

Contesting the Non-Muslim Existence In a Democratic State: A Trajectory to Hack Majority-Minority Relations In Indonesia

Muchamad Faiz Ubaidillah

Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia, Indonesia

E-mail: m.faiz.ubaidillah@gmail.com

Abstract: The outbreak of inter-religious conflict today is mostly caused by unequal majority-minority relations, especially in the context of a democratic state—Indonesia. Therefore, it is necessary to reconcile and integrate the Islamic paradigm with the democratic system, especially in a country dominated by one religion. In this article, the author analyzes the social friction between the majority and minority with an intertextuality approach between classical Sunni literature and the development of modern democratic discourse. The author finds that the tradition of Sunni classical fiqh literature was born from scholars who used to live under the auspices of religious states that still considered non-Muslims as second-class citizens. In addition, this article reviews the concepts of state religion and state democracy and the social conflicts that may occur in them. Finally, the author tries to provide an alternative way to integrate the Islamic paradigm and the concept of citizenship and secularization efforts in the form of separation between religious identity and identity as a citizen for better democratic state conduct.

Keywords: Integration, Democracy, Minority, Majority, Secularization

A. Introduction

World War I, 1914, was a significant event that marked a change in the socio-political order of the world, including Islamic countries. This war began with the assassination of King Franz Ferdinand of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and ended with Germany signing the Treaty of Versailles. The world was divided into Western and Eastern blocs during the First World War. The Western bloc comprised the United States, Britain, France, Greece, Italy and Belgium. The Eastern Bloc comprised Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Ottoman Turkey due to Germany's defeat in the Trech War in 1918 by Britain, France, and America.

Countries sympathizing with the Eastern Bloc, including the Ottoman Turks, were declared defeated.¹

As a result of Ottoman Turkey's alignment with the Eastern bloc, it had to bear the consequences of war defeat in the form of the collapse of power that had lasted for 7 centuries. One by one, its powers began to separate themselves, such as Saudi Arabia, which had become part of the power of the Bani Saud, and Palestine, which was annexed and made a home for the Jews through the Balfour Declaration. And the culmination of the defeat was the collapse of Ottoman Turkey in 1922, which turned into a secular state pioneered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.²

The end of Ottoman Turkey was also concluded to mark the end of the religious-state era in Islamic politics. Religion was no longer the determinant of the territorial boundaries and character of a state, and state laws, both criminal and civil, based on scripture, began to be abandoned in favor of French-style legislation. All religious power over the state was gradually stripped away and repositioned into the private sphere of each individual.

The absence of a religious-state role model then affects the diverse choices of Muslims to form a state. Indonesia, as a Muslim-majority country, chooses democracy as its state system, given its ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity. In a democratic system, Indonesians agree to create a state that upholds justice and civil equality without any privileges in the name of religious, ethnic, or cultural majority. Under the ideological umbrella of Pancasila, all elements of society are expected to unite and respect each other's rights as citizens.

However, the fact is that the majority community does not always accept this equality of rights. They often ask to be more privileged than minority communities in various access areas, politics, economics, etc. Therefore, there are still many acts of discrimination and persecution against minorities that are contrary to the principles of democracy in various regions in Indonesia.

In the context of Indonesia, we still often encounter the phenomenon of friction between Muslims and non-Muslims even within Islam itself, between

¹ Michael Howard, *The First World War*, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, 2002), 134.

² Sean McMeekin, *The Ottoman Endgame*, 1st ed. (Penguin Random House LLC, 2015), 148.

Sunni and Shi'i. Some Sunni-Islamic groups who are the majority often consider adherents of other religions or other groups as second-class citizens and social "complements" of the majority. Such is the case in the Minang region. There was rejection from the community regarding translating the Gospel into the Minang language to maintain the local customs of Minagkabau which are deeply rooted in Islamic teachings, *adat basyandi syarak, syarak basandi kitabullah*. In addition, this phenomenon is alleged to have a hidden agenda in the form of an effort to "Christianize" the Minang people. In fact, according to Rev. Darwin Darmawan, this translation effort is intended to make it easier for the Minang Christian minority to understand their holy book.

From this, it can be seen that the Indonesian people have agreed to choose Democracy as a state system. However, in practice, there are still many problems, especially related to social relations between the Sunni-Islamic majority and other groups of religions. Therefore, in this paper, I want to try to examine the status of non-Muslim minorities in the majority Sunni-Muslim society both in terms of the theoretical basis of classical Islamic jurisprudence to find alternative ways related to the relationship between majorities and minorities in the democratic context.

B. Literatur Review

1. Majority-Minority Relations in Democratic Indonesia

Against this background, it is important to understand how majority-minority group dynamics work in democratic Indonesia, with its complex socio-political fabric. With this backdrop, this paper identifies key insights into these relationships. It focuses on integrating Islamic values and democratic principles and the impacts of religious exclusivism and pluralism in such a multifaceted society.

Ahmad Abdullah An-Na'im's text, *Islam and the Secular State* is one of the most influential works in this area. In this text, An-Na'im discusses how Islamic traditions may exist concurrently with democratic values and supports the separation of religious identity from citizenship for the sake of equality for all, including non-Muslim minorities. He argues that truly inclusive democracy should be premised on a secular framework where the different religious

communities can coexist equally³. This perspective contested the traditional notion of an Islamic state and offered an alternative way to relate religious and civic identities in Indonesia.

On the other hand, Charles Kimball's "When Religion Becomes Evil" does not reveal the threats that religious beliefs can bear. He shares that religions might become those factors that cause such potential dangers as war or even violence. Such an investigation is very important for a country like Indonesia, which is characterized by its high diversity of convictions. He implies that it is extremely important to foster pluralism and tolerance in a multi-religious society⁴. Thus, Kimball's work helps to understand how to deal with religious diversification and prevent sectarianism against the necessity to protect these values. These works provided seminal insights into the interaction of religion and democratic principles in Indonesia. However, there remains a gap in the literature regarding how to actually and justly incorporate Islamic paradigms into democratic citizenship.

On the other hand, historical, sociological, and political studies have established the relationship between majority-minority in Indonesia. Conflicts and discriminations of non-Muslim minorities have been considerably dealt with under the democratic expression and accountability rubric. On the other hand, historical writings point out the differences that have always existed between the religious groups and how, cumulatively, this has affected the politics in Indonesia. Additionally, sociological research looks at how identity and belonging are constructed in a pluralistic society, whereas political analysis inspects the impact of policies and laws on minority groups⁵.

But at the same time, very many studies deal with the negative implications of majority-minority relations concerning conflict and discrimination. This imbalance thereby leads to a lack of focus on how Islamic principles can be put in line with democratic values toward an inclusive governance system that serves all people equitably.

³ Ahmad Abdullah an-Naim, *Islam and the Secular State*, 1st ed, (Harvard University Press, 2008), 5-20.

⁴ Charles Kimball, *When Religion Becomes Evil: Five Warning Signs*, (HarperOne, 2008), 45-60.

⁵ Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*, (Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 75-90.

2. Exploring Islamic Paradigms in Modern Contexts

Therefore, one such study objective is to close this gap by probing how traditional Islamic jurisprudence—often considered hostile to non-Muslims—could be adapted for current situations. As traditional *fiqh* has denominated non-Muslims as *dhimmi*s, that is, protected but inferior subjects in an Islamic polity. This created problems of reconciliation with contemporary democratic values of Islamization of a state⁶.

This is pursued to bring forth new insight to harmonize Islamic paradigms with democratic citizenship by reinterpretation of classical Islamic jurisprudence in support of inclusivity and equality. This involves critiquing the opinion received and exploring how contemporary Islamic thinking would help towards an inclusive and fairer society. Such reconfigurations may lead to more subtle ways Islamic principles can deal with democratic values for a more inclusive governance framework.

Another relevant aspect of the study is assessing claims of religious exclusivity and majority group mentalities. Several studies have recently researched how such claims may contribute to marginalizing minority groups and maintaining the majority. This study will assess such claims and their contribution to majority-minority relations in a democratic society⁷.

More specifically, the approach is directed at understanding how claims of this exclusivist nature influence majority-minority dynamics through analysis of these claims' impact on social cohesion and political stability. It also examines how such claims shape public policy and attitudes to contribute to a more comprehensive sense of managing religious diversity in a democratic society.

This adds new insight into the existing body of knowledge on how democratic citizenship and governance can be integrated with Islamic teachings. The study is visionary in that it builds upon limitations that are a common feature of past work, grappling with how classical Islamic jurisprudence could find application to modern democratic setups, thereby laying the foundation for a

⁶ Wael B. Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005) 122-135

⁷ Paul Saba, *Religious Identity and the Politics of Exclusion*, (Routledge, 2013) 155-170

truly expansive and equitable system by which to manage majority-minority relations in Indonesia.

The aim is to offer value-based research that can, in turn, guide policy-making toward a society that is more inclusive and just in nature for all its citizens, including the minorities who are non-Muslims. It is this intersection between Islamic values and democratic principles that this research wants to understand much better in terms of being able to forge a governance model sensitive to diversity and ensuring equal rights for all.

In this regard, while much headway has been made toward understanding the complexities of majority-minority relations in Indonesia, more work is necessary on incorporating Islamic ideals with democratic values. As such, the following paper aims to address these questions and produce novel insights that can be practically used to establish a more liberal and fair democratic framework.

C. Theoretical Framework and Method

An interdisciplinary approach is, therefore, taken to explore the status of non-Muslim minorities within a majority Sunni-Muslim society and suggest alternatives for improving majority-minority relations in a democratic context.

I will first undertake a thorough analysis by delving deeply into classical Sunni fiqh literature to understand the historical treatment of non-Muslims in Islamic states. This paper will also deal with the work done by those who explored the compatibility of Islamic values as practiced today in combination with democratic principles, such as Ahmad Abdullah An-Na'im and Charles Kimball. In this regard, I try to use the case study method to learn specific incidents that have occurred in Indonesia as illustrative of the nature of interfaith relations between the Muslim majority and non-Muslim minorities.

On the other hand, this paper also adopted an intertextual approach to examine how classical and modern texts interact in informing or shaping the discourse on majority-minority relations. In basic terms, it is a method for reconciling historical Islamic jurisprudence on the one hand and modern democratic theories on the other in their application to the present social and political context. Besides that, qualitative analysis is a critical component of the research that allows me to interpret data collected from the literature, case

studies, and observations. This provides a detailed description of the social phenomena, which helps identify patterns and themes emerging from the study.

Additionally, I went back to classical Islamic jurisprudence with a critical perspective to analyze the relevance of classical jurisprudence in modern, socially, and politically oriented contexts. This concerns itself with an inquiry into historical and contemporary Islamic juristic opinions on the status of non-Muslims and their relationship with the state.

My research is descriptive-analytical and intended to describe the state of majority-minority relations in Indonesia, thereby analyzing which factors could account for this. This ensures that the questions raised and hypotheses set are achieved with good consideration of the available data and methods, making a sound basis for the study results.

D. Result and Discussion

1. Majority Discrimination against Minority; Case Study of Aceh Incident

As is known, social friction in a democratic society is usually not caused by state policies that favor one religion. Given that the state is neutral towards all social elements in society. Plus, the legitimacy of democracy, which contains equal rights and obligations among citizens carried by the state.⁸ So, the friction can be allegedly sourced from the effects of power struggles between religious elements in society.

Meanwhile, friction in a democratic society is usually caused by truth claims and the community's mentality. Every religion must have exclusive teachings that distinguish one doctrine from another. For example, theology, worship (*liturgy*), and the teaching of values (*gospel*). To maintain the continuity of religion and attract outsiders to their religion. So, a foundation is needed in the form of truth claims supporting and stating that their religion is correct.

From the Islamic perspective, this awareness begins with the shahada as the gateway to an intimate doctrine and communal identity as a Muslim. The first

⁸ Ahmad Abdullah an-Naim, *Islam and the Secular State*, 88.

sentence negates all forms of polytheism and affirms the awareness of the monotheistic deity, Allah. At the same time, this has implications for a Muslim's devotion and priorities while living in the world. The second sentence contains full testimony to the Prophet Muhammad, recognizing that he is the messenger of Allah and following him in all aspects of life, both from the way of God and morals. So anyone who wants to go to God-Allah must tread in the footsteps of Muhammad's prophethood.⁹

In addition, in the notion of the shahada, some verses corroborate the truth claims of Islam, including Surah Ali Imran verse 19: "Indeed, the religion that is pleased by Allah is only Islam." According to Sheikh Wahbah Zuhaili, the verse explains that the only religion accepted by Allah, especially regarding the concept of servitude, is Islam alone. Whoever deviates from the religion of Islam is categorized as a disbeliever or deviates from the religion of Islam.¹⁰

From here, the author sees that in the context of a religious state, one of the religious adherents will easily make a one-sided claim to the truth and make one of the beliefs the foundation of the state. Therefore, usually, those who do not believe in the majority religion will be considered second-class citizens with special notes such as being prohibited from spreading their religion in the country and obliged to pay (*jizyah*) as a tribute of protection.

However, in a democratic state, the state is usually neutral towards all forms of religious turmoil in society. They agree to provide equal rights and obligations among their citizens. However, what needs to be noted here is that usually, the majority will agree and initiate regulations regarding what religions are allowed to settle and develop in the country. Arend Lijphart calls this "majority's rule."

The second is the majority's mentality, but before discussing this further, it would be good to discuss the relationship between democracy and the majority. The basic value of democracy is equal rights, which is usually described in elections as "one person, one vote." After that, each individual will cast his or her vote, and the party with the majority of votes will certainly be the winner. It can

⁹ Charles Kimball, *When Religion Becomes Evil*, (Harper Collins E-books), 51.

¹⁰ Wahbah Zuhaili, *Tafsir Munir*, vol 2, Beirut: (Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'ashir), 2003, 197

be said that the majority vote is a symbol of unanimity that represents decisions and choices in a democratic system.¹¹

If the owner of the majority vote is always the winner in every election activity, then usually this will foster the "majority's mentality," a mental illness that feels that they are the decision maker and will marginalize any different group. Some of the symptoms that usually plague this community are the desire to be privileged in various aspects of life, both in terms of social, political, and economic aspects.

It can be said that the majority of Indonesian Muslims are experiencing symptoms of mass mental illness; in some areas, this majority often provides restrictions and applies cultural laws, which the local government then legalizes. For example, the case of church construction in Aceh experienced several rejections. Although Aceh has special autonomy rights, *de facto*, Aceh is still part of Indonesia, which applies the democratic system.

A case of violence against the congregation of the Bethel Indonesia Church (GBI) occurred and was carried out by a group of Muslim elements on June 17, 2012, in Banda Aceh. The attack occurred at 10:30 a.m. after the congregation performed the service, which began at 8:00 a.m. Before the attack, they consolidated at Al-Muttaqien mosque. The attack was carried out sporadically to the church in the form of a shophouse and made the congregation afraid and exited through the door. The attack caused no casualties but left a deep trauma for the church congregation.

Although it is proven that the church does not have an official permit to establish a house of worship by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Aceh, the narrative built by the FPI that they are trying to expand Christianization and denial of faith is a one-sided accusation without adequate evidence and data. It can be said that this irresponsible narrative has created a hallucination of the danger of Christianization within Muslims, which then ignites inter-religious conflict.

In addition, Aceh's socio-political conditions have become even more heated when identity politics have added to the confusion. This is evidenced by the response of the people of Aceh regarding Governor Irwanda Yusuf's decision to

¹¹ Arend Lijphart, *Thinking about Democracy*, 1st ed. (Routledge, 2008), 113.

issue Governor Regulation (Pergub) Number 25 of 2007 concerning guidelines for establishing houses of worship, which received a lot of criticism from the people of Aceh. They believe the regulation contradicts the Acehnese people's commitment to implement Islamic Shari'a there. It is as if they are trying to maintain the power of the Islamic majority in Aceh so as not to be rivaled by the existence of other religions. This is corroborated by the comment of one of the members of the Al-Hikmah mosque in Lhokseu-Mawe, who stated, "... *Through the tsunami, orientalist carried out a missionary mission in Aceh, but did not succeed in disbelieving the Acehnese. But if the number of churches increases, then I am sure Aceh will become the second Spain*". All data on church attacks is taken from the CRCS annual report".¹²

From the facts above, the book of Isa takes a sample that when Muslims (Sunni) become the majority, it turns out that acts of discrimination are still unavoidable. However, sometimes, a handful of people are a little reasonable with the argument that every religious believer has the right to defend and protect his community from the teachings of different religions. However, the core of the problem above is not a matter of reasonable and aligning exclusive religious practices. However, the phenomenon of injustice and sociological discrimination against religious minorities in the context of a democratic state should uphold the value of equal rights and obligations. Therefore, from here, some questions arise, "To what extent can the Muslim community tolerate the existence of different religions, especially in some areas that have a strong Islamic identity, such as Aceh?" "And where does this discriminatory attitude of Muslims come from? Is it from the classical tradition (*turāst fiqh*) that they have?" In the following discussion, we will trace the roots of this discriminatory understanding.

2. Status of Non-Muslims in the Religious-State Perspective

The status of non-Muslims in the reality space can also be categorized as its existence in the social space. This existence also has attributes in the form of inherent rights and obligations and the image of non-Muslims in the view of the Muslim majority community. Since this article focuses on Islam-Sunni, I will only

¹² T. M. Jafar Sulaiman, *The Collapse of the House of God in the Shariah Land: The Struggle for the Right to Worship of the Indonesian Bethel Church in the City of Islamic Tourism*, (Practices of Managing Diversity in Indonesia, CRCS-UGM, 2015), 11-33.

trace the roots of this debate from the Sunni classical literary tradition, especially the Shāfi'iyāh fiqh books.

Some fiqh books, especially the classical fiqh books, still consider and narrate non-Muslims as second-class citizens who must pay (*jizyah*) as a tribute of protection. This is understandable because many of the authors of these fiqh books lived under the auspices of the (Islamic) religious state. Those who are obliged to pay *jizyah* are those who are still "infidels" and voluntarily ask for protection from the state. Of course, without any intention of propaganda and manipulation.¹³

Followers of the heavenly religions, Judaism and Christianity, can seek protection in exchange for the payment of *jizyah* or tribute. However, other than these religions are not allowed to seek protection. This is because there is a word of Allah that is interpreted as a prohibition to protect those other than the People of the Book, as mentioned in Surah at-Thaubah verse 5, "So fight the polytheists wherever they are." Therefore, adherents of the *wadh'i* religions of animism and dynamism are not allowed to ask for protection.¹⁴

In addition to paying *jizyah*, there are three more requirements to be able to live in an Islamic country, such as submitting and being willing to be bound by Islamic law. One must not say anything about Islam except only good things, and one must not have a destructive effect on Islam. It is not only a ban on profanity but also a ban on saying anything that could potentially shake the faith of Muslims, such as reciting their holy book in public and promoting the Trinity. In addition, spying is also strictly prohibited, let alone spying to expose the disgrace of the Muslim community.¹⁵

As for daily life, they are forbidden to build houses of worship in Muslim-majority communities. Unless, during a war, they find a house of worship, then the building will be guarded and will not be disturbed. Then, they are also prohibited from using horses or transportation, which can increase their uselessness. If contextualized with today, this could mean that non-Muslims are not allowed to

¹³ Ibrahim bin Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Bajuri, *Hāshiyah Ibrāhim al-Bajjūrī*, vol. 2 (Dār al-Hadith Cairo), 570.

¹⁴ Taqiyuddin Abu Bakr bin Muhammad al-Hishni al-Husaini, *Kifāyah al-Akhyār*, (Dār al-Badr), 651.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 654-655.

drive cars. In addition, they are not allowed to be in the same forum as Muslims and are not allowed to dress similarly to Muslims so that they can be recognized, such as Jews wearing yellow clothes and Christians wearing blue clothes.¹⁶

In addition to the requirements of being a resident in a Muslim country, non-Muslims are entitled to their rights, such as access to territory, economy, and security. Especially when they are about to be attacked by their previous country, the Muslim country they live in now will protect them. In addition, they also get legal certainty like other Muslim residents.

Although they have access to security and other benefits, it does not mean they can live in complete peace without discrimination. Non-Muslims remained first-class citizens who were subjected to various restrictions. Considering that at that time, countries were still in the form of monarchies-religions-determined the class status of people based on their religion. Therefore, class discrimination is unavoidable, especially for minorities.

Looking at the data facts above, we can analyze that the Aceh case mentioned above undeniably has strong episteme roots with the Islamic *turāst* tradition. It is the teachings of the early scholars that more or less inspire and shape the perspective of the majority of Muslims today. The only difference is that the scholars do not teach violence when it comes to non-Muslims who do not reach the level of "*kafir harbi*."

Having reviewed the Islamic state system from the treasures of Islamic *turāst*, we will now examine the democratic system adopted by many modern countries, especially Indonesia.

3. Democracy: A Home of Social Equality

It is known that the concept of democracy was born out of the French people's disappointment with the social order and the concept of the state. Therefore, the existence of democracy cannot be separated from the experience of the French Revolution, 1789-1799. A revolution originally born from the division of society into three groups, namely the clergy, nobility, and peasants, placed all socio-political burdens on the third group, thus making society full of

¹⁶ Jalaluddin al-Mahalli, *Kanzu al-Rāghibîn*, (Dār Gad al-Jadid, 2018), 226-228.

injustice and inequality. In addition, the monarchy system made the royal family hedonistic and regarded themselves as gods who had the right to abuse the common people. These two reasons ignited the fire of the French Revolution to promote the values of equality and eliminate social classes with the principles of liberty, Fraternity, and egalitarianism.

A democratic state has the concept that the state returns power to the people from the people for the people and upholds the value of equality between citizens. There is no class distinction; poor, rich, race, and ethnicity are all considered equal in the eyes of the state. The state protects the entire community without discrimination and social class distinctions.

The democratic state has three pillars: an agreement, value, or general will; the concept of its existence is as a citizen who plays an active role in public reason in all government activities. First is a general agreement (general will) or social contract. There is a solidarity (fraternity) between people where they can care for each other and grow together in a social community. Without a social contract, a country will have a monopoly of ownership and social injustice.

Before further discussing the chronology of forming an agreement or mutual understanding, it would be nice to discuss the concept of goodness and sovereignty in humans, according to Jean-Jacques Rousseau. According to him, humans are created like white or holy paper, which does not tend to conflict. This is because there is a kind of self-control in humans themselves in the ability to meet their own needs, "self-sovereignty." from there, human creativity emerges, which is then assumed to be the driving force of human civilization.¹⁷

The second is citizenship. With this system, the social contract system can be implemented by instantly merging all social elements to neutralize social-class barriers. Instead, a system that can accommodate all the existing changes is formed, namely the citizenship system.

The citizenship system differs from the individual system in terms of religion, tribe, and caste. It is not bound by territorial laws like tribes and religions, where religious leaders or tribes regulate membership rules. Territorial boundaries, whether related to law, social ethics, etc., are all determined based on mutual

¹⁷ Arthur M. Melzer, *The Natural Goodness of Man On the System of Rousseau's Thought*, (The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 16-17

agreement so that they can be obeyed with full awareness, and they are still very much open to revision and criticism. It also does not recognize the caste system, so it tends to be universal and open to all groups.¹⁸

Since humans are originally pure beings, any conflict that arises in an individual's life results from the influence of the socio-cultural phenomena surrounding them. They are forced into conflict because of the institutional or cultural circumstances that force them to do so. For example, the conflicts between countries today do not come from the individual soldiers' wishes. Still, they can be concluded due to the state's ambitions or a handful of certain elites.¹⁹

It can be concluded that the citizenship system is a social contract system that has been mutually agreed upon in a country. Through this system, every community across ethnicity, culture, and social class has the same identity, namely, that of a country with the same rights and obligations. From here, there is a very thick egalitarian nuance where equality is the main foundation in its formation so that the possibility of class privilege can be avoided to maintain democratic activities.

The third is the public reason. The idea of public reason is born from constitutionalism, which is built on the existing social contract. When a democratic system begins to be built, systematization in state governance begins. The result of the systematization act gave birth to a government and representatives of the people as the executors of legislation and execution. To maintain the position of the people's voice, a forum called "public reason" was formed - a foundation of the democratic system itself.

Several elements make up the public mind: a list of basic rights such as freedom and the opportunity to express opinions that positively affect the public. So, from here, a climate of certainty for legal transparency can be easily reached.²⁰

From the three typologies above, it can be seen that democracies uphold the values of equality and public freedom. Every citizen has the same rights and obligations, which can foster a strong sense of solidarity among the community.

¹⁸ Ahmad Abdullah an-Naim, *Islam and the Secular State*, 125-127.

¹⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, (Oxford University Press 1994), 51-52

²⁰ John Rawls, *The Idea of Public Reason (Revisited)*, (The University of Chicago Law Review), 774.

In addition, the neutrality of the state's attitude as a reflection of the democratic system can reduce the possibility of conflict arising from tensions between religious believers, ethnic differences, culture, social class, etc.

If we compare the concept of a religious state with a democratic state, it seems very contradictory. A religious state tends to be more exclusive and inclined towards one religion only, unlike a democratic state that seeks to accommodate all existing social elements. In addition, in terms of equal rights, religious states tend to favor favoritism and favor people who have the same ideology or religion as the ruler, so the possibility of social clashes is greater because there are no equal rights between communities.

Recalling the sub-chapter at the beginning of this paper where the author provides a sample related to acts of discrimination committed by the majority (Muslims) against the minority (Christians). From there, it can be seen that some Indonesian Muslim citizens are still struggling to translate democracy into their daily lives. On the one hand, Indonesian society has agreed to adopt democracy as a state system and is committed to maintaining the system.

However, on the other hand, some Indonesian Muslims still use the classical *turāst* paradigm of thinking from previous scholars who lived in the religious state system. Thus, biased, one-sided truth claims and discriminatory acts against minority communities seem to gain legitimacy from the texts of the scholars who used to live in the religious state system. Therefore, Muslim scholars and ulemas today should begin to review the classical state paradigm and look for alternatives to how the democratic system can integrate with religion proportionally and acceptably for the wider community.

4. The Existence of Non-Muslim in a Democratic State: A Way to Balance between Religious Principles and Citizenship Paradigm

Secularization here is not meant to separate religion and the state as understood by most people. However, secularization means the integration of the concept of citizenship with the Islamic paradigm. As is known that the *dzimmah* context as referred to in the classical *fiqh* tradition is a system that is no longer relevant if applied in today's modern state because of the adrift context of the times. However, if it is still forced to be applied, let's reflect on the case of South

Sudan, which has experienced decades of civil war due to the failure to read the modern socio-political context.²¹

Additionally, Fahmi Al-Huwaidy, in his book *Muwāthinūn la Dzimmiyyūn*, quotes Abdul Karim Zaidan that the *dzimmah* context can apply as a whole but only on a personal level. Today, though, that is a utopia, given that the state now runs on modern legislation and is no longer controlled by religion. Therefore, the system is no longer relevant, and the status of *dzimmiy* can no longer be applied to non-Muslims.²²

From this, it can be concluded that integration between Muslims and the concept of citizenship can be pursued through three approaches: First, the paradigm of non-Muslim status can be shifted into a humanism-based citizenship system. **Second**, a comprehensive transition that is not only concerned with the world of Islamic politics but also includes ijthad methodology and Islamic legal products. **Third**, these two elements are integral to Islamic discourse to complement the gaps and weaknesses of the existing concept of citizenship.²³

Conversely, we need to start looking at the fiqh legal products of previous scholars as historical products. So, understanding fiqh products cannot be separated from the socio-historical context that surrounds them. Therefore, today, we need a new *ijtihād* effort or at least contextualization of previous legal products so that they remain relevant to today's socio-political context, especially in democratic practice.

Although this contextualization effort is not enough to reduce the influence of classical fiqh discourse on the concept of an exclusive state, according to the author, there is a need for comprehensive integration efforts between the exclusive paradigm of Muslims and non-Muslims in the context of a democratic state. Therefore, the author proposes a kind of integration between Islamic and democratic values.

Integration means integrating identity between oneself as a Muslim and one as a citizen. As Muslims, they are still permitted and even facilitated by the state to be able to practice their religion calmly and freely. However, as individuals who

²¹ Ahmad Abdullah an-Naim, *Islam and the Secular State*, 131.

²² Fahmi Huwaidy, *Muwāthinūn la Dzimmiyyūn*, 3rd ed. (Dār Syuruq, 1999), 168.

²³ Ahmad Abdullah an-Naim, *Islam and the Secular State*, 132.

are part citizens, they are bound by an agreement of equality between Muslims and non-Muslims and avoid all forms of one-sided truth claims that could injure social relations between citizens. Especially when one religion has a majority of adherents, they must have self-control and remember that they all have the same status under citizenship.

In this way, the status of non-Muslims as a minority community continues to obtain their rights equally, without any acts of social discrimination. So that all elements of society can truly feel the effects of the agreement on forming a democratic state.

E. Conclusion

Affirming minority status in a democratic country is an effort to adapt to the development of a modern country, especially in running a country. Today's society should avoid all kinds of religious competition, considering that all countries today are competing with each other to advance their nation in terms of social, economic, and political aspects. If Muslims remain busy with internal religious problems alone, then forever, we will be a country defeated and colonized by the progress of other nations.

In addition, integrating the Islamic paradigm with democracy can provide a positive atmosphere for the nation's progress. So that Muslims are no longer busy with inter-religious disputes and identity issues. It is time for religious communities to realize each other's shared social status as citizens and start building a constructive community for the country through a democratic system.

In my opinion, An-Na'im has quite an attractive offer, although it is not perfect. But at least we can learn from the history and experiences of other nations. So that we can avoid mistakes made by other nations, especially considering that Indonesia is a very multi-ethnic, cultural, and religious nation that needs to be extra aware by protecting the rights of individual citizens fairly.

Considering everything, this paper explores the complexities of the relationship between religion and state in a democratic context. By preserving the Muslim way of thinking and the values related to their religion, a sustainable country could be smoothly achieved and move towards a more harmonious and equal society where the rights are for all. Regardless of their religion, ethnicity, or language, they will be respected and protected.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Howard, Michael. *The First World War*. 1st ed. Oxford University Press, 2002.
- McMeekin, Sean. *The Ottoman Endgame*. 1st ed. Penguin Random House LLC, 2015.
- an-Naim, Ahmad Abdullah. *Islam and the Secular State*. 1st ed. Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Kimball, Charles. *When Religion Becomes Evil*. Harper Collins E-books.
- M. Melzer, Arthur. *The Natural Goodness of Man On the System of Rousseau's Thought*. The University of Chicago Press, 1990
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *The Social Contract*. Oxford University Press 1994
- Lijphart, Arend. *Thinking about Democracy*. 1st ed. Routledge, 2008.
- Sulaiman, T. M. Jafar. *The Collapse of the House of God in the Shariah Land: The Struggle for the Right to Worship of the Indonesian Bethel Church in the City of Islamic Tourism*. Practices of Managing Diversity in Indonesia, CRCS-UGM, 2015.
- al-Bajuri, Ibrahim bin Muhammad bin Ahmad. *Hâshiyah Ibrâhim al-Baijûrî*, vol. 2. Dar al-Hadith Kairo.
- Zuhaili, Wahbah, Tafsîr Munîr. vol 2, Beirut: Dâr al-Fikr al-Mu'âshir, 2003,
- al-Husaini, Taqiyuddin Abu Bakr bin Muhammad al-Hishni. *Kifâyah al Akhyâr*. Dar al-Badr.
- al-Mahalli, Jalaluddin. *Kanzu al-Râghibîn*. Dar Gad al-Jadid, 2018.
- Rawls, John. *The Idea of Public Reason (Revisited)*. The University of Chicago Law Review, 774.
- Huwaitdy, Fahmi. *Muwâthinûn lâ Dzimmyûn*. 3rd ed. Dar Syuruq, 1999.
- Kimball, Charles. *When Religion Becomes Evil: Five Warning Signs*. HarperOne, 2008,
- Hefner, Robert W. *Civil Islam: Muslims and Democratization in Indonesia*. Princeton University Press. 2000.
- Hallaq, Wael B. *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Saba, Paul. *Religious Identity and the Politics of Exclusion*. Routledge, 2013.

