Contending Views and Power Struggle within Islam: The Clash of Religious Discourse and Citizenship in Contemporary Indonesia

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Abstract

In the last 20 years, the 'conservative turn' toward overtly Islamic identity in Indonesia paved the way for raising political Islamism. This political Islamism aspires to the continuing Islamization, implementation of sharia, and even the establishment of a global caliphate. Emerging Islamist forces such as Front Pembela Islam, Jemaah Tarbiyah, and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia along with the conservative turn, therefore, pose the normative-political challenges to both republican and liberal notions of citizenship. This paper deals with the question of religion and citizenship under the democratic space in contemporary Indonesia. By examining three variants of Islamic citizenship, religion vigilant, pragmatic, and rejectionist citizenship, this paper tries to address the following question: to what extent Islamism challenges the discourse of citizenship in contemporary Indonesia? We argue that while Islamism apparently rises and gains followers, the state and mainstream Muslim organizations (Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah), and their emphasis on Pancasila and commitment to NKRI successfully manage to reconcile Islam and citizenship under democratic space.

Keywords
Religion; Islam; Citizenship; Vigilant; Pragmatic; Rejectionist

INTRODUCTION

The citizenship subject in Indonesia is currently filled with the dynamic attraction between the tendency of strengthening religious conservatism and institutionalization of the democratic order. Strengthening religious conservatism does reach not only the personal aspect of religious belief and practice but also the public aspect by demanding the state to be actively involved in regulating and enforcing religious belief. Blasphemy issues, house of worship establishment conflict, persecution of minorities deemed misguided such as Ahmadiyah and Shia are examples of this religious conservatism's political manifestation. Meanwhile, the institutionalization of democratic order is characterized by

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freedom, electoral competition and political representation through a representative agency as the legitimate channel to struggle for and deliver political aspiration. Dahl (2005) argues that a large-scale democracy requires political institutions such as free, fair, frequent elections, freedom of expression, and elected officials. Since the 1998 reform, Indonesian political space is filled with frequent mobilization and street demonstration carrying Islamic collective identity symbol on the one hand (see for instance Mietzner and Muhtadi, 2018; Osman, 2010; Woodward et al., 2014) and a general election which always puts nationalist political parties as dominant political power over Islamic political parties on the other hand (see for instance Hadiz, 2011; Tanuwidjaja, 2010).

Explaining the relationship between religious conservatism and democracy in the citizenship political perspective helps us understand contemporary Indonesian politics' paradox and complexity, which transcend classical discourse of religion-state relations. This paper starts from the question of to what extent Islamism challenges the established discourse of relations between religion, citizen and state in Indonesia. In the author's opinion, although Islamism as a notion and movement is indeed real and developing in Indonesia as represented by groups such as Front Pembela Islam (FPI), Jemaah Tarbiyah, and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), actually it is relatively successfully blocked the state and civil society organizations with

continuous efforts at the state and civil society levels to reconcile Islam and 'Indonesianness' as something inseparable and even mutually complementary.

The concept of Islamism used in this writing is defined as 'religious ideology with a holistic interpretation of Islam whose final aim is the conquest of the world by all means' (Mozaffari, 2007: 21). This conception is in line with Olivier Roy, a France political scientist who considers Islamism as a political ideology. In his opinion, Islamism has at least two main elements, namely political virtue as a struggle strategy and central sharia position as value reference (Roy, 1994). Meanwhile, the focus is on FPI, Jemaah Tarbiyah, and HTI since the author considers that the three represent the par-excellence of Islamism in contemporary Indonesia. We argue that while Islamism apparently rises and gains followers, the state and mainstream Muslim organizations (Nadhlatul Ulama/NU and Muhammadiyah) and their emphasis on Pancasila and commitment to NKRI successfully manage to reconcile Islam and citizenship under democratic space.

RESEARCH METHOD

Data for this paper were collected through library research and mostly are primary or secondary sources dealing with new variants of Islamic groups as represented by FPI, Jemaah Tarbiyah and HTI, their publicly proclaimed religious discourses, and their counter-narratives coming from the state and mainstream Islamic organizations (NU and Muhammadiyah) which emphasize

Pancasila as the sole ideology and Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia as a final political entity. This data was analyzed through discourse analysis.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Religion and Citizenship

In general, the discussion on religion is on a different path from that of citizenship. Debates among political scholars on relations between religion, citizen and state conceptually tend to be separate and at a certain level even negate the role of religion as the basis of collective political and cultural identities. The view to explain such citizenship cannot be separated from secularism's strong influence in shaping politics' normative view.[1] Prejudgment of religion as the source of the problem in the relationship between citizen and state cannot be maintained in line with the continued relevance of religion as the basis of political and cultural identities. Instead of losing its role, religion even rises everywhere and therefore it is necessary to consider it as one important element in a discussion on citizenship.

Casanova states that the thesis on secularization as the symptom of declining religious role in its believers' personal area cannot be maintained anymore. He states that religion oppositely rises and has a bigger role in social and political life not only in the West but also in other developing countries. According to Casanova (2012: 28), public religion plays an important role in three arenas simultaneously, namely the state, political society and civil society. With its role as a public religion, religion may be used as a resource to mobilize support in political competition as well as to get involved in the debate regarding public morality, virtue and policy.

Casanova's view of public religion opens the room for discussion on religion as the basis to form the notion of citizenship. In fact, religion and its institutional instrument play an important role as the foundation to strengthen citizenship not only as a legal status but also as a political agency to participate actively in the democratic political process and as the basis of shared identity which binds individual as a member of a political community, namely nation-state. According to Parker and Hoon (2013: 165), religious citizenship needs to accommodate and even be side by side with the nation-state to offer "new moral authority, certainty, dignity and prosperity". In this conception, membership and participation in a non-governmental religious organization is an integral part of citizenship to get involved in public life.

In the Indonesian context, Islam has played and will continuously play an important role in defining relations between religion, state, and citizens. Islam also contributes to providing religious and moral bases that legitimize

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[1] In *The Sacred Canopy*, Berger proposed that the twin forces of secularization and pluralism were in a dialectical relationship that created modernity: secularization generates pluralism, by destroying the transcendental authority of established religion, and pluralism relativizes religion, weakening it's taken for grandness and claims to hegemonic and unique truth.

demand for civil rights and a constitutional legal basis concerning state obligation to freely protect religious and worship. Although it is not an Islamic nation, Indonesia is a religious state since the beginning. Islam and Indonesia are therefore not two contradictory entities but are side by side and mutually complementary. In Muhammadiyah's formulation, Indonesia is deemed as *darul ahdi wa-syahadah* (a nation of consensus and testimony) or in NU's formulation as *darus-shulh* (a nation where Muslims can live peacefully and perform Islam even if the nation is not regulated by Islamic law). In its practical formulation, the two biggest Islamic organizations' two conceptions are translated into acceptance of Pancasila and NKRI as final and non-contestable.

Scholarly works examining the relationship between citizenship and religion, especially religious groups or movements in Indonesia, are rare. Chaplin's work (2018) examines Wahdah Islamiyah's activism in Makassar that attempts to influence public space with their understanding of Islam and articulates Islamic values through civic activism. He shows that citizenship categories produced and campaigned by this organization exclude people who belong to Ahmadiyah, Shia or others deemed heretic sects and the LGBTQ community. The result of this exclusion is that the excluded groups might have different civil and political rights and becomes the target of the organization's activism. Chaplin indeed contributed significantly to the study of religion,

citizenship and politics in Indonesia, but his work is limited only on Wahdah Islamiyah. This paper attempts to contribute to the same study by examining three important Islamist groups in Indonesia, i.e., FPI, Jemaah Tarbiyah and HTI.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
FPI and Religio-Vigilant Citizenship

The Islamic Defenders Front, known as FPI, was established on August 17, 1998 in Jakarta. FPI was established by *habaib*, *mubaligh*, *ustadz* and activists who gathered at Pesantren Al Umm Kampung Utan, Ciputat, Jakarta Selatan. The birth of FPI cannot be separated from the social, political and economic situation after the fall of the New Order's power. Although Habib Rizieq Shihab played the central role since the beginning of its formation, the *FPI* founders actually consist of several figures such as KH Fathoni, KH Misbahul Anam, KH Cecep Bustomi, and Habib Idrus Jamalullail. Habib Riziq went to LIPIA before continuing to Dirasah Islamiyyah Department, Faculty of Tarbiyah, King Saud University, Saudi Arabia. Habib Rizieq returned to Indonesia in 1992 and continued his postgraduate study at International Islamic University Malaysia before finally carrying out the mandate as the Head of Madrasah Jamiat Khair, Jakarta in 1994. Habib Rizieq was assigned to be Great Imam in FPI's 3rd National Conference in 2013. His central position and charisma cannot be separated from his family's background of the elite group Sayyid Hadrami highly respected by Muslims,

especially the Betawi Muslim community.

The backgrounds of FPI formation are (1) Indonesian Muslim's long-suffering because of violation of human rights by ruling individual, (2) every Muslim's obligation to keep and defend Islam's and Muslim's dignity and prestige, and (3) every Muslim's obligation to enforce *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*. [2] On the other hand, FPI formation cannot also be separated from three events, namely People's Consultative Council's Special Session,[3] Ketapang Riots,[4] and formation of the paramilitary organ of Self-formed Security (Pengamanan/Pam Swakarsa). These three events were the continuation of waves of demonstration of the 1998 Reform since May 1998 (Simanjuntak, 2000).

From its formation in 1998 until now, Habib Rizieq had asserted that *FPI* carried the notion of '*NKRI Bersyariah*'. On one occasion, Habib Rizieq explained his conception of *NKRI Bersyariah* as follows:

1. *NKRI* with religion, not atheism or communism without religion;
2. *NKRI* with God Almighty;
3. *NKRI* which upholds noble values of God Almighty;
4. *NKRI* which submits to and complies with God's law, which is Allah SWT's law;
5. *NKRI* with Just and Civilized humanity;

6. *NKRI* which maintains the unity of Indonesia;
7. *NKRI* which puts forward deliberation for the nation and state life, as mandated by the democracy led by collective wisdom in consultation/representation principle;
8. *NKRI* which rejects socialist neoliberalism and capitalist neoliberalism to realize the social justice for all the people of Indonesia principle;
9. *NKRI* which guarantees every religious person to implement worship and teaching their own religion;
10. *NKRI* which protects the people from any immorality;
11. *NKRI* which presents trustworthy and non-treacherous officials;
12. *NKRI* which protect Islamic followers as the majority of Indonesian people from consuming all HARAM products both food and drinks, as well as clothes, cosmetics and cleaning equipment and medicines;
13. *NKRI* which respects and loves ulama and Santri, instead of criminalizing or terrorizing them;
14. *NKRI* which makes natives masters in their own country;
15. *NKRI* which respects and protects Madrasah and Pesantren instead of marginalizing and suspecting them;

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[2] This objective of formation is contained in the *Risalah Historis dan Garis Perjuangan* FPI document.

[3] FPI was suspected to be involved in mass mobilization to support BJ Habibie who attempted to maintain his power in People's Consultative Council Special Session on May 10-13, 1998.

[4] Ketapang riot was one involving thugs from Ambon, Maluku who protected gambling location in Ketapang area and local residents on Sunday, November 22, 1998.

16. *NKRI* which is anti-corruption, anti-alcohol, anti-narcotics and anti-drugs, anti-gamble, anti-pornography, anti-pornographic action, anti-prostitution, anti LGBT, anti-terrorist, anti-separatist, anti-defamation, anti-falsehood, anti-evil and anti-tyranny;

17. *NKRI* which is based on Pancasila and Original Constitution of 18 August 1945 imbued by Jakarta Charter dated June 22, 1945 as the mandate of Presidential Decree July 5, 1959.

An important element of Rizieq Shihab's version of *NKRI Bersyariah* is that Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution must be interpreted pursuant to Islamic Sharia. When the currently existing interpretation does not conform to Islamic Sharia, it must be changed to be in line with Islamic teaching (Shihab, 2012: 13). His argument to support the claim is that the Indonesian Muslim's position is the majority of a religious group (Shihab, 2012: 15). It is important to note that the original and constitutional Pancasila is Pancasila of the Jakarta Charter version. The first principle contains 'the obligation for its Muslim adherents to carry out the Islamic law/Sharia'. Meanwhile, the Pancasila, which is Indonesia's official state document, is the product of the secular group's betrayal. With such an argument, further Shihab interprets the first principle in the frame of Islamic *tawhid*. The other consequence of this interpretation is, according to him, that various kinds of political ideologies, such as Communism, Marxism and Liberalism must be prohibited in Indonesia.

We may conclude Shihab's version of the political system of *NKRI Bersyariah* from his interpretation of the fourth principle of Pancasila. The use of the word '*musyawarah*' (deliberation) in that principle serves as justification to claim that Indonesia should not be a democratic country but a State of Deliberation (*Negara Musyawarah*). In his opinion, one of the important differences between democracy and deliberation is that the latter is derived from God's revelation, while the first refers to the human's mind. In short, in his opinion 'democratic system is infidel's system, which contradicts to Islamic teaching' (Shihab, 2012: 56). Since deriving from God's revelation, deliberation must comply with and not violate Islamic law (Shihab, 2012: 44). Therefore, although Shihab acknowledges the existence of other religions in Indonesia, he does not consider the aspirational position of other religions in his country of deliberation concept. [5] In addition, he also asserts that differently from democracy which allows all people to express their opinion, his state of deliberation will not allow gays and lesbians, prostitutes, and they deemed immoral to express their opinion (Shihab, 2012: 45).

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[5] It is important to note, Shihab explained that under the state of deliberation on the basis of Islamic Law, non-Muslim will be protected and allowed to worship. However, as indicated above, non-Muslim cannot utilize preferred political position as Muslim do.

Interestingly, although Shihab claims that he supports Islamic law implementation in Indonesia's frame, but FPI's vision and mission seem to transcend nation-state territory. FPI's Articles of Association and Memorandum, particularly article 6, states that FPI's Vision and Mission are to apply Islamic law totally (*Kaaffah*) under *Khilafah Islamiyah* according to *Manhaj Nubuwwah*, through the implementation of *Da'wah*, enforcement of *Hisbah* and Application of Jihad'. Although struggling to enforce Islamic law at the national level based on the vision and mission, its vision is global with its support for *Khilafah Islamiyah* establishment. Although such an aspiration seems similar to that of HTI, FPI's measures are more concrete since they actively fight what they deem immoral and groups deemed misleading or tarnishing religion. This includes FPI's endless effort to dissolve Ahmadiyah in Indonesia. According to Shihab (2012), Ahmadiyah is an infidel that tarnishes Islamic teaching. In his rhetoric, he states that if Ahmadiyah is not dissolved, clashes will likely occur between Muslims and Ahmadiyah as once occurred in Pakistan in the 1970s. In 2008, Shihab was imprisoned for the clash between FPI members in alliance with HTI and Forum Ukhuwah Islamiyah (FUI) to call for Ahmadiyah dissolution and the participants of the National Alliance for Religious and Belief Freedom (*Aliansi Kebangsaan untuk Kebebasan Beragama and Berkeyakinan/AKKBB)* which supports Ahmadiyah.

Personal charisma and rhetoric which stimulate its members' spirit and militancy make FPI an Islamic political power feared. At the beginning of its founding, FPI decisively uses force to shut down nightclubs, cafés that sell alcohol and or any activities deemed to contain immorality (McIntosh et al., 2012: 2). FPI is also known to use hate speech and terror tactics to face those who disagree with them (Woodward et al., 2014: 154-155). Later, FPI is also known for its humanity activities that it helped victims of a disaster such as Tsunami in Aceh, earthquake in Palu and West Nusa Tenggara. For FPI, *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* must be under people's direct initiative without waiting for or relying on the authority (Facal, 2020: 11).

FPI and Habib Rizieq played the central role in mobilizing the mass to call for the Ahok trial in blasphemy cases at the end of 2016 and early 2017. Although deemed to be the biggest mass and most successful after the reform, this political activity also made FPI eventually faced a counter wave against it. This counter wave, some personal blunders made by Habib Rizieq and police's measure to investigate him drove Habib Rizieq to leave Indonesia at the end of April 2017. Since then, Habib Rizieq has lived and domiciled in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. Habib Rizieq controlled FPI from exile and occasionally made a video recording statement deliberately disseminated by his followers. In the 2019 Presidential Election event, Habib Rizieq openly supported Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno.

Jemaah Tarbiyah and Religio-Pragmatic Citizenship

Jemaah Tarbiyah refers to an Islamic group developed in Indonesia since the late 1970s took its ideological inspiration and movement from *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Machmudi, 2008; Rahmat, 2008; Muhtadi, 2009). *Ikhwanul Muslimin* is an Islamic organization established by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt in 1924. The development of Jemaah Tarbiyah cannot be separated from the initiative of some former political activists of *Masyumi* in *Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah* Indonesia (DDII) to disseminate Islamic *da'wah* among activists of secular campuses such as UI, UGM, ITB and Unair. During the New Order, such campus *da'wah* tended to be performed secretly and is more open with Islamic political accommodation in the New Order's power structure since the early 1990s with ICMI formation. After the New Order collapse, these campus *da'wah* activists organized their movement further in a political party, the Justice Party, which also competed in the 1999 Election. Since the 2004 Election, the Justice Party transformed to the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera/PKS) which played an important political role during President SBY's power period (2004-2014).

In politics, *PKS* serves as the extension of Jemaah Tarbiyah to drive Islamization in state life. The purpose of *PKS* formation is expressed in its AD/ART of "the realization of a just and prosperous civil society blessed by Allah in the frame of Unitary State". In the book "*Memperjuangkan Masyarakat* *Madani: Falsafah Dasar Perjuangan dan Platform Kebijakan Pembangunan PK Sejahtera*", *PKS* states to strictly reject any notions which makes Indonesia a secular state. According to this official document, *PKS* asserts its position that:

"…the amar ma'ruf nahi munkar idea may objectively be formulated not only as an effort to eradicate gamble, alcohol, prostitution and invite people to go to the mosque, infaq, sadaqah, fasting, hajj and so on, but also an effort to eradicate corruption and judicial mafia, eradicate poverty and unemployment, defend labors, farmers and fishermen, enforce human rights, democratization and building of people's economy, mitigate discrimination before the law, preserve the environment, build science and technology, and so on. When summarized and associated with the form of Islam's initial struggle, the approach above is similar to Medina State's concept with its Constitution of Medina. This is the basis for multi-religious society in implementing and maintaining religion pursuant to each individual's belief, considering that the religious plurality of the Indonesians is an undeniable reality…" (Majelis Pertimbangan Pusat Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, 2008: 74).

Differently from FPI with its aspiration to return Jakarta Charter's position in Indonesian politics, in the amendment process of the 1945

Constitution, PKS chooses to submit the Constitution of Medina as the aspiration to revise Article 29. This measure as if shows PKS's commitment to peaceful multi-religious life principles. It is important to note that PKS remains to have an aspiration to include Islamic law into Indonesia's political system and legislation (Hasan, 2009: 6-7). In its political struggle, PKS plays a leading role in rejecting various legislation contradictory to Islamic law. PKS, for example, rejects the Bill of Elimination of Sexual Abuse, Revision of Law Number 15/2003 on Terrorism Crime and Government Regulation in Lieu of Law Number 2/2017 on Mass Organization. On the other hand, PKS is keen to support the application of Laws deemed in compliance with Islamic law. PKS, for example, fully supports Law Number 44/2008 on Anti-Pornography and Bill of Religious Education with the House of Representatives.

However, PKS is not in the leading position to call for applying Islamic law in regional regulation. This measure may be taken to prevent other parties' suspicion considering that this party has a hidden political agenda (Hasan, 2009: 12). Such suspicion actually cannot be deemed excessive since there is a possible difference between what is delivered through public *da'wah* and the party's core belief (Woodward et al., 2011: 17). In this regard, a leader of PKS at the local level expressly states that: "Of course we do not tell the public how radical our agenda is. If we did, no one

would vote for us" (Woodward et al., 2011: 17). The assumption of Woodward et al. comments PKS's display in its National Work Conference in Yogyakarta in 2011 which presented traditional art *wayang* performance —an art which in conservative Islamic perspective tends not to be allowed.

Although the existence of Jemaah Tarbiyah in Indonesia is identical to PKS, but Jemaah Tarbiyah's activities are more extensive than political activities since it also plays an important role in other fields, such as social, economy and culture. For example, in the social field, Jemaah Tarbiyah plays an important role in reforming education by establishing Nurul Fikri Education Foundation and Integrated Islamic School Network (*Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu*/JSIT). Jemaah Tarbiyah consistently applies the educational ideology adopted by *Ikhwanul Muslimin*, namely *muwasafat*.[6] The strong influence of *Ikhwanul Muslimin*'s ideology is shown with the slogans commonly used in schools affiliated with JSIT, namely: *All-ahu Ghayatuna* (Allah is our destination); *Rasul Qudwatuna* (Prophet Muhammad is our example); *al-Qur'an Syir'atuna* (al-Qur'an is our law), *al-Jihad Sabiluna* (jihad is our path of struggle); *as-Syahadah Umniyatuna* (to die *syahid* is our ideal). The slogans taught to students are identical to those used by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt in gaining movement activists' loyalty to *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Suyatno, 2013: 367).

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[6] *Muwasafat* consists of the following ten targets of character education: righteous *aqidah*, proper worship, noble morals, independent, insightful and knowledgeable, healthy and strong, earnest with oneself, skillfully manage any matters, disciplined in time and useful for others.

In addition, Jemaah Tarbiyah also plays a role in Indonesia's citizenship discourse through its role in small study groups in a campus environment and public study groups at mosques, workplaces and others. Jemaah Tarbiyah is also involved in cultural work through publishers such as Sabili Magazine, Gema Insani Press, Al Kautsar, and others. Jemaah Tarbiyah's wide activism in politics, education and culture shows its commitment to realizing Islamization both at the state and society levels gradually, both through electoral competition and continuous *da'wah*.

HTI and Religio-Rejectionist Citizenship

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is part of a trans-national organization in the form of a political party established by Taqiuddin an-Nabhani in Palestine in 1953 (Ahnaf, 2016; Osman, 2012). HTI grew in Indonesia under two people's initiatives, Abdurrahman al Baghdadi, an Australian Muslim, and Abdullah bin Nuh, the leader of *Pesantren* Al Ghazali, Bogor, West Java (Muhtadi, 2009: 28). All starts from Abdullah bin Nuh's encounter with Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi in Sydney while visiting his child who studied there. Further, Abdullah bin Nuh invited Abdurrahman al Baghdadi to teach in his *Pesantren* in Bogor in 1982. This religious study attracted some campus *da'wah* activists from IPB who later disseminated it through campus *da'wah* which had been established. Just like Jemaah Tarbiyah, *HTI* initially grew secretly among students because of the New Order regime's political repression. HTI started to emerge and openly spread its teaching since the fall of the New Order in 1998. HTI spread its ideology openly through various media and open meetings, both in and out of campus. Its biggest membership basis remains from the campus environment, particularly those recruited through the Campus *Da'wah* Institution network.

Since its emergence, HTI taught the importance of political struggle to re-implement caliphate and sharia systems. Implementing a global caliphate made HTI reject the nationalism concept and nation-state as a legitimate political entity. According to HTI, the caliphate is the only political system that allows Muslims throughout the world to unite. Its view of Islam as the complete and perfect ideology also rejected democracy and election as a legitimate medium for political struggle. However, HTI exploited the freedom provided by democracy, such as the freedom to express one's opinion and to associate, in campaigning for its notions. In its rhetoric, they attempted to seem sympathetic to Indonesia by stating that the caliphate will save this country (Ward, 2009) or not deliver Pancasila's negative rhetoric (Arifianto, 2017). Even if it criticizes democracy, it drives its cadres to support candidates supporting its political agenda and enforce Islamic law (Arifianto, 2017: 10). Because of contradiction with its basic doctrine of nationalism and democracy, such rhetoric may be considered as an effort not to confront Indonesian Muslims with a contrary attitude too much.

Compared with another political movement, HTI did not compromise with any other non-aligning Islamic ideologies and movements. This attitude is consistent to its founder's teaching, that:

"If the masses and the ideology come into conflict, it is imperative for the Hizb members to adhere to the ideology alone. Even though the Hizb members would be subjected to the Ummah's resentment, this negative feeling would only be temporary. Their adherence to the ideology will win them the trust of the Ummah again. Hence, the Hizb should always caution itself not to contradict the ideology or deviate from its essence, even slightly. The ideology is the life of the Hizb and the guarantor of its survival. To ward off such grave situations and to prevent such a danger, the Hizb should endeavor to cultivate the ideology in the Ummah, to maintain the clarity of the Hizb's thoughts and concepts and to work towards maintaining the predominance of its thoughts and concepts over the Ummah" (an-Nabhani, 2001: 48-49).

HTI does not only see enemies from non-Muslim (external), comprising of Western nations which promote democracy and secularism in Islamic countries in their hegemony, but also enemies from Muslim (internal). Including their internal enemies actively promotes democracy, human rights, gender equality, and liberalism in Islamic countries. HTI considers them the West's agent to destroy Islam from the inside (Hilmy, 2009: 363).

Formally, HTI does not adopt extremist tactics such as violence in realizing its agenda (Arifianto, 2017: 14). The use of violence, such as jihad, according to HTI may only be made by the caliphate. Since there is currently no existing global caliphate, the use of violence in the name of jihad is invalid (Osman, 2010: 616). Therefore, in HTI's perspective, terrorist actions by jihadists even benefit the West's interest. For example, in the September 2011 case in the United States, HTI considers that the event justifies the Western countries' war against terror, leading to adverse impact on Muslims (Ward, 2009: 160). Although HTI has not taken violence as FPI has done, this organization's political agenda is more radical than FPI. While FPI acts based on the issue, HTI aims at changing Indonesia's political system totally (Osman, 2010: 616). To achieve it, HTI takes some measures, one of which is deemed to be non-constitutional.

The measure is included in HTI's doctrine of the stage towards global caliphate formation. HT's doctrine of the stages to realize caliphate includes the measure called *thalab an-nusrah* (to search for ruling elites' support). In this stage, HT will attempt to delegitimate the existing political system while gathering support and protection from the elites (Ahnaf, 2018: 314). In this stage, one of the possible forms of power struggle will occur through a coup d'état. An-Nabhani himself was involved in a power struggle in Jordan

in 1968, 1969 and 1971 (Ahnaf, 2018: 315). To reach this stage, HTI recruited cadres from state higher education institutions, governmental personnel and military officers (Arifianto, 2017) and built a network among politicians and businessmen (Osman, 2010). Besides actively spreading its notions through debates in public space through actions and seminars, HTI also decisively allied itself with groups with the same notions.

It is important to note that in its actions to demand the Ahok trial in 2016 and 2017, FPI was supported and assisted by HTI (Arifianto, 2017; Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018). HTI's cadre explained that its organization will decisively cooperate with other Islamic groups with the same objective (Arifianto 2017: 11). In other words, the two organizations' cooperation does not cease with their demand to dissolve Ahmadiyah. [7] According to Osman (2010), in the Ahmadiyah prohibition campaign, HTI also played an important role. Its non-compromising ideological line and political measure which tends to be antagonistic and anti-system makes HTI face the government and mainstream Islamic group such as NU. In its rhetoric, HTI frequently accused the ruling government as "imperialist comprador" (al-Khaththath, 2007: 8) or paying more attention to China's interest and less Islamic (Kusno, Rahmad & Bety, 2017).

This antagonistic and non-compromising attitude made the government issued Government Regulation In Lieu of Law Number 2/2017 on July 19, 2017. [8] Although declared as a banned organization since 2017, HTI still exists and performs its activities underground. On October 23, 2018, some ex-activists of HTI were involved in open conflict with NU in social media after the flag burning incident of the flag written with *tawhid* sentence during the National *Santri* Day commemoration moment in Garut, West Java.

Islam and Religious Citizenship in Indonesia

Casanova (2012) mentioned that religion can have an important role in social and political life, both in the West or developing countries. Yet certain expressions of religious citizenship can be a challenge of inclusive citizenship. Thus, even though religious citizenship can be side by side with the nation-state to offer "new moral authority, certainty, dignity and prosperity" (Parker & Hoon, 2013: 165), it can contest the state regarding who can be deemed a citizen. However, as will be shown, another religious citizenship expression in Indonesia associated with NU and Muhammadiyah tends to support inclusive citizenship. Therefore, religious citizenship can provide support to strengthen democratic

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[7] HTI's involvement in the violence case against AKKBB in anti-Ahmadiyah action drives HT leader to instruct HTI to release from the alliance with FUI since it harms HTI's reputation as a non-violence organization (Ward 2009: 158).

[8] Decision of Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU30.AH.01.08 Year 2017 on cancellation of Decision of Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU0028.60.10.2014 on the Legalization of Establishment of HTI Association Legal Entity.

institutions and attempt to reconcile Islam and democracy.

It is important to observe that the open democratic public space since the reform and the rise of Islamism which follows it fails to fundamentally remodel some old political consensus of religion-state relations. While confirming itself as a non-Islamic state, Indonesia since the reform era becomes more religious than before. The implementation of many laws and regulations with Islamic nuance or at least debated on with Islamic nuance either at the national or local level is an example. Meanwhile, more religious public space with piety shows may also be observed through its display and representation in the media. Whether or not acknowledged, Jemaah Tarbiyah, FPI and HTI represent the symptom of the rise of Islam in Indonesia's democratic public space for the last two decades. The question is how all of it runs without a fundamental change to the state foundation as a plural nation and with inclusive citizenship?

The answer to this question lies on two levels, namely state and civil society levels. At the state level, democratic electoral competition has never placed Islamism and Islamic political parties into the dominant power. From the 1999 Election until the 2019 Election, the combined nationalist political power always takes a dominant position. This gives a political disincentive to the groups such as PKS, FPI and HTI to force their political agenda unilaterally to perform further Islamization and shariahization. At the civil society level, Indonesia has two nationalist Islamic

Mass Organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah which serve as the moderating and connecting power between the state and the people. Although not constantly harmonious, NU and Muhammadiyah successfully become the main anchor to realize the inclusive religious citizenship notion and accommodate many groups, both in and out of the Islamic community. The two help the state maintain *Pancasila* as the foundation of Indonesian plural citizenship and protect all its citizens.

Muhammadiyah's political theology, particularly in relation to how this organization deems Indonesia as a nation-state, may be found in the result of Muhammadiyah's 47th Congress held in 2015. In the Congress, Muhammadiyah asserts that it deems Indonesia as *Darul Ahdi Wa Syahadah* (State of Consensus and Testimony) or a state that results from national consensus and becomes the place of evidently peaceful state (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2015: 67). With such conception, the organization established by Ahmad Dahlan wants to assert that the consensus (or maybe called political compromise) founded by the founders of the Nation, some of which are Muslim figures, including Muhammadiyah, must be respected and maintained by the next generation. It is important to note that even if Muhammadiyah's reason to accept Pancasila is based on its similarity to Islamic teaching. Still, this organization is different from FPI which claims that only Pancasila interpretation according to Islam is correct and valid. This means that even though this organization sees

Indonesia as a non-secular country, it is also not an Islamic country and there is not ideal to realize it.

With such an understanding of Indonesia and its religious philosophy, we certainly do not expect a liberal tolerance conception. However, at least in its official document, as listed as part of the result of the 45th Congress, this organization is committed to moderate diversity. Muhammadiyah criticizes Islamic groups' tendency that easily deem other groups infidel caused by religious politicization or under Eastern political conflict. This attitude influences how this organization sees a conflict between Sunni and Shia in Indonesia, such as in 2012 in Madura. Indonesia is a state with a majority of Sunni Muslims, in which some of them deem Shia misguided from the correct Islamic doctrine. The difference in religious understanding between the two groups may become a source of conflict when ignited by various causes, such as politics or personal conflict. Muhammadiyah sees the conflict between Sunni and Shia in Indonesia is influenced by Middle Eastern political contestation between Saudi Arabia and Iran which affects Iraq, Yemen, and Syria. To solve the conflict between the two groups in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah calls for dialog between Muslims (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2015: 113). Although still in the internal Islamic context, but such a call-in citizenship perspective may be called to have an inclusive tendency.

In the context of nationality and universal humanity, Muhammadiyah is committed to and calls for tolerant religious expression to differences. The call for tolerant diversity in the Congress result is the response to the extreme diversity embodied in the form of aggression against the place of worship and violence in the name of religion in Indonesia (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2015: 117). Also, the Congress result highlights discrimination of minority on ethnic, religious, racial and cultural bases or marginalized groups such as labors, homeless and disabled. Moreover, the basis of concern about discrimination against minorities is Islamic teaching, which is called *ukhuwah insaniyah*. This teaching emphasizes the importance of upholding universal humanity values by disregarding an individual's primordial background, either ethnical or religious (Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah, 2015: 127). Therefore, the Congress result provides a sufficient theological basis for Muhammadiyah to encourage moderate and tolerant diversity in Indonesia or hold back the speed of domination of religious view, which excludes minority groups.

At this point, it is undoubted that Muhammadiyah and NU provide a strong foundation to religious diversity and inclusive citizenship in Indonesia. However, the tolerance to diversity advocated by the two is not liberal. Thus, although the two criticize the violence against Ahmadiyah, their attitude towards this group is ambiguous —not to state the tendency of similarity to Islamist groups. The two organizations tend to see the claim that Ahmadiyah is part of Islam is beyond

tolerance (Menchik, 2016). However, with such limitations, which may change in line with the existing social and political dynamics, we still need to say that the two organizations' support to democracy allows the building of twin tolerance between Indonesia's state and religion (Stepan, 2014).

CONCLUSION

Islamism as represented by FPI, Jemaah Tarbiyah and HTI serves to cause debates and citizenship practice in contemporary Indonesia. Although the three groups have similarities in emphasizing the importance of Islam as the main source of reference in forming group identity and participation in democratic, free and competitive political life, it is evident that Jemaah Tarbiyah most successfully adapts to the existing social-political condition. Moreover, discussion on Jemaah Tarbiyah, FPI and HTI and citizenship in Indonesia shows that Islamism in its various variants contributes to the shift of citizenship discourses emphasizing freedom a la liberal citizenship towards republican citizenship model which emphasizes common good and civic virtue. The rejection of the state and mainstream Islamic Mass Organizations such as NU and Muhammadiyah of extreme and radical expressions of Islamism as shown by HTI dissolution and limitation of FPI's activities shows that citizenship discourses cannot be separated from political dynamics, struggle for resources and fight for religious discourses and authority in Indonesia after the reform.

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