The Islamic Political Identity in Indonesia: A Study on Rejecting The Establishment of the Christian Church of Indonesia Yasmin

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Abstract: The polemic of the Christian Church of Indonesia (GKI) Yasmin establishment, located in Bogor, has raised various kinds of new problems structurally and culturally. One of the problems at the structural level is the administrative polemic over the permit for the place's establishment of worship from the government of Bogor. On a cultural level, it is the emergence of conflict and intolerance between fellow Muslims—Islam vs. Islam or Islam vs. Christianity—whether social, political, legal, religious, or faith conflicts. The theoretical frameworks used to analyze the research questions are religious roles consisting of ideology, identity, social ethics, political Islamic movement theory, and human rights. The approach used in this documentary is qualitative. This research combines two methods of collecting data: primary and secondary. In-depth interview and cover In-depth Interview. This research determines the role of religion and politics owned by Islamic mass organizations (HTI and FORKAMI) in rejecting the establishment of GKI Yasmin in Curug Mekar Village, Bogor Barat Bogor. According to the research findings, religion has three roles: religion as ideology, HTI and Forkami as pressure groups (soft and complex pressure groups), and social-ethical. In the political context, the political roles of HTI and Forkami are structural Islamic political movements and cultural Islamic political movements.
Keywords: Islamic Political Identity; Rejecting the Establishment; Christian Church

Abstrak: Polemik pendirian Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI) Yasmin yang berlokasi di Bogor, telah memunculkan berbagai macam permasalahan baru secara struktural dan kultural. Permasalahan di tingkat struktural salah satunya adalah polemik administrasi perizinan pendirian tempat ibadah dari Pemerintah Kota Bogor. Dalam tataran budaya, munculnya konflik dan intoleransi antar sesama umat Islam vs. Islam atau Islam vs. Kristen baik konflik sosial, politik,

hukum, agama, maupun keyakinan. Kerangka teori yang digunakan untuk menganalisis pertanyaan penelitian adalah peran agama yang terdiri dari ideologi, identitas, etika sosial, teori gerakan politik Islam, dan hak asasi manusia. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam film dokumenter ini adalah kualitatif. Penelitian ini menggabungkan dua metode pengumpulan data: primer dan sekunder. Wawancara mendalam dan meliput Wawancara Mendalam. Penelitian ini mengetahui peran agama dan politik yang dimiliki oleh Ormas Islam (HTI dan FORKAMI) dalam penolakan berdirinya GKI Yasmin di Desa Curug Mekar, Bogor Barat. Berdasarkan temuan penelitian, agama mempunyai tiga peran: agama sebagai ideologi, HTI dan Forkami sebagai kelompok penekan (kelompok penekan lunak dan kompleks), dan sosial-etika. Dalam konteks politik, peran politik HTI dan Forkami adalah gerakan politik Islam struktural dan gerakan politik Islam budaya.
Kata Kunci: Identitas Politik Islam; Menolak Pendirian; Gereja Kristen

INTRODUCTION

The polemic over establishing the Christian Church of Indonesia (GKI) Yasmin, located in Bogor, has raised various kinds of new problems, structurally and culturally. One of the problems at the structural level is the administrative polemic over the permit for the establishment of places of worship from the Bogor city government. At the cultural level, there is conflict among the regional fellowships, whether social, political, legal, religious, or faith-based. These problems can trigger conflicts among humans in Indonesia, commonly, and Bogor significantly. One of the causes is the government's policy to freeze a legal permit to establish a place of worship (the church GKI Yasmin) near the residential area of Curug Mekar District, west Bogor. This freeze manifests the demands of the Islamic Religious Scholars Forum, which asked the Mayor of Bogor to freeze IMB GKI Yasmin[1].

The lawsuit is set to begin on October 1, 2006. The Islamic Religious Scholars Forum asked the Deputy Mayor of Bogor to cancel the IMB (legal building permit) of Yasmin Church. By the end of February 14, 2008, the Head of City Planning and Gardening Agency had frozen IMB GKI Yasmin. Within a few

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[1] Ian Suherlan, "Ahmadiyah, HAM dan Kerukunan Umat Beragama" *Jurnal al-Qisthas*, Vol. 3 No. 2, 2011, 2.

months of the freezing, GKI Yasmin sued the IMB, and they won. However, the political power of Islamic mass organizations, especially the Indonesian Muslim Communication Forum (Forkami), asked the Bogor Mayor to revoke the Church IMB by sealing and padlocking the GKI Yasmin building[2].

This prescription shows that the political role of the Islamic Scholars Forum in Bogor has political implications for Bogor government policy in regulating worship places, including GKI Yasmin. Thus, the Islamic Scholars Forum and Islamic Community Forum (FORKAMI), the Islamic Reformist Movement (GARIS), the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), and the Hizbut Tahrir of Indonesia (HTI) have enormous political power, which is significant for the local political interests, especially Bogor.

The Indonesian Christian Church was officially established in Jakarta on August 28, 1988. But, for the very first time, in 1934, the embryo of this church was born in East Java. This church congregation is predominantly Chinese. Now comes from various tribes. GKI has around 400 thousand members, mainly in Java and Sumatra. GKI now has about 150, including in Papua New Guinea and Bali. GKI named their church based on the street's name or the region of its existence. For example, GKI Yasmin is named because it is located near Bogor's Yasmin Garden housing complex. GKI Yasmin has 500 members in the congregation[3].

In this context, there is a localization issue related to the problem of freezing the establishment of Yasmin Church in Bogor. This issue is not merely a legal issue (permit letter). Still, a local political issue is in the interest of Diani Budiarto (Mayor of Bogor) to advance as Candidate Mayor of Bogor from 2008–2013. Many political parties are supporting candidates for deputy mayors, including the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera).

Identity politics, according to Roger Scruto (2013) [4] in a political dictionary, is defined as a political action that places the pursuit of identity as its main agenda, believing that no political program will succeed if people do not

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[2] "Bogor Mayor Remains Defiant on GKI Yasmin", *The Jakarta Post*, 8 Mei 2012.
[3] "Saling Kunci di Gereja Yasmin", *Tempo*, edisi 13-19 Februari 2012.
[4] Roger Scruton, *Kamus Politik*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2012, 736.

know who and what they are, and why they have to consider their interests so much to form common goals and loyalties. While identity politics has taken hold among the leaders of minority groups, whose attitudes toward the existing order may often be antagonistic, it is not exclusively a politics of protest. The majority of nationalist movements also make identity a major political issue[5]. In Indonesia, the political reform movement of Islamic mass organizations has tended to lead to radical movements in national and state life. These Islamic organizations, considered to be radical Islam, include FPI, GARIS, FORKAMI, and HTI. The radical Islamic movement received widespread attention from society, with various violent incidents occurring in various regions. Cases of horizontal conflict between Muslims and Christians in Maluku and Poso, bomb explosions at churches, mosques in Cirebon, Hotel J.W. Marriot, or violent phenomena in other places that are accused of being part of the radical Islamic movement[6].

METHOD

This study combines two data collection techniques, namely primary data and secondary data[7]. The primary data used is in the form of information originating from the executive, legislative, and judiciary; intellectuals, scholars, and academicians; leaders of mass organizations and NGOs; and people who are competent in the fields of identity politics, local democracy, and elections through direct, in-depth, intensive interviews and the testimony of researchers who were successfully recorded while in the field. Secondary data is collected from various places and includes published works such as books, theses, dissertations, articles, or papers, both published through seminar forums and magazines, journals, mass media reports, research results, and documents, history related to the problem under study Secondary data is needed to build the initial construction of the

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[5] Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar, "Melacak Akar Radikalisme Islam di Indonesia" *Journal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik* (JSP) Volume 14, No. 2, November 2010, UGM Yogyakarta, 171

[6] See Endang Turmudi dan Riza Sihbudi (ed.), *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*, Jakarta: LIPI Press 2005, 1.

[7] John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Penekatan Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Metode Campuran,* Jakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010, 4.

research and is then needed to assist in the interpretation to obtain a comprehensive and in-depth understanding. In addition, qualitative data includes audio and visual material. This data is in photos, art objects, video recordings, or all kinds of sounds. Therefore, this research is known as purposive sampling. Provide information about the study's limitations at the end of the discussion[8].

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
The Islamic Political Identity Roles

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)[9] was one of the mass organizations that often emerged to reject the establishment of the Christian Church of Indonesia (GKI) Yasmin in Curug from 2006 to 2011. In Bogor, HTI is one of the mass organizations, among others, that initiated and mediated with several other mass organizations to discuss matters related to the establishment of GKI Yasmin in Curug Mekar, west Bogor. This organization is most concerned with the existence of GKI Yasmin in Bogor, besides other mass organizations such as NU, Muhammadiyah, FORKAMI, etc. Abd. Qodir[10] says:

> We (HTI) of Bogor have indeed played an active role in monitoring the establishment of GKI Yasmin since 2008 because there is no legal approval from the surrounding society, so we (HTI) protest against it. We never do such violent action. But they (GKI) did.

From the description, HTI believes that the problem of the GKI Yasmin establishment in Yasmin, Curug Mekar, is alarming to other religious activities. This will trigger a conflict between Muslims and Christians, especially in Curug Mekar. In other words, in this case, there is a tendency from the law conflict to the religion conflict.

According to HTI, Islam is a doctrine and ideology that is offered radically, but the movement pattern made by HTI Bogor in rejecting the establishment of GKI Yasmin is practiced moderately. According to Qodir, the cultural movement we have done is through dialogue and communication institutionally and

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[8] Anton Bakker dan Achmad Charis Zubair, *Metodologi Penelitian Filsafat*, cet, I, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1990, 63

[9] http://www.hizbut-tahrir.or.id.

[10] *Interview* with Ust. Abd. Qodir, Chairman of Lajdnah Tsaqafiyah HTI Bogor City,

personally in the community. In addition, we (HTI) Bogor, in this context, actually never committed violence.

In addition, Forkami identified an indication of Christianization done by GKI Yasmin. It can be known when one of several women in Curug Mekar was married to another believer. So, we (Forkami) continue to carry out religious strengthening to anticipate the existence of Christianization elsewhere by teaching the community religiously. Our movement is far from physical violence, but we always have a dialogue or discussion with some parties, including GKI Yasmin and the Bogor Government.

Pressure Groups

HTI and Forkami are intense organizations that will continue to conduct advocacy, demonstrations, or mass actions to solve problems related to the establishment of GKI Yasmin Curug Mekar Bogor. These two mass organizations can be categorized as pressure groups. There are two models of pressure groups: soft pressure groups and complex pressure groups. A soft pressure group is a pressure group that has the influence of social forces against other groups with specific influence without using physical violence. A hard pressure group is a pressure group that has the influence of social forces against other groups by using physical or other violence[11].

Concerning the GKI Yasmin case, we (HTI and Forkami) are not concerned about the establishment of GKI Yasmin, but we (HTI and Forkami) only ask GKI Yasmin to fulfill the requirements given by the government. However, if such requirements are not fulfilled, we will keep fighting. We only assert that the main requirement of the establishment must be fulfilled; for example, it must be approved by at least 90 residents. This is violated by the GKI itself.

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[11] *Interview* with Sekretaris Forkami di Musolla Al-Hidayah Kelurahan Curug Mekar

 Social-Ethic

In this context, HTI and Forkami are representatives of Islamic groups that interpret Islam as a social value. Identifying specific social, political, or economic systems with certain religious values will provoke rejection by other religions. The claim that Western human rights values, often identified with Christianity, can provoke rejection reactions from Eastern nations and Islam Rejection is usually not the first objection to the substance of human rights; instead, its value is not the same as my religion and culture.

The Islamic Political Identity: Between Structural And Cultural Power

Structural Islamic politics is part of a political party with Islamic values. In other words, Islamic political parties are either ideologically or sociologically affiliated with Islamic doctrine or values. The political parties with Islamic ideology are PPP, PKS, PBB, PPNUI, etc., while the political parties affiliated with Islam are PKB, PAN, and the like. In conjecture, Islamic political parties are ideologically and sociologically affiliated with Islamic doctrines and values in daily life[12].

In the national context, politics is a political party; its role has yet to be significant. It is proven by the results of several studies or surveys conducted by some research institutes that Islamic political parties get fewer votes because of their inability to absorb the aspirations of Muslims themselves. According to Qodir, the conflict in Bogor indicates that the Islamic political party has yet to play a significant role in influencing Bogor's or the central government's government in handling the case of GKI Yasmin. So, the aspirations through structural politics, namely political parties and Islamic parties, significantly cannot change the policy on revoking the establishment of GKI Yasmin Curug Mekar Bogor. Thus, structural political Islam does not play a significant role in influencing the Bogor government[13].

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[12] Isma'il Hasani, dkk (ed.)., *Radikalisme Agama Jabodetabek & Jawa Barat: Implikasinya Terhadap Jaminan Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan*, Jakarta: Setara Institute, 2010, 25
[13] Bahtiar Efendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Pemikiran dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia,* Jakarta: Paramadina, 1998, 108.

Since there is no role for structural Islamic politics in resolving the GKI Yasmin conflict, we (HTI) agree to undertake other ways or methods that use the political power of cultural Islam. Political Islam Culture, according to Qodir, is a mass organization or a group of civil society members who fight for Islam as Aqidah[14]. HTI, as part of a civil society group, has the power of the masses to strengthen cultural Islam. In other words, that is non-structural political Islam that serves to raise awareness in the community. HTI Bogor plays a significant role in fighting for the aspirations of Muslims, especially in the Curug Mekar related to the revocation of the establishment of GKI Yasmin by the Mayor of Bogor.

The Power of Cultural Islam

Forkami is an organization where most of the members are residents of Curug Mekar, Wangkal, and Taman Yasmin Housing. Forkami functions as the person in charge who cares for the people, especially in the case of GKI Yasmin Bogor. Forkami does not use violence in his method, like in other areas. This is because Forkami understands very well that the problem of the church establishment plan in his territory is only a matter of manipulation. Therefore, it is inappropriate for Muslims to commit violence. Forkami has proof of data and the manipulation of certain parties who want to disturb the citizens in his area. This data will be revealed one by one someday[15].

The leader of the Indonesian Muslim Communication Forum (Forkami), Ahmad Iman, urged the house representative (DPRD) of Bogor to make a real contribution to the settlement of GKI Yasmin. They were first urging the plenary session meeting of the house representative (DPRD) in Bogor to support the decision of the Bogor Mayor to revoke IMB GKI Yasmin by the law and its authority, namely Law No. 32. Second, ask for a plenary session of the house

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[14] Yusuf Qardhawi, *Islam Radikal: Analisis Terhadap Radikalisme dalam Berislam dan Upaya Pemecahannya* (terj), Solo: Era Intermedia, 2004, 23.
[15] Abd A'la, "The Genealogy of Muslim Radicalism in Indonesia: A Study of the Roots and Characteristics of the Padri Movement", *Journal of Indonesian Islam,* Volume 02, Number 02, December 2008.

representative (DPRD) to urge the mayor to follow up on the case. He was third, requesting the council's contribution to the settlement of the GKI Yasmin case by December 7, 2011, for closing the case.

Letter Forgery

Forkami found and reported an indication of fake signatures of citizens used as a condition of making IMB GKI Yasmin Church to the police office (POLRESTA) with 7 witnesses: M. Ajuk, M. Sholeh, Kornelis Abdullah, Maulana, Yanto, Munir, and Aming, accompanied by 150 people. The report number is STBL/106/I/2010/ I / 2010 / SPK January 30, 2010, at 14.54 WIB. The reporter, M. Ajuk, reports on the leader of the GKI Church Committee, Thomas Wadudara[16].

Forkami (Indonesian Muslim Communications Forum) repeatedly stressed that this case is not a matter of religious harmony but purely legal problems, namely the forgery of citizen signatures for the legal permit of the IMB GKI Yasmin submission process. "Do not talk anywhere, even to the international world, as if the GKI Yasmin is forbidden to worship," said Forkami Chairman Ahmad Iman.

GKI has yet to receive a written opinion or letter from the Head of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Third, it does not have the minimum number of 40 household heads staying in the local area. Fourth, it needs to get permission from residents. Fifth, it does not get a written recommendation from MUI, the Indonesian Church Council (DGI), Parisada Hindu Dharma, MAWI, Walubi, scholars, or spirituality.

Based on several reasons above, the city government, through the Office of City Planning and Gardening (DTKP), issued a letter freezing the legal permit (IMB) for church construction. However, GKI Yasmin sued the DTKP decision through the State Administrative High Court (Administrative Court), but it was lost because the freeze was not by the authorities (DTKP). To follow up on the Administrative Court and Supreme Court (MA) decisions, the municipal

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[16] See *Interview* with Sekjen Forkami

government revoked the IMB freezing letter issued by the City Government through DTKP on March 8, 2011. A few days later, the government immediately fixed the administrative error by re-freezing IMKI GKI Yasmin. Through the Letter of Decision (SK) of Bogor Mayor No. 645.45-137 in 2011, issued on March 11, 2011, the Mayor of Bogor revoked IMB GKI Yasmin on Jl. KH. Abdullah Bin Nuh, Yasmin, Bogor.

Forkami: GKI Yasmin's position in law According to Forkami, GKI Yasmin states three crucial points to Forkami about legal matters. They are: According to GKI Yasmin, the Bogor Mayor has defied the Supreme Court. According to GKI Yasmin, IMB GKI Yasmin has been legal, even strengthened by MA. GKI Yasmin declared that they never used the Citizenship Approval Letter on January 8 and 15, 2006, as required by the IMB GKI Yasmin submission. All three points conclude that the case of GKI Yasmin is not a matter of SARA but purely a matter of law and human rights in the form of signature.

CONCLUSION

From the description and findings of the above research, some of the following conclusions can be drawn: First, religion as an ideology. For HTI, Islam is offered radically as a doctrine and ideology, but the movement pattern made by HTI Bogor in rejecting the establishment of GKI Yasmin is by practicing moderately. Second, both pressure groups A soft pressure group is a pressure group that has the influence of social forces against other groups without physical violence. The hard pressure group is a pressure group that has the influence of social forces against other groups by using either physical or other violence. Third is social ethics; in this context, HTI and Forkami are representatives of Islamic groups who interpret Islam as a social value and become the ethical legitimacy of social relations among citizens in Curug Mekar Village.

These two mass organizations have important political roles: Structural Islam and Political Islam. First, structural Islamic politics as a political party with

Islamic values; second, cultural Islamic politics. In this case, Qodir said that it is a mass organization or a group of civil society members who fight for Islam as aqidah and doctrine with massive power in political Islam that serves to make society aware of Islam either as teachings or values. The fulfillment of HTI and Forkami's mass demands in canceling the building permit is separate from the big roles of both groups in Bogor. Thus, the success of these two groups is due to the path of Political Islam Culture.

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