Indonesia, Islam and Multicultural Citizenship

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Abstract

The following article discusses that in fact from the beginning Indonesia was designed as a common home for all citizen of the nation. These differences, for instances religions, races, ethnicities, gender, beliefs, social classes, and opinions constitute the realities in society, nation and state of Indonesia. Those are protected by the constitution and Pancasila as a collective consensus. However, to realize the multicultural Indonesia in the reform era faces obstacles and stumbling blocks in three levels, namely the level of discourse, the level of legislation and the level of application in public life. This is the homework that needs to be completed with the nation's citizenship. However, Indonesian people remain optimistic about the future because the Indonesian nation is a nation that has a strong social cohesiveness. To reach Indonesia a prosperous and multicultural nation, Indonesian Islamic thought is required to always be critical and innovative and responsive to new developments in the life of nation and state. There are still many stumbling blocks of exams that continue to confront at all times in the long journey towards a more just and prosperous nation and state life. With the concept of accommodative multicultural citizenship, Muslims and other people as civil society are expected to encourage the state to be fair in providing protection, security and public services to all components of the nation.

Keywords: Multicultural civility, Islam, civil society, social cohesiveness and innovation

Indonesia, Islam dan Kewarganegaraan Multikultural

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Abstrak

Artikel ini mendiskusikan fakta bahwa Indonesia sejak awal merupakan rumah bagi seluruh suku bangsa dengan berbagai perbedaan yang melekat di dalamnya. Perbedaan dimaksud mencakup antara lain agama, suku, etnis, jenis kelamin, kepercayaan, kelas sosial, dan pendapat yang semuanya merupakan kondisi nyata dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara di Indonesia. Perbedaan ini diakui dan dilindungi baik oleh Undang-Undang Dasar maupun Pancasila sebagai consensus bersama. Merealisasikan Indonesia yang multikultur setelah Reformasi menghadapi sejumlah tantangan dan hambatan pada tiga tingkatan: wacana, perundangan dan aplikasi di masyarakat. Hal ini merupakan pekerjaan rumah yang harus diselesaikan bangsa ini. Namun demikian, bangsa Indonesia tetap optimis tentang masa depan mengingat kuatnya kohesivitas sosial. Untuk menjadi sebuah bangsa yang sejahtera dalam bingkai multicultural, pemikiran Islam Indonesia harus selalu kritis, inovatif, dan responsif terhadap perkembangan baru dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Masih terdapat banyak hambatan untuk menuju bangsa yang adil dan makmur. Dengan konsep kebangsaan yang multicultural dan akomodatif, umat Islam dan pemeluk agama lain sebagai masyarakat sipil diharapkan mampu mendorong pemerintah agar lebih adil dalam memberikan perlindungan, keamanan, dan layanan publik kepada semua elemen bangsa tanpa terkecuali.

Kata Kunci:Kebangsaan Multikultur, Islam, Masyarakat Sipil, Kohesi dan Inovasi Sosial

INTRODUCTION

The debate over multiculturalism in Indonesia is a relatively new topic of discussion. This concept was enlivened by the development of in the 1990s. Ever since, there have been semantic controversies over the difference between pluralism and multiculturalism because both concepts can be described by the word "ism". This resulted in the development of the realities and conditions of Indonesia pluralism. The development of welfare, equality and public civility may be hindered if this controversy persists in the country. Therefore, there is a need to develop new insights and discourses about multiculturalism in Indonesia.¹

Indonesia's society comprises diverse religions, ethnicities, multicultural and multilingual social groups. The concept of multiculturalism and pluralism are rejected by some Muslims in the society while some are open to the use of words like pluralistic, plural, and multicultural. Thus, there is a need to discuss the concepts of pluralism and multiculturalism in this country²

In the religious context, inter-religious issues that involve "religious emotions", religious commitment or religious claims encourage individuals to be faithful followers of the religion they adhere to. In order to foster positive relationships and social conflicts between partners in inter-religious dialogue, the activists and movers of inter-religious dialogue in the country must be encouraged.³

Indonesia is a multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual country that serves as home to people from all nations. The citizens of the country exhibit differences in religion, race, ethnicity, gender, beliefs, and social class. This point of view is referred to as sunnatullah in the society, nation, and state. The society is protected by the constitution and Pancasila. However, the reform era is characterized by the destruction of worship places, wipe out of scientific discussions, termination of religious rituals was the spread of hate and destruction of personal belongings. This phenomenon shows the failure of the Indonesian people to fully develop a public civilization and education culture of multiculturalism that addresses issues on tolerance and diversity.⁴

¹ Zuly Qodir, "Pemikiran Islam, Multikulturalisme dan Kewargaan," in Fikih Kebinekaan Pandangan Islam Indonesia tentang Umat, Kewargaan, dan Kepemimpinan Non-Muslim, ed. Wawan Gunawan Abd. Wahid, Muhammad Abdullah Darraz, dan Ahmad Fuad Fanani (Bandung: Maarif Institute dan Mizan, 2015), pp. 174-175.

Qodir, pp. 174-175.

³ Qodir, p. 175; Zuhairi Misrawi, Mira Rainayati, and Anjelita Noverina, *Al-Quran Kitab Toleransi: Tafsir Tematik Islam Rahmatan Lil'âlamîn* (Jakarta: Pustaka Oasis, 2010), p. 232.

⁴ Hujair AH Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam and The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship" (On Indonesian Islam an Exploration of the Character of Indonesian Islam and Its Implications for Peace Building in the World, by Program Pascasarjana UKAW Kupang, Universitas San Pedro NTT and PPs FIAI UII, Kupang, 2017).

Pluralism is a blessing in disguise for this homeland and nation. It is a natural law in Indonesia; not many nation-states have a priceless sociocultural heritage. The entirety of the nation would not exist if there was no pluralism.⁵

Based on the historical experience of Indonesia, it should be easy to celebrate pluralism in the society. Although since independence, this nation-state has operated based on a single principle of diversity. Thus, there has been increased efforts to emphasize unity rather than plurality.⁶

The fall of Soeharto from power ushered in the period called reform era. This era is characterized by the disintegration of Indonesian culture. The monetary, economic and political crisis began towards the end of the year 1997. This resulted in a socio-cultural crisis in the nation. Thus, the ethical and prophetic contribution of the Islamic religion (which is adopted by a majority of the people in this nation) is centered on the building of harmonious and equitable social cohesiveness in Indonesia.⁷

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

1. Islam, Integration of Citizenship, and Strengthening of Indonesian Multiculturalism

Islam as a majority religion and the integration of citizenship are topics of Islamic discourse. The contextual formulation and transformation of Islamic teachings in socio-cultural realities in Indonesia have remained a major issue. As a result, Muslims have not been able to mingle with other citizens who have different religious, racial and ethnic identities, without the thought of losing their identity. Hence, this citizenship issue must be thoroughly reviewed to rebuild the vision of Islam. This will result in the successful integration of Islamic values with the democratic and the socio-

⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Merawat Kemajemukan, Merawat Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Institute for Multiculturalism and Pluralism Studies (IMPULSE), 2007), p. 5; M. Amin Abdullah, "Islam dan Keindonesiaan," in *Kontroversi Khilafah Islam, Negara, Dan Pancasila*, ed. Komaruddin Hidayat (Bandung: Mizan, 2012), p. 202.

⁶ Azra, Merawat Kemajemukan, Merawat Indonesia, p. 6.

^{7~} Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam dan The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship."

cultural context of Muslims.8

Based on the socio-political context of Indonesia, the ideas and concepts of "multicultural citizenship" are urgent and strategic needs. This concept has significant implications on the diversity of cultures, religions, ethnicities, races, genders, and social ideologies in the nation. However, multicultural citizenship is managed as a social capital for the realization of democracy as well as the strengthening of a harmonious and peaceful public participation in a pluralistic civil society. The concept of multicultural citizenship in a civil society is expected to encourage the state to fulfill its ethical and rational duties to its people. 10

In the context of multiculturalism, Muslims in Indonesia must display rahmatan lil-'alamin's religious vision. However, the vision of diversity explains that the prerequisites of Islam are understood through a "distinctive values" perspective that can be applied in all ethnicities, nations, races, skins, and religions. From a socio-historical perspective, these essential values can be addressed as respect and appreciation for humanity and a passion for sharing and living together.¹¹

The concept of multicultural citizenship is a question for Indonesian Muslim scholars, intellectuals, and guardians of the constitution and democracy in the modern nation-state of Indonesia. Thus, the concept of al-hanifiyyah

⁸ Abdullah Saeed, *Islamic Thought: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 153; Adib, "Tariq Ramadan: Muslim, Identitas, dan Integrasi Kewarganegaraan," p. 299.

⁹ Robert W. Hefner, "Introduction: Multiculturalism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia" in *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia*, ed. Robert W. Hefner (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), pp. 3 & 47; Adib, "Tariq Ramadan: Muslim, Identitas, dan Integrasi Kewarganegaraan," pp. 299-300; Sanaky, "Pendidikan Multikulturalisme Dan Budaya Bangsa," p. 396.

¹⁰ Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam and The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship."

¹¹ M. Amin Abdullah, "Pesan Islam Untuk Perdamaian Dan Anti Kekerasan" (Sidang Tanwir Muhammadiyah: Pesan Perdamaian dan Getakan Kemandirian Bangsa menghadapi Krisis Nasional dan Ketidakadilan Global, Universitas Muhammadiyah Makassar, 2003); Adib, "Tariq Ramadan: Muslim, Identitas, dan Integrasi Kewarganegaraan", p. 300.

al-samhah, plurality and inclusiveness ¹² must be discussed. The socio-political psychology and situation of Indonesia from the 1970s till present shows that the cultural orientation of the society is towards Islamdom¹³ (Political Islam, khilafah, al-daulah al-llamiyyah). Majority of Indonesia's population are Muslims (87%). Some groups in the nation want the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia.¹⁴

Various Muslim-majority countries in the world have not been able to wholeheartedly accept the nation-state model of governance, which is based on the constitution, democracy, plurality, and protection of human rights.¹⁵

The Muslims in Indonesia must understand the importance of being tolerant and non-discriminatory towards various differences in understanding, belief, religion, sect, ethnicity, race, gender, class, amongst others. This appeal has been echoed continuously by several Muslim experts in Indonesia. Without undermining the role of other people, Muslims (who constitute the largest proportion of Indonesia's population) have a major role to play in the acceptance and successful understanding of the concept of "nation-state"

¹² Al-Hanifah Al-Samhah translated as "the true and tolerant religion". See Hans Wehr and J Milton Cowan, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979), p. 500; Adib, "Tariq Ramadan: Muslim, Identitas, dan Integrasi Kewarganegaraan", p. 300.

¹³ Marshall G. S Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization / V. 1*, vol. Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), pp. 57-60 & 95.

¹⁴ Abdullah, "Islam Dan Keindonesiaan", p. 189.

¹⁵ In this connection, again there are not many countries with the largest Muslim population, say for example Pakistan and Egypt. Pakistan, for example, is almost certainly accompanied by riots which result in casualties. Victims can be from among the participants/election contestants and the presidential election or even between candidates for State leaders (president; prime minister) themselves. Some time ago in Egypt, when President Husni Mubarak ruled for too long (30 years), which was not in accordance with the constitution, there was a people's movement to bring him down from the presidency. Especially in Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq and various other places like Libya the situation is not yet conducive. Arab Spring has not succeeded in completing its homework as a nation-state by upholding the constitution and democracy as one of its important pillars. According to UN records, the political crisis in Syria since 2011 has claimed no less than 191,000 people. The failure to manage this nation-state is sharpened and exacerbated by the declared Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (NIIS) in 2013; Abdullah, p. 194.

and "democracy" in the country.16

Constitutional amendment efforts to uphold modern nation-state governance, maintain the continuity of democracy, and a non-discriminatory state policy in the country can be stated as follows:

First, the convergence and integration of distinctive values and shared values. Muslims and other religious people ¹⁷ in the country are mature, intelligent, autonomous, and able to independently consider dialogue (critically and proportionally meet the point of convergence between distinctive values and benefit common interests, to achieve national unity and peace (shared values). Other Muslim majority countries have not been able to engage in positive-constructive dialogue between the different aspects of religious faith and national statehood.¹⁸

Secondly, the concept and transformation of Maqasid al-Syari'ah must be comprehensively integrated with the existing nation-state system. The reality of plurality is a democratic system, and its inclusiveness is an integral part of Maqasid al-Syari'ah or maslahah theory. Plurality is the social-woven culture of the archipelago. The collective memory of plurality and deep diversity are firmly embedded in the subconscious of religious communities in Indonesia.¹⁹

The inner condition and collective memory of the nation are called fitrah majbulah, fitrah, which is firmly embedded in the hearts and consciences of Indonesian people. 20

The transformation of the socio-cultural capital into political morality became the basic social material of Indonesian people that gave the power of immunity from the attraction of group egoism (such as ta'assubiyyah; mazhabiyyah, hizbiyyah, ta'ifiyyah). This strength, cultural and social capital were neatly combined with the understanding and development of the Islamic thought of Indonesians.²¹ Understanding the Islamic doctrine through

¹⁶ Abdullah, pp. 194-195.

¹⁷ Abdullah, p. 195.

¹⁸ Abdullah, p. 195-196.

¹⁹ Abdullah, p. 196.

²⁰ Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam and The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship"

²¹ Abdullah, "Islam dan Keindonesiaan," pp. 196-197.

tolerant, pluralist and inclusive social religious interpretations is an integral part of the development of the maslahah theory in the study of contemporary jurisprudence.²²

The development of maqasid theory received the momentum required for its application using the Indonesia format of the nation-state based on Pancasila. The historical writer of Muslim culture, Marshall Hodgson explained that the unique and complex Islamicate process in the Archipelago resulted in the development of the Republic of Indonesia.²³

Thirdly, social cohesiveness (fithrah majbulah) is the social and cultural capital of the Indonesian people. Religious sociologists have long argued that one of the social functions of religion in the community of adherents is to maintain cohesion and social unity. In the Indonesian Muslim community, post-independence of the Republic of Indonesia, the theory of social cohesion is not only defined as unity, harmony, peace, solidity, and solidarity in the internal circles of adherents of certain religions, but the meaning has also been expounded to encompass Indonesian Unity. Religious solidarity often includes sectarian-primordialistic (ta'ifiyyah; hizbiyyah) changes that metamorphose into the solidarity of humanity nationality (al-wataniyyah; al-insaniyyah). However, this is difficult to achieve without the firm knitting and weaving of social and cultural capital into the subconscious structure and mindset of the Indonesian people.²⁴

These positive-constructive meetings and encounters have contributed greatly to bringing the Indonesian people out of a very complex crisis. To-day, they witness the constant change and turbulent dynamics of national and international geopolitics, which have a great influence on the religious mentality of the nation.²⁵

The creative heritage of Islamic scholarship should be integrated with the needs of contemporary society. Today's Islam can reflect social dynam-

²² Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah as Philosophy of Islamic Law: A Systems Approach* (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), 2008), pp. 5-9 & 21–25.

²³ Abdullah, "Islam dan Keindonesiaan", p. 198.

²⁴ Abdullah, p. 199.

²⁵ Abdullah, p. 200.

ics and change, both in intellectual, moral, legal, economic or technological spheres. The point of emphasis is to sympathize and provide answers to global ethical issues of humanity, such as social justice, human rights, and multicultural society.²⁶

Ten technical criteria distinguishes Islamic thinking from others, namely, the Muslim thought is based on reinterpreting or re-applying Islam by referring to its substantial values; Justice is an important part of Islam; All religions must be protected constitutionally; All humans are equal; Support for freedom of speech, belief and association; Showing affection for all beings; "Other" rights exist and need to be respected; Moderate attitude and anti-violence in resolving problems of community; and high enthusiasm for issues related to the role of religion in the public level.²⁷ These criteria confirm that the values of justice and goodness are universal values that are embedded in all aspects of Islam. Thus, Islam can provide answers to contemporary issues, such as multiculturalism.²⁸

Based on the aforementioned description, this mindset reinterprets religious foundations to accommodate contemporary life, especially answers to the issues of Muslim life today. In connection with operationalization, maqasid-based ijtihad can be used to understand the historical and current problems of Islam. Most often, the opinions generated are based on the public benefit as maqasid al-shari'ah.²⁹ This model tries to connect historical and present contexts to ensure that it is up to date and applicable.³⁰

Islamic ideas create equilibrium of Islamic thoughts. This concept is based on universal values (such as justice and freedom) that are contemporary superior discourses of Islamic jurisdictions. The nature of flexibility and elasticity proclaimed by past mujtahids is not only recorded and written in the books of the Turas, but has become applicable in reality.³¹

²⁶ Abdullah, p. 150-151.

²⁷ Omid Safi and American Council of Learned Societies, *Progressive Muslims on Justice, Gender and Pluralism* (London: Oneworld, 2003), pp. 9-15; See also Omid Safi, "What Is Progressive Islam," *The International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM) News Letter*, No. 13, December 2003, p. 10.

²⁸ Safi and American Council of Learned Societies, *Progressive Muslims on Justice, Gender and Pluralism*, p. 16.

²⁹ Saeed, Islamic Thought, p. 55.

³⁰ Saeed, p. 55.

³¹ Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam and The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship."

Some of the important humanitarian issues that can be answered by progressive Muslims include injustice and discrimination against minority groups (both religious and ethnic minorities), human rights violations, the absence of freedom of speech, belief and practicing one's own religion, the distribution of unequal wealth, and authoritarian government. Based on the explanation of the framework of Islamic thought methodology, it can be inferred that the decline experienced by Islam today was caused by the lack of relevance of Islamic theoretical studies³² to solve contemporary problems.³³

2. Problems in the Life of the Nation and Country

The review of the phenomenon and journey of this nation in the reform era shows that Indonesia's potential to be a cultural superpower was slightly overlooked by the tendency to make economic and political commanders. The importance of cultural values in the resilience and sustainability of a nation has been widely discussed by experts. Therefore, it can be understood that culture or civilization needs are based on religious prophetic values. Historians have tracked that the rise and fall of about twenty civilizations were due to the weakening of the prophetic and spiritual vision of civilization. Thus, the building of a state without foundational and prophetic transcendental values is like building a sand castle that collapses easily.³⁴

This description shows the close relationship between transcendental values and progress. There are historical facts which support arguments that value or cultural factor is an important determinant of a country's ability to become prosperous because culture shapes the thoughts of people who recognize risks, rewards, and opportunities. In particular, cultural values are important because they form the basis of principles related to economic activity, which are difficult to realize without progress.³⁵

³² Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, in his book *Toward an Islamic Reformation: Civil Liberties, Human Rights, and International Law* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996) at least mention the difficulties in integrating the classical and contemporary Muslim mindset in several ways, including those related to Modern Constitutionalism, Modern International Law and Human Rights.

³³ Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam and The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship."

³⁴ Yudi Latif, "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Suatu Dialog Keragaman Budaya," in Fikih Kebinekaan Pandangan Islam Indonesia Tentang Umat, Kewargaan, Dan Kepemimpinan Non-Muslim, ed. Wawan Gunawan Abd. Wahid, Muhammad Abdullah Darraz, and Ahmad Fuad Fanani (Bandung: Maarif Institute dan Mizan, 2015), pp. 287-288.

³⁵ Latif, p. 289.

Many types of sandstone continue to block the long journey of the nation and state in the Republic of Indonesia.³⁶ There are three areas of thought and practice, namely: the level of discourse; regulative levels, and the level of application in the state and society. In this context, if connected with today's Islamic thought, it raises the issue of plurality, inclusiveness, and tolerance in the life of the religion and nation at the level of public discourse. The sale of many books has been prohibited in certain countries because they discuss the issue of plurality or pluralism.³⁷

However, at the regulatory level, there are still many stumbling blocks in the life of the nation and state, in various ministries, such as the Ministry of Religion, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Law, Human Rights, such as PNPS No. 1 of 1965, which is related to the issue of blasphemy. Amendments have not been made to the constitution at the application and implementation level. Some may or may not be successful, depending on the style and depth of religious literacy, involved in the mastering of the three layers of thought.³⁸ A lot of work must be done in the regulative area due to the level of complexity and difficulty compared to the level of discourse.³⁹ However, the Indonesian people must be optimistic to see that the nation's journey is going forward. Indonesian people have a strong cultural, social and educational capital. This can be used to deliver the life of a nation and state in a dignified and civilized manner.⁴⁰

There are still high hopes for Indonesia's welfare and unity. What is commonly referred to as social reconciliation needs to start from elites and leaders. Therefore, it is necessary for elites with various interests to put forward and establish ideological friendships so that the Indonesian people can maintain unity, as well as concentrate their mental and spiritual energy on the development of the welfare of other people.⁴¹

³⁶ Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam and The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship."

³⁷ Abdullah, "Islam dan Keindonesiaan," p. 201.

³⁸ Abdullah, pp. 201-202.

³⁹ Sanaky and Yusdani, "Islam and The Future of Indonesian Multiculturalism Citizenship."

⁴⁰ Sanaky and Yusdani.

⁴¹ Abdullah, "Islam aan Keindonesiaan," pp. 202-203.

CONCLUSION

Indonesia was designed as a shared home for people with different religion, race, ethnicity, gender, belief, social class, and point of view. The realization of multiculturalism in the reform era of Indonesia is hindered by the obstacles and stumbling blocks in three levels, namely the level of discourse, the level of legislation and the level of application in people's lives. However, the Indonesian people must remain optimistic about the future because the nation has a strong social cohesiveness.

Indonesia is a prosperous multicultural nation; thus, its Islamic thoughts must always be critical, responsive and innovative towards new developments in the life of the nation and state.

Based on the solid concept of accommodative multicultural citizenship, it is hoped that a prosperous and just State will be realized. In this relationship, Muslims and other members of the civil society can play a role in encouraging the state to be fair in the provision of protection, security, and public services to all components of the nation regardless of their social and religious backgrounds.

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