aisyah Congress held in Bukittinggi. Various parties debated pros and cons during this event. The purpose of this support was for men not to cheat and to prevent an increase in children born out of wedlock. According to lecturer and researcher from the University of Leiden, the Netherlands, Suryadi Sunuri (as quoted by Arya, 2018), the data was based on a report from the Islamic Defender magazine published in Bandung, West Java in April 1930.

The report reads:

*Congres Aisjiah Fort de Kock. Motie kaoem iboe. (Polygamie) Menoeroet warta Aneta, Congres Aisjiah [itoe] dikoendjoengi oleh koerang lebih 4000 perempoean. Congres menjatakan Anti karena penghapoesan polygamie, takoet nanti kelahiran anak-anak [di] loear pernikahan mendjadi bertambah adanja. Maksoednja: bahwa congres Aisjiah anti kepada gerakan jang menghapoeskan polygamie.*

(Aisha Fort de Kock Congress. Women's motion. (Polygamy) According to warta aneta, the Aisha Congress was attended by around 400 women. The Congress stated its rejection of the abolishment of polygamy, fearing that more children will be born out of wedlock. It means that the Aisha Congress is against any movement that aims to abolish polygamy).

This Congress was part of the Muhammadiyah Grand Congress, also held in Bukittinggi, on March 24-26, 1930, recorded as the first Muhammadiyah Congress outside Java. The interesting point from the report is that women who were members of the Aisha organization (previously spelled: Aisjiah) apparently supported polygamy. "They firmly rejected the anti-polygamy movement which began to become widespread at the time," The reason, according to Suryadi, is that women were worried that the monogamy movement would encourage infidelity among men. In addition, they were also afraid that the number of children born in wedlock would increase. Suryadi explained that this report illustrates that the tug-of-war between the pro and anti-polygamy has always occurred in predominantly Muslim Indonesian society. This disagreement to some extent might reflect the conflict between the two secular and modern camps with the conservative one based on Islam (Arya, 2018).

According to Djafri Datuk Lubuk Sati, a member of the Minangkabau Indigenous Custom Advisory Board, polygamy in Minangkabau had become a tradition and a symbol of honor until the 1970s. Datuk Lubuk mentioned several Minang men who were polygamous: the scholars, customary leaders, the rich, the educated, fighters, and those in high positions. However, polygamy was not entirely their own will. There was also the request of the prospective wife's family (Karni, 2003). Interestingly, unlike polygamy in various world civilizations strongly influenced by property, legacy, and authority factors, it occurs in Minangkabau when men do not have access to the ownership of *Harato Pusako* (property). The motivation for polygamy in Minangkabau is not due to wealth but rather to honor, protection, and offspring. Gatra once held an interview with a member of the Minangkabau Indigenous Custom Advisory Board, Djafri Datuk Lubuk Sati, regarding the phenomenon of polygamy in his community. He said that until the 1970s, polygamy in Minangkabau was a tradition and a symbol of honor because respected and responsible men are considered superior as well as protectors and honor for his wife's family. Sometimes *kawin batambuah* (local term for polygamy) is not due to the will of the man concerned, but rather driven by the wishes of the family, both his own family and the prospective wife's family who are willing to be made "second-third-or fourth."

Table 3  
Attitudes toward Polygamy Verses

No	Public Figure	Attitude	Reason
1	Hamka	Recommended monogamy	<i>Sakinah</i> (peaceful/serene) family is difficult to achieve if the husband is polygamous
2	Aisha	Rejected monogamy	Monogamy encourages infidelity among men. Children could be born out of wedlock
3	Customary Community	Rejected monogamy	Polygamy is requested by family of prospective wife

Hamka's view of monogamous marriage is quite interesting when referring to the background of his parents' marriage life, where his father had nine wives. When he was a child, his father remarried, and divorced his biological mother. In fact, in his earlier time, there had never been a major conflict between

his parents. After his father's marriage to another woman, his mother also remarried another man. Seeing this fact, Hamka was sad and disappointed. When he visited his father, he met his stepmother, and when he visited his mother, he met his stepfather. He criticized his father for this polygamy. Faced with such criticism, as he approached his final years, his father was frank that he was the victim of the custom. In the Minangkabau tradition, the position of *ninik-mamak* (customary leader) and ulemas is most influential. Therefore, many *ninik-mamak* wanted his niece to be a wife of an ulema. If a *mamak* (uncle) has succeeded in marrying his niece to a cleric in his region, the ulema become a member of his family. It was in this structure of society, Haji Rasul, Hamka's father, lived so he had many wives (Hamka, 1979; 1982). Hamka believes that justice is difficult to fulfill as stated in the Quran Surah al-Nisa, verse 129. Hamka interpreted surah al-Nisa verse 129 with the following Hadith (Dawud, 1990: 473).

“Musa ibn Ismail narrated to us (he said): from Ayyub, from Abu Qilabah, from Abdullah ibn Yazid al-Khatami, from Aisha, saying: The Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him) used to divide his time equally among his wives, then he would say ‘O Allah, this is what I am doing with regard to that which is within my control, so do not hold me accountable for that which is under Your control and is beyond my control.’”

From the mentioned hadith, it is known that justice to wives is an act that is difficult for anyone, as the Prophet himself declared to Allah Almighty in one of his prayers. According to Hamka (2015: 45-56), human difficulties in dealing with wives are in the case of justice of love and sexual tendencies. The Apostle, in his opinion, was the fairest example of the division of time, but in his heart he did not feel right.

The movement, within and outside of Minangkabau, appears to be stubborn in preventing many of these abusive practices, especially initiated by young people. This movement can be likened to the movement of the *paderi* (those who uphold the Islamic teachings). Even though in the former Minangkabau *tambo* (legend), the *paderi* were their enemy, in the young people's perception now the purpose of the movement was to abolish all customs that impeded progress. Among the regions in Indonesian, Minangkabau had the highest rate of polygamy. Based on the census in 1920, Minangkabau had the highest record in Indonesia on polygamy. In the past, a Tuan Laras (head of region) had three to four wives. It was not his own intention alone, but it was the splendor of his wives or relatives that led him to be polygamous.

A man whose sister is married to a head of region would be embarrassed when his brother-in-law did not have many wives, so it was often the case that he would find his brother-in-law an additional wife. Even though she was in pain, the first wife also would take another woman for her husband because seeing other men practicing polygamy, she also wanted to take one for her husband. This “shame” is the biggest taboo for Minangkabau women. To protect her husband’s shame, and to raise her husband’s esteem in public, she would sacrifice her own happiness (Harahap, 1926).

Hamka wanted the people to understand and implement the teachings of Islam, free from non-Islamic external elements, and emphasized to revisit the opinions of classical scholars without having to accept them blindly. He also emphasized the importance of performing *ijtihad* (Yusuf, 2005). A barren wife could be a reason for polygamy. When it becomes known that the wife is barren, the husband can remarry. Hamka stated that the desire to have children of his own blood is the instinct of every man (Yusuf, 2005). Hamka neither allowed nor forbade polygamy. He allowed polygamy with restricted permission. Methodologically, Hamka’s interpretation of polygamous verses is similar to Hassan Hanafi’s interpretation of the Qur’an with social approaches. With this method (*al-manhaj al-ijtima’i fi al-tafsir*), according to Hanafi, as quoted by Saenong (2002), an interpreter not only deduces the meaning of the text, but also can induce the meaning of the reality into the text, and places it in an empirical and rational structure.

In his book of *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, Hamka also indicates the seriousness of the issue of polygamy in Minangkabau. He believes that there is a correlation between polygamy and protection of women’s ownership in Minangkabau. The Minangkabau matriarchy itself has become a strong fortress for women who are vulnerable to socially and economically discriminatory treatment. Although in terms of feelings and psychology, polygamy has an effect that cannot be underestimated. Even if a woman has to give up her husband to another woman, she still gets security and livelihood protection because she gets the supply of needs from the production process carried out by her own “kind”. Despite current tendency for people to avoid polygamy, there is no effect on the integrity of the matriarchal system that the Minangkabau community continues to maintain (Hamka, 2015). To fight against polygamy in Minangkabau in the past as well as at present, it still requires tremendous effort (Gunawan, 2017; Anggun, 2017). Table 4 indicates the shifting point of responsibilities that relate to marital life in Minangkabau. Currently Minangkabau people, especially women, tend to see polygamy as an evil deed. They attach a stigma to every man with more than one wife as someone who

does not respect women and indulges in sexual desires. This perspective seems contextual and not at all strange, but it still raises questions. Why was it that when Islam underwent a revival in Minangkabau, polygamy which is actually permissible in Islam, was opposed by most Minangkabau women? (Chatra, 2005: 74).

Table 4  
Comparison between the past and present domestic life in Minangkabau

No	Then	Now
1	Living expenses were from the wife's wealth	Living expenses are born by both husband and wife
2	The house was built by <i>mamak</i> (uncle)	The house is built by the husband
3	Women had arranged marriage	Women are difficult to get a husband
4	Men were picked up by the family of the prospective wife on the wedding day	Men are embarrassed to be picked up on the wedding day
5	Sons-in-laws live with in-laws	Living away from in-laws
6	Men were paid to take a wife and another wife	Men are no longer paid to take a wife

Source: *Tafsir Al-Azhar*

## CONCLUSION

The discourse of polygamy in the Muslim world and the practices of the polygamy within Muslims have been very interesting to many Muslims and non-Muslims. This work attempts to see how a prominent Muslim scholar, Hamka, from Minangkabau which is well known to follow the matriarchal system, provides critics to the teachings and the practices of polygamy within Minangkabau people in Sumatra of Indonesia. The work concludes that Hamka has been very critical to the practices of polygamy in Minangkabau with three arguments. First, Hamka's interpretation of the marriage verses shows his tendency toward monogamous marriage which according to him is ideal to be practiced. Second, monogamous marriage is ideal, according to Hamka, because of changes in the economic conditions of Muslim families. The fact that the household model today has evolved from a traditional family to a single family leaves the burden to the single head of family if polygamy is still being practiced. Third, the experience of being a child from a polygamous father also influenced Hamka's interpretation in rejecting polygamy. This

work leaves some thoughts that have yet to be discussed. One of the issues that require further research is what really affects his interpretation of polygamy. Is it because of his father's polygamous marriage or his parents' divorce? This leads to a further study recommended to be conducted by subsequent researchers to answer this particular question.

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**SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN  
TIMES OF TENSION:  
An Evidence from Interethnic Relation Developed in Stella  
Maris Credit Union Pontianak, West Kalimantan**

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**ABSTRACT**

*This paper begins by questioning the sustainability of civic engagement with the notion of 'social capital' as the key concept of Peace and Conflict Studies. The main question is: to what extent does socio-political tension affect forms of civic engagement? This paper examines interethnic relations (Dayak, Malay, Chinese, and Javanese) developed in the Stella Maris Credit Union (SMCU) in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia under the context of ethnic tension. SMCU is a microfinance association where people with various backgrounds (religion, race, and ethnicity) interact in an economic community, sharing benefits and values. In the beginning, SMCU was initiated as an economic program of Stella Maris Catholic Church in North Pontianak. This church did not only serve the church members, but also for all ethnicities and religions through Pontianak. As a site drastically impacted by ethnic conflict in the post-Suharto era, Pontianak recently has been growing as a city of ethnic diversity. However, the recent rise of ethnic tension has contested this growing multiethnic coexistence. It is important to see the strength of civic engagement in responding to issues of conflict in a multiethnic society. This study explores SMCU members and their personal experiences, wondering whether the tension may or may not affect the forms of civic engagement. It argues civic engagement can sustain under the moment of socio-political tension. Developing economy and peace education are the main reasons for interethnic relations among SMCU members. Moreover, although there are treats for the plural society, experiencing diversity in the form of associational and neighborhood relations contributes to social coexistence. This study finds that forms of civic engagement among the members shape expressions and attitudes of resilience in facing social tension.*

**Keywords:** civic engagement; tension; interethnic relation; credit union; Pontianak

## INTRODUCTION

Discourses on civic engagement refer to the participation of civil society in responding to social issues. On one hand, civil society is significant for bolstering peace relations among communities. In cases of post-ethnic violence, it plays the main role in preventing conflict escalation. For instance, Varshney (2002) argues that civil society is the 'focal point' in shaping societies of non-violent conflict. He observes Hindu-Muslim relations in Indian society where the violence rises throughout a decade. The religious conflict is a part of ethnic conflict where religion, language, and race are seen as ascriptive identity (Horowitz, 1985). Varshney's argument reconstructs frameworks of peaceful relations among religious and ethnic groups using associational engagement such as game community or cross-community engagement. It is useful mainly in reducing ethnic tension. From the case of ethnic and religious conflict, Varshney found that engaging civil society is the key aspect of building inter-communal relations. Therefore, it is important to promote civic networks such as a socio-economic movement to create better interethnic relations. On the other hand, it is crucial to have a good understanding of civil society aspects specifically in the reconciliation of ethnic violence. Paffenholz and Spurk (2006) suggest that support for civil society does not automatically lead to peacebuilding.

Moreover, studies on intergroup relationships have shown that civic engagement and coexistence are not necessarily stable. Bartels in his study on Ambon society, for example, shows the decline of civic engagement and social cohesion because of greater socio-cultural changes (Bartels, 1977). The social changing phenomena led the society into polarization which followed by ethnic conflict. Moreover, others view that the potential conflict among civil societies in the grass-root level is triggered under the momentum of the political situation (Bertrand, 2004; Van Klinken, 2007; Koodoh et al., 2018). Within this point, it is important to reexamine forms of civic engagement in a different context. This paper examines how the existing civic engagement may be sustained in the context of communal tension. It is based on fieldwork of interethnic relations developed in the Stella Maris Credit Union (SMCU) Pontianak, West Kalimantan. SMCU is an economic association where people with various ethnic backgrounds (Dayak, Malay, Chinese, and others) interact by sharing benefits and values to improve the socio-economic condition for the other members. The study investigates the civic engagement roles of SMCU and their impact on the social cohesion among ethnic groups during rising tensions in the 2018 West Kalimantan elections. It explores the personal experiences of SMCU members and staff to understand their roles in civic engagement and their responses to the tension.

This paper argues that civic engagement can sustain under circumstances of ethnic tension. Although the recent rise of socio-political tension in Pontianak has created a potential conflict that threatens ethnic diversity, civic engagement developed in credit unions, in this case, SMCU Pontianak, contributes to preserving a positive interethnic relation. Economic engagement and developing peace education for members significantly impact shaping peace expressions and attitudes of resilience toward rising social tensions. The personal experience among the SMCU members illustrates norms and values are considered as a form of social capital in encouraging the members to engage in interethnic relations. These forms of civic engagement are significant to promote community resilience in facing the rise of socio-political tension. In other words, norms and values of SMCU have a significant role to create forms of interethnic engagement in preventing conflict escalation during the tension.

This paper mainly discusses civic engagement and social capital relationships as a conceptual framework for understanding interethnic relations developed through SMCU Pontianak. This paper will explore social capital and civic engagement of interethnic relations, built from multiethnic neighborhood relations then practiced in forms of economic engagement initiated by SMCU. The result shows that SMCU has impacted the extension of interethnic relations. The social capital is based on the multiethnic neighborhood relationship around Pontianak society. SMCU uses this capital as values and norms in engaging the members. In other words, the social capital is manifested in civic engagement that solidifies the members.

SMCU could be seen as part of a civil society association. An important characteristic of civil society is how it works to support the state in which those works are in line with public service or making the demands of the state (Diamond, 1994). In other words, civil society takes part in social improvement. It takes the position between the grassroots level and state actors. Although there is no single definition of civic engagement, it can be defined as various methods of citizen participation to improve the social condition of their community members (Adler & Goggin, 2005). With the civil society framework, SMCU focuses on improving socio-economic equality. It promotes a developing economy through offering financial loans to all members. The loans help them to build capacity within their industries or farms (Interview with Pak Kristianus, an SMCU staff). However, SMCU is not merely an economic matter, and thus it is interesting to look at the impacts on interethnic relations developed in SMCU as the form of civic engagement. SMCU has facilitated conversations between members to

improve their economic conditions such as microeconomic activities either as individuals or as group empowerment. The members' participation in SMCU has an interesting impact on strengthening the attitudes of living coexistence among different ethnic groups. It is formed through peace education, neighborhood interaction, and economic activities among SMCU members. The form of interethnic engagement could be found in the fish group village (Malay, Chinese, and Madurese ethnicities), initiated by SMCU. Moreover, peace education in member training material tightens the norms and values of multiethnic coexistence among the members. Expression and attitudes of receiving others are shown in the personal experience of the members after they join and participate in the training.

Within this context, this paper suggests social capital and civic engagement are strongly interconnected. Some literature (Putnam, 1993; Schneider, 2008) has shown that civic engagement and social capital are similar, but essentially different. Each of the terms has a significant role in building human relationships. Scholars discuss social capital as referring to "things" that closely attach the level of idea or value (Putnam, 1993; Fukuyama, 2001). In short, social capital could be seen as a shared value that leads people to live together. For instance, becoming native people of Ambon could be seen as a social capital that unites them even with religious differences. They are affiliated with *Pela-Gandong*, the shared tradition of Ambonese (Ernas, 2016). It is significant in building interreligious relationships among them to gain social capital. From this example, social capital is a significant intrinsic value that promotes inter-communal relations. Moreover, civic engagement is the best way to understand social capital manifested in practice. The practice of economic association among Hindu-Muslim relations is a sufficient example of civic engagement (Varshney, 2002). In this sense, the use of civic engagement refers to social engagement as an integral link between the structure of civil society and specifically the role of civic engagement in the reconciliation of communal violence (Varshney, 2002). Thus, social capital could motivate the practice of civic engagement.

As aforementioned, social capital is essential to peacebuilding. However, some studies have investigated the decline of social capital, thereby reducing forms of civic engagement that lead to inter-communal conflict. The rise of ethnic conflict and violence, in the Indonesian context, is escalated by political and capital resources in the post-Suharto era (Van Klinken, 2007; Aspinall, 2011; Aragon, 2001). It has degraded social cohesion mainly at the grass-root level. Tadjoeeddin (2004) reveals that ethnic conflict in Indonesia mostly occurs in rural areas such as the Muslim-Christian communities in Ambon and Poso.

The religious and ethnic conflict between 1999-2002 has damaged their social capital as the indigenous people of Ambon (*Jong Ambon*) (Rumahuru at.al., 2012; Rumahuru, 2016). Since the colonialization era, Muslim-Christian relationships have been shaped in a segregated area as the impact of colonial politics (Bartels, 1997). The segregation has challenged the relationship among generations who did not experience ethnic conflict (Sholeh, 2013). The process increasingly crystallized communicative channels, thereby producing narratives of conflict and violence (Bunbandt, 2009). This case illustrated that tension among communities is triggered by reducing social capital and various shared values. In the other case, South Kalimantan has experienced ethnic tension between Dayak and Banjar communities. This conflict is unique, because the two groups have used the same language for centuries and even share a common ancestor who upholds Meratus Mountain in South Kalimantan. Thus, the tension has developed alongside broader socio-cultural change (Mujiburrahman at.al., 2011). The cases notably warn that the weakness of networks probably lead to the absence of social cohesion among communities.

In a broader sense, the strong relationship among communities is contested by socio-political dynamics, as they consider the changing phenomena that degrade social capital. There are at least three reasons for social capital and civic engagement could be weakened or even broken. *First*, there is the decline of local culture. It has steered society into an alienated division. An anthropological finding of Bartels (1997) on the erosion of local culture in Ambon provides a cultural explanation of how the Christian-Muslim relationship for being in Ambon has become more distant. He notes the reduction of everyday language as what so-called *Bahasa Tanah*, used in the song *Kapata* (a traditional song of Ambon) following the religious conflict among them. With the other context, Hyung Jun (in Ahnaf at.al., 2017) reports that old religious traditions like *Kenduri* and *Tahlilan* among the Javanese community in Yogyakarta gradually have been left. This new trend, according to Ahnaf, links to the high tension on religious intolerance in Yogyakarta today.

*Second*, there are demographic changes that trigger tensions among communities in terms of socio-economic competition. McGibbon's finding (2004) might assist with the competitive relationship that contributes to escalating ethnic tension. When investigating inter-communal tension in the context of Papua, Indonesia, he raises attention to critical features that contribute to changing the society such as modernization (well-educated settlers and extractive industrial projects) and immigration (migrant labor along with transmigration programs). In the case of Papua, the ethnic

tension is mostly constellated with the rivalry, not only between the local community and the new settlers, but also internally among the community through competing economic opportunities. This instance reminds us that the potential tension rises interdependently with the economic growth and the changes in the socio-economic structure.

*Third*, the seasons of local campaigning and the ensuing elections shape societal polarization. The temporary tension during local elections has furthered segregation by imposing further ethnic and religious barriers. The report Series of Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (2017) found that local elections have contributed to the reproduction of intolerance by mobilizing social power in the name of the ethnic and religious causes. Cases of religious intolerance in Sampang, Bekasi, and Kupang during the regional election prove this. The findings show political competition using identity politics that impact the dynamics of ethnic and religious relationships. *Lingkar Survei Indonesia* (LSI) found that in some territories, the same ethnic and religious identity is an important aspect of how the voter is involved in the regional election. As Aspinall (2011) explains, voters are less willing to vote for candidates from different ethnic backgrounds in gubernatorial or *Bupati* elections.

In this matter, the potential conflict in the 2018 West Kalimantan election became a significant warning in the context of interethnic and interreligious relationships. The elites from the majority ethnicities (Dayak and Malay) were in rivalry (IPAC, 2017), while in the previous election, they equitably shared power in the local government with equal representation for their groups. Although there is not brief evidence explaining the relation between the current tension and the gubernatorial election, this paper attempts to identify social and political issues that impact ethnic and religious tension. Furthermore, it shows the interethnic engagement among SMCU members in response to the current day events.

### **FORMS OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT DEVELOPED IN SMCU PONTIANAK**

Established in 1995, the Stella Maris Credit Union (SMCU) is one of 12 Credit Unions (CUs) in West Kalimantan under the CU Network Association, the Kalimantan CU Coordinating Board (Puskopdit Kalimantan). Based on the 2017 report, it has 10,015 members with total assets of 120 billion Rupiahs. Every year the assets and the number of members from various ethnic communities increase by an average of 10%. SMCU has 4 service offices (2 in Pontianak City, 2 more in the suburban border area between Pontianak City and Mempawah District). On their website, SMCU defines a Credit Union as



an economic association of trust within each other, unifying people to save their money as the shared capital which distributed as loans for the members in need with an approved bank interest due to productive income (Puskopdit BKCU Kalimantan, 2018).

The presence of a Credit Union, in this case, Stella Maris Credit Union (SMCU) Pontianak, has created two important points in how it develops civil society, that impacts interethnic relation. There are interethnic economic mutual relationships and the involvement in strengthening multiethnic neighborhood relationships. SMCU facilitates their members to improve their economic condition. For example, Bu Nurul Badriah, a 40 years old Malay Muslim woman, shared her experience and reasons why she was interested in joining the SMCU;

*Gali lobang tutup lobang saya alami sampai 3 tahun. Awalnya saya mengajukan pinjaman ke koperasi ini sejak 2014. Baru satu tahun ini saya lancar nabung disini. Sejak dua tahun ini usaha saya sudah agak lumayan alhamdulillah. Saya tidak lihat CU ini dari agamanya. Awal mulanya dengar ada isu kata orang ada hipnotis untuk masuk Kristen jika masuk disini. Dari awal saya masuk sini, isu tersebut tidak benar. Karena saya masuk kesini karena ingin pinjam untuk usaha saya. Saya ikut juga pelatihan untuk menjadi anggota. Jika kita mau pinjam kita harus ada yang menjadi penjamin. Nah, waktu itu saya ambil nomor HP anggota dari suku Jawa, Dayak, dan lain-lain. Mereka sebagai penjamin waktu saya pinjam uang di CU.*

*(I experienced borrowing money to pay my debt for three years. Initially, I applied for a loan from this cooperative in 2014. Only a year ago, I have been able to save here fluently. For the past two years my business has been rather good, thank God. I do not see this CU from religion. At first, there were rumors that people said there is hypnosis to convert to Christianity if they entered here. From the beginning I entered here, the issue was not true. I joined this CU for my trading. I also participated in training to become a member. If we want to lend money, we should have other members as the guarantor. Well, at that time I took the cellphone number of members from the Javanese, Dayak tribes, and others. They were guarantors when I lent money at this CU).*

This form of engagement is not limited to individuals. SMCU also provides networks for members to engage in group-centered collaboration. It facilitated the establishment of micro-economic groups such as *Usaha Ikan Asin* or salted fish group in a Malay Village in Jungkat, Pontianak, and a farm group in a Dayak village. The former group consists of Malay, Bugis, and

Madura women producing salted fish and selling them through networks in SMCU. The other group is a Dayak-Chinese collaboration in a farming fork.

The economic engagement in SMCU conditions members to help each other. For example, the experience of a Chinese couple, Pak Asang and Bu Nina is very telling. Pak Asang uses a soft loan from the credit union to sell kites in his village, while his wife, Bu Nina, using a similar loan, can sustain her business of selling beef and chicken steaks in street stalls. The economic relationship in this multiethnic neighborhood has created fostered positive economic interaction. Nina says that usually her customers buy her cake in the morning for breakfast. By becoming an SMCU member, Pak Asang and his wife can fulfill their daily needs. Following their experience as SMCU members, Pak Asang tells (an interview with Pak Asang and Bu Nina in SMCU office):

*Saye Asang asal Pontianak sini. Saye berjualan layang-layang. Dah 10 tahun jualan. Kadang di rumah, kadang saye keliling. Disini dah biase dah hidup macam-macam suku agama. Mau die Cine ke, Melayu ke, Dayak ke same jak. Yang penting kite mau bekawan jak terus kite baik same orang. Di CU juga, kami jadi lebih sering ketemu lain-lain suku agama terumame pas kite ade pelatihan anggota. Jadi, sejak gabung di CU ini, saye same istri lebih sering jualan keliling. Langgan jadi tambah banyak hahaaa. CU ini bantu masalah ekonomi kami umpame kami sedang kepepet soal keuangan, kami bise pinjam dan bayar dengan mencicil. Dengan adenye pinjaman ini jualan saye dan istri lebih lancer.”* His wife adds *“Langgan saye banyak orang Melayu same Dayak. Mereka rate-rate anggota di CU.”*

(I am Asang from Pontianak. I have sold kites for 10 years. Sometimes I sell them at home and sometimes I sell them around the streets. It is a common life here with various ethnicities and religions (Chinese, Malay Muslim, and Dayak). The important thing is that we desire to have friendship and be kind people. In this CU, we have much interaction with other people from different ethnic groups and religions, especially when we joined the membership training. So, my wife and I have traded with street vendors more frequently since we joined this CU. We have more customers than before, hahaha. This CU helps to solve the problem of the economy mainly when our trades are in a financial crisis. We can apply for a credit loan. With this loan, we can trade more fluently than before). His wife adds: (I have many customers from Malay and Dayak and mostly they are also CU members.)

The other impact on interethnic engagement, SMCU has encouraged the

multiethnic neighborhood relationship. Bu Maria<sup>1</sup> recognizes that SMCU facilitates the interaction among the members by involving them to the religious great days such as *Lebaran* day or Christmas. She tells:

*Saya pikir selama ini (Credit Union) punya dampak yang bagus, misalnya Lebaran. Biasanya ada anggota yang mengundang kami untuk datang ke rumahnya ketika lebaran, maka kami datang. Kami kadang-kadang keliling juga ke rumah anggota walaupun tidak semua. Itu hal-hal kecil yang kami lakukan. Ketika imlek, staf-staf juga datang. Lebaran kita datang ke yang Madura, Natal kita datang ke yang Kristen. Kita juga terlibat ketika ada acara 17-an dan acara Robo-Robo juga. Atau kadang-kadang kami juga datang ketika ada pengajian ibu-ibu Muslim.*

(I think Credit Unions have had a good impact. For example, in the moment of Eid, usually there are members who invite us to come to his house when *Lebaran*, so we come. We sometimes also go to members' homes, despite not all. It's the little things we do. During the Chinese New Year, the staff also came. On Eid, we come to Madura, on Christmas we come to the Christian. We are also involved when there are 17s (National Independence Day) and Robo-Robo events too. Or sometimes we also come when there is Islamic recitation (*Pengajian*) of Muslim mothers).

The tradition of visiting each other during religious holidays in West Kalimantan, especially in Pontianak has been experienced in neighborhoods. The presence of SMCU strengthens this form of relationship. This practice is related to what Prasojo (2017) explained as the symbol of interethnic relationships in West Kalimantan which is popular with what so-called *Tidayu* (Chinese, Dayak, and Malay). It mentions the local people or indigenous people of West Kalimantan. This pattern of relationship was evidenced when I visited Bu Ratna<sup>2</sup> in North Pontianak where Malay, Chinese, Javanese, and Madurese ethnic are living together in a neighborhood. She recognizes that by joining CU "Stella Maris", the multiethnic relations among members are more active than before. Through direct observation, I found that Malay, Chinese, and Javanese work together as a fisherman team in Bu Ratna's village in Jungkat, North Pontianak. Some of them have a night in the sea to catch fish, while others bring the fish from the boat to the market in the morning.

<sup>1</sup> Ibu Maria is the General Manager of CU "Stella Maris." The interview is arranged on January 7<sup>th</sup> 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Bu Ratna is a Malay Muslim member of SMCU. She and her friends produce *ikan asin* (salted fish) and trade their product through SMCU networks. They are from diverse ethnic backgrounds such as Malay, Bugis, Maduranese, and Chinese. According to her, they have been living in a neighborhood relationship. On every religious day, they visit each other as not only the attitude of the neighborhood, but also as the attitude of respecting others.

From my observation, I saw there are no ethnic barriers. Besides that, family relations in this village are supported by cross-ethnic marriage as the other factor in how diversity is experienced in this area.<sup>3</sup>

The practice of economic engagement in SMCU reflects what Fukuyama (2001) urged in building social capital as well as building socio-economic development. In a similar reflection, Varshney (2002) suggests that:

“If vibrant organizations serving the economic, cultural, and social needs of the two communities exist, the support for communal peace not only tends to be strong but it can also be more solidly expressed. Everyday forms of engagement may make associational forms possible, but associations can often serve interests that are not the object of quotidian interactions.”

### THE RISING TENSION IN PONTIANAK

In 2012, tension involving the ethnic and religious community in Pontianak mainly emerges as the disputes between the two major ethnic and religious groups; a group Dayak people and Muslim community represented by Islamic Front Defender (FPI), an extremist Muslim group (Jakarta Post, 2012). The tension creates fear in both the Dayak community and also the Malay community, assuming here that Malay is automatically the Muslim community as the native of West Kalimantan. The situation in Pontianak was unstable, although the two communities were going calming post escalated tension. However, this incident is unforgettable among the two ethnic and religious groups. Five years after that, in 2017 tensions repeated until the 2018 Governor election. In contrast to previous tension, this incident involved the former Governor of West Kalimantan, Cornelis who is the Dayak elite and the leader of *Majelis Adat* (tradition) of Dayak Association.

Data show that the incident in the two major rallies (A group of Dayak people and FPI) created serious tension among ethnic groups. It started with the protest against Cornelis who delivered a provocative speech that, in the view of some Muslims, invites a religious tendency and could be considered blasphemy against Islam. The Muslim rally, represented by FPI West Kalimantan and *POM* (*Persatuan Orang Melayu*) the Malay Muslim association, reported Cornelis to the regional Police Chief. This tension triggered by the expulsion of Sobri Lubis, the national head of FPI, by West Kalimantan security forces that sparked a wave of protests from the Malay Muslim group. Some media described the incident as a situation of tension<sup>4</sup>. Notably, the incident has led

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<sup>3</sup>The Interview with Ibu Ratna on January 13<sup>th</sup> 2019.

<sup>4</sup>Some of the media include Tempo.com, Kompas.com, and Detik.com.

a similar pattern with the Jakarta 212 rally that indicates the racial politics during the head election where the politics of identity raises in the name of religion (IPAC; 2017). Differently, the power of the Muslim community is challenged by the native community, Dayaks (BBC Indonesia, 2017). On one side, a group of Dayak people as the indigenous community condemns the presence of FPI in West Kalimantan. Instead, a group of Dayak people intercepts Tengku Zulkarnain, deputy general secretary of Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), from leaving a plane at Sintang airport. They urge to campaign for anti-FPI in West Kalimantan (Nasional Tempo, 2017). On the other side, the protest wave of the Muslim community is coupled with *Aksi Bela Ulama 205* in Pontianak.

There is not a shred of adequate evidence to conclude the incidents are part of the ethnic and religious conflict that links to the 2018 Governor Election. However, the situation has led to tension between Malays, as well as the Muslim community, and the Dayak people. Both are considered indigenous communities of West Kalimantan. The religious issue extends the tension. FPI supported by *Persatuan Orang Melayu* against the group of Dayak people who are responsible for the expulsion of Ulama. Dayaks and Malays were living in harmony, although there was an ethnic conflict against Chinese and Madurese in the post-Suharto era (Prasojo, 2011). However, the current situation involves the issue of religion and the issue of intolerance at stake. Ema, the Chief of the Sociology Master Program of Tanjungpura University, mentions that there is a pattern of ethnic radicalism attributed to the Dayak community (Populicenter, 2017). Meanwhile, the group of Dayak people claims that there are intolerant and radical ways of FPI delivering the *Dakwah*. Pak Kristianus, in an interview, confirmed that this is clear as the political situation where political elites attempt to use the religious and ethnic issues for political goals. The issue of ethnicity and religion triggered the incident into tension (Populicenter, 2017). It is centered in Jalan Gajah Mada, Pontianak where the two major rallies happened. However, some media polarized the incident as part of ethnic and religious tension. This incident becomes a source of anxiety because it correlates to case *Aksi 212* in Jakarta (IPAC, 2018). Fortunately, the tension does not widely impact societal life. The local security and peace activists represented the ethnic and religious groups initiated to prevent a large escalation by organizing a peace agreement (Pontianak Post, 2017). Moreover, it is important to note the tension is reminiscent of post-ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan 1966-2008 (Kristianus, 2017; Asriati & Bahari, 2010).

Since the reformation era, West Kalimantan has witnessed ethnic identity politics, in this case, the competition between Malay and Dayak elite in

a bargaining position in national bureaucracy and the local government. Cornelis, a Dayak elite who was elected West Kalimantan governor from 2008-2018, has not had an ethnic Malay Vice-Governor. An investigation has shown, under the Cornelis regime, the number of ethnic Dayak bureaucrats has increased by 50% in 2013 (Hartriani, 2014). The finding is not without historical notes. Davidson (2002), who has done research since the break of this ethnic conflict, suggests that ethnic identity politics plays a crucial role in shaping the local politics of West Kalimantan. In his political analysis, ethnic conflict is important as the keynote to look at the political maneuver of Dayak and Malay elites involved in the political competition including the elite competition in the West Kalimantan election 2018.

There is no significant evidence whether or not the ethnic and religious issue is part of the political constellations during the 2018 election. However, notes on the political competition of ethnic identity and incidents during the 2012 and 2018 elections provide space for the competition between Dayak and Malay elites in the regional government. The incidents have created tension. This pattern is quietly similar to what Ahnaf (by citing Antonio Gramsci) said as the war of position in looking at the *Bela Islam* movement in Jakarta (CRCS UGM; 2016). However, the tension is locally concentrated in Pontianak as the capital arena for political competition.

Some of the most recent incidents have also become evidence of threats to widen the escalation of the ethnic conflict. In this regard, according to Alqadrie (2002), the second ethnic problem is increasingly complicated because ethnic and religious identification is integrated into ethnic groups. As a reflection of this conflict, the incident in Pontianak represents the potential for latent conflict between dominant groups in West Kalimantan. The question is: does the increase of rising tension contribute to reducing the social capital of interethnic relations in Pontianak? The information shows that there is no significant physical violence, including the recent rise of social tension, involving ethnicity in West Kalimantan. It could be the indicator that nowadays, West Kalimantan is in a peaceful situation wherein the multiethnic society coexists. Then, what are the keys to peace sustenance preventing conflict escalation in times of tension?

## **PARTICIPANTS OF SMCU AND THEIR ROLES IN CIVIC ENGAGEMENT**

This part interprets responses of the SMCU members practicing an economic engagement in the context of ethnic tension. As has been identified previously, the recent situation shows a potential conflict involving two major groups;

the Dayak group and the Muslim community. From the incident, there is a crucial note in how ethnic polarization in the incident on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 2017 has had a similar polarization of ethnic affiliation in the election as shown by the Institute for Policy and Analyst or IPAC (Understanding Conflict, 2017). However, the tension does not significantly impact the interethnic relations in SMCU. Interestingly, the interethnic engagement in SMCU exists in facing the tension. The concept of social capital and civic engagement are adequate in reasoning the sustainability of interethnic relations.

This study finds that civic engagement in SMCU is strengthened by the social capital existing in society. For instance, participants of SMCU in Jungkat, North Pontianak have experienced multiethnic neighborhood relations. Bu Ratna, a member, and her Muslim family live in a neighborhood with Chinese, Dayak, and Javanese people. She said that thereby the important aspect of social capital is trust and openness. These principles are also portrayed by the multiethnic fishery group in the village where Malay, Chinese, and Javanese collaborate in fish trading. This value is accommodated by SMCU to engage them in the economic community. Pak Yusuf, a Javanese Muslim member, said that SMCU does not only give financial support for them, but also encourages them in training and education to become official members. In this forum, as confirmed by Pak Kristianus (one of the SMCU founders), the members are facilitated with training materials such as financial management and peace education. He is also one of the trainees. He gives training material about living peacefully in multiethnic society as the fundamental value to become a CU member. In an interview, he describes multiethnic peace relation to members with heterogeneity in the training forum;

*“kalau saya yang memberi pelatihan biasanya saya tambahkan juga dengan karakter etnisitas yang seolah-olah menjadi stereotype dan kita bantah bersama, apakah benar Madura itu pencuri. Itu apakah benar atau tidak mari kita cek. Apakah ada orang Dayak yang mencuri? Jawabannya ada. Apakah ada orang China yang mencuri? Jawabannya ada. Nah kalau begitu ungkapan orang Madura pencuri tidak benar. Karna karakter mencuri itu ada pada semua suku. Jadi mereka (anggota) yang membongkar steretipe tadi. Itu bagian dari materi harmonisasi dalam pelatihan anggota.”<sup>5</sup>*

(If I give the training, I usually speak about the character of ethnicity that becomes a stereotype to a certain ethnic group in society. In the forum, I suppose they respond to my question; is it true that Madurese are always thieves? To know the answer, come to learn. Are there Dayaks

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5 Interview with Pak Kristianus in January 10<sup>th</sup> 2019

who steal? The answer is yes. Are there Chinese who steal? The answer is yes. As such, the phrase *Madurese thief* is not right. Stealing exists in every ethnic community. So, they (members) confirmed the Madurese stereotype is incorrect. That is a part of the harmonization material in member training).

Within this forum, SMCU promotes the values of trust, openness, and togetherness that have existed in the multiethnic society of Pontianak. These values are also manifested in the principles and vision of SMCU. By encouraging these principles, SMCU runs to manage financial capital collected from the members and further to improve their economic condition. Related to their responses on the issues of ethnic tension in Pontianak, Pak Yusuf, convinces;

*“sekarang kan orang udah dewasa ndak macam dulu. Jadi kejadian tu ndak ade pengaruh...kalau Karolin yang jadi kite tetap ke laut, kalau Pak Miji yang jadi kite pun tetap ke laut kan..hahaha. mau siapa pun yang jadi yang penting aman jak.”*

(Nowadays, people are mature. They have not been like this in the past. So, the incident does not influence us. If Karoline wins, we maintain fishing and if Pak Miji wins, we maintain fishing, hahaha... Whoever wins the election we expect the peace situation).

The response that reflects a resilient attitude to social tension is indirectly tied to his experience as a part of the credit union. For 4 years, he has organized a fisherman group from different ethnic backgrounds (Malay, Javanese, and Chinese). He recognizes that the Credit Union has provided them interethnic contact, not only through formal meetings, but also through interactions in the fish trading. Almost every day, he must interact with people from different ethnic groups like Malay and Chinese. Recognizing the role of the credit union he said,

*“Ya kan kita sebelum menjadi anggota kan dikasih pendidikan dulu. Jadi adanya CU ini untuk mensejahterakan masyarakat di lingkungannya. Bahkan ada anggota CU yang pergi umroh dengan pinjaman dari CU. Malah CU ini semacam Syariah dah.”*

(To become an active member, we are required to participate in membership education. So, the presence of the Credit Union is to increase the social welfare of the surrounding society. Even, there is a member who uses the loan for visiting *Mecca*. I look for a Credit Union such as Shariah Islamic law).



Through this economic engagement, the members interact without ethnic barriers. Moreover, participation in SMCU creates progressive economic development and shared values in neighborhood relations. It promotes inter-ethnic cohesion that can be essential in preventing the community from taking part in socio-political tension.

Interethnic networks in SMCU indirectly improve interaction in both formal and informal contact. SMCU does not have a specific program for building interethnic solidarity, but obviously, it facilitates the social cohesion naturally. Bu Dwi (A Dayak manager of SMCU in Wonobaru, Pontianak) realizes that the interaction happens intensively. She explains that when the new member brings on two other members as guarantors to apply for a loan. As a personal response to the rising tension in Pontianak, she said,

*“Saya ndak ada sangkut pautnya, Itu urusan orang yang berpolitik, mungkin tidak puas dengan apa yang diinginkan. Yang penting ndak mengganggu kita ya karena kita juga ndak paham apa tujuan mereka. Ya saya termasuk orang yang trauma dengan kerusuhan sih, saya korban kerusuhan tahun 1997 kami diungsikan. Tapi ya Namanya kita adalah lembaga keuangan yang memiliki anggota yang beragam, jadi kita harus netral, agama apapun dia, suku apapun dia.*

(I am not part of the political business. It is the business of politicians who do not satisfy their expectations. The important thing is that they are not annoying us. We do not understand their goal. I am among those who are traumatized by the 1997 riot. I was a victim. We have to be neutral to the matter of religion or ethnicity because we organize financial institutions whose members are from different backgrounds).

Participation in credit unions has a significant role in strengthening peace attitudes to express the disapproval of rising conflict. The interaction and contact among different communities in the economic community become an important reason in ways to keep a conducive situation. This means a lot for building community resilience to conflict during the tension in Pontianak.

It is clear from here that the presence of a credit union affects potential conflict. In the context of rising tension, SMCU is an important institution to solidify interethnic relations in facing a potential conflict. It is also an important practice related to the context of West Kalimantan that has a record of ethnic conflict in 1997 to 1999 (De Jonge & Nooteboom, 2006). Moreover, multiethnic society in Pontianak opens the chance for potential clash and friction along with the emerging ethnic and religious identity politics in West Kalimantan (Tanasaldy, 2007; Prasojo, 2017a). The participation of

SMCU members reflects conceptual frameworks and ways to reconstruct the interactive spectrum for the interethnic peace relationship as the counter-practice to avoid the escalation of tension in Pontianak.

## CONCLUSION

To see the role of civic engagement in SMCU, it is important to consider interethnic relations solidified by social capital that have existed in the context of Pontianak society, and further SMCU promotes the shared value for building trust and openness among its members. This capital is important to improving civic engagement practiced in economic development. From this practice, social capital and civic engagement are the key conceptions to construct peaceful relations. In short, interethnic relations and peace practiced by SMCU members are the results of social capital and civic engagement correlations. This paper shows the important role of a Credit Union and an economic community to maintaining social cohesion. The main instrument of developing social cohesion for interethnic relations in CU is the economy. Beside developing mutual economic relationships among diverse ethnic communities, the credit union improves its role of civic engagement through peace education for its members in formal meetings. In other words, it develops the economic value instead of providing spaces for connecting multiethnic society. The benefits are not only limited to sharing the economic benefit for personal interest, but also to facilitating interethnic relations by creating multiethnic groups to encourage ethnic diversity in neighborhood relationships.

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## THE MYTH OF RELIGIOUS “RADICALISM”

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### ABSTRACT

*This work examines an academic exposure on the issues of religious radicalism increasing globally not only in the West but also in the east countries. As a majority Muslim populated country, Indonesia is one of the reluctant examples in facing the problem of religious radicalism. In addition, this research paper examines the term of “radicalism” politically associated with extremism and terrorism. The primary issue is explicitly addressed to religious radicalism in terms of meaning and image. Hence, we perceive that religious radicalism can be understood as mainstream feature on religious behavior including religious actions leading to the steps of violent extremism or terrorism. Religious radicalism today is massively defined as a negative rather than positive connotation. Such glimpse traps us to be “narrow minded” in perceiving the role as well as the holy spirit of religions. Therefore, the critical questions of this research paper include what happens with the framing of religious radicalism today; How is the historical narration of radicalism; and is it a problem when someone being radical to practice and understand religions or beliefs. Lastly, how philosophical meanings of the word radicalism alone response such debate. However, the general terminology of religious radicalism has led significant social, political, and cultural impacts toward religious harmony and religious life particularly in Indonesian context.*

**Keywords:** Religion; Radicalism; Image; Narration; Media.

### INTRODUCTION

It is undeniable that nowadays human beings live under digital age and Internet society that possibly admits modern humans to consume information including the discourse of religions. By using internet, religious discourse and knowledge are abundantly accessible and able to spread widely with borderless. Digital and virtual live is the element of information which plays pivotal roles in shaping social, cultural, political and religious life. In the history of human civilization, technological development was aimed to help human’s problem where philosophy and religion could not provide material needs in our modern life. Technology makes everything easier that even connects

society to practice their faith or religion. For instance, virtual *dakwah* or online worship is commonly found today. To gain knowledge of religion in virtual life seems to become “instant” where people may attend or participate to religious ceremonies as well as rites through Internet, without attending churches or mosques just to listen the preachers in front of smartphone or gadget. This is in fact that technological development does not always relate to capital economy, yet, they connect to religious activities on virtual life.

Debate of religious issues in virtual life has been discussed enormously by experts and scholars (Mark, 2002; Leitch, 2004). Technology had emerged in the beginning to be more rational to respond modernity; meanwhile it seems far away from superstitious life in which it is one of the religious elements. Nowadays, people however tend to worship technology and religion in the same level. Today we also have seen people looking for religious belief through online such as YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, etc. This is the evidence that technological development helps us to do so. In Indonesian case, especially urban people who are aware with technology they become formally more religious compared with one or two decades ago, and it happens because of technology. Technology becomes everyday life as religion, although in one aspect, we are facing “spiritual crisis” which means a phenomenon where people embrace religions, yet they ignore spirituality (Lewis, 2008), and they become fanaticism with their belief that affects religious conflict as well as violence. The “spiritual values” of religions for peace, harmony, and tolerance, has been absent (Kale, 2004). Recently, religions become “soft power” of political interest in the body of government and political agencies (Fontana, 2008; Sewell, 1992). Obviously, technological platform like internet today plays important role in the campaign of “religious radicalism” that support extremism. The use of technology and internet is for the media tool to recruit individuals for the purpose “brainwashing” of extremism and terrorism.

In relation to academic scholarship of technological development and Internet society, Bakardjieva argued, “technology therefore is not neutral. As far as particular interests have shaped it, it carries a class bias and helps to entrench capitalist power” (Bakardjieva, 2005: 15-16). However, religion and Internet are not separable. If Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) ever said that “religion is opium”, then I argue that today internet is a new “opium” (Nurish, 2019). The issue of religious activism is well developed throughout Internet and virtual links and it triggers young generation to gain knowledge of “religions” by social media and this is why information served by social media creates the spread of knowledge on “religious radicalism.”



At this point, the term “religious radicalism” is currently associated with fundamentalism and anarchism that aim to the step of violent extremism and terrorism. Religious radicalism becomes popular term to identify Islamist group after tragedy of 9/11 known as terrorist attack. Such bombing and terrorism awakened us to be more aware with religious ideology, although terrorism is not always related to religions—and religious terrorism emerged since centuries ago (Siddiq, 2019). Terrorism in this context is defined as violent action that threaten security, social, cultural, and religious harmony, and so forth that destroy human life. According to Tweeten, “terrorism means unlawful acts of violence against property or people designed to accomplish political objectives through fear and intimidation” (Tweeten, 2003: 1). The global terrorism is associated with political phenomena of ideology of Islamic sect such as Salafi jihadi movement (Rahmatullah, Y., 2017; Fatmawati, F., Noorhayati, S., & Minangsih, K., 2018). Solahudin has stated that Salafi jihadi taught by Abdullah Azzam (1941-1989), a Palestinian member of Muslim brotherhood, saying that “one of Azzam’s views on *jihad* was permissible to carry out terrorist acts during a *jihad*” (Solahudin, 2013: 14-15). Although this movement misused religion as the reason for acts of violence, there is ambiguity of the essential spirit of religion that requires its follower to create peace among human beings, and of course religion is not the root as well as cause of violence.

If people act violence with the basis of religious ideology and its reasons, they fail to interpret and understand the spirit of religion. This debate reminds me on Richard Dawkin’s argument on his book entitled *God Delusion* saying only religious faith is a strong enough force to motivate violence. “There is a violent essence inherent in religion”. Richard Dawkin’s statement makes Karen Armstrong to argue that Dawkin’s theory is “wrong”. According to Karen Armstrong on her writing “the myth of religious violence” clearly stated that the problem of violence and wars like ISIS does not relate with religion, it is linked to secular military dictatorship and political agendas.<sup>1</sup> Academic scholarship on religious violence connects with political and theological debate. Unlike Armstrong, Walter Benjamin has different critical glimpse on the subject of violence distinguished into two categories; mythical and divine violence. According to Benjamin, “mythical violence seeks to stand in for God and it produces lawmaking, while divine violence is law destroying” (Martel, 2012: 51). Religious violence often uses the name of God as the reason for law enforcement and this is what terrorist groups like ISIS conduct to achieve

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<sup>1</sup> Armstrong, Karen. 2014. *The Myth of Religious Violence*. Can be found: [www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/25/-sp-karen-armstrong-religious-violence-myth-secular](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/sep/25/-sp-karen-armstrong-religious-violence-myth-secular). Accessed, August 22, 2019.

triumph, although it has been fail.

Since ISIS emerged, the issue of terrorism associated with religious radicalism began constricting mass media being highlighted news. Later, all of us also started to discuss the relation between religious radicalism and violent extremism or terrorism. The public speeches that condemned terrorist attack have been campaigning to fight religious radicalism for the purpose of counter-terrorism. In western countries such as Europe, United States of America and Australia, Islam phobia has been common in social and political turbulence of which discrimination and conflict may occur. For this issue, we can find how social media creates a frame so-called “religious radicalism”. We can easily judge certain religious groups to be “radical” with negative image without understanding or tracing back the meaning of radicalism. The term “radicalism” makes chaotic perspective in perceiving religious groups that may cause more problems when we raise the issue of radicalism. To achieve spiritual stage requires radical knowledge. Religious radicalism, in fact, leads to understand supernatural, metaphysical, and transcendental meanings in human’s experience. Radicalism is a divine approach that rejects ‘sense of frightening’ to fight. As a phenomenology, radicalism must be linked to philosophical or theological rather than political orientation.

#### **“RADICALISM”: THE MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE**

My point of view to perceive radicalism is something positive. In addition, it is necessary and kind of intellectual requirement that we need to be radical in our discipline including our belief or religion. Unfortunately, the word radicalism is associated with pejorative meaning. Although there is no clear justification of the meaning of radicalism, McLaughin stated that we shall distinguish the meaning of radicalism within two categories. For socialist groups they will define radicalism as a good narrative, while conservative groups perceive radicalism as a bad narrative. According to McLaughin, the term radicalism is divided in two types of dictionary, British and America. American dictionary, we will find the word of radicalism with the image of villainy. Meanwhile British dictionary defines the word of radicalism is not a bad thing and it is not a synonym of extremism while American defines the word radicalism fanaticism, extremism, dogmatism, etc. There have been two periods the term of radical started to have different meaning during the fourteenth and nineteenth century. Mclaughin argued that there are three steps to define the term of radicalism. The first definition of radicalism relates to socialist (as a good thing) and conservative (as a bad thing). Secondly,

radicalism has connotation of revolution and extremism. The third definition says that radicalism is utopianism which can be similar with illusionary and it is able to aim violent action (McLaughlin, 2012: 8-11). What McLaughlin mentioned above is a product of a historical usage of the word on radicalism. He also stated that “the broad etymological terms, therefore, radicalism would appear to amount to a certain orientation (practical or theoretical) towards “the roots”, “foundations”, or “origins” of something ((McLaughlin, 2012: 18). I think from his definition that it is etymologically acceptable that the historical usage of the term on radicalism depends on different perspective and approach. Since 19<sup>th</sup> century, the usage of the word radicalism is mostly associated with fundamental political change. In one side radicalism can be understood as positive. Another side of radicalism is also pejorative connotation.

“Acts, undertaking, means, and measures may be called ‘radical’ when they reach down to the roots: of a problem, a challenge, a task. Note, however, that the Latin noun ‘radix’ to which the metaphorical uses of ‘radical’ trace their pedigree, refers not only to the roots but also to foundations and to origins” (McLaughlin, 2012: 19; Bauman, 2009: 25).

Thus, the fundamental question is what’s wrong to be religiously radical? We might have different options to answer. Thus, it depends on what perspective (between the connotations used by American or British dictionary) that we have chosen. The word of ‘radicalism’ associated with religious ideology of extremism proves that we sometimes easily judge certain religious groups to claim and to categorize as political threat. I argue that the connotation of radicalism in Indonesian context follows American dictionary which has negative and villainous sense that must be fight. In other words, we might say that radical groups become a serious threat for nation and democracy. However, the term of radicalism sounds very political nuance and radical groups are put as dangerous enemy although not all radical people join with extremist or terrorist organizations. This word is exactly a political propaganda that we need to problematize. In addition to criticize the word of radicalism, we should be aware that such word implies prejudice to certain ideology so-called radical. The connotation of radicalism commonly describes religious groups linked to extremism or terrorism with certain categories with identification of religious sects or ideology, religious custom, religious attitude, and so forth. The general category of radical groups is nowadays linked to fundamental Islam. Since the catastrophic 11/9 attack, the word of radicalism and terrorism started to be popular among us. Indonesia, as the biggest Muslim country, takes a part of against of religious radicalism after George W. Bush announced publicly in media to against fundamental and radical groups. I think this was a

historical event during 21<sup>st</sup> century in usage the term of radicalism associated with villainy and terrorism.

Then my following question, who is radical groups? If we answer with above category of radical groups refer to radical Muslims who commit with terrorist organizations that anti-western ideology. Although we agree that anyone from any religion may commit with terrorism or extremism. Yet, if we look at media framing terrorism there will always be a phrase appearing on media like “Muslim radical groups” with bombing suicide. Of course, we may not deny that radical Muslim groups are dangerous and become the first target of terrorist links where they connect globally with their networks. This is what makes Western society feels threaten by radical Muslim groups living in the west or east countries. Radical Muslim groups become global threat that disconnects and disapproves with democratic governance, because in the perspective of American connotation, radicalism has imaginary society to be Islamic country as new world order. Radicalism (American connotation, as mentioned before) never tolerated secularism and liberalism which has root from “western” who are “anti-Islam”. Since the last decade, we started campaigning to run program in all levels for de-radicalization (which means Islamist groups). Mass media plays significant role in the campaigning of the connotation of radicalism in negative image, and media has been successful to frame the word of radicalism as global fear and threat. I strongly argue that the issue of religious radicalism and terrorism is propaganda. Although in one side I agree that religious radicalism and terrorism associated with Islam is “annoying”, “anomie”, and “terrible”. The trouble of Islamist groups is not the matter of radicalism yet it is mostly related to equality, justice, education, and so forth. Most importantly it is also linked to political agenda and power. Islamist groups being anti-western ideology never accepted system of democratic governance and liberal politics; these are not from the root of the history of politics, nation, and state in Islam. This explanation describes what we call “jihadist” not “radicalism”, in my point of view. Jihadist and terrorism groups are interrelated. This refers to the scholarship of Jihadist written by Muhammad Hassan Khalil (although I disagree with his statement and definition of Muslim radical). He states that:

“Muslims generally understand *jihad* to be a noble “struggle” or “striving” for the sake of God. It comprises various actions, from fighting on the battle field to endeavoring to attain inner peace in the prayer hall. It is, therefore, simplistic to define it as many writers do as “holy war.” It is also problematic to insist as many apologists do that it has nothing to do with warfare. In fact, in the specific context of Islamic law, *jihad*

typically denotes an armed struggle against outsiders” (Khalil, 2018: 2).

Jihadist and radicalism have different dimensions in terms of movement. Despite radicalism sometimes contains “negative image” it does not mean they are violent, while Jihadist is close to violent extremism without being religiously radical. This is why we shall distinguish between jihadist groups and radical groups. Of course, the word ‘jihad’ is also debatable among scholars. “Muslims generally understand jihad to be a noble “struggle” or “striving” for the sake of God” (Khalil, 2018: 2). Though Jihad refers to Quran and Hadith and rhetorical passages urging the believers to participate in the wars to against the enemies of God (Bonner, 2006: 3). Jihad can be understood as exclamation of “holy wars” by misusing the passages of Qur’an and Hadith. Bonner stated that:

“Jihad, for the historian, it thus only about clashes between religions, civilizations, and states but also about clashes among groups within Islamic societies. While philosophers defined the term Jihad in one hand is part of the divine law of Islam, and, on the other hand the phenomenon of warfare, which has occurred throughout history in all places inhabited by humans” (Bonner, 2006: 4-6).”

There are different debates of Jihad, which according to Bonner Jihad is applied in the history of Islamic law which means exclamation of “wars or killing enemies of God” that we know as “holy war”. Yet, the meaning of Jihad is philosophically known as non-violent actions, building peace, and developing Islamic dakwah peacefully, including against wars and socio-economic injustice. It depends on which Islamic group or ideology that we would define the term of Jihad. Some theological sources prove that the exclamation of Jihad and terrorism relates to the doctrine of Wahabi supported by Saudi.

“Reaching some small understanding of Islamist’s terrorism sources in Saudi Arabia and its migration to South Asia began to help unravel the mystery of who these people were. It was illuminating to discover that there was puritanical religious and educational structure in Saudi Arabia in which separatism from other peoples and religions. As Schwartz wrote, “Wahhabism exalts and promotes death in every element of its existence: the suicide of its adherents, mass murder as a weapon against civilization, and above all the suffocation of the mercy embodied in Islam” (Millard, 2004: 34-35).

I would prefer saying that not all Wahabi committed with violent extremism

and Jihadist groups although they are radical. The media propaganda is when a frame of radicalism being connected with the fundamental step of jihadist and terrorist groups. The relationship between religion and media have been discussed into public debate, due to the role of media in framing religions is very influential. Media's industries have power to evoke opinion as well as mobilization in public reaction including the issues of radicalism. Since the last two decades, Muslim society has been portrayed by western as "scapegoat" of terrorism. Saba Mahmood and Lila Abu-Lughod, Muslim anthropologist, paid critical attention how Islamist movement. In this sense, Saba Mahmood in the "Politics of Piety" clearly stated the September 11<sup>th</sup> tragedy triggered political and Islamic sentiment in the west. In another hand, according to Saba Mahmood "If Muslim supporters of the Islamist movement, their now almost taken for granted association with terrorism has served to further reaffirm their status as agents of a dangerous irrationality" (Mahmood, 2005). Muslims are presented as a special and threatening culture—the most homogenized and the most troubling of the rest of western world (Abu-Lughod, 2013).

Meyer and Moors wrote "equally important, the media imply particular formats and styles often taken for granted, and operate in new infrastructures. These factors shape the specific modes by which religions go public, modes that are difficult to control by religious establishments. New media thus have both a destabilizing and an enabling potential for established practices of religious mediation" (Meyer & Moors, 2006: 11). The contestation of meanings on radicalism starts to happen not only by framing of media, but also the connotation and bad image of radicalism supported by academia and universities, intelligent agencies, government and non-government organizations, and other spots of agencies that agree with the term of radicalism as bad image and this must be swept. Instead of making clear on the definition of radicalism, we easily keep labelling radical groups with "cynical sense". In addition, we keep busy running program on anti-radicalism because they are not ideal groups and must be cleaned from the system of democratic governance. Fighting radical groups is not solution to reduce extremism or terrorism, because the problem is not with radical groups. The problem is that we are living into divided ideology and we are fragmented by social, religious, and cultural categories. We are divided by fundamental categories that may refer to political catastrophe such as terrorism, a global enemy that we are fighting. My suggestion is that we should be aware in using categories of which linkages between radicalism and terrorism. I think we need to re-conceptualize not only the meanings but also the programs of de-radicalization supported

by government, media, academic institutions, international donors including non-government organizations, and all related communities. In the history, radicalism had never been problem—meanwhile extremism or terrorism does. This is what we need to rise serious and significant critics to those who concern with the issues of radicalism and terrorism.

### **“RADICALISM”: LANGUAGE AND MYTH**

Radicalism is the matter of ‘word and language’ interrelated to our social life (Arnsward, 2009; Chomsky, 1956, 2005, 2013; Cook, 2000; Das, 1998; Fitch, Hauser, & Chomsky, 2005). Radicalism as ideology might illuminate positive values if we follow the essential meaning of it. I strongly argue that radical groups are neither bad nor threatening groups. They may be radix in understanding and practicing religions or beliefs as mentioned earlier. The problem is that we perceive relationship between radicalism with bigotry, and it is deeply signified as “bias meanings” that I already mentioned above. There is massive campaign to fight religious radicalism because this group impeded world peace and democratic stability. As we live under the information of age and “mythology” where the game of language derives “spots” to mobilization or even movement. Religious radicalism is a phenomenon where language and “myth” rooted by political orientation. What happens with religious radicalism today proves that radicalism associated with dangerous and evil is “a new myth” after 9/11 attack.

Karen Armstrong has discussed the myth with very impressive approach. Myth as human experience that today the word “myth” is often used to describe something that is simply but not true. She added that “a myth therefore is true because it is effective, not because it gives us factual information. If, however, it does not give us new insight into the deeper meaning of life, it has failed” (Armstrong, 2005). This statement prevails to the public opinion nowadays on radicalism. The “myth” of theological meaning on radicalism driven by the sense of cynical feelings and suspicious one to another among religious groups (Barthes, 2007; Levi-Strauss, 1955, 1979; Nasto, 1996; Ziegler & Findley, 1997). When we mention radicalism denotes to the sense of frightening groups. It seems we are under control of “sense” of the word radicalism. Following Wittgenstein’s idea of “sense of life”, it is reasonable to say that “the meaning of ‘sense’ is also elucidated from this standpoint. The expression that seems to include a totality raises the suspicion of an objectification” (Wittgenstein, 2009: 41). By referring Wittgenstein’s philosophical view, I would say that the interpretation of the word ‘radical’ has implication to ethical action in which the product of meanings on ‘radical’ signifies the motif of prejudice.

The word 'religious radical' defined by political orientation might be a popular myth in our global issue today. It does not matter with defining "true" or "false" on the word radicalism. When every day we repeat to mention the word 'radicalism' with negative context, then it will produce symbolic meaning that 'radicalism' is something bad and must be avoid. Referring to Bourdieu, he argued that:

“The naïve question of the power of words is logically implicated in the initial suppression of the question of the uses of language, and therefore of the social conditions in which words are employed. In fact, the use of language, the manner as much as the substance of discourse, discourse depends on the social position of the speaker, which governs the access he can have to the language of the institution, that is, to the official, orthodox and legitimate speech” (Bourdieu, 1991: 107-109).

The power of words does not only express the message of discourse, it compromises a condition where there is particular interest behind the words, no matter about politics, ideology, and other related. The clash and the war of ideology becomes real evidence as our problem in this century; the rising of ISIS, Islam phobia, anti-secularism, anti-atheism, and so on. We proudly blame one to another for the sake of making peace, fighting terrorism, or even framing a new myth that we call as radicalism, fundamentalism, liberalism, etc. In my opinion, the problem is not about such ideologies in our society but it is contestation of power relation which might be legitimated by our language. Radicalism is one of the elements among those links that dominate the global issue funded by 'western' orientation. It seems that we are declining in our ethics to perceive phenomena of religions in diverse society within plural sectarianism. We have currently failed to unite that "all is one" as the spirits of our faith. We are fragmented by perspective and meanings in our game of language to respond the problem of 'global evil', and then we blame 'religious radicalism' as the root of conflict as well as war. Religious radicalism is not the problem in the global terrorism, it is our failure to justify religious radicalism as an instrumental myth. Myth and language are interconnected in our social communication and interaction.

Since the history of human's civilization, the role of language has been so powerful. It is not only a tool of social and cultural communication, but also a product of power. Language and power are being habit as discussed by Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu language that we used in social interaction develops 'habitus'. In his theoretical argument, Bourdieu has stated that:



“The habitus is a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways. The habitus also provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of daily lives. It orients their ‘actions’ and inclinations without strictly determining them” (Bourdieu, 1991: 12 – 13).

As cultural product, language maintains human’s action in which Bourdieu concerned with the discourse of habitus. The way we practice our language will require repeatedly acts that we understand as habitus. Language does not only represent ‘text’ but also ‘context’. What I meant by ‘text’ here refers to the message of the word, meanwhile ‘context’ contains *locus* and *tempus* that of existing ‘text’. ‘Text’ is reality which includes language, culture, art, science, religion, and so forth that we have seen in our daily lives. Therefore, ‘text’ always creates the ‘meaning of life’ like what Wittgenstein said. There is always existence of morality in the structure of language that we use. In the military tactic and strategy, language plays important tool when they operate to spy opponent or enemy. In the history of world war II Hitler and his troops also used “code of language” for genocide of Jews people. They created “hate speeches” with negative prejudice and stigma, intolerance, dangerous and hostile people that Jews people threaten Germany. Hitler on his public speeches continually delivered message of hatred to Jews people and he accused Jews by using his racist language to appeal his followers for genocide. What Nazi did violence to Jews people was supported by his followers and media because negative stigma, intolerance, and hate speeches were regarded as the ‘truth’. I mean to say that this is merely an example where ‘code of language’ can be a powerful weapon to justify moral actions.

It is undeniable reality that our lives contain structure of language. Language is uncountable reality that sometimes media propaganda has been successful to promote the negative image on religious radicalism. For example, the word ‘religious radicalism’ today that has been framed as negative connotation by media associated with the tragedy of 11/9 and related to Muslim society. Media, sometimes, are easy to judge and claim “radical or terrorist groups” by their custom or appearance such as *burqa*, *niqab*, beard, etc. “In the West today, Muslim communities are regularly portrayed as backward and prone to violence. In the new common sense, international conflicts are reduced to a “clash of civilizations” in which entire regions of the world are represented as rejecting values such as freedom and nonviolence” (Abu-Lughod, 2013). In the social relation, even we have seen in many cases that there is always negative prejudice to those who wear *niqab* or *burqa*. Radical groups literally and physically are equivalent with such particular customs. This category

tends to be irrelevant for the meaning of religious radicalism. In addition, this might be happening because media blows the image on radical groups with particular customs of old-Middle East fashion that does not relate with the meaning of religious radicalism. If we keep in our mind that radicalism connected to such customs, then we repeat to create ‘imagination’ and a new myth.

## CONCLUSION

After analyzing the term of “religious radicalism”, we are being aware that currently there is a complex challenge where the role of language in religions ties to global politics. The phenomenon of radicalism is a pivotal discourse as critics to the concept of de-radicalization associated with violent extremism and terrorism. There have been linkages between religions and global political situation that misused language. Like what Huntington said there is a serious clash between “east” and “west” after 9/11 attack. We are fragmented by ideology which drives us to fight and prejudice each other by what we call as “religious radicalism” that becomes our global enemy today. Through media, divided society into different ideology has been shaped by language, symbols, and category of class. We proudly spent billion dollars for budgeting the programs of counter terrorism or de-radicalization, yet, we never seen the real problem why religious violence remains to happen—and why terrorism never stopped their actions. Even, their viruses are growing more from time to time. Violent extremism/terrorism and religious radicalism by which they mean bigotry as well as negative connotation are threatening our peaceful values. I am, of course, not denial on such statement. As we already know that terrorist organizations with different surface have existed centuries ago, not only in this contemporary time.

The way we, in the context of Indonesian situation, overcome the problem of “religious radicalism” is too “naïve”. There is “hyper reality” in our abundant projects of facing the problem “religious radicalism”. “Hyper reality” in this context can be understood as Baudrillard’s theory saying that there is unconsciousness of human beings to distinguish between realities and fantasy where imagination, facts, authenticity, artificiality, or lie is difficult to measure. Everything just collides to be unmeasurable assumption (Luke, 1991; Nunes, 2016; Perry, 2012; Robinson, 2012; Stolze & Stolze, 2019). “Hyper reality” and unconscious condition have possibly driven to prejudice, and this might work on the issue of “radicalism” especially in Indonesian experiences to face the problem of terrorist organizations linked to Islamist groups. Supported by media, “hyper-reality” creates an image of “enemy” that must be fight. This

example can be seen through movies, entertainments, newspapers, memes on Twitter-Facebook-or Instagram, etc. imagined as “the other”. “The other” here means both what we call “religious radicalism” and none “religious radicalism”. Can we imagine then these two groups fight and against each other? Yes, this is now happening in our reality that we may not ignore. We seem like pretending anti violence by fighting “radical groups” as negative connotation and as enemy, yet, our understanding and our campaign of spreading the word of “radicalism” with negative connotation contain violence to others groups. If we realize that there is something clumsy in our method to resolve a problem of terrorism in the philosophical and sociological perspectives, then I believe that we will try to seek a new way and a new method for facing the “roots of terrorism”.

However, in the basic humanity, everyone feels unpleasant if they are categorized as radicalism with negative prejudice although they are supporting “terrorism”, yet, in their head there is never negative values. I think this is what I mean to change or to create a new approach in using word and language of ‘religious radicalism’. In the past, religions were unique and peaceful component to reach transcendental understanding by the virtue. “Holy War” and terrorism had never been accounted in the spirit of religions. Although we have seen in many cases that there is a ton of violence in the name of gods and religions. Islam is one of the examples which prove us that the misuse of some verses in the holy Qur’an to support killing non-Muslim actions used by terrorist groups. Our job is not to continue giving a negative stigma on religious radicalism, yet, we need to liberate negative meaning on religious radicalism to be more positive based on the history of usage of radicalism. However, the social and cultural implication of using the word “radicalism” today are “stereotyping” affecting prejudice or even “neo-violence”. Referring to Chomsky (1928), language plays pivotal role in the social relation and it has dominant line in our social, cultural, and religious activities. Language drives social and cultural influence to express human’s actions because it has value. This analogy describes how society behavior is inspired by language that regularly we heard as the legitimation of the truth. The same thing like we heard the voice of the word “radicalism” because today we believe that “radicalism” is bad, although it’s never been like that (Nurish, 2019). Maybe, it is time to change “a global myth” what we call “religious radicalism”.

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## THE STYLE OF SUFISTIC INTERPRETATION: A Philological Study and Content Analysis of the Manuscripts By Three Popular Ulemas in West Kalimantan

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper aims to explain the content and inclination of the interpretive thoughts of the Sufi scholars in the Province of West Kalimantan. Among the Sufi scholars most popular in West Kalimantan in the 19th century and 20 were Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi (1802-1879 AD), Muhammad Imran Basuni (1885-1953 AD) and Isma'il Mundu (1870-1957 AD). The works produced by these scholars are still in the form of manuscripts as the objects of study in this paper. This is a library research with philological and historical approaches. There are several stages in philological research including inventory, description of manuscripts, transfer of script and transfer of language. To support those four phases of philological research, the researcher employs content analysis in doing further exploration to the manuscripts. Very surprising, specific findings are presented. First, there are fifteen interpretations in the manuscript of Fathu Al-'Arifin and eight in the Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid. While in Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman, the contents of the interpretation are not found. Secondly, the patterns of interpretive thoughts used by Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi and Muhammad Basuni bin Muhammad Imran contained in Fathu Al-'Arifin and Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid are of sufistic interpretation using the tahlili method. Whereas the thought pattern of Ismail Mundu's interpretation in Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman cannot be found. It is because the 20-pages manuscript consists of a summary that discusses the science of tawheed and Ismail Mundu did not quote any verses of the Qur'an in the manuscript.*

**Keywords:** Style, Sufistic, Interpretation, Manuscript, Scholars: West Kalimantan.

### INTRODUCTION

The way Islam was introduced to the Indonesian archipelago is different from that in several Middle Eastern Countries. The spread of Islam in Indonesia was by peaceful means. One of the ways was the use of the Sufistic approach. According to Hawash Abdullah (1930: 10), it was precisely these Sufi scholars who had the most influence on the rapid growth of Islam in Indonesia.

Abdullah gave an example of Sufi figures such as Sheikh Abdullah Arif who spread Islam for the first time in Aceh in the 12th century. In the province of West Kalimantan, the famous Sufi ulema well known for the *Qodiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Tareqat* was Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi. To find out the role and contribution of the Sufi scholars, it can be seen the works produced by them, which are still in the form of manuncripts. The previous scholarly works are among the archipelago's priceless scientific treasures. The thought of these scholars, for the most part, are still in the form of manuscripts on various popular media at the time, such as palm leaves and animal skins (Rasidin, 2007). Based on the data contained in the Appendix to the Decree of the Director General of Islamic Education No. 7177 of 2017 concerning Technical Guidance for the 2018 Fiscal Year Research Program Assistance, Indonesia has hundreds of thousands of ancient manuscripts written by Indonesian scholars since the 17th century. At present, more than 26,000 are kept at the Leiden University, while in the National Library it is currently around 10,300. This number does not include manuscripts that are held individually by heirs and those in the palace library in Surakarta, Jogjakarta, as well as in West Kalimantan.

According to Faizal Amin (2012; 2014), the potential of ancient manuscripts in West Kalimantan, especially in Pontianak City is quite numerous and varied, although most of the ancient manuscripts originated from outside Pontianak. However, the potential for studies of ancient manuscripts has not been fully utilized by researchers and reviewers in West Kalimantan. In fact, West Kalimantan is one of the provinces in which some Islamic kingdoms (such as the Tanjung Pura Kingdom, Pontianak Kingdom, Mempawah Kingdom, Sambas Kingdom, Kubu Kingdom) produced several manuscripts written by scholars who lived during the period of the kingdom. As explained earlier, Islamic scholars in West Kalimantan spread religion more with the approach of Sufism. The result is that there are a number of ulema's works in West Kalimantan expressing their thoughts on monotheism in the form of written works which have now become manuncripts or ancient texts (Patmawati & Wahida, 2018) Among the scholars in West Kalimantan who wrote about monotheism were Ismail Mundu (*Mukhtashar Al-Mannan 'ala Al-Aqidah Ar-Rahman*), Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas and Muhammad Basiuni Imran (*Bidayah al-Tawhid fi al-Tawhid* and *Durus al-Tawhid*), H. Muh. Shaleh and H. Khairuddin (*Tahshilu al-Maram li Bayani Manzhumati 'Aqidati al-Awam*), Abdul Malik Bin Haji Abu Bakar Krui), etc. (Hermansyah, et al., 2012: 63). The manuscripts are well preserved in the palace, the royal family and in the homes of the people scattered in West Kalimantan.



In producing the works in the form of the manuscripts, the scholars in West Kalimantan refer to the Qur'an as the main source in the teachings of Islam. One of the goals of the Qur'an's revelation is to be the guidance about the teachings of faith and belief in the Oneness of God (science of monotheism). To understand the verses of the Qur'an about the science of monotheism comprehensively, there is a need for the science of interpretation which aims to uncover the verses of the Qur'an which are general and vague in terms of the meaning. This is the importance of the interpretation of the Qur'an. M. Quraish Shihab (1992: 125) argued that understanding of the verses of the Qur'an through its interpretation has a very significant role for the progress of the people. At the same time, this interpretation can reflect the development and pattern of thought of the commentators. An example of the influence of interpretation in the manuscript of monotheism by West Kalimantan scholars can be seen in the manuscript of H. Muh. Shaleh and H. Khairuddin (1271 AD) entitled "*Tahshilu al-Maram li Bayani Manzhumati*" *Aqidati al-'Awam*" (Hermansyah, et al., 2012: 63). On page 14 of the text quoting the word of Allah (QS. Al-Furqan [25]: 1).

H. Muh. Shaleh and H. Khairuddin in the text interpreted the *dhomir* (pronoun) "hu" in that verse to be Prophet Muhammad. The quote of the text in the manuscript is as follows, "*The Most Holy is our Lord who sent down the furqon of His servant namely our Prophet Muhammad s.a.w that he is to the worlds a warner to all creatures.*" This is an example of one of the interpretive approaches used by the ulema in West Kalimantan found in the manuscript of monotheism, in this case the manuscript of *Tahshilu al-Maram li Bayani Manzhumati 'Aqidati al-'Awam* (1271 AD). There are still several more manuscripts of monotheism by the scholars of West Kalimantan who used the interpretive approach. A study conducted by Didik M. Nur Haris and Rahimin Affandi Abdul Rahim (2017: 41) revealed that there were three most popular Sufi scholars in West Kalimantan Province in the 19th and 20th centuries, Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi (1802-1879 M) with his work entitled *Fathu Al-'Arifin*, Muhammad Basuni bin Muhammad Imran (1885-1953 AD) with his work *Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid*, and Guru Haji Isma'il Mundu (1870-1957 M), with his work *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*. The three manuscripts are objects of study in this library research with philological and historical approaches. There are several stages in philological research, namely inventory, description of manuscripts, transfer of script, and transfer of language. After conducting the four phases of philological research above, the manuscript is then analyzed using content analysis.

There should be more studies on manuscripts as they provide information about community traditions in the past that cover inter-discipline studies, which in this case the research is entitled the influence of interpretation on manuscripts of monotheism: a philological study and content analysis of ulemas' works in West Kalimantan. Based on the background previously explained, the focus in this work is a study on manuscripts by the scholars in West Kalimantan which are rarely addressed by researchers. This work is found important for some reasons. It is a unique and specific due to the objects of the work are originated from West Kalimantan that is still little known for Islamic manuscript studies. It is also noted that Islamic Sufism has been found influential in the region that needs further studies.

### STUDY OF INTERPRETATION IN *FATHU AL-'ARIFIN*

Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas was an ulama who founded the *Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah* Tareqat, which is a merger between two tareqats namely the Qadiriyyah Tareqat and the Naqsabandiyah Tareqat. Khatib Sambas was born in Kampung Dagang of Sambas Regency of West Kalimantan in 1803 AD or Shafar 1217 AH and died in 1875 AD in Mecca. His full name was Ahmad Khatib bin Abd al-Ghaffar al-Sambasi al-Jawi. His father was Abdul Ghaffar ibn Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Jalaluddin. Khatib Sambas was born from a migrant family from Sange' Village (Wawan Nurkholim, 2017: 16). In his childhood, he was surrounded by pious people, so he spent much of his childhood until his teenage years studying religious sciences. Among his teachers were Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari, Daud Al-Fatani and Abdul Shamad Al-Palimbani. Khatib Sambas then continued his studies in Mecca to improve his religious knowledge. In Mecca, he succeeded in combining the two tareqat teachings (Qadiriyyah Tareqat and Naqsabandiyah Tareqat) and becoming the first Caliph of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsabandiyah (Muhammad Zulkham Effendi & Asep Yudha Wirajaya, 2019: 213). In Java, the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsabandiyah Tareqat had five centers in spreading its teachings, namely Tebuireng Islamic Boarding School and Rejoso Islamic Boarding School in Jombang, Mranggen Islamic Boarding School in Semarang, Suryalaya Islamic Boarding School in Tasikmalaya, and Pegentongan Islamic Boarding School in Bogor (Firdaus, 2017: 206).

Khatib Sambas did not write a book, but his two faithful students recorded the traces of his teachings in short minutes in the Malay language. One of the books written by his students related to monotheism is "*Fathul 'Arifin*." Based on the record of Bruinessen (1992: 90), this book is considered the most accountable work on the tareqat (authoritative). This work describes *bai'at*,

*dhikr*, and other worship techniques, both from the Qadiriyyah Tareqat and the Naqsabandiyah Tareqat. While the fourteen-page manuscript is concluded with a pedigree of Ahmad Khatib Sambas (Kharisudin Aqib, 1997: 54). The contents of the interpretation in the book of *Fathu Al-'Arifin* are on pages seven to eleven using fifteen of the surahs in the Qur'an to describe the *bai'at*, *dhikr*, and techniques of worship of the Qadiriyyah and the Naqsabandiyah Tareqat. The fifteen verses are Surah Al-Ikhlâs verse 1, Surah Al-Hâdiid verse 4, Surah Qaaf verse 16, Surah Al-Maidah verse 54, Surah Al-Hadid verse 3, Surah Al-Ahqaf verse 35, Surah Al-Nisaa 'verse 125, Surah Taha verse 39, Surah Ali Imran verse 144, Surah As-Shaff verse 6, Surah Al-Baqarah verse 165, Surah Asy-Syura verse 11, Surah Al-Baqarah verse 23, Surah Al-Nisaa 'verse 103, and Surah Adz-Dzariyat verse 56.

On the seventh page (1317 H) in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 7) uses Surah Al-Ikhlâs verse 1 to explain the following:

*The One Dzat of God that is of infinite perfection and purity, half of which are the twenty essential attributes (and) He is most holy than all the attributes of infinite reproach and deficiency half of which are twenty impossible attributes of which the opposite are the twenty essential attributes, and we await the abundant favors of God the Most Great and Most Glorious of all jihat or six directions which are above, below, right, left, front and back, which are half of what must be sure.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 7) uses Surah al-hadid verse 4 to explain the following:

*And when (we) reach jam'iyah that is eternal motion of remembrance and all worries disappear for at least four hours, then (we) also move with the instruction of the teacher to (muroqobah al-ma'iyah) namely the heart is determined to be in the sight of God who is with us from each juz namely our tribes and with God are our hearing, sight, speech, feelings and tongue and smell which we still do not know about their behavior and how their kaifiyah is, but Allah is most knowing.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas uses Surah Qaaf verse 16. Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 7) to explain the following:

*And we remind the atsar that He created man like us and created all the animals that creep on the earth and that fly in the clouds and all the animals in the sea, and also remind the world of ash-showi, namely the world above and seven layers of the sky and all the smoke in it like the moon and the sun and stars and clouds, then we remind as-sufli world which means the world below and the creation of the sea, land, mountains and clay as well as wood and stone and all plants.*

On the eighth page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas uses Surah Al-Maidah verse 54 to explain the following:

*(And) the call of lathifatun nafsi then moves also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobah al-mahabbati fi al-quwsi) namely determination to love God to be merciful to half of the region, namely to the dzat of our Lord who loves us and we love Him as for the evidence is the three muroqobah.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 8) uses Surah Al-Hadid verse 3 to explain the following:

*The call of lathifatun nafsi then this determination is called the region of al-'ulya that is moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatu wilayatil 'ulya) love God who created the al-ulya region that is determination to the dzat of our Lord who created the angelic region which is the inner command which called itself at that time with mind.*

On the ninth page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 9) uses Surah Al-hadid verse 3 to explain the following:

*Anasiru al-arba'ati that is the wind-water-earth-fire biwasithoti al-masyekh'alaihimu ar-rahmah then moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatu kamalaati ulil azmi) that is determination to the dzat of our Lord who makes things perfect of ulul azmi perfection of the kamalatun nubuwwah and kamalatur risalah.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 9) uses Surah An-Nisa' verse 125 to explain the following:

*Then moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatu al-mahabbati fi dairatil khillah) that is to love God in standing place of love namely determination to the dzat of our Lord that made Sayyidina Ibrahim as his intimate friend.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 9) uses Surah Taha verse 39 to explain the following:

*Then moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatu dairoti al-mahabbati ash-shorfati hiya of sayyidina musa), namely determination to the dzat of our Lord who pours out His mercy that is to bestow love upon Sayyidina Musa.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 9) uses Surah Ali Imran verse 144 to explain the following:

*Then moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatu adz-dzatiyah al-mumtarijati bil mahbubiyati wa hiya haqiqotul muhammadiyah) namely determination to dzat of our Lord who made Muhammad His love that is the one He truly loves.*

On the tenth page of the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 10) uses Surah As-Shaff verse 6 to explain the following:

*Wal faidhu 'ala hai'ati al-wahdaniyah until finally bi washithoti al-masyekh'alaihimu ar-rahmati then moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatul mahbubiyatis shorfati wa hiya haqiqotul*

*ahmadiyah) namely determination to the Dzat of our Lord who took Ahmad the only loved one. Namely bringing good tidings with a noble Messenger who came after me whose name is Ahmad.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 10) uses Surah Al-Baqarah verse 165 to explain the following:

*Wal faidhu 'ala hai'ati al-wahdaniyati until finally bi washithoti al-masyekh'alaihimu ar-rahmati then moving also with the permission of the sheikh to (muroqobatu al-hubbi wa ash-shorfi) namely determination to the Dzat of Lord or love of the Prophet or compassion for Angels or love for Muslims or love for something because everything is God's favors to His servants.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 10) uses Surah Asy-Shura verse 11 to explain the following:

*Then moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatu la tu'ayyinu) namely loving the Dzat of Lord that is not visible namely determination to the Dzat of our Lord that is never to Him any equals not even angels who are muqorrobin or a prophet even though they never get to see the Dzat of our Lord because no one knows of God but God, hence this is a sign.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 10) uses Surah Al-Baqarah verse 23 to explain the following:

*Determination to the Dzat of our Lord who revealed the Qur'an unto Sayyidina Muhammad s.a.w which becomes virtue to people who recite it and the beginning of miracles with the shortest possible surah of it.*

Then on the same page in the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 10) uses Surah Al-Nisaa 'verse 103 to explain the following:

*Determination to the Dzat of our Lord who decreed prayer that is in some words and some actions begining with takbiratul ihram (and) concluded with greetings with some specified conditions.*

On the eleventh page of the manuscript, Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 11) uses Surah Adh-Dhariyat verse 56 to explain the following:

*Then it is also useful with the permission of the shaykh to (muraqabatu daeratu al-ubudiyah al-surfati) namely determination to the Dzat of our Lord whom all of His creatures worship and who specifies worship of all kasanat.*

The contents of the teachings contained in Fathu Al-rifArifin and its interpretations practiced by the followers of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsabandiyah Tareqat have social benefits and functions. According to a study by Muhammad Zulkham Effendi & Asep Yudha Wirajaya (2019: 213-219), practicing the dhikir contained in the Book of Fathu Al-Arifin can bring a person calmness and tranquility in his heart, while the social function is positive interaction

and caring for others. With dhikr, a person, when dealing with each other, has an attitude of reliance on God, patience, humility, qana'ah, and has the ability to socialize well.

### STUDY OF TAFSIR IN *BIDAYATU AL-TAUHID FI ILMI AL-TAUHID*

The strong influence of Sufism in West Kalimantan that Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi had brought began to shift to the notion of Islamic reform which was actually initiated from Ahmad Khatib's birthplace, i.e. Sambas, West Kalimantan. The movement was pioneered by a figure from the Maharaja Imam of the Sambas Kraton Mosque, Muhammad Basuni Imran. He was born in Sambas on 16 October 1885 (25 Dzulhijah 1302 AH) which coincided with the time of construction of the Sambas Palace Mosque. The construction was under the commission of Sultan Shafiudin II. Basuni Imran had two wives, namely Muzinah bint Imam H. Hamid and Mas Marhana (Didik M. Nur Haris and Rahimin Affandi Abd Rahim, 2017: 166). In 1901, Basuni Imran went to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage and broaden his religious knowledge informally for five years. He studied the Science of Nahwu and Shorf with Tuan Guru Umar Sumbawa and Uthman Sarawak, studied the Science of Fiqh with Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau, studied Arabic, Mantiq, interpretation, ushul fiqh, and monotheism with Sheikh Ali Maliki. In 1910, Basuni Imran continued his studies at Al-Azhar University and Dar al-Da'wah wa al-Ershad Madrasa founded by Muhammad Rashid Rida (Didik M. Nur Haris and Rahimin Affandi Abd Rahim, 2017: 166-167).

In 1913, Basuni Imran returned to his hometown in Sambas, because his parents were seriously ill. At the same time, he was appointed by the Sultan as Maharaja Imam of the Sambas Palace Mosque. Precisely after Friday prayer on 9 November 1913, Basuni Imran was appointed by the Sultan to hold the mandate as Maharaja Imam of the Sambas Palace Mosque (Moh. Haitami Salim et al., 2011: 109-132). During his life, Basuni Imran wrote a lot of works, some have been printed and some drafts in books. According to Moh. Haitami Salim, et al. (2011: 109-132), there are fifteen works written by Basuni Imran, namely *Terjamah Durus al-Tarikh Syariat*, *Risalah Cahaya Suluh*, *Zikr al-Maulid al-Nabawi*, *Tadzkir*, *Khulashah Sirah al-Muhammadiyah*, *Nur al-Siraj fi Qissat al-Isra' wa al-Mi'raj*, *Al-Janaiz*, *Irsyad al-Gilman fi Adab Tilawat al-Quran*, *Durus al-Tawhid*, *Daw' al-Misbah fi Fakh al-Nikah*, *Al-Nusus wa al-Barahin 'ala Iqamat al-Jum'ah bimad al-Arba'in*, *Husn al-Jawab 'an Isbat al-Ahlillah bi al-Hisab*, *Manhal al-Gharibin fi Iqamat al-Jumu'ah bi dun al-'Arba'in*, *Al-Tazkirat Badi'ah fi Ahkam al-Jum'ah*, and *Bidayah al-Tawhid fi al-Tawhid*. Among the fifteen works, two are related to the science of tawheed, namely *Bidayah al-Tawhid fi al-Tawhid* and *Durus al-Tawhid*.

In this paper, only one of Basuni Imran's works in the field of tawheed is discussed, namely *Bidayah al-Tawhid fi al-Tawhid*. This book was written by Muhammad Basuni Imran on Wednesday, 13 Jumadil Awwal 1336 AH (27 March 1918 AD). This 59-page book was printed by the al-Ahmadiyah Singapore publication in the same year. This Malay-language book with Arabic Malay (Jawi) script may be Basuni Imran's first work printed in a publication (Zulkifli, 2018: 2). In its introduction, Basuni Imran explained that this book is an adaptation of several books, namely *al-Jawahir al-Kalamiyyah*, by al-Alamah Shaykh Tahir al-Jawazairi, *Kalimat al-Tawhid* by al-Alamah Shaykh Husein Waaly al-Mishry, and the book of *Kifayat al-Awwam*. Basuni Imran acknowledged that the contents of this book fully followed the contents of the books he adapted from, while the composition and systematic discussion were adjusted to the sense of the Malays (Muhammad Basuni Imran, 1918: 1).

In general, this 59-page manuscript contains six chapters supplemented with a list of errata, preface, introduction, and closing remarks. Chapter I discusses faith in Allah s.w.t; chapter II discusses faith in all angels; chapter III discusses faith in the Books of Allah s.w.t; chapter IV discusses faith in the Apostles, chapter V discusses faith in the Doomsday; chapter VI discusses faith in qadha and qadar. The contents of the interpretation contained in the book *Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid* focus on eight subjects of discussion, namely Surah Yasin verse 82, Al-Baqarah verse 255, Al-Anbiya verse 22, An-Nisa' verse 164, Surah Al-Sajdah verse 11, Surah Ali Imran verse 31, Surah Al-Zalzalah verses 7-8, and Surah Al-Kawthar verse 1. Chapter I is about faith in Allah. Basuni Imran quoted four verses of the Qur'an and interpreted them, namely Surah Yasin verse 82, Al-Baqarah verse 255, Al-Anbiya verse 22, and An-Nisa' verse 164. When explaining the Attributes of Allah that are *mukholafatu lilhawadisi*, Basuni Imran quoted Surah Yasin verse 82. Basuni Imran (1918: 8) then explained Surah Yasin verse 82 as follows:

*In the case that He intends a thing, He says to it (be) you, and it is, and that He does not make something because He desires and wishes, (and) He creates it because there are purposes and wisdom because He is the Judge (delivering and putting things on the place). And the argument is that if there is no fault for all that is new, it must be like Him, but that is impossible because if He resembles something of all that is new, He is the new Holy, but with His new state, (it) is impossible.*

In explaining the Attributes of Allah that are *qiamuhu binafsihi*, Basuni Imran quoted Surah Al-Baqarah verse 255. Basuni Imran (1918: 8-9) then explained Surah Al-Baqarah verse 255 as follows:

*The beginning is Allah, there is God except Him who is worthy of worship but He is the one who is ever-living and sustainer (of all creations) and*

*if he does not stand alone, surely He is (new) holy but a new state is impossible because of the past evidence.*

In explaining the attribute of the Oneness of Allah, Basuni Imran (1918: 9) explains Surah Al-Anbiya verse 22 as follows:

*If there is in both (i.e in the heavens and earth) some other Gods than Allah surely have (both) the heavens and earth been ruined, there is something like the past and tafsil (hurayan) there is evidence that follows this, then this alone is sufficient for the new learners.*

In explaining the attribute of Allah that is *qiamuhu binafsihi*, Basuni Imran (1918: 12-13) explained Surah An-Nisa'verse 164 as follows:

*And has been said (responded) by Allah Ta'ala which will be as takallim (speech). So Allah removed from him the hijabun (covered) and He recited to him His word that is qodim. And had it not been by the permission of Allah Ta'ala with His kalam, He would have been like His opponents and He is lacking and that lacking nature is not pleased with Him by His creations, then how merciful is the Creator (God who creates things)? Kalam submits with the mandatory and impossible and jaiz. And whoever God wills that he understands, He gives that understanding that this is obligatory and this is impossible and this is jaiz. Namely he understands such thing.*

In chapter II, discussing faith in all angels, Basuni Imran (1918: 17) explained Surah Al-Sajdah Verse 11 as follows:

*Say, O Messenger, the angel who will take your death that is entrusted with you and in fact the One who takes your death is Allah. Izrail, he takes all the souls of all the animals and birds and others). Such is the word ahlu al-sunnah.*

In chapter IV discussing faith in the Apostles, Basuni Imran quoted Surah Ali Imran Verse 31 when explaining the difference between miracles and karomah. Basuni Imran (1918: 25) then explained Surah Ali Imran Verse 31 as follows:

*If the guardian alienates with himself and does not follow Prophet Muhammad sa.w, (he) will undoubtedly have no zahir on his hand by karomah and nor is he a guardian for rahman (Allah) but he is like a part and guardian for Satan like the goods required for such by the word of Alah Almighty, the Books to His Prophet on the rights of some peoples who think that they love Allah.*

In chapter V discussing faith in the hereafter (doomsday), Basuni Imran quoted two verses, namely Surah Al-Zalzalah Verses 7-8 and Surah Al-Kawthar verse 1. Surah Al-Zalzalah Verses 7-8 quoted by Basuni Imran when explain about reckoning. Basuni Imran (1918: 46-47) explained Surah Al-Zalzalah Verses 7-8 as follows:



*We believe that Allah s.w.t. will bring all human beings to Mahshar, He will reckon each person and He will determine the deeds that he did whether it is good or evil. And witness those who had been denied by all their disbelief, and He will make of all their genitals apparent, and their intentions are with them, and nothing for them to hide on the day of judgment.*

Surah Al-Kautsar Verse 1 was quoted by Basuni Imran when explaining about kautsar. Basuni Imran (1918: 48) then explained Surah Al-Kawthar Verse 1 as follows:

*Verily, kawthar is a river in heaven whose water is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey. Whoever drinks a mouthful of the water, he will not thirst forever. That Kawthar is bestowed by Allah s.w.t. upon our Prophet s.a.w., and He hinted it with His word.*

### **STUDY OF TAFSIR IN MUKHTASARU AL-MANNAN ALA AQIDAHTI AL-ARAHMAN**

Ismail Mundu is a leading ulema in Kubu, the Mufti of the Kingdom of Kubu and the Kubu Court Judge. He was appointed Mufti of the Kubu Kingdom during the reign of King Syarif Abbas (1900-1911 AD), the sixth King of the Kubu Kingdom. After the end of the Kubu Kingdom and the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) in 1951 AD, Ismail Mundu was later appointed as Judge of the Kubu Court by Wedana Kubu Pratama (Gusti Jalma) and former Sultan of the Kubu Kingdom (Syarif Hasan Al Idrus) (Baidhillah Riyadhi, 2012 : 37). Mundu has also succeeded in rectifying and improving the religious understanding of the Kubu Raya region and its surrounding communities. There are several religious contributions made by Mundu which can be seen from the 29 works he wrote (Luqman Abdul Jabar, et al., 2013: 56). Among the 29 works, there are two texts related to tawheed, namely *Zikir Tawhidiah* and *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*. Since *Zikir Tawhidiah* only contains dhikir, this study only describes the contents of the manuscript *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*.

The Book of *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman* was completed in Teluk Pakedai, at 5 p.m. on Friday, 18 Rajab 1351 AH which coincides with 1929 AD. This 20-page book was printed at Matba'ah Al-Sayyid Ali Alaydrus Keramat 38 Jakarta. Generally speaking, the contents of this text are teachings about the 20 attributes which are divided into a number of attributes for Allah, namely the mandatory, impossible, and *jaiz* attributes. The next section also explains the lessons about the characteristics of the Apostles which are divided into the mandatory, impossible and *jaiz* (Luqman Abdul Jabar, et al., 2013: 143-144). As explained earlier, based on the record compiled by Abdul

Jabar, et al. (2013: 56), of the 29 works, there are two manuscripts related to tawheed, namely *Zikir Tawhidiyah* and *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*. In the *Zikir Tawhidiyah* Manuscript, there are no Qur'anic verses quoted by Mundu in explaining his writing. This is in accordance with the title of this small manuscript printed at Matba'ah AlSayyid Ali Alaydrus Keramat 38 Jakarta. The contents of the manuscript are only in the form of *dhikr*.

The manuscript which was lithographically printed has been translated into the Malay language by H. Riva'i Abbas. The transcript of this manuscript further expanded its spread not only to Mundu's students but also to various regions and West Kalimantan. The circulation range is even wider considering that it was printed outside West Kalimantan, namely, Batavia (now Jakarta) (Luqman Abdul Jabar, et al., 2013: 112). Meanwhile, the manuscript written by Mundu entitled *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*, after transcription, the contents are the same as *Zikir Tawhidiyah* (as explained above), that there are no verses of the Qur'an quoted in explaining his writing. The contents in the manuscript are not about *dhikr*, but about the summary of tawheed. This 20-page manuscript printed at Matba'ah Al-Sayyid Ali Alaydrus Keramat 38 Jakarta in general contains teachings about the 20 attributes which are divided into a number of attributes for Allah, namely mandatory, impossible, and *jaiz*. In the next section, lessons are also provided about the characteristics of the Messenger which are divided into mandatory, impossible and *jaiz* (Luqman Abdul Jabar, et al., 2013: 113-114).

## **SUFISTIC STYLE OF INTERPRETATION AND METHODS ON THE MANUSCRIPTS**

The Sufistic style in interpreting the verses of the Qur'an is still an interesting topic for debate. Generally speaking, there are two types of the differences among the scholars regarding whether or not to interpret the verses of the Qur'an with Sufistic patterns. First, the scholars who consider that the Sufistic interpretation style is a wrong interpretation, a lie, some people considering it to be disbelievers, and reject this interpretation style. Among these scgolars are Imam al-Thusi, Ibn Shalah, Imam al-Taftazani, Ibn Atha, Imam al-Zarkasyi, Imam al-Rafi'i, Imam al-Nasafi. Second, the scholars who consider Sufistic interpretation style to be haing the benefit of minimizing the esoteric side of the Qur'an. Imam al-Ghazali even stressed that there is no prohibition on someone interpreting the Qur'an with a Sufistic style (Badruzzaman M. Yunus, 2017: 2).

Apart from the issues mentioned above, the manuscripts of tawheed in the works of scholars in the province of West Kalimantan follow the opinions of

scholars who allow it. According to Didik M. Nur Haris and Rahimin Affandi Abdul Rahim (2017: 41), there were three of the most popular Sufi scholars in West Kalimantan Province in the 19th and 20th centuries. First, Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi (1802-1879 AD) with his work entitled *Fathu Al-'Arifin*. Second, Muhammad Basuni ibn Muhammad Imran (1885-1953 AD) with his work, *Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid*. Third, Guru Haji Isma'il Mundu (1870-1957 AD), with his work, *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*. The three works in the form of manuscripts written by the most popular Sufi scholars in the Province of West Kalimantan are the objects of this study.

After transcribing and translating the three manuscripts written by the three Sufi scholars, it can be concluded that not all of their texts quoted, used, and interpreted the verses of the Qur'an. The verses of the Qur'an and the interpretation of the authors can be found in the manuscripts of Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi entitled *Fathu Al-rifArifin*, and of Muhammad Basuni ibn Muhammad Imran entitled *Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid*. Whereas in *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman* by Isma'il Mundu, there are no Qur'an verses and interpretation made by the author because the contents of the 20-page manuscript are only a summary of tawheed (Didik M. Nur Haris dan Rahimin Affandi Abdul Rahim, 2017: 113-114).

The style of interpretation used by Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi and Muhammad Basuni ibn Muhammad Imran in each of the manuscripts is the Sufistic interpretation style, namely the interpretation of the verses of the Qur'an marked by differences in the explicit or obvious meaning of the verses, because there are implied guidance which can only be known by certain scholars who have been given light by Allah s.w.t. (Badruzzaman M. Yunus, 2017: 5). Khatib al-Sambasi and Basuni Imran used Sufistic style in interpreting the verses of the Qur'an to affirm their argument when discussing teachings related to tawheed. The Sufistic style of interpretation used by Khatib al-Sambasi and Basuni Imran is increasingly apparent when looking at examples of their interpretations with the method used. The method of interpretation used by Khatib Sambas and Basuni Imran is the *tahlili* which is a method of interpretation that aims to explain the content of the verses of the Qur'an from all its aspects (Al-Farmawi, 1996: 12). This method describes all aspects contained in the verses and explains the meanings included in it in accordance with the expertise and tendency of the interpreter (Nashruddin Baidan, 1998: 31).

The *tahlili* method used by Khatib Sambas is evidenced from several verses of the Qur'an used and their interpretation. For example, when Khatib al-Sambasi

explained that a final Messenger whose name is Ahmad (Muhammad) would come. Khatib Sambas (1317 H: 10) used Surah As-Shaff verse 6 to explain the following:

*Wal faidhu 'ala hai'ati al-wahdaniyah until finally bi washithoti al-masyekh'alaihimu ar-rahmati then moving also with the permission of the shaykh to (muroqobatul mahbubiyatis shorfati wa hiya haqiqotul ahmadiyah) which is determination to the Dzat of our Lord that made Ahmad the only loved one. Namely bringing good tidings of a noble Messenger who came later after me whose name is Ahmad.*

In addition, Khatib Sambas and Basuni Imran also used the *tahlili* method in interpreting the verses of the Qur'an they quoted. This is evidenced from several verses of the Qur'an quoted in the texts along with their interpretation. An example is when Basuni Imran explained about *Kawthar*. He argued that *kawthar* is a river that is in heaven. The water is whiter than milk and tastes sweeter than honey. Whoever drinks its water, he will never thirst forever. Basuni Imran supported his analysis with Surah Al-Kawthar Verse 1. Basuni Imran (1918: 48) then explained Surah Al-Kawthar Verse 1 as follows:

*Verily, kawthar is a river in heaven whose water is whiter than milk and sweeter than honey. Whoever drinks a mouthful of the water, he will not thirst forever. That Kawthar is bestowed by Allah s.w.t. upon our Prophet s.a.w., and He hinted it with His word.*

The *tahlili* interpretation method used by Khatib Sambas and Basuni Imran in each of their manuscripts was also used by other interpretive scholars. For example, the following works are written by the scholars who used the *tahlili* method of interpretation as described by Muhammad Amin Suma (2013: 380) are *Al-Jāmi li Ahkām al-Quran* by Syaikh Imam al-Qurṭūbi, *Jāmi' al-Bayānan Takwīl Ayyi al-Qur'an* by Ibn Jarīr al-Thabariy, *Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'Azīm* by al-Hāfidz Imad al-Din Abi al-Fida Ismāil ibn Katsīr al-Quraisiy al-Danasyqi, *Al-Mīzān fi Tafsīr al-Quran* by al-'Allamah al-Sayyid Muhammad Husyan al-Thabaṭab'i. The *tahlili* method of interpreting the Qur'an has several tendencies or styles, namely *al-tafsir bi al-ma'tsur*, *al-tafsir bi al-ra'yi*, *al-tafsir al-shufi*, *al-tafsir al-fiqhi*, *al-tafsir al-falsafi*, *al-tafsir al-'ilmi*, dan *al-tafsir al-adab al-ijtima'i*. Based on the previous discussion, the thought patterns of Khatib Sambas' and Basuni Imran's interpretation in each of their manuscripts are Sufistic, more specifically the Sufi al-nazhari style of interpretation.

According to Muhammad Husain al-dzahabi, the Sufi al-nazhari style of interpretation is based on symbolic methods which are not only focused on linguistic aspects, but can also be used to support irrational theories used by Sufi experts. One of the scholars known for his Sufi al-nazhari's interpretation style is Muhyiddin ibn Arabi which is found in his books, *Futuhāt al-Makkiyah*

and *al-Fusus*. Interpretation with this style often receives criticism from scholars such as al-Zahabi, who assumed that this style only sees the inner aspect alone, and even sometimes the results reinforce the theory of Sufism which is built on linguistic rules (Lenni Lestari, 2014: 14-15).

## CONCLUSION

There are three most popular Sufi ulemas (scholars) in West Kalimantan Province who lived in the 19th and 20th centuries. The three include Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi (1802-1879 AD) with his work entitled *Fathu Al-rifArifin*, Muhammad Basuni ibn Muhammad Imran (1885-1953 AD) with his work, *Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid* and Guru Haji Isma'il Mundu (1870-1957 AD), with his work, *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*. All the scholars have works in the form of manuscripts which are objects of study in this paper.

There are fifteen contents of interpretations contained in the manuscript of *Fathu Al-Arifin* and eight in *Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid*. While in *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman*, the contents of the interpretation are not found. The style of interpretive thought used by Ahmad Khatib al-Sambasi and Muhammad Basuni ibn Muhammad Imran in *Fathu Al-rifArifin* and *Bidayatu Al-Tauhid Fi Ilmi Al-Tauhid* is a style of sufistic interpretation using the *tahlili* method. Meanwhile, Ismail Mundu's interpretive thought in *Mukhtasaru Al-Mannan Ala Aqidahti Al-Arahman* cannot be found because the 20-page manuscript is merely a summary that discusses the science of tawheed and Ismail Mundu did not quote any verses of the Qur'an in his manuscript.

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