

ISLAMIC IDENTITY IN INDONESIA (Ideology, Public Sphere and Hegemony)

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Abstract

The rise of Islam is increasingly emerging in Indonesia after the reformation, marked by the fall of Soeharto in 1998. This situation became the momentum for the emergence of various Islamic ideological movements in the country. Some present as a tarbiyah movement, salafi, nationalism, and even transnational Islamic movements take part in this momentum. The presence of these ideologies, its existence can be seen from various activities of education (school), charity activities, mosque construction and da'wah activities. With their presence in the community, the ideological contestation in the public sphere is always interesting to examine. So in this paper will see how the identity of Islam in Indonesia constructed post-reform and the modern era. Likewise the efforts of the Islamic movement to negotiate through ideology and public sphere.

Keywords: Islam, ideology, identity

Introduction

The face of Indonesian Islam is known by many different names, Charlene Tan in *Islamic Education and Indoctrination* called it the term "Islam whit a Smiling face". According to his observations, as a whole Islamic schools in Indonesia teach openness,

pluralism and have a promising future.¹

Probably true, because Islam Indonesia is different from Islam Arab and Islam in African countries and the Sahara Peninsula. Islam Indonesian has its own culture and characteristics compared to Islam in other places that are equally Muslim.² Indonesia's multicultural, multireligious and multiethnic background has brought this country enough experience in its management.

Likewise with the wave of Islam in Indonesia, it seems that today and in the future will be more symptomatic, where the state provides the role and open space for the movement and religious ideology to take its role. The role of religion has undergone a shift from the private sphere to the public sphere, where religion is believed to reflect for all aspects of life.

in the the governor election of Jakarta. In the economy, the stretching of sharia banks is an example of a quantitative graph of awareness in muamalah and the economy. In the

¹ Charlene Tan, *Islamic Education and Indoctrination: The Case in Indonesia*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 91

² Zuly Qodir, *Radikalisme Agama di Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014), p. v.

field of education, Muhammadiyah comes with a *tajdid*³ movement to be the front guard in the field of Islamic education, which is then followed by other Islamic organizations.

This shift reinforces the indication that Soeharto-era authoritarianism has led to a shelter for Islam. So the momentum of reform in 1998 marked the fall of the New Order regime (Soeharto), a turning point in Islamic movements emerged on a large scale.

Although many parties give appreciation to Islam Indonesia by looking at reality as the largest pluralistic Muslim country. But the potential for such diversity has led to a consensus on the anxiety of national disintegration.⁴ Countries with "claims" as religiously inhabited by religious people, should not ignore the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism and radicalism.

By using the approach of political sociology, the dynamics of Islamic images in the modern world of Indonesia will be illustrated in this paper. Especially the identity of Islamic ideology movement in the public space

during the transition period of democracy in Indonesia.

Democracy Party; Piety and Ideology Contestation

Modern Islam in Indonesia is inseparable from the political arena. The linking of Islam and politics has encountered the beginning of Islam's development. In Indonesia, the wave of Islamic explosions received the attention of many observers, both domestic and foreign.⁵ The reason, in addition to the history of the entry of Islam to become the majority religion, Indonesia in the modern era is also known by the emergence of Islamic variants that reflect various forms of ideological movement.

The two Islamic organizations that first took root in Indonesia such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama have represented the traditionalists (NU) and the modernists (Muhammadiyah). Although it seems opposite, both of them are the forces that Hefner calls the commitment of "multireligious nationalism". Both as a mainstream group of Islamic movements in Indonesia who built themselves as pillars of Islamic society in Indonesia.⁶

³ Kuntowijoyo assess, Muhammadiyah condition is now different. In the past, in the early stages of its development, its dynamics were qualitative dynamics. Today, the dynamics are quantitative dynamics, adding schools, adding hospitals, promoting da'wah and so on. In the past, the phase was the phase of doctrinal formation, now it's the implementation phase. From this point of view, it may be argued that the historical task of Muhammadiyah in the field of renewal (*tajdid*) is over. The Muhammadiyah stage is now the stage of realizing its original aspirations. See, Kuntowijoyo, *Dinamika Internal Umat Islam Indonesia*, (Jakarta: LSIP, 1993), p. 18

⁴ Arif Rahman, *Esai-esai Pendidikan Islam dalam Berbagai Perspektif*, (Yogyakarta: Diandra Creative, 2015), p. 78

⁵ The main reason is that it happens in Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in the world, which is generally associated with peaceful and tolerant variants of Islam. This uniqueness is often attributed to historians by the way Islam progresses slowly from the coastal areas to the interior and replaces the Hindu and Buddhist character of the regimes that rule these kingdoms. See, Noorhaidi Hasan, *Islam Politik di Dunia Kontemporer: Konsep Genealogi, dan Teori*, (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2012), p. 170-171

⁶ Robert W. Hefner, "Islamic Schools, Social Movements, and Democracy in Indonesia" in Robert W. Hefner (ed), *Making Modern Muslims: The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*, (USA: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), p. 97-98

Other variants of Islam, appearing later with various affiliates, such as HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia), Salafi movement, Ikhwanul Muslimin, which later transformed into PKS political party, and quite phenomenal like Majelis Mujahidin and Front Pembela Islam (FPI). Various movements are often referred to as "new Islamic movement" (new Islamic movement).

In the transitional period of Indonesian reform, the Islamic ideological movement enjoys a system of democratic freedom by appearing on the surface. But uniquely, some Islamic movements such as HTI even judge the democratic system is part of *kufur* and *toghut* system that is not in line with the teachings of Islam.

This movement wants a thorough change of system of government which he says is un-Islamic. Until finally in 2017, through the government Jokowi, this movement is considered as a mass organization opposite Pancasila, so its existence is officially banned.

Similarly, other Islamic movements, which support the Islamic orientation applied in Indonesia. They speak sharia through local regulations, powers, institutions and forms of activism in the name of religion and God.⁷ On the one hand the legitimacy is wrapped in the normativity of the transgression which is seen as a command of God. However, truth values are often absolute in the hands of this class. Thus, the danger according to Shafi'i Ma'arif when there are people who act on behalf of God, then punish and even disseminate different beliefs. So this is what he thinks is the attitude of intolerance

⁷ Arif Rahman, *Multikulturalisme Pesantren: Menggagas Pendidikan Islam Pesantren Anti Radikal*, (Yogyakarta: Komojoyo Press, 2016), p. 102

pushing to the symptom of fundamentalism, which in recent years has been greatly felt.⁸

Islamic Fundamentalism; Hegemony and Conflict

The phenomenon of fundamentalism may be due to several theories, such as; *First*, the dominance of Western modernity over the Muslim countries in the contemporary world. *Secondly*, the suppression of Muslims in Palestine, Syria and Afghanistan has resulted in the sympathy of Islamic brotherhood. *Third*, the failure of the state in realizing social justice and the extent of rampant corruption.⁹

Karel himself provides a definition of fundamentalism which he thinks this movement wants to revive the spirit and some practices that are considered as basic practices in Islam. For every movement of fundamentalism, the notion of general development in the modern world is very negative; and the first objective of the fundamentalist movement is isolation, alienating itself from this evil world. This is reinforced by the idea of the close of doomsday. And simultaneously the emergence of a sense of elite or a feeling about the elite in every fundamentalist movement, along with this also arises a sense of resentment against people of differing opinions.¹⁰

In Indonesia, ideological contestation of fundamentalism in open space has signaled the absence of the state in completing its role and

⁸ Ahmad Syafii Maarif, "Masa Depan Islam di Indonesia" in Abdurrahman Wahid (ed), *Ilusi Negara Islam: Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Wahid Institut, 2009), p. 7-8

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9

¹⁰ Karel A, Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), P. 267

function in society. Uniquely, a country with a religious society (the majority of Muslims) is on the contrary in a different way from the interests of the people. Corruption in congregation, poverty, waste pollution, the violence of migrant domestic workers in Saudi Arabia and the low quality of education is evidence that the state has not shown a serious effort to resolve the problem. While the problems of humanity of the nation increasingly visible in front of the eyes.

In fact, the presence of religion to break down the complexity and attract people to be separated from the materialistic sea and capitalism. But what is the power, when religion is no longer placed in the sociological context of pluralistic Indonesia, it is no wonder that frictions occur when religion speaks loudly but keeps a close eye with the dynamics of diversity. While it is understandable, the logic of religion is sometimes incompatible with human behavior, but if in a wise way, religion will be in a "symbol of peace" for its followers.

Interestingly, Geertz comments that religion not only plays an integrative role and creates social harmony only in society but also plays a dividing role and thus reflects the consideration of the integrative and disintegrative forces present in the social system.¹¹ Religious conflicts complement Geertz's thesis, such as the burning of mosques, church bombings, the attacks of clerics and religious leaders is a bit of conflict in the name of religion on the basis of different understandings and beliefs. Even Religion also sometimes becomes legitimacy to mobilize the masses of

hegemony in the public sphere, which threatens the descriptions of social life.

Public Sphere and Islamic Identity

Religious symbols through Qur'anic text, clothing, life style, and religious figures and social status are constructed into Islamic identity in social life in the global realm. Even in the political arena, Qur'anic texts became a weapon to attract sympathetic voters through religious leaders. Thus, some ideological Islamic movements see the public space as an arena of ideological and political contestation.

Taking into account the phenomenon of Islam in the public sphere, it is interesting to see the reality of Islamic identity in touch with the values of modernism such as democracy, tolerance and human rights. Although some variants of Islamic ideology provide statements contrary to the concept of values, but on the other hand they negotiate with the commodification of ideology, social status and modernism.¹² It can be realized that the ideological contestation has adjusted both the condition and the situation.

The identity of Islam in this case is constructed through the political effort of the legitimacy of social status. The existence of the Islamic movement feels no need to deny the values of modernism to the interests of the group. But trying to offer a system of government which he says is more Islamic by radically overhauling the concepts and structures that conform to the pure teachings of Islam. They

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi dalam Kebudayaan Jawa*, (Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2013), P. 511

¹² Noorhaidi Hasan, "Between Global and The Local: Negotiating Islam and Democracy in Provincial Indonesia" in Gerry van Klinken and Ward Berenschot, *In Search of Middle Indonesia: Miccle Classes in Provincial Town*, (London: Brill, 2014), p. 171

use the democratic system to fill space and try to take over the public arena through symbolism, identity and ideological activism.

Conclusion

The movement of Islamic ideology in the public sphere has experienced a shift in value. Where the Islamic identity moves dynamically finds space to express its symbols and social status, especially in the post-Soeharto era. In the transitional period of democracy, a new ideological movement of Islam seeks a pattern and penetrates to take advantage of that momentum. While in the contemporary era, Islamic ideological movements try to negotiate for the existence of roles and social status in the public space gets its place.

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