

## Social Construction of Islam by the Shi'a Community in Pekalongan City, Central Java

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### Abstract

This study intends to identify the establishment of Islamic social construction in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City. Qualitative research applied in this study gathered from case studies using a phenomenological approach. Data came from in-depth observation, interviews, and documentation. The theory of social construction formulated by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann became the basic theory of analysis. The results showed that the social construction of Islam in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City was formed through externalization, objectivization, and internalization. The process of externalization through the dissemination of knowledge of Shi'a teachings, as well as about the specialty of Ahl al-Bayt in the religious authority of Muslims. Objectivization happened according to Shi'a teaching habituation moderately, responding to the plurality of understandings and social attitudes of the Muslim religion. The internalization process went with awareness to not apply the teachings of *taqiyyah*. In addition, the availability to live in harmony thrives on maintaining the integration of state life in Indonesia. The theoretical implications of this study show that theological inclusivism can form moderate and open religious social understandings and attitudes in the plurality of religious life. However, this study did not examine the role of the Pekalongan City Government in advocating for the benefit of the

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Shi'a community as a minority group in Pekalongan City which becomes the limitation of this study.

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*Penelitian ini bermaksud untuk mengidentifikasi pembentukan konstruksi sosial Islam pada komunitas Syiah di Kota Pekalongan. Penelitian kualitatif berupa studi kasus ini menggunakan pendekatan fenomenologis. Pengumpulan data melalui observasi dan wawancara mendalam serta dokumentasi. Teori konstruksi sosial yang dirumuskan oleh Peter L. Berger dan Thomas Luckmann menjadi teori analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan konstruksi sosial Islam pada komunitas Syiah di Kota Pekalongan terbentuk melalui eksternalisasi, objektivasi, dan internalisasi. Proses eksternalisasi melalui desimisasi pengetahuan ajaran Syiah, seperti halnya tentang keistimewaan Ahl al-Bayt dalam otoritas keberagamaan umat Islam. Kemudian proses objektivasi melalui habitualisasi praktik ajaran Syiah secara moderat dalam menyikapi kemajemukan paham maupun sikap sosial keberagamaan umat Islam. Selanjutnya, proses internalisasi melalui kesadaran untuk tidak mengaplikasikan ajaran taqiyah. Selain itu, ketersediaan untuk hidup secara harmoni dalam menjaga integrasi kehidupan bernegara di Indonesia. Implikasi teoritis penelitian ini menunjukan bahwa inklusifisme teologis akan dapat membentuk paham maupun sikap sosial keberagamaan yang moderat dan terbuka dalam pluralitas kehidupan umat beragama. Keterbatasan penelitian ini belum mengkaji bentuk peran aktif Pemerintah Kota Pekalongan dalam mengadvokasi kemaslahatan komunitas Syiah sebagai kelompok minoritas di Kota Pekalongan.*

**Keywords:** construction of social reality; Shi'a community; Pekalongan City

## Introduction

The emergence of various religious groups in Indonesia leads to the doctrine of religious teachings to legitimate extremism and terrorism, inseparable from exclusive religious understanding, which is believed to be an authoritative and absolute truth. However, this does not have to be the sole factor (Najib & Fata, 2020, pp. 116–117). For example, the Shi'a and Sunni conflicts in Indonesia evolved into an internal polemic within the Muslim community itself, which must be seen from the various factors that triggered it, not only caused by theological differences (Siradj, 2013, pp. 161–162). According to Asfa Widiyanto, the conflict between the Shi'a and Sunni communities in Indonesia was triggered by three fundamental things: misunderstandings between the two communities, the politicization of the

Shi'a, and political conditions in the Middle East. However, Asfa explained that efforts to converge Shi'a and Sunni had been carried out by Islamic religious leaders from various religious organization affiliations in Indonesia to realize the prospect of reconciliation between Sunni and Shi'a (Widiyanto, 2021, p. 32). These efforts, coming as disseminating understanding, science, and moderate Islamic social movements (*wasatiyah*) done by several figures who have converted to Islamic community organizations in various regions in Indonesia (Hilmy, 2013, p. 24).

Amid the issue of disharmonious relations and even the present conflicts between the Shi'a and Sunni communities in Indonesia, there is a unique phenomenon in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City. The community in Pekalongan tends to have an open, inclusive, and moderate understanding of Islam. This action prevents a negative response from the people of Pekalongan, with the majority of Sunni. What happens between the Shi'a and Sunni communities in Pekalongan City can coexist harmoniously (Bafadhol, 2014, p. 152). This coexistence happens despite differences in understanding, religious practices, and political attitudes with the Sunni tradition that have been going on for a long time in the history of Muslim slavery (Manan & Paran, 2020, p. 125).

The reality of the harmonious life of the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City can be a positive image of the existence of Shi'a in Indonesia, which still exists today (Iryana et al., 2018, p. 125). Therefore, it is not an exaggeration if the social construction of the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City becomes a unique and interesting thing to study in more depth. Especially during the conflicts between the Shi'a and Sunni communities that still often occur in various regions in Indonesia, such as Sampang, Madura, and East Java. The communities are subjected to cultural and structural violence in the form of discrimination, intimidation, and violence; some were even expelled from Sampang Madura village (Achmad, 2021, p. 241). Some examples include expulsion from the Sampang Madura village (Ikmal, 2021, p. 1), resulting in the Shi'a community being forced to live in Sidoarjo Regency (Musthofa & Yusup, 2021, p. 402). Although the reason for the conflict is not only

triggered by theological differences but also involves political and economic factors (Hilmy, 2015, p. 27). Not only in Sampang, Madura, there was also an attack by the conservative Sunni community in Yogyakarta (Islamic Jihad Front) against Shi'a communities (Rausyan Fikr Group) in 2013 (Makin, 2017, p. 2).

The perspective of the theory of social reality, described by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, explains that the construction of human knowledge is inseparable from the reality of social life. They explained that three important processes are simultaneous in the theory of the construction of social reality, including internalization, objectivization, and externalization. All three are dialectical processes in the realities of human social life. In the process of externalization, the existence of society becomes a human product (subjective). Meanwhile, in the process of objectivization, the existence of society becomes an institutionalized intersubjective reality. In internalization, the individual becomes a product of society (Berger & Luckmann, 1990, p. 5). On this basis, the construction of open, inclusive, and moderate Islamic religious understandings and attitudes by the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City allows it to occur through this dialectical and simultaneous process of social interaction, not to occur by itself without the construction of social reality being built.

Based on the above background, this research intends to explore and identify the formation of Islamic social reality in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City. The research applied qualitative research in the form of case studies using a phenomenological approach, and the data were accumulated through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Interview data were obtained from Shi'a Ḥabīb figures in Pekalongan City and their followers. Furthermore, the data analysis stage is through data reduction, data presentation, and concluding data interpretation. In this context, externalization, objectivization, and internalization in the theory of social construction formulated by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann became the theory of analysis.

Several previous studies correlate with this study's focus, including the following. Research by Kholilur Rohman explained that the Shi'a com-

munity in Pekalongan City does not hide its faith amid the majority of the Sunni religious, and social life. This fact is inseparable from the high altitude of social tolerance of the Sunni community in Pekalongan City towards the existence of the Shi'a community. On this basis, the Shi'a community in Pekalongan does not need to implement *taqiyyah* teachings to confer their theological identity (Rohman, 2020a, p. 110). In the next study, Kholilur Rohman also explained that the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City has changed and adapted its theological concepts, although not to essential matters. For example, in the context of the concept of *imāmah*, some adjustments are adapted to the Indonesian context. Likewise, with the concept of *taqiyyah*, they no longer implement it because the state has a safe and legitimized life in Indonesia. However, in the context of the jurisprudence paradigm, they still use the concept of jurisprudence which often causes conflict but is limited to debate. Various forms of change and adjustment of theological concepts are a form of efforts by the Shi'a community to realize the harmony of life among Muslims in Pekalongan City (Rohman, 2020a, p. 1). Kholilur Rohman's research further describes the form of change and adjustment of several theological concepts by the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City and their motives. Then in a thesis written by Nur Ana Mustafidah, it was explained that the relationship between the Shi'a and Sunni communities in Pekalongan City tends not to show problems socially. The two communities can coexist peacefully. This condition also occurs in several other cities in Central Java that are the basis for the development of the Shi'a community, such as Jepara and Semarang (Mustafidah, 2016, p. 6). Mustafidah's research does not focus on efforts to uncover the moderate Islamic social constructions practiced by Shi'a Ḥabīb pilgrims in Pekalongan City.

This research focuses on identifying the establishment of Islamic social construction in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City, which is the distinction and novelty of this research from the previous studies described above. Theoretically, the results of this study are expected to enrich theories about the social construction of moderate Islamic understandings and attitudes, especially in Muslim communities that are minority groups.

Meanwhile, in praxis, the results of this study are expected to be a pilot project of Islamic proselytizing strategies in forming moderate Islamic social understandings and movements in the Shi'a community amid a plurality of social life.

### **The Social Construction of Reality**

Petter L. Berger was a prolific sociologist. His work entitled *The Social Construction of Reality*, co-authored with Thomas Luckman co-authored with Thomass Luckman, became one of the important works in the study of interpretative sociology. An important position held by Berger was the Presidency of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. Meanwhile, Thomas Luckman is a Professor of Sociology from the German University of Constance (Dharma, 2018, pp. 1–2).

The theory of the construction of social reality conceptualized by Berger and Luckmann explains that reality is a quality in phenomena that its existence recognizes, so it does not depend on the human will. At the same time, knowledge is the certainty of real phenomena and has specific characteristics. Berger and Luckmann explain that three important moments must be understood simultaneously in the social construction theory, including externalization, objectivization, and internalization. The three have a basic relationship and are understood as one dialectical process. From the perspective of externalization, the existence of society is a human product. Meanwhile, through the perspective of objectivization, the existence of society is an institutionalized intersubjective reality. Meanwhile, through the perspective of internalization, humans are products of society (Berger & Luckmann, 1990, pp. 1–5). The three dialectical processes in shaping social reality will be better explained.

#### **Externalization**

Reality is a quality found in phenomena independent of the individual human will (which we cannot negate by wishful thinking). Meanwhile, knowledge is the certainty that phenomena are real (real) and have specific characteristics. Social reality is the result (externalization) of human

internalization and objectivization of knowledge –in everyday life. Alternatively, in simple terms, externalization is influenced by its stock of knowledge (reserves of knowledge). The social reserve of knowledge is the accumulation of common sense knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1990, p. 34).

Externalization is the continuous outpouring of the human individual into his social world, both in his physical and mental activity. This process of externalization is a form of anthropological inevitability in social life. Because the existence of the individual human being cannot be continuous in a life isolated from his social life but will move outward to express himself to the reality of his social life (Najib & Habibullah, 2020, p. 174). In this context, from the perspective of the construction of social reality, there is a reality of the role in the objective dimension that can be seen in the form of institutionalization. In this form of institutionalization, the process of externalization is carried out repeatedly by each individual so that the pattern is seen and understood together, which then generates habituation. This habituation takes place, precipitating and becoming a tradition. This deposition and tradition were later passed on to the generations that followed through language. There is a role in the institutional order, including the distribution of experience and the inheritance of that experience (Sulaiman, 2016, p. 12).

### **Objectivation**

Objectivation is the product of human activity (both physical and mental) in a social reality that can confront its producers again (Najib & Habibullah, 2020, p. 174). In this context, the existence of society as an objective reality also involves the existence of legitimacy. It is legitimacy here that is then referred to as objectivation. Legitimacy serves to make already institutionalized objectivations subjectively reasonable. In this context, a symbolic universum is needed that provides the main legitimacy of the order of institutionalization so that it can be meaningful to the individual in social life. An institution or social organization must maintain a symbolic universum to make it happen (Bourdieu, 2020, p. 53; Fatmawati, 2020).

### **Internalization**

Internalization is the process of re-absorption by the human individual of social reality and then transforming back to the structure of the objective world. Therefore, through internalization, human beings are products of society. In the realm of praxis, internalization is strengthened by two processes: primary socialization and secondary socialization. Primary socialization is the first socialization experienced by individuals in childhood, so from the process, they become members of society. Meanwhile, secondary socialization is the internalization of several sub-worlds whose reach and nature are formed by the complexity of the distribution of knowledge in society (Najib & Habibullah, 2020, p. 174). In this context of internalization, society as a subjective reality entrusts the existence of an objective reality that is interpreted subjectively by each individual. In other words, an internalization is a form of acceptance of the definition of the situation conveyed by others about the reality of the institutional world. Therefore, accepting the definition, the individual can only understand another person's definition. However, on the other hand, it can also be different; that is, individuals can help construct existing collective definitions. In this context, each individual in the internalization process can play an active role as a shaper, maintainer, and changer of society (Sulaiman, 2016, p. 20).

The previous elaboration proposes understanding that the process of externalization, objectification, and internalization is a dialectic relationship that runs simultaneously; that is, there is a process of pulling things (knowledge) out through the process of externalization so that it becomes a thing that is outside (objective). The next stage also occurs in the process of recall by the individual through internalization so that something that is outside becomes within itself a subjective reality.

### **The pattern of Teachings in the Shi'a Community in Pekalongan City**

Pelakolang City is in Central Java Province which is located in the coastal area of the North Coast of Java (*Pantura*). The people of Pekalongan

City are a heterogeneous society consisting of various tribes, cultures, ethnicities, and groups. Some ethnicities living in the city, including Malay, Minang, Batak, Makassar, Chinese, and Arab. Various ethnicities are immigrants who ultimately decide to live a settled life and live in Pekalongan City. The people of Arab descent in Pekalongan City are one example of an immigrant community whose ancestors were Arabs who traded to spread Islamic teachings in Pekalongan. People of Arab descent in Pekalongan City are centered in Klego Village, better known as "Kampung Arab". The village is colored by the characteristics and peculiarities of Arabic attributes, such as the shape of their residence, where the building of the house accentuates the distinctive features of Arabia. In general, people of Arab descent who live in the village carry out social life with the local community well. However, if you look closely at the relationship, the relationship is not carried out intimately, which befits the community (Kinasih, 2013, p. 38).

Before explaining how The Shi'a community in Pekalongan City embraces the teachings, it is important to know the presence of large sects (groups) in Shi'a teachings. In this context, an explanation from Abu al-Khair al-Baghdādi as quoted by Moh. Hasim, that Shi'a is classified into four major groups: the Zaidiyah Shi'a, Ismā'illiyah, Ithnā 'Ashariyah, and Ghulat. The divisions within the Shi'a group happened because of the different beliefs in the principle of *imāmah* related to the change of imam due to the high fundamental importance given to the because of the position of the Imam in Shi'a teachings. As widely agreed, the duties and responsibilities of a Priest are almost equivalent to the position of the Lord. Imams for the Shi'a community must explain the meaning of the Qur'an, explain shari'a law, prevent the division of the people, answer all religious and theological issues, uphold justice, educate the people and protect the fiefdoms.

Furthermore, Moh. Hasim explained that Shi'a groups' division began since Imam Hussein's leadership ended. At that time, Shi'a followers had different views about who was more entitled to replace the helm of the imam. The followers assumed that the one entitled to hold the position of Imam was Ali's son, who was born not from Fatimah's womb, named

Muhammad ibn Hanifah. The name of Kaisaniyah knows as the sect. The subsequent Kaisaniyah Sect still needs to develop. Meanwhile, another faction argues that the one who has the right to replace Husain is 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn bin Husain. This second faction (supporters of Zain al-'Ābidīn) is the group that became the forerunner of the Zaidiyah group (Hasyim, 2012, p. 151).

The existence of the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City can be seen from Pesantren Al-Hadi, which is a Shi'ah Ithnā 'Ashariyah under the auspices of the Al-Hadi Foundation. It should be noted that Shi'ah Ithnā 'Ashariyah is the most prominent Shi'a madhhab in Indonesia and even the world. Shi'ah Ithnā 'Ashariyah are Shi'a who believed in twelve Imams after the Prophet Muhammad died, namely: Amīr al-Mu'minīn Imām 'Alī bin 'Ābī Ṭālib as (d. 40 H/661 AD), Imām Muḥammad Ḥasan bin 'Alī as (d. 49 H/669 AD), Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusain bin 'Alī as (d. 61 H/680 AD), Imām 'Alī bin Ḥusain Zain al-'Ābidīn as (d. 95 H/714 AD), Imām Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-Bāqir as (d. 115 H/733 AD), Imām Ja'far bin Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq as (d. 148 H/765 AD), Imām Mūsā bin Ja'far al-Kādhim as (d. 183 H/799 AD), Imām 'Alī bin Mūsā al-Riḍā as (d. 203 H/818 AD), Imām Muḥammad bin 'Alī al-Jawad as (220 H/835 AD), Imām 'Alī bin al-Hādī as (d. 254 H/868 AD), Imām Ḥasan bin 'Alī al-'Ashkari as (d. 260 H/874 AD) and Imām Muḥammad bin Ḥasan al-Mahdi al-Muntaẓār as. The latter priest is believed to be experiencing disappearance in 392 AD/940 AD and will come to fight all the evil that existed in all life on this earth (Rohman, 2020b, pp. 100–101).

### **The Externalization, Objectivization, and Internalization of Moderate Islam in the Shi'a Community in Pekalongan City**

Everyday life has stored and provided a reality, as well as knowledge that guides behavior in everyday life. In this context, everyday life can display an objective reality interpreted by each individual. In other words, it can have a variety of subjective meanings. Nevertheless, daily life also becomes a manifestation of the reality of the world that is constructed or formed by various thoughts and actions of individuals and is maintained as a social

reality. The basics of such knowledge are obtained through the objectivization of multiple processes and the different subjective meanings that make up a social reality's intersubjective world. In this case, the existence of knowledge shared becomes the reality of routine activities that proceed normally in everyday life. Although indisputable, the reality of daily life is also coercive, but it is not or is rarely disputed by each individual (Sulaiman, 2016, pp. 18–19).

In addition to being filled with objectivization, the reality of everyday life also contains signification. Signification, or the making of signs by man, is a typical objectivization, which already has an intersubjective meaning, although sometimes there is no clear boundary between signification and objectivization. The sign system includes a signature system, a patterned body gesture system, a system of various material artifact devices, and so on. Language, as a system of sound signs, is the most essential sign system. This second level of signification is a means of maintaining objective reality. In the aim language of reality, the past can be passed on to the present generation and continue into the future (Berger & Luckmann, 1990, pp. 1–5).

Society as an objective reality implies institutionalization in it. The process of institutionalization (institutionalization) begins with externalization that is carried out repeatedly so that the pattern is seen and understood together, which then results in habitualization. The habitualization that has taken place gives rise to deposition and tradition. These depositions and traditions were then passed on to later generations through language. Then it is where there is a role in the institutional order, including in relation to the distribution of experience and the inheritance of such experiences. Thus, the role of presenting the institutional order or, more clearly: the performance of the role is the representation of oneself. The role of presenting a whole set of institutionalized behaviors; for example, the role of judges with other roles in the legal sector (Sulaiman, 2016, p. 20).

The externalization in the social construction of Islam in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City is inseparable from the form of proselytizing material conveyed by religious figures, namely "Habib Shi'a" in Pekalongan

City itself. For example, Habib M. Ridho Assegaf (Ustad Reza). He was one of the Shi'a Islamic figures in Pekalongan who became a disciple of Ḥabīb Baraqbah. The Ḥabīb Baraqbah figure is an alumnus of Hauzatu al-'Ilmiyah University in Qum, Iran, who founded Pesantren Al-Hadi in Pekalongan. In this context, the externalization of Islamic religious understandings and attitudes in the social construction of the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City related to knowledge of the glory of Ahl al-Bayt. It is important to know that the term "Ahl al-Bayt" in a Shi'a perspective is addressed to the family of Prophet Muḥammad *pbuh* (peace be upon him), which is only limited to five people, including Prophet Muḥammad *pubh*, Fāṭimah, 'Alī bin 'Abī Ṭālib, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain. Such a view differs from the opinion among hadith scholars and jurists, who state that Ahl al-Bayt are people who are prohibited from receiving zakat and alms because of their kinship with the Prophet Muḥammad *pubh*: namely the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad *pubh*, the wives of the Prophet Muḥammad *pubh*, and all Muslims and Muslim women of the descendants of 'Abdul Muththalib namely Bani Hāshim (Bafadhol, 2014, p. 149).

Furthermore, Ḥabīb M. Ridho Assegaf explained that all Ahl al-Bayts and their descendants were *ma'ṣūm* (free from sin). So that there are several criteria for Ahl al-Bayt, among which Ahl al-Bayt is a holy person because they are companions of the Qur'an; even in some histories, it is explained that the Qur'an and Ahl al-Bayt will not be separated. Therefore, the Qur'an must be true and cannot be false. In addition, the teaching that Ahl al-Bayt is obligatory to be followed because in the histories, the message of the Prophet *pbuh* is explained so that Muslims hold on to them so as not to get lost. Not only that, but the Ahl al-Bayt also has the nature and function of the Qur'an, such as instruction (*hudan*) and the separation between haq and vanity (*furqan*). Ahl al-Bayts are also knowledgeable persons, so it is impossible for the Prophet to advise them to be held and followed, even if they are the ones who know the Qur'an and Hadith best (Assegaf, interview, 2021).

Not only does it stop at the externalization of the above knowledge, but other forms of the externalization process can also be seen from the

teachings to the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City. Thus, said that, it is not valid to pray if it does not mention the Ahl al-Bayt with the redaction of a sentence in Arabic that reads, "*Allāhumma ṣalli 'alā Sayyidinā Muḥammad wa 'alā āli Sayyidinā Muḥammad.*" What is meant by the sentence "*āli Sayyidinā Muḥammad*" is the family of the Prophet Muḥammad and Ahl al-Bayt. This information is as conveyed by one of the Shi'a communities in Pekalongan City named Purwanto (Purwanto, interview, 2021).

The above Shi'a knowledge (teachings) are often used by the Shi'a Ḥabīb in instilling his ideology in his followers, namely those who, in fact, is a Shi'a community in Pekalongan City. This eventually became the truth that shaped social reconstruction by following the Shi'a understanding, which was heavily influenced by the externalization of knowledge about the Shi'a teachings. As for the externalization of other knowledge, namely the knowledge of Ahl al-Bayt, the leadership after the Messenger of Allah in the hadith of Ghadir Khum, the Karbala massacre, influenced by its social world in the form of knowledge gained from religious leaders by the Ḥabāib, Ustad, websites managed by the Shi'a community. This is what causes a process of objectification in the form of individual interest (pilgrims) to follow the Shi'a teachings moderately. In addition, there are also some Shi'a followers who do not have detailed knowledge of the Shi'a itself. The process of objectivization of Shi'a followers in Pekalongan City is also constructed by various knowledge obtained based on religious doctrines, according to Shi'a beliefs, empirical experiences, and information from Shi'a teachers in Pesantren Al-Hadi environment who tend to be open, inclusive and moderate. This makes this various knowledge objectified into their subjectivity in interpreting knowledge in Shi'a beliefs, but in the process, there are some Shi'a followers who have not been deeply objectified; this is due to the lack of knowledge about Shi'a's own understanding. The habitualization of Islamic religious understanding and attitudes that are inclusive, open, and moderate in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City has made there is no friction between social conflicts and the Sunni community. Such a phenomenon can be seen in the reality of the social life of harmony between various regions in Pekalongan City, which is the basis for

the gathering area of the Shi'a community, including around the Pesantren Al-Hadi environment, Krapyak Village, and Sugih Waras Village (Rohman, 2020a, p. 7). Pesantren Al-Hadi has made an important contribution to building an inclusive socio-religious attitude among the Shia community in Pekalongan. Indeed, pesantren as an educational institution plays a big role in disseminating moderate Islamic values to the surrounding community (Helmy et al., 2021, p. 377).

Then the process of internalization among the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City became one of the fundamental factors that shaped the social construction of Shi'a followers so that it could influence social change, namely the action factor. This factor is the result of a process of knowledge and belief which then gives birth to a positive attitude and pattern of behavior practicing the religious teachings of the Shi'a madhhab of a Ḥabīb descended from the Prophet Muḥammad. In general, people who have followed the Shi'a then implement the practice of their religion based on their beliefs (Rodin, 2013, pp. 127–128).

We can see the form of internalization in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City in the empirical reality that the existence of the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City can be open, inclusive, and moderate; so that they are accepted by the Sunni community, which is the majority community that exists. This acceptance is inseparable from the inclusiveness built by the Shi'a community not only through the interpretation of *taqiyyah* teachings, but also through a sense of unity and unity in order to maintain the integration of the Indonesian nation and state. For example, one of the Shi'a religious leaders in Pekalongan City, Ḥabīb Aḥmad Baraqbah, in the Haul of the grandson of the Prophet Sayyidinā Ḥusain bin 'Alī at the MAC Ballroom building on Jl. Majapahit Semarang, which was attended by various groups, interfaith and officials of the Government of Semarang City. He reminded that Sayyidinā Ḥusain belongs to all circles, not only to Muslims, let alone Shi'a sects, but to all human beings who yearn for justice and humanity. According to Khotib Usman (a Shi'a follower in Pekalongan) as quoted by Kholilur Rohman, that *taqiyyah* is a Shi'a teaching to hide a truth for the

sake of saving one's own life, family, and the benefit of the ummah. He added that the Shi'a community in Pekalongan is currently forbidden to preach.

Therefore, the Shi'a community in Pekalongan is required to proselytize and recognize itself as a Shi'a. The ban on performing *taqiyyah* in Pekalongan was caused because they established good relations with the Sunni sect in Pekalongan. Therefore, *taqiyyah* is no longer needed. This is due to the harmony between Islamic sects in Pekalongan City, as evidenced by the existence of reciprocity in the field of religious rituals. For example, when the Shi'a community held major events such as the celebration of 'Ashura, Arbain, and others. They invited the Sunni community. Likewise, when the Sunni community also invites the Shi'a community to tahlilan, mauludan, and other big day commemorations (Rohman, 2020b, pp. 100–103). The phenomenon of harmony between Shi'a and Sunni communities in Pekalongan City further confirms the theory that the character of the Islamic religion in Indonesia tends to be moderate, namely neither radical nor liberal (Febriansyah & El-Alami, 2021, p. 56). Not only that, but the phenomenon can also undermine the theory that has developed so far that conflicts between Sunni and Shi'a communities have been deeply rooted due to disagreements between the two communities (Widiyanto, 2018, p. 226).

The attitude of the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City by upholding the attitude of nationalism in maintaining unity and unity while no longer implementing the teachings of *taqiyyah* is a form of internalization of the Islamic Shi'a community in forming the social construction of Shi'a Islam that is open, moderate and inclusive. This is not surprising because social change will demand renewal in various areas of life, including in Islamic teachings for Muslims (Islamy, 2021b, p. 35). This statement is not an exaggeration. Because the implementation of Islamic teachings itself actually has a flexible character in responding to dynamic social dynamics (Islamy, 2021a, p. 61). In this context of internalization, the implementation of Shi'a teachings can undergo developments and changes in implementation by its followers.

## Conclusion

Based on the description of the main discussion of this study, it can be conclusive that the social construction of Islam in the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City was formed through three dialectical relations, namely externalization, objectivization, and internalization. First, the process of externalization through various forms of knowledge of Shi'a teachings, as well as the specialty of Ahl al-Bayt in the religious authority of Muslims initiated by religious leaders of the Shi'a community in Pekalongan City. Second, the process of objectivization through habitualization of the implementation of Shi'a teachings in a moderate manner in response to the plurality of understandings and social attitudes of Muslims. Third, the internalization process through awareness to no longer implement the concept of *taqiyyah* teachings and be willing to live together and get along well in the frame of Indonesian national unity.

The theoretical implications of this study show that theological inclusivism will be able to form moderate, as well as open, religious social understandings and attitudes in the plurality of religious life. The limitations of this study have not examined the form of the active role of the Government of Pekalongan City in advocating for the benefit of the life of the Shi'a community as a minority group in Pekalongan City. This is important to study because the government, through its various forms of political policies, plays a significant role and responsibility in realizing the harmonious relations of religious life in the community.[w]

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