

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Background

*Ulama*, an Islamic intellectual figure, had crucial roles for the period of state independences. The majority of Indonesian's population is muslim and *shariah* (religion pillars) is actively and properly practiced though it is not established as State foundation. Therefore *ulama*, in Indonesia frequently consider them selves as Khalifah. Khalifah is muslims who obligate to carry on Prophet Muhammad SAW, struggle on Islam. However, the state founding fathers had established Indonesia as a unitary state and based on Pancasila.

According to Sarwat (2017), the definition of *ulama* in the term *fiqih* is indeed very specific so that its use should not be on any person. All conditions are clear and specific and approved by Muslims. At the very least, he mastered certain sciences such as the knowledge of the Qur'an, *hadits*, *ushul fiqih*, *qawaid fiqihiyah* and mastered legal arguments from the Qur'an and the sunnah. Also understand the problem of the *mansukh nasikh* argument, the arguments *amm* and *khash*, *mujmal* and *mubayyan* arguments and others. And the key to all of that is sufficient mastery of the Arabic language and its knowledge. Like the problem of *nahwu*, *sharf*, *balaghah*, *bayan* and others. Coupled with one more, namely the scientific science which is also very important. Also not to be forgotten is knowledge and insight into the problem of sharia for example knowing the jurisprudence that has developed in various existing schools.

All of that is an absolute requirement for a *ulama* in order to be able to apply the law from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Another case with the title of chaplain, which is not a standard term from Islam. *Kiai* calls are very local, maybe only on the island of Java even just central and east Java. In west Java people use term *Ajengan*. Usually the term *kiyai* is also pinned to the elder, not only in religious matters. Even old objects of historical heritage are often called *kiai*. Seeing this reality, it seems that the *kiai*'s vocation does not always reflect religious leaders, especially *ulama*.

Pancasila and Indonesia motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) means Indonesia stands on diversity, or in other words, various ethnics, cultures, languages and religions are acknowledged. Considering this state foundation, therefore *ulama* cannot establish Islamic/sharia law into the state law frontally. Through political circle, *ulama* incorporates Islam values to influence and contribute on the final product of political process.

It is essential for Muslim to get involved in politics in order to put Islam as law policy as the product of political process. As affirmed by Imam Al-Ghazali: "Religion and power are twin. Religion is a foundation (principle) and power is the protector. Any entity which has no foundation will be collapse and entity without protector undoubtedly will disappear and vanish." Political involvement by Muslim will provide instrument for managing Muslim interests.

Managing the *ummah* interests should become priority, comprising every aspect both homegrown and foreign issues based on Islam's *shariah*. The principle definition of politics in Islam according to Abdillah (2011) is to manage people's issues and interests based on Islam's *shariah*. In Indonesia frame, state administration is

appraised by relation between religion and state and classified into integrated, intersectional and secularity (p.8).Desecularity in Indonesia took place at the end of 80's as a counter against New Order policy which previously supported secularity along with modernization and development. Desecularization in Indonesia includes policy adjustments which accommodate some Muslims aspiration namely, Act no. 7/ 1989 on Religion Court, Act no, 2/ 1989 on National Education which accommodates religion education, and Act No 7, 1992 on Banking which accommodates Syari'ah banking.

The shift from New Order to Reformation era in 1998 provided broader room for freedom and democracy which had elevated Moslem figures to establish political aspect of Islam by founding Islam parties or bases on Islam civil organizations. Hence the relationship between state and religion is intersectional, which partly integrated. This intersectional relation can be perceived through religious aspects that accommodated by the administration and some state aspects requiring religion legitimation.

Abdurrahman Wahid is a political actor as well as an *ulama* who highly upholds equality between the majority and minority, where when all the rulers in this country turn a blind eye to the intolerance shown to minorities. He came with his courage to defend minorities. Abdurrahman Wahid's defense of the minority religion "Konghucu" in Indonesia is one of the examples of the New Order's discriminatory politics in Indonesia. Chinese are discriminated in the fields of culture, work, language and politics. They had to abandon their culture and religion, altering to Christians to save themselves. They also changed their Chinese name to

Indonesian name, because Chinese name made it difficult for them to become civil servants, or to get government positions.

Besides, they can not use Mandarin (Chinese), cannot celebrate feast day. Konghucu is not recognized by the State and all Chinese schools are closed, the peak, many of chinese fled overseas because they more considered to be the cause of the economic crisis at that time. Moreover, the steps taken by Gus Dur were considered difficult to accept, Gus Dur (who at that time was still the General Chair of the PBNU) called Chinese descendants who were abroad to immediately return to Indonesia and guaranted their safety. for to the indigenous peoples, Gus Dur urged them to accept and mingle with the people of Chinese descent. Abdurrahman Wahid is an Islamic religious leader and political actor who promoted equality based on human rights.

During the 1998 to 2001 era, it could be considered the periods of struggle in faighting of minorities, because there were many concrete steps taken by Abdurrahman Wahid, both when he served as PBNU chairman or when he served as president. Futhermore due to his steps which were very concerned about minorities, he got the nickname "Bapak Tianghoa" Father of Tionghoa.

The Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 as in article 28 E of paragraph (1) describes every person is free to embrace and worship according to his religion. The freedom of religion after the reformation of 1998 is a form of human rights development which in particular is a momentum for the Konghuchu in Indonesia. Bsefore the reform era in Indonesia there were only five religions known to exist namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism.

Later in 1969 based on Act No. 5 there are six religions in Indonesia, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Konghucu.

Regulations of the legislation as well as the determination of the President of the number 1. PN. Ps the 1965 Year recognizes six religions. In 1967 published a presidential instruction No. 14 Of 1967 of religion, beliefs, and customs of the Chinese was published as an early foundation to against konghucu discrimination. Confirmation of the existence of a recognised State religion again made through presidential instruction Number 1470 Year 1978 which affirmed Circular Letter of Minister of Home Affairs No. 477/1978 which in essence only recognize the five religions namely, Islam, Christian Catholicism, Protestant Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism.

20 years Konghucu have been plagued by uncertainty in the legality of religion, Precisely at the time of reform when Abdurrahman Wahid served as President of the Republic of Indonesia, he issued Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000 on the Revocation of Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 on Religion, Faith and Customs of China. The issuance of Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000 is a very important product of reform, because the decision had a great impact on the freedom of the Konghucu in Indonesia, such as religious ceremonies of Konghucu can be carried out openly without permission.

In 1999, Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as the first president from leading Muslim figures in Indonesian history. Santalia(2015) explains that previously Abdurrahman Wahid or people be row him as Gus Dur was a General Head of PB

NU (one of Islam is main organization in Indonesia) in 1984 and he continued to promote religious thought, particularly settlement between Islam as religion and political constellation of administrators (p.1). Abdurrahman Wahid was not a conservative-traditionalist, neither an Islam-Modernist but liberal intellectual, and a leader of one of largest Muslim traditional-organization (p.1). Pancasila is established as state's foundation which means diversity is accommodate and democracy system is performed.

In Indonesia frame, the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid was phenomenal and rose controversy, both by his thought and act or statement on religion, social, politics, and culture. Abdurrahman Wahid was known as an ice-breaker for his capacity to break stable space, even sacral issue. He began his political carrier in 1984 as head of PB-NU (Mutual Management of Nahdlatul Ulama). His existence in political sphere with exceptional ideas had been widely accepted by various parties and people, and he emerged as alternative figure during state leader succession through People Assembly in 1999 with strong legitimacy. The succession was conceivable as legislative election in 1999 was accomplished with improved democracy system compared to previous elections.

Contrary political situation from previous periods and heightened with controversies provided firm security for Abdurrahman Wahid to perform his ideas. However, as the iron law of history, unconventional ideas could never be long lasting otherwise it offers persistent energy, inspiration, motivation, innovation and dynamism. Tolerance, Abdurrahman Wahid political ideology and prevail as his power that was respected by every parties. He was open to meet people, paid

attention to others and assembled mutual corporations with various parties, including individual and political figures whom hold opposition against him. He constantly appreciated cultural-human rights of Indonesian people despite how small the groups were. The freedom of faith and cultural religion is a basic human right that needs to be protected. This standpoint persistently practiced by Abdurrahman Wahid in his daily life, instead of limited in political interest and power, neither merely as president. Therefore it is noteworthy to observe his leadership as a president and ulama.

Considering above background, I will further analyze the influence and position of ulama in Indonesia and Islam politics under the title *The Role Of Ulama In Supporting Indonesia Minority Group (The Case of Abdurrahman Wahid of Konghucu Religion)*.

## **B. Research Question**

In order to make this research study has a clear direction to interpret facts and data into this thesis, the first step is to formulating problem. Based on the background above, the formulates the research question as follows:

1. How does Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama and politician supports Konghucu in Indonesia?
2. What the driving factors influencing Abdurrahman Wahid in supporting such religion?

### **C. Research Purposes**

The purpose of this study was to identify Abdurrahman Wahid's steps as an Islamic figure and politician in supporting the existence of minority groups in Indonesia and the factors which were driving him.

### **D. Research Benefits**

It is expected that this research will be providing some benefit:

#### 1. Theoretical benefit

Providing apparent depiction on the influence and position of ulama within Indonesia politics, particularly Abdurrahman Wahid case as Muslim politician

#### 2. Practical benefit

This research is expected to give knowledge for public concerning the ulama influence within Indonesia politic. Therefore, public has awareness on ulama as politician from their stand point and their influences within Indonesia Politic.

### **E. Literature Review**

The research analysis is supported by preceding research on Abdurrahman Wahid role within Indonesia politics.

Epran (2015). Described the role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Indonesia politic (1999-2001) as Indonesia President which include establishing coalition cabinet composed by PDI-P, PKB, Golkar, PPP, PAN, Partai Keadilan, non-partisan and military, later was known as National Unity. He also authorized crucial policies within politic, economy, military, law, social and cultural domains. Under his governance, tolerance among religions was graciously appreciated and generated three political products which were concerning about: (1) democracy, law

reinforcement, pluralism and humanism; (2) pluralism in term religions dynamic; (3) nationalism, he work toward sustain the unity of the nation base on Pancasila and Act 1945. The research employed qualitative-descriptive in narrating the role of Abdurrahman Wahid in Indonesia politic (1999-2001).

Fatra (2016). In this case, then researcher described about Abdurrahman Wahid concept and ideas. The thesis stated that Abdurrahman Wahid highly valued four concepts of freedom during his administration, namely freedom of religion, freedom of culture, freedom of politic and freedom of economy.

Ishamuddin(2010). This thesis aimed to describe the thoughts of Gus Dur, the social and political interactions he is carrying out and also provide clarity about Gus Dur's role in politics in Indonesia. This thesis research is (descriptive-analytic), which is describing precisely the thoughts or concepts of the character. The results of this study note that the ideas of political contraction that Abdurrahman Wahid performed were seen in his diverse struggles. Both in social religious, political organizations and state life, Gus Dur was always an icon.

Riwayati (2017). Described and analyzed three main problems, namely (1) Gus Dur's social intellectual background; (2) Gus Dur's thinking as an Indonesian political figure on nationalism and multiculturalism in Indonesia; (3) The influence or impact of Gus Dur's thoughts on socio-political life in Indonesia. The results of this study indicated that (1) Gus Dur's social intellectual background was influenced by his family's environment from the pesantren and his academic environment while studying in Cairo, Baghdad and Europe, (2) Gus Dur's thinking as a political figure in Indonesia when he change the order of social life and its

various criticisms of the government, (3) The influence or impact of Gus Dur's thinking on the socio-political life in Indonesia, namely the existence of real tolerance among the community, especially for minorities.

Musthofa (2015). This study focused on the issues concerning Gus Dur's perspective about multiculturalism and its relevance in the implementation of multicultural education. The results showed that the ideology of multiculturalism brought by Gus Dur and his respect for the plurality entirely based on a deep understanding of Islamic teachings. Characteristics of Gus Dur's perspective about multiculturalism thought is theological anthropology that emphasizes the contextual community. Gus Dur does not only teach tolerance towards religious beliefs of others, but also he teaches with a willingness to accept the good doctrines of other religions. The concepts of Gus Dur's perspective about multiculturalism among others are: (1) indigenization of Islam: the contextualization of Islam in Indonesia, (2) democracy and human rights, (3) a plurality of Humanism in society. Meanwhile his concepts and approaches to multicultural education include (1) choice of local culture, (2) enforcing democracy and human rights, (3) multicultural education is based on humanity and justice, and (4) respecting the plurality of society.

Rusli (2015). The article sought to describe Gus Dur thought concerning religion and nation, thus his main inspiring thought to solve religion and culture issues are able to be comprehend. According to Gus Dur, Islam thought about state is a doctrine concerning justice and social life.

Santalia (2016). The article described Abdurrahman Wahid as a liberal intellectual, leader of Traditional-Islam Organization, and an innovative intellectual who wrote about relation between religion and state, pluralism, democracy and native. According to Wahid, Islam is not opposed to state. Pancasila as state ideology guarantee the freedom to practice religion and faith under constitution.

Shalleh (2014). Gus Dur and Liberalism Thought. The journal aimed to provide an overview of the characters identified as having given birth or presenting liberal Islamic thoughts. One of Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts is to realize the freedom of "Liberalization" for each individual, it does not need to be seen from a religious point of view, but must be seen from the point of view of human rights and democracy.

Naim (2014). The journal aimed to describe the typology of political leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid. Using a qualitative research approach to obtain comprehensive data on the typology of Gus Dur's political leadership, the conclusion of the study was that Gus Dur's typology of political leadership was a charismatic-transformational leader, based on several facts and political data conducted by Gus Dur leading to behavioral patterns transformational charismatic. Transformational patterns that arise based on Gus Dur's visionary policies, such as the dissolution of the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Social Affairs, opening trade relations with Israel, separation of TNI-POLRI, frequent reshuffling of cabinet, issuing Presidential Decrees, frequent visits to foreign countries, and frequent conflicts Internal PKB. Gus Dur in taking this

policy tended to rely on charismatic attitudes, but he never carried out pressure or threats by using force or military force.

Suardiyamsyah (2017). This research aimed to illustrate that thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid which had a profound influence on the life of religious tolerance in Indonesia. The thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid had a huge influence on the life of religious tolerance in Indonesia. The idea of pluralism being developed, the issue of terrorism considered to be a deviant radical act, the Ahmadiyah case was defended, and being allowed to congratulate Christmas. Were the result of Gus Dur's thought which ultimately had a huge influence in Indonesia.

Porter (2017). This essay investigated the emergence of a profusion of lay and specialist literature in the late 1950s United States advocating on behalf of “gifted” and “academically talented” students. This call to reform schools around individual differences in “intelligence” was associated in its moment with the Sputnik crisis and the passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). The essay demonstrates, however, that the emergence of intensified interest in education for the “academically talented” was actually closely coterminous with Brown v. This essay thus makes contributions to the historiographies of the Cold War, civil rights, psychometrics, and education in the 1950s.

Table 1.1 Summary of the results of previous studies

No.	Classification	Findings / results
1.	Pluralism	Mustofa (2015), Rusli (2015), Santalia (2016), Porter (2017), Shalleh (2014), and Fatra (2016). These research focus on issues regarding perspectives on multiculturalism and their relevance in the

		implementation of multicultural education. The results showed that the ideology of multiculturalism brought by Gus Dur and his respect for plurality were entirely based on a deep understanding of Islam.
2.	Abdurrahman Wahid in his role as a politician	Epran (2015), and Riwayati (2017), these research discusses about political activities carried out by Abdurrahman Wahid, such as the formation of a non-military participant cabinet, and important policy authority in politics, law, military, economic, social and cultural.
3.	Abdurrahman Wahid's thoughts	Naim (2014), Suwardiyamsyah (2017), and Ishamuddin (2010). The thoughts of Abdurrahman Wahid had a huge influence on the life of religious tolerance in Indonesia. The idea of pluralism being developed, the issue of terrorism considered to be a deviant radical act, the Ahmadiyya case was defended, and being allowed to congratulate Christmas, were the results of Gus Dur's thought which ultimately had a huge influence in Indonesia.

Based on the previous studies, it can be known that discuss about Abdurrahman Wahid and his role in pluralism in Indonesia. Therefore, it can be concluded that the focus of the existing are different and do not have the same title even though there is almost the same theory in the discussion. The difference between my research and previous research is that my research focuses on the role of Abdurrahman Wahid in fighting for minority rights, and steps he takes to realize equality for minorities in religious matters. This research will focus on the early freedom of congregation regarding worship, freedom to have a place of worship, which legally recognized by the state. This research can answer and explain how Abdurrahman Wahid as an ulama and political actor in defending minorities in

Indonesia. This study will also examine stepstaken by Abdurrahman Wahid in defending Konghucu before he served as president until he became president.

## **F. Theoretical Framework**

### 1. Role

#### Definition of Role

Role Theory according to Cohen (1992) is a theory that is a combination of various theories, orientations, and disciplines. The term "role" is taken from the world of theater. In theater, an actor must play as a certain character and in his position as a character he is expected to behave in a certain way. In addition, the role or role also has various parts, namely:

#### 1) Anacted Role

Anacted Role is a way that a person actually carries out a role.

#### 2) Prescribed Role

Prescribed Role or the recommended role, the way that people are expected of us in carrying out certain roles.

#### 3) Role Conflick

Role Conflict is a condition that is experienced by someone who occupies a status or more that demands expectations and goals that are conflicting roles with each other.

#### 4) Role Distance

Role Distance is the Implementation of Emotional Role.

#### 5) Role Failure

Role Failure is someone's failure in carrying out certain roles.

#### 6) Role Model

A Role Model is someone whose behavior we exemplify, imitate, and follow.

#### 7) Role Set

A series or role scope (Role Set) is a person's relationship with another individual when he is carrying out his role.

#### 8) Role Strain

Role strain (Role Strain) is a condition that arises when a person experiences difficulties in fulfilling the expectations or goals of the role that is carried out due to a lack of clarity that is contrary to each other.

In addition to previous opinions, Understanding the Role expressed by Soerjono Soekanto: "Role is a dynamic aspect of position (status). If someone carries out his rights and obligations in accordance with his position, then he carries out a role "(Soerjono Soekanto, 1990: 268).

The role referred to in this research is a person's behavior in accordance with the status of his position in society. Namely Abdurrahman Wahid's behavior and actions as ulama and politicians in carrying out his role so that it can have a positive impact for the society.

## 2. Ulama Role

### a. Definition of Ulama role

Role means effort that emerged from an entity (people, thing) which constructing a character, trust or one behavioral. Ulama is knowledge able Muslim. Ulamain general are intellectual who place the equal position as scholar. Ulama role

as explained in Suaedy and Hermawan, (2009) means the way of religious intellectual participate in politic process in Indonesia for the benefit of Muslims (p.76). Ulama have crucial and strategic role in terms of sociology and religion realities. Ulum (2015) states that, ulama comprehend religious matter and non-religion issues, both theoretically and practiced, such as commerce, farming, art and politics. Their knowledge provide them legitimation for develops social mission. Second, ulama has follower in various place. Third, ulama helping ummat consistently for their interests, not merely limited concerning religion but also social issue by providing guidance (p.13). Shihab (2006) in his book *Membumikan AL-Qur'an*, describe four main ulama rules that confirm Rasulullah mission (p.385):

- 1) Carry out missionary endeavor (*tabligh*) is prophet task that obligate by Allah swt. Promoting religious teaching, today, is on the hand of ulama as social and life issues continuously alter and develop.
- 2) Perform religious teaching base on Al-Qur'an as part of their responsibility, since ulama has wider comprehension than commoners.
- 3) Resolve issues or problem faced by society base on the Al-Qur'an.
- 4) Performing example how to behave as a good Muslim, as they are guidance, through their speech, behavior and act.

#### b. Indicator of Role

Role understanding is a dynamic aspect of position or status. Someone carries out rights and obligations, meaning that he has carried out a role. Ordinary roles are also juxtaposed with functions, roles and status cannot be separated. There is no role without status or status, nor is there no role status.

Every person has a variety of roles that are carried out in the social life of the community. The role determines what someone does for the community. The role also determines the opportunities given by the community to him. According to Biddle and Thomas in Arisandi, the role is a series of formulations that limit the behaviors expected from certain position holders. For example in the family, the mother's behavior in the family is expected to give advice, give judgment, give sanctions and others. According to Horton and Hunt (1993), role is the behavior expected from someone who has a status.

Various roles are incorporated and related to this one status which by Merton (1968) are called role sets. In a large framework, community organizations, or social structures, are determined by the nature of these roles, the relationship between these roles, and the scarce distribution of resources among the people who play them. Different societies form, organize, and reward (reward) their activities in different ways, so that every community has a different social structure. If what is meant by the role is the behavior expected of someone in a certain status, then the role behavior is the actual behavior of the person who carried out the role. Role behavior may differ from expected behavior for several reasons. Meanwhile, Ahmadi (1982) defines the role as a complex of human expectations for the way individuals must behave and act in certain situations based on their social status and function. Roles are governed by prevailing norms. The role shows more of the adjustment function, and as a process. The role that someone has includes three things, including:

- 1) Roles include norms associated with one's position in society. So, the role here can mean rules that guide someone in society.
- 2) Role is something that someone does in society.
- 3) Role is also a person's behavior that is important to the social structure of society.

The influencing factors in adjusting to the role that must be done, namely:

- 1) Clarity of behavior and knowledge in accordance with the role
- 2) Consistency of meaningful people's response to the role performed
- 3) Suitability and balance between roles assumed
- 4) Cultural harmony and individual expectations of role behaviour
- 5) Separation of behaviors that will create role behavior incompatibility
- 6) A common process for reducing role tensions and protecting yourself from guilt

According to Mintzberg in Siswanto & Thoha (2012: 21 and 12), there are three roles that leaders play in organizations, namely the role of interpersonal. In interpersonal roles, superiors must act as figures, a leader and a liaison so that the organization he manages runs well. This role by Mintzberg is divided into three roles which are further details of the interpersonal role. These three roles are explained as follows:

- 1) The role as a figure (Figurehead), which is a role performed to represent the organization he leads in every opportunity and problems that arise formally.

- 2) The role of leader (leader), in this role the boss acts as a leader. He conducts interpersonal relationships with those who are led, by carrying out the main functions including leading, motivating, developing, and controlling.
- 3) Role as an intermediary official (Liaison Manager), here the boss performs the role of interacting with colleagues, staff, and people who are outside the organization, to get information.

The Role of Decision Making (Decisional Role) means the boss must be involved in a strategy-making process within the organization he leads. Mintzberg concluded that a large division of superiors' duties was essentially used in full to think about the organization's strategy-making system. This involvement is caused by:

- 1) Formal authority is the only one who is allowed to be involved in thinking about important or new actions in his organization.
- 2) As an information center, employers can provide guarantees for the best decisions, reflecting the latest knowledge and organizational values.
- 3) Strategic decisions will be easier to take in an integrated manner with one person who can do control over everything, Siswanto (2012: 21).

It can be said that the higher one's position in an organizational hierarchy, the less technical skills are needed. Conversely, the lower someone's position in an organizational hierarchy, the more important technical skills are needed, Siswanto (2012: 21). According to Soekanto (2012: 213) the role includes three things:

1) The role includes norms related to one's position or place in society. The role in this sense is a series of rules that guide a person in social life. There are four social norms as follows:

a) Usage; more prominent in interpersonal relationships in society. A deviation from it will not result in severe punishment, but only a reproach from the individual he contacted.

b) Habits (folkways), as actions that are repeated in the same form are proof that many people like them.

c) The code of conduct (mores) is a reflection of the living characteristics of the human group that is carried out as a means of monitoring, consciously and unconsciously, by the community towards its members.

d) Custom (custom), is an eternal behavior and strong integration with patterns of behavioral society which can increase the power of binding to a custom or custom. Soekanto (2012: 174).

2) Role is a concept of what individuals can do in society as organizations.

3) Role can also be said to be individual behavior that is important for the social structure of society.

c. The purpose of Ulama role

Ulama role is dedicated to maintain the Islam valued remain exist in politic process and policy as politic product, though Islam is not the state base. Thus ulama seek to influence politic frame to establish Islam value by contributing the material teaching within policy.

d. Ulama dialectic and democracy

Social and politic issues in modern society or postmodern-democracy require a system to handle. Indonesia as a state with Islam becomes the religion of the majority which democracy remains as a system base and other systems like Khalifah or socialism can replace it. Indonesian Muslim perceive democracy with “ambiguity”, between keeping the religion regulation and accepting democracy ideas. This ambiguity is experienced by ulama (p.49). Ulama struggle and democracy, historically also is faced by Prophet Muhammad in Madinah period. During Medina periods, Prophet Muhammad performed dual-rule, as Prophet and the head of Medina for a decade (622-632 M). The relation of ulama and democracy undergo three phases (p.49) which are explained bellow :

1) Classic Period

This period was begun after the Prophet passed away in 632 M/10 H. The head of city was generated to his close friends, known as *Khulafaur Rasyidin*. Politic issue on who had the right to replace the dual-functions had triggered conflict among them. The Prophet didn't point anyone of his close friends as his successor. In Saqifah Bani Sai'idah, the conflict between Muhajirin and Anshor was heightened, and they approved Abu Bakar as the first Khalifah. It was Muslim first democracy experience. Monarchy among Muslim was begun at Bani Ummayah and Abbasiyah period. Leadership succession system was appointed among family members. “*Suluk al-Malik fi Tabdir al-Mamalik*” (Role Guidance for the King) is a book wrote for the first time by

Sunni Ulama. Sunni political theory, at this period, tended to legitimate power. The relation between ulama and democracy still been interrupted by group interest and pragmatic in running the power.

## 2) Middle period

This period was marked with Abbasiyah felt in 1285 by Mongol expansion. Ulama faced regressive in politic both theory and practice.

## 3) Modern Period

This period was marked with the strong relation between Islam and democracy. Nearly all Muslim based-states were under the imperialism and western colonialism. The friction between Islam intellectual and ulama was due to Islam interaction and western

### e. The typology of Ulama thought on democracy

Ulama intervention as explained in, Thaha (2005) either direct or not, became a main issue that is faced by Muslim in practicing democracy in the present day. By observing ideas on democracy develop today, there are three typologies or inclination (p.40) as follows:

#### 1) Perspective stated that Islam has no relation with democracy.

Islam and democracy occupy specific sphere. Islam has particular democracy system (*syura*), and does not need to duplicate western democracy.

#### 2) Perspective stated that Islam and democracy have tight relation and reciprocal.

This perspective accepts democracy as universal. Democracy can exist and develop in Islam based-state.

3) Perspective that mediate both perspectives above.

This position believe that there are similarities and difference between Islam and democracy.

In Indonesia, democracy practiced demonstrated unique phenomena since not only it is shaped in up-bottommanner, but also has Indonesia character.

As reformation era began, countless parties have high expectation for democracy to arise. Within 32 years, Indonesian had lived under Suharto authoritarian role and during the shifting ulama took a part to hold strategic position as cultural broker and performed *amar makruf nahimunkar* in politic sphere. Ulum (2015) explains that ulama have difference democracy perspectives as they have individual interpretation and methodology. There are three main groups in perceiving democracy (pp.63-64) as follows:

1) Pro-democracy Ulama

Pro democracy ulama are those who widely accept democracy such as similarity, freedom, tolerance and pluralism. The two main civil organizations, NU and Muhammadiyah, are in this category.

2) Ulama who accept democracy with some requirements

This category accepting election process but negates women leadership and non-muslim. This doesn't mean they don't make compromise, in case women is voted as state-leader, they don't raise uprising. This category is PKS party.

### 3) Anti-democracy

Reformation era is marked with freedom which accommodates anti-democracy community to raise their opinions. This community includes Hizbut Tahrir who actively promote Khilafah system. Above description indicates that thought typologies are shaped by numerous factors such as text comprehension, background, environment, theology interest, and political interest, pragmatic interest and numerous factors.

## 3. Political Thoughts in Islamic Elite

Reviewing political thought means reviewing the views and attitudes of a person based on their position in the form of opinion or belief, KBBI (in Al-Hamdi 2018). According to Nashir (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 23), to categorize elite political thought, an interesting thesis between two extreme poles is used, namely inclusive thinking and exclusive thinking. Inclusive thinking prioritizes substance (even more emphasis than just substance) rather than symbols. While exclusive thinking puts forward the symbol of substance. It is these two extreme poles that always color political thinking among the middle Muslim elite in Indonesia.

Table 1.2 Categorization of Islamic Elite Political Thought

Inclusive Model		Moderate model	Exclusive Model	
Accommodating	Transformatic	Idealistic	Formalistic	Totalistic

Pragmatic	Critical	Moderate	-	-
-	Realistic	Substantivistic	-	-

*Source : Al-Hamdi (2018:23).*

According to Al-Hamdi (2018: 23), the categorization in the table above can experience a combination of one thought with another, provided that it is relevant to this study. In more detail, the following will explain the criteria of each attitude starting from the exclusive model and proceed to the moderate model to the inclusive model by referring to previous studies.

First, totalistic political thought according to Anwar (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 24), totalist thought has a perspective that Islamic doctrine is kaffah, contains perfect values and instructions and covers all areas of life. The view point of this group is based on texts originating from revelation, so that there is no empty space to accept multiple facts.

Second, formalistic political thinking according to Anwar (in A-Hamdi 2018: 24), formalistic thinking has a perspective that prioritizes strict adherence to Islamic teaching formats. They place more emphasis on politicization which tends to sustain imagined islamic polity. These forms arise with the existence of Islamic parties, symbolic expressions, up to the Islamic constitutional system. As a result, the formalist group tends to uphold the group's ideology and be resistant to the domination of the influence of outsiders who are considered to weaken the potential of Islam, especially the western.

Third, idealistic political thinking, according to Anwar (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 25), idealistic thinking has a perspective, that the struggle of the people must be

oriented towards Islamic ideals (Islamic ideal). Islamic ideals are Islam implied in the Qur'an and authentic Sunnah.

Fourth, moderate political thought. According to Nashir (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 25) moderate thinking is an attitude that is not positioned in a formalistic manner, but also does not position in an accommodative or pragmatic attitude. The orientation of his attitude is in the middle between the two attitudes.

Fifth, substantivistic political thinking, according to Anwar (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 25), substantivistic thinking emphasizes the substance of teaching rather than textual religious symbols. Substantial groups emphasize substantial cultivation of Islamic values in every teaching substance rather than textual religious symbols. Substantial groups emphasize substantial cultivation of Islamic values in every political activity.

Sixth, transformational political thinking, according to Anwar (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 26) transformational thinking has an attitude that rests on a humanitarian mission.

Seventh, critical political thinking, according to Fakhri (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 26) critical thinking has the view that Muslims must solve problems by looking at the aspects of the system and structure as the source of the problem.

Eighth, realistic political thought, according to Anwar (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 27), realistic thinking emphasizes the interrelationship between the substantive dimensions rather than religious doctrine, with the context of existing social reality.

Ninth, accommodative political thought, according to Jurdi (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 27), accommodative thinking is an attitude that shows good behavior or

relationships and develops cooperation, but is still critical of irregularities without integrating (neutral) in the circle of power.

Tenth, pragmatic political thought, according to Nashir (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 27), pragmatic thinking has the view that Muslims take practical steps in the form of concentrating on one area of development that is special by abandoning idealistic and impractical views. This thought also requires the abandonment of political patterns that are colored by personal conflicts and group conflicts and demands the transition of the ummah leadership from the older generation to the younger generation.

Therefore, based on Jurdi analysis (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 28), political thinking is not single. At least there are several factors that influence someone's political thinking. According (Al-Hamdi 2018: 28), focusing several of these factors into two models of factors, namely sociological background and organizational categories :

a. Sociological background factors

Al-Hamdi (2018: 28) explained, sociologically, a person's social background can be identified, including gender, age, education, regional origin, ethnicity, religious understanding, work, association, organizational experience, individual life orientation and family background. In this case Al-Hamdi (2018: 28) classifies there are four main factors that will become a tendency to influence political attitudes:

1) Educational factors

Different scientific backgrounds tend to influence a person's attitude differently. If someone takes the discipline of religion will tend to behave towards everything based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Whereas if someone takes the discipline of social sciences, their attitude tends to be critical and anti-establishment.

2) Work factor

The work environment between one and another is certainly different. It can also shape a person's character.

3) Relationship or association factor

Elite relations and relationships are very determined in the pattern of communication of knowledge, values, and attitudes between elites. The pattern of communication between elites is the political transmission of information carried out between one elite and another elite Rush and Althoff (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 29).

4) Factors of individual political orientation

Each person has a different orientation in life, not least in politics. Motivation and orientation in politics can vary, however, when certain issues of orientation can be the same, but on other issues the orientation can be different.

b. Organizational factors

According to Al-Hamdi (2018: 30) the organizational factor category is divided into three, namely:

1) Factors of organizational political culture

According to Nashir (in Al-hamdi 2018: 30), organizational political culture is a view and value system that is closely related to every political decision and is already in force within an organization. Political culture in organizations contains the following aspects:

- a) A view of politics that has become a tradition in determining political attitudes
  - b) The formal views of the organization are the main reference
  - c) Religious beliefs that have been embraced
- 2) Factors of organizational political interests

The concept described by Budiarjo & Firmanzah (in Al-Hamdi 2018: 30), that organizational political interests are goals and targets pursued by an organization from the results of the political process. These interests must have positive implications and can increase the opportunity to fulfill what the organization needs.

3) Organizational policy factors

Every organization has an official decision in addressing everything that has implications for human life in general and its organization in particular. Every decision that is made certainly has undergone an approval process within the organization's elite that must be adhered to by all parties involved in the organization.

4. Minority Groups

a. Definition of minority groups

Minority groups is social groups whose numbers are much smaller than other groups in a society so they are discriminated against by other larger groups.

Minority groups ([www.komnasham.go.id](http://www.komnasham.go.id)) are among the rights holders who are vulnerable to human rights violations, whether committed by majority groups or by the government apparatus. Rancesco Capatorti, NU Special Rapporteur for Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minority, mentions minorities as "a smaller group of people, than a population of a country, in a non-dominant position, whose members are citizens, with different ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics than other members of society. In addition they show, though not visible, a bond of solidarity, directed at maintaining their culture, tradition, religion, and language. Referring to this understanding, the "minority group" ([www.komnasham.go.id](http://www.komnasham.go.id)) can be understood as a social entity that is somewhat population-oriented (in geographic level), non-dominant, discriminatory, and even the most serious crime victim.

b. Concept of the division of minority groups

According Sunato (2004: 141) each group can be divided based on differences and characteristics of the group. In dividing these groups, there are several concepts about groups that have different definitions.

1) The concept of race

Each group can be divided based on differences and similarities in characteristics. The first concept is the concept of race. The concept of race is defined as a role sign based on physical characteristics. For example, in the South American region, black race is considered to have a role in respecting the white race.

## 2) Concept based on cultural

The second concept is a concept based on cultural equality, namely ethnic groups. In this concept, ethnic groups are a form of Gemeinschaft with the same cultural heritage and inner ties among its members.

## 3) The racism concept

The third concept is racism, which is an ideology that is based on the belief that certain traits taken from birth indicate that the owner of the trait is inferior and thus discriminated against.

## 4) The sexism concept

The fourth concept which is also an ideology is sexism. In sexism, the thing that forms the basis of classification is intelligence and physical strength. For example, men are considered in higher position than women because they are physically strong.

## 5) The ageism concept

The next concept is ageism, which makes the age factor the basis of classification. For example, sometimes people who are elderly or minors are considered not to have power in decision making

## 6) The racialism concept

The last concept is racism. Racialism is a form of practice of discrimination against other groups, such as not selling or renting a house to a particular race or ethnic group.

## c. Minority Rights

Minority groups basically have the same rights as the majority, only the difference between the two groups is their culture, language, ethnicity, race and skin color. So that both minority and majority groups certainly have the same individual rights. According to Birch (2003), the type of minority right can be divided into the following five categories:

Table 1.3 Type of Minority Rights

<b>Type of rights</b>	<b>Basis</b>	<b>Scope of applicability</b>
Contractual rights	An agreement or treaty	The parties involved
Positive rights	Law	Residents in the relevant jurisdiction
Moral rights	A moral code or religious faith	Communities sharing that code or faith
Political rights	Either custom (traditional political rights) or reason (speculative political rights)	Citizens of the states or members of particular groups within the state
Human rights	The essential needs of	All human beings

#### G. Conceptual Definition

Conceptual definition is used to precisely describe a phenomenon to be studied. The conceptual definition of this research is:

##### 1. Role of ulama

The role of the ulama is the ulama's rights and obligations to the community. In this case, they are the role of the ulama in supporting the existence of minorities, The role can also influence important matters, such as in the process of policy making, policy implementation, and enforcement of political decisions.

## 2. Minority Group

Minority group is a small group that lives in the midst of a larger group. Minority groups can also refer to subordinate or marginal groups. Sociological minorities need not be numerical because they can include groups that are below normal by looking at the dominant group in terms of social status, religion, education, employment, wealth, and political power.

## H. Operational Definition

Sugiono (2014) explained, Operational definition and execution of instructions are used to measure a variable (p.34). By reading the operational definition, the researcher will know avariable,so it can be known whether it is good or bad measurements. Thus, the operational definition of this research is an indicator that used by the researcher to describe how is the role of Abdurrahman Wahid as an ulama and politician in supporting the existence of minorities in Indonesia. Operational definitions in this study are as follows:

### 1. Role as ulama

The role of Abdurrahman Wahid as Ulama in supporting Indonesia minority group. In his role as an ulama, Abdurrahman Wahid took action on the Islamic-based community organization which he led to be able to accept the existence of

the religion of konghucu. The role of Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama can be measured: below.

a. Controlling

Control is a way to control, govern, and regulate the state of a system. In this case Abdurrahman Wahid's control was given to members of the Nadlatul Ulama in order to receive and mingle with the konghucu group in Indonesia.

b. As a Figure

It is the role taken to represent the organization he leads in every opportunity and problem that arises formally. As a figure Abdurrahman Wahid provides an example of pluralism to its members, as in Wicaksana (2018: 41). He built friendship with Soerjadjadja, a Chinese businessman, and they even collaborated in establishing Kusuma Bank in 1990.

c. As a role model

Role model is someone whose behavior we follow. In this case Abdurrahman Wahid gave an example for good state and religion.

2. Role as Politician

The role of Abdurrahman Wahid as a politician can be measured by the concrete steps he took, His struggle was starting when he became president in 1999 and it can be measured from:

a. Decisional Role

In this role the leader must be involved in a strategy making process and decision making within the organization he leads. Abdurrahman Wahid decided

to revoke Presidential Instruction Number 14/1967 which described Tionghoa ethnicity.

b. Anacted Role

Anacted Role is a real role and a way that a person actually carries out a role. In this case the role of abdurahman wahid in revoking Presidential Instruction number 14/1967 is a very real role (Anacted Role).

c. As leaders

As a leader, leaders act as leaders. He conducted interpersonal relationships with those who are led, by carrying out key functions including leading, motivating, developing, and controlling. Abdurrahman Wahid proved successful for interpersonal relations with those he led, for example he managed to establish good relations with minority and majority groups.

3. The Driving factor

a. Sociological background factors

Sociological background factors are identified as four factors, educational factors, occupational factors, relationships or association and individual political orientation. In this study researchers will try to explain how the above indicators can be a driving factor for Abdurrahman Wahid in fighting for the rights of minority groups.

b. Organizational factor

Organizational factors are categorized into three, namely organizational political culture factors, organizational political interests factors, and

organizational policy factors, in this study try to analyze the driving factors through the indicators above as a measuring device.

## I. Research Methodology

### 1. Research type

This type of research used in this research is qualitative research with a case study approach. This is a qualitative research. This method performed to gain indepth explanation on an particular issue or social phenomena. The crucial part is describing the procedure, such as why an approach is chosen, data analysis, the technique to gather data and data validity. Present research perform reality approach to observeulama support to minority groups in Indonesia. Due to the empirical reality on the ulama support to Minority groups, the writer focuses on Abdurrahman Wahid and Konghucu Group.

Sugiyono (2011: 9) states that, qualitative method is a method based on the philosophy of postpositivism, to examine the natural object, where the researcher is a key instrument of data collection techniques carried out by triangulation (*gabungan*). Data analysis is inductive or qualitative, and the research results emphasize meaning rather than generalization.

According to Moleong(2011: 6), qualitative research is research intended to understand the phenomenon of what is experienced by the subject of the study such as behavior, perception, motivation, actions, etc. holistically and by way of description in the form of words and language, in a specific natural context and by utilizing various scientific methods.

Based on the two meanings above, it can be concluded that the qualitative approach is an approach that is carried out in its entirety to the research subject where there is an event and the researcher becomes a key instrument in the research. Moreover the results of the approach are described in the form of written words empirical data that has been obtained. In this approach, it is more emphasizes meaning than generalization. In essence, in dealing with the phenomena that are measured or researched is not strictly but more of a reality that is built between researchers with what is learned.

Thus, of course the method of this research prioritizes things that really happen in real life. Researchers try to describe clearly and in detail about objects or research studies based on the data collected. This study uses a case study approach.

Case study, according to Walgito (2010), is a method that aims to study and investigate an event or phenomenon about an individual, such as the biography of a person who is the object of research. Walgito (2010) also added that it needed a lot of information and integration of data obtained from other methods in order to get in-depth information on the case study methods carried out.

Yin (2008: 18) explains that case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates phenomena in a real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly defined and where multiple sources of evidence are utilized. As an inquiry, case studies do not have to be done for a long time and they do not have to depend on ethnographic data or participant

observation. Even according to Yin, a researcher can do valid and high-quality case studies without leaving literature, depending on the topic to be investigated.

From the elaboration of the definitions it can be concluded that Case Study is a series of scientific activities carried out intensively, in detail and in depth about a program, event, and activity, both at the level of individuals and a group of people, institutions, or organizations to obtain in-depth knowledge of events. Thus, of course the method of this research prioritizes things that really happen in real life. Researcher tried to describe clearly and in detail about objects or research studies based on the data collected.

Based on the interpretation of the definitions above the author tries to find out what are the role of ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group.

## 2. Research Object

The object of the research was Abdurrahman Wahid and Konghucu religion in Indonesia.

## 3. Research resources

Data is collected using literature study. The research material consists of primary and secondary data.

### a. Primary data

Primary data is obtained from exploring the descriptive framework relating to Abdurrahman Wahid and Konghucu Religion in Indonesia by reading the primary data source in the form of a book written by the perpetrator or the result of someone who has seen the event directly. Moreover this kind of literature can be in the form of a diary (autobiography), thesis, and research reports.

#### b. Secondary data

Secondary data is data that is collected from reviews, summaries, criticisms, and similar writings on matters that are not directly witnessed or experienced by the author. Data can be obtained from journals, dictionaries, books, and abstracts.

#### 4. Data gathering

Data were collected through Literature study. The technique used in collecting data in this study is by collecting data and information from various text sources both printed and electronic that are relevant to the research topic. According to Suyanto (2005: 186) this technique is the collection of data and materials through notes, reports, books, journals or other documents obtained during the study. Whereas according to Moleong in Suyanto (2005: 187) literature study is the collection of data using written or film material techniques and from records.

In this reasearch literature study is carried to collect secondary data by analyzing and studying the data in form literature about the supporting ulama to minority groups in Indonesia, concerned on Abdurrahman Wahid and Konghucu Religion.

#### 5. Analysis and Data Interpretation

In analyzing the data as explained by Surachmad in (Suyanto, 2005: 187) the technique used is qualitative analysis, namely research that tells and interprets existing data and analyzes the data obtained but does not arrive at theoretical reasoning. Meanwhile, according to Nasutionin in Salim (2006: 40) data analysis is the process of compiling data so that it can be interpreted, Conducting analysis

is a difficult job and it, requires hard work and creative power. The data used is data that is already available. In this study there are 3 qualitative data analysis processes (Salim, 2006: 41) which are as follows:

a. Data Collection

Collecting data by searching for data needed by researchers using predetermined methods and collecting documents related to research. Data collection in this case is in the form of raw data from the results of the research.

b. Data reduction

Data reduction is part of analysis. Data reduction is gaining indepth analysis, making classification, arranging, and deleting unnecessary one, thus the final summary can be drawn and be verified. Qualitative data can be simplified and being transformed in various terms: through tight selection, short summary, and classification it in broader pattern.

First, the writer collected data about ulama role in Indonesia Politics and collected information about Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama and politician through literature study, interview and documentation. Later, data were transcribed irrelevant data was deleted and the selected data is presented in descriptive.

c. Data presentation

Data are presented to observe the whole data. The writer seek to classified and present the data confirms to the main issue. The data contain information both primary and secondary data. It can be performed by comparing the used data and field information the making. Classification to separate similar or nearly identic answers between informants. Data from other document were classified into

secondary data and primary data, due to research theme. Following synchronized the data; data and information from interview are processed. Reducing process and presenting data are performed in the line with research problem formula; How did Abdurrahman Wahid as ulama and politician supporting Konghucu minority group in Indonesia and what is driving factor.

The problem is responded by presenting the complete and structured data, thus the writer can draw the summary. As qualitative data are commonly in the form of narrative, it is crucial to simplify the data.

#### d. Conclusion and data verification

The last stage is conclusion and verification. Since the beginning of data collecting, qualitative analysis has been selected and was focused on orderliness, patten, explanation, possibility of configuration and proposition Miles and Huberman (in Rohidi 1992).

The conclusion also under verified as of result analysis. Conclusion is carried out after data is collected. In other words, temporary conclusion is being analyzed and verified continually to gain final conclusion on the ulama Influence in Indonesia Politic with focus on Abdurrahman Wahid is case to Konghucu Religion.

#### 6. Thesis Structure

Systematics of writing in this study are as follows. In chapter I will describe the background of the problem, the formulation of the problem, the purpose of the study, the benefits of research, the basic framework of the theory, conceptual definitions, operational definitions, research methods and systematic writing

plans. In chapter II it will describe the object of research to be conducted. Chapter III will describe the results of the study and analyze the results of research on the role of ulama in supporting an Indonesian minority group : the case of Abdurrahman Wahid to Konghucu religion in 1998 -2001. The conclusions and suggestions for the research will be described in chapter IV.