

ESENSIA

Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin

Religious Inclusivism in Indonesia : Study of
Pesantren An-Nida and Edi Mancoro, Salatiga,
Central Java

Masroer

المعاملة مع البيئة في منظور القرآن الكريم
(دراسة التفسير الموضوعي- السياقي)

د.عبد المستقيم

Shalat Tarawih Juziyyah in Madrasah Huffadz:
Community of Memorizers of Quran, Identity
Politics, and Religious Authority

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The Relation of Animism and Diversity in
Pinrang District

(A Theological Study of Bulu' Nene')

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Hegemony of Involvement of *Tafsir* in Political Identity

Saifuddin Herlambang, Syamsul Kurniawan

State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) Pontianak
saifuddin_herlambang@yahoo.co.id/syamsulkurniawan001@gmail.com

Tafsir is a process of text transmission that is inseparable from the ideological and theoretical framework as well as the influence of socio-political conditions and intellectual traditions of interpreters in which the interests will always be present in all the transmission process. This research focuses on the clarity of interpretation in identity politics, which departs from the writer's anxiety about the phenomena of dragging tafsir in identity politics, as well as the prevalent trends occurring today in Indonesian politics as in the context of the Jakarta Local Election where the QS al-Maidah (5) verse 51 is not only a debatable issue but had also dragged the legitimacy of whether or not to vote for non-Muslim leaders. This research is a qualitative study with descriptive approach, which is hermeneutically analyzed.

Keywords: *Hegemony, Tafsir, Political Identity.*

Abstrak

Tafsir merupakan proses transmisi teks yang tak terlepas dari kerangka teoretis ideologis dan pengaruh kondisi sosial politik serta tradisi intelektual penafsir di mana kepentingan akan selalu hadir dalam semua proses transmisi tersebut. Fokus kajian ini adalah tentang keterseratan tafsir dalam politik identitas, yang berangkat dari kegelisahan penulis tentang fenomena keterseratan tafsir dalam politik identitas, sebagaimana kecenderungan yang marak terjadi dewasa ini dalam perpolitikan di Indonesia. Seperti, pada konteks Pilkada DKI Jakarta di mana ayat pada QS al-Maidah (5) ayat 51 tidak hanya menjadi modal perdebatan tetapi juga diseret-seret dalam legitimasi tentang boleh atau tidaknya memilih pemimpin yang non muslim. Kajian ini merupakan kajian kualitatif dengan pendekatan deskriptif, yang dianalisis secara hermeneutika.

Kata Kunci: *Hegemoni, Tafsir, Politik Identitas*

Introduction

There are three sources of Islamic law, i.e. the Qur'an, As-Sunnah, and *ijtihad*. The Qur'an is the word of Allah, and the hadith is the saying of the Messenger of Allah. While *ijtihad* is obtained from the thought of the *mujtahid* scholars (who did the *ijtihad*), by referring to the Quran and As-Sunnah.

The content of the Quran includes everything, including political issues. So no wonder, not a few interpretations written by the interpreters discuss the political world. For example, recently the theme of non-Muslim leaders has become the subject of much discussion. In fact, in the future, ahead of the elections, it is certain that the

discourse on non-Muslim leadership issues in the Muslim community will continue to be warmly discussed and even become a matter of debate among Muslims, particularly in the context of a democratic country, where people have turned to the concept of value and slowly began to abandon the concept of formality and identity.

In the study of texts, the dynamics of *tafsir* is a necessity. The difference in interpretation that was originally regarded as a proof of the universality of the Qur'an, later became a clash of various interest groups. In this context, the interests of various political groups have dragged the world of interpretation into the politicization of religious texts from what should

have been scriptures then shifted into political scriptures. This can be a serious problem for Muslims and its religiosity, where the reasons for interpretation are more apologetic, not something purely transcendent from God.

In the context of Jakarta Local Elections, for example, the QS al-Maidah (5) verse 51 is not only a debatable issue but had also dragged the legitimacy of whether or not to vote for non-Muslim leaders.

Here, interpretation is a process of text transmission that is inseparable from the ideological and theoretical framework and the influence of socio-political conditions and intellectual traditions of interpreters in which the interests will always be present in all the transmission process.

This research focuses on the clarity of interpretation in identity politics, which is motivated by the writer's anxiety about the phenomena of dragging *tafsir* in the politics of identity, as well as the prevalent trends occurring today in Indonesian politics. This research is a qualitative study with descriptive approach, which is hermeneutically analyzed.

At the beginning of the discussion, it will present the theoretical debate about the scholars' understanding of on the Quran which is divided into textual and contextual understanding. The second part explains identity politics and interpretation. In this section, the debate about the meaning of *ulil-amri* and *kafir* will be presented. The next section will explain the politicization of verses in the political context in Indonesia as well as a discussion of the urgency of political education among Muslims. This important section is set out to cover the latest trends in the use of Quranic verses as an instrument of identity politics in the winning of local elections in a number of regions of Indonesia. And the last part is the conclusion.

Textual and Contextual Understanding

In interpreting the Quran, at least it can be said that it is difficult to find uniformity of interpretation among the exegetes. First, some assume that to understand the text of scripture, one must use a textual approach. Textual meaning is a meaning that can immediately be understood from the text through a commonly used language tool.¹ Abdullah Saeed said that the prophetic-based textual interpretation refers to the literal reading of the sacred text obtained by an exegete through the aid of various linguistic tools, the rules of *al-fiqh* and *ulum al-Quran*, combined with the narrations of the Prophet, companions and opinions generations of tabiins.²

A similar opinion was expressed by Ibrahim Moosa. He asserted that the approach of textual interpretation is based on the assumption that language is a series of exterior signs, which represent internal thought in the text. Thus, the sacred text is a clear and transparent marker of God's articulated truth as it is written in the language.³

Hussein Abdul-Raof in his *Schools of Qur'anic Exegesis*, explained that an exegete is obliged to possess competence in the field of Arabic linguistics and stylistics, so that he can be considered representative in deciphering the Quranic text. An exegete should be an agile professional linguist, in order to analyze precise Quranic expressions.⁴ In other words interpretation must be interpreted based on tradition. This group assumes that only a generation whose time is closer to the Prophet can interpret the text authoritatively. Meanwhile,

¹ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/textualism>, accessed on 9 April 2016.

² Abdullah Saeed, *Reading the Qur'ān in the Twenty-first Century: A Contextualist Approach* (London dan New York: Routledge, 2014).

³ Ibrahim Moosa, "The Poetics and Politics of Law After Empire: Reading Women's Rights in the Contestations of Law," *UCLA Journal of Islamic & Near East Law*, 1 (2001): 1-28: 8.

⁴ Hussein Abdul-Raof, *Schools of Qur'anic Exegesis: Genesis and Developmet* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 169.

the next generation of Muslims must accept this fact and base their interpretation on salaf interpretation.⁵

Second, the Quran is interpreted contextually. A number of scholars who have a tendency to support this contextual interpretation are Farid Esack, Khaled Abou el-Fadhl, and Ziauddin Sardar. Farid Esack, for example, argued that commentators since the time of the Prophet understood the text of the Quran with a variety of understanding and interpretations, because each commentator when performing the process of interpretation must bring pre-conception as the initial assumption of interpretation.⁶

Khaled Abou el-Fadl postulated that meaning is a complex dialectical process between three determinants of meaning; text, author, and reader. In this process of defining the meaning, the role of reader is very important, considering the role of the author that has been reduced by the order of the text, which regardless of the author's context automatically has its own world. An exegete has the potential to impose whatever meaning he wishes upon a text.⁷

Stefan Sperl said that contextualization in progressive Muslim cases leads them to understand the nature of texts conditioned by the socio-cultural context in the process of revelation, time-bound, uncertain, and subject to a variety of subjective interpretations that go hand in hand with changing historical perspectives.⁸

⁵ Abdullah Saeed, *Interpreting the Quran towards a contemporary approach*, (New York : British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data, 2006), 42.

⁶ Farid Esack, *Qur'an, Liberation, and Pluralism: An Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity against Oppression* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1998), 82-110.

⁷ Al-Tha'ālabī for example, found that the commentary that emerged during the 5th century war had the same interpretation impression, that is, a sense of resentment toward Christians. They use the same logic. That Muslims may come to an agreement, peace with anyone in this world except Christians. See, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tha'ālabī, *Rūh al-Taḥarrur fi al-Qur'ān* (Tunis: Dar al-'Arabī al-Islami, 1985), 38.

⁸ Stefan Sperl, "Scripture and Modernity: Editorial Preface," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental*

Even Ziauddin Sardar definitively voiced that we should approach the Quran from the perspective of how contemporary issues such as gender equality and environmental issues encompass our own times and examine the Qur'anic text in accordance with our ever-changing conditions.⁹

Discussion of textual and contextual bounds has become one of the epistemological studies of who is meant to be "kafir" and what is meant by "auliya" in the Qur'anic text of al-Maidah 5:51. Ali 'Imran (3): 28 and al-Nisa' (4): 144. The wrestling around the text leaves a long discussion on this subject. Hassan Hanafi said the Quranic text is a dead entity that is likely to be penetrated by interests, presumed even ideological inclinations.¹⁰ When the text is read and understood, then at the same time there has been a process of interpretation. Meanwhile, the interpretation is an attempt to understand the scriptures that are inclusive and diverse. Therefore, as Farid Esack termed it, the Quran becomes the "seizing territory".¹¹ How does the Quran that should guide life turn into a dispute field? How are ideological interests infiltrated in the tafsir associated with identity politics?

Table: Textual dan Contextual Understanding

No	Textualist	Contextualist
1	Ibn Kathir	Khaled Abou el-Fadl
2	Sayid Qutub	Ziauddin Sardar
3	Ibn Asyur	Farid Esack

and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 71, No. 2, Scripture and Modernity: A Tribute to Professor John Wansbrough (2008), 179-187: 180-182.

⁹ Ziauddin Sardar, *Ngaji Qur'an di Zaman Edan: Sebuah Tafsir untuk Menjawab Persoalan Mutakhir*, (terj.), Zainul Am, et al. (Jakarta: PT Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2014), 72-63.

¹⁰ Hassan Hanafi, *Min al-'Aqidah ilā al-Thawrah: al-Muqaddimāt al-Nazariyyah* (Bayrūt: Dār al-Tanwīr li-al-Ṭabā'ah wa al-Nashr, 1988), 375.

¹¹ Farid Esack, *Qur'an, Liberation, and Pluralism: An Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity against Oppression*, 29.

Identity Politics And Interpretation

Identity politics is the movement of a group of people or organizations or sects who feel they are not getting justice and equality by a major power in a country or society.¹² One of the objects of identity politics is the religion which in this case is postulated in the form of interpretation or interpretation of scriptural texts. In any religion, scripture as a guide that teaches its people the values of purity. But on the other hand, the birth of religion as well as the birth of politics as it relates to the notion of influence, and humans are creatures that are directly involved in the mix between the interests of influencing a person against others in religious invitation.

One of the most frequently debated aspects of religion related to the issue of identity politics is forbidding a Muslim to choose an infidel leader. The term "infidel" is considered as a multi-interpretive word, who is referred to as "kafir" and whether the term "auliyā" in Quranic texts is the leader or simply a friend or close friend. The author will describe the following about how the Quran speaks of leaders.

First of all, it should be explained that there are several aspects that led to the establishment of relations between religion and politics. The first aspect is hermeneutics, and the second is history. The hermeneutical aspect is the interpretative dimension of the *ulama* towards the meaning of *uli al-amri* in some verses of the Qur'an itself.¹³ In the Quranic spirituality, there is a command to obey the *al-armi* which is understood as the leaders because they are the implementers of the religious values of the religion in a country as well as the place of restoration of the problems of disputes that exist in society.

If *uli al-amri* is understood as a religious and political leader then their authority can surpass both the authority of understanding the Quranic texts as a source of guidance for all human beings, and the political decision-making authorities in a country. Because a religious leader who has political leaders has two authorities at once.¹⁴

Visible for example in Shi'ite understanding, Ali's leadership includes religion and *ilahiyah* state that is a manifestation of God, so the religious interpretation of the scriptures is *ilahiyah* whose authority is owned by the Shiite priests. In contrast, the Sunni see religion and politics as two separate things. Here the interpretation and understanding of the scriptures are owned by authoritative scholars in their fields. Unfortunately sometimes claims of interpretation are often indoctrinated to be considered the most correct in legitimizing hard-line movements to win.¹⁵ Yet as Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im (1990) pointed out that the interpretation of the Quran and sunnah that resulted in Islamic law is not divine because it is a human product processed through a historical context.¹⁶

Understanding of sacred texts made with contemporary approaches must inevitably be done with a contextual approach. The application of the interpretation of the Qur'an must be related to the needs of the reality of Muslim life in the modern era.¹⁷ Gusman called it the social historical approach.¹⁸ The

¹⁴ John L. Esposito, *Islam warna warni* (translation), *Ragam Ekspresi Menuju Jalan yang Lurus*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2004), 57.

¹⁵ Ibnu Mujib dan Yance Z. Rumahuru, *Paradigma Transformatif, Masyarakat Dialog* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010), 23.

¹⁶ Abdullahi Ahmed an-Na'im, *Toward an Islamic Reformation Civil Liberties, Human rights and International Law* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 185-186.

¹⁷ Abdullah Saeed, *Interpreting the Quran towards a contemporary approach*, (New York : British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data, 2006), 1.

¹⁸ Islah Gusman, *Khazanah Tafsir Indonesia dari Hermeneutika Hingga Ideologi* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013), Cet.1, 249.

¹² Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif in *Politik Identitas dan Masa Depan Pluralisme Kita* (Jakarta: Democracy Project 2012), 4-5. Amy Gutmann, *Identity in Democracy* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004), 25.

¹³ Q.S. An-Nisa' (4): 89 and 47.

principles of the universality of the Qur'an must be relevant to every period and place, "*Shalihun likulli al-zaman wa al-makan*", the solution to the problems arising in the midst of pluralist and multicultural society.

The second is the historical aspect. When the Messenger of Allah was alive, he held two authorities at once i.e. a religious and state leader.¹⁹ Problems began to emerge at the time of his death. Companions disputed about who is worthy of his successor. Some friends assume that the successor of the Prophet should be chosen democratically because the Prophet never appointed a successor in his disposal. On the other hand there is a hadith that suggests that "*man kuntu maulahu fa'aliyyun maulahu*"; Who thinks of me as the leader then Ali is the leader after me. This hadith is considered *saheeh* and the area of leadership referred to herein is understood as a religious, political and state leader. The group considers that the successor of the Prophet is regulated in a divinely determined way by God, and Ali is the choice of the Messenger of Allah. Yet others assume the succession of leadership is deliberately appointed by the *ummah*.

Differing views on the successor of the Prophet is one of the triggers of rising political heat among Muslims. Political movements arise in the pursuit of justification, although at last the pull of this issue resulted in the body of the Prophet being buried late until three days later.

In its community, Islam asserts that political issues are important in the life of the nation, state and religion. As quoted by Munawir Sjadzali from Ibn Khaldun that the man is destined to need an organization or a state because they are political and social creatures.²⁰

¹⁹ From the beginning Islam was born as a religion and political order, see John L. Esposito (translation), *Islam warna warni*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2004), 43. Lihat juga John L. Esposito, *Islam and Politics*, (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 4-5.

²⁰ Munawir Sjadzali, *Islam dan Tata Negara*, (Jakarta: UI Press, 2011), 99.

Understanding of the existence of *uli al-amri* as the holder of religious and political authority (state) seems to have been regulated in the Quran in detail. Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im (2008) said that a person should not be discriminated because of his or her gender, race or religion.²¹ One of the causes of the development of identity politics is shaped by the local culture of a society.²² For example what happened in Afghanistan between groups who are claimed to be the blood of descendants of the Prophet (*habaib*).

Eickelman (1995) said that the interest of heralding the genealogy of the Prophet's ancestors (*habaib*) to represent the identity of Muslim tribes in Yemen is in the framework of the Islamic resistance to Marxist rule in Afghanistan, and the emergence of Islamic anthropology.²³

At any level, the seat of leadership in a country is always contested. Therefore, in relation to the issue of leader election, the existence of religion is very strategic and has a very extraordinary value of influences in the middle of a political life of. The issue of religion is capable of scooping a large number of voters and winning a legislative candidate or political party. Political interests have included religion in the political arena that inevitably led to the occurrence of political religious identity.²⁴

Quran is a holy book that serves as the basis for Muslims in acting and behaving. Because it

²¹ Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *Islam and The Secular State* (England: Harvard University Press, 2008), 113-114

²² Martin E. Spencer, *Multiculturalism, Political Correctness, and the Politics of Identity*, *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 9, No. 4, Special Issue: *Multiculturalism and Diversity* (Dec., 1994), 547-567. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/685001>. Accessed on: 03/03/2014.

²³ Dale F. Eickelman, Source: Introduction: Print, Writing, and the Politics of Religious Identity in the Middle East *Anthropological Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 3, *Anthropological Analysis and Islamic Texts* (Jul., 1995), 133-138 Published by: The George Washington University Institute for Ethnographic Research, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3318070>. Diakses: 05/06/2014.

²⁴ Some Kyai make use of the voices of santri as pockets of voice. Or in identity politics.

contains various paradigms needed in Islamic studies or discourses. This scripture encourages observation and research. Therefore according to M. Quraish Shihab, all groups of Muslims, no matter the sect, always refer to the Quran paradigm to obtain answers or strengthen their opinion.²⁵ Slowly the Quranic verses related to politics lead to the politicization of interpretation in order to answer the political guidance itself.

From the author's search to al-mu'jam al-mufahras li al-faz al-Qur'an, there are several verses which are important discussions in leadership succession, which are based on the prohibition of choosing infidel leaders. The term *kafir* (*kafara*) is a word that is interpreted to vary according to the period of Prophet's propagation in Mecca.²⁶

According to the author's observations one of the core prohibitions of choosing non-Muslim leaders was narrowed down on the term *infidel*. According to Toshihiko Izutsu the term "infidel" must be comprehensively translated and cannot be interpreted separately, and it is easiest to understand by looking at the antithesis term "faith".²⁷ As for the structure of the sentence in the text of the Quran in the form of a prohibition (*nahyi*), this can be seen in the following *surah*:

First, QS. Ali 'imran (3): 28 :²⁸

Makarim al-Shiraji (2000) in *al-amtsal* commentary put this verse into the category of political verse. According to the form of

²⁵ See M. Quraish Shihab, *Kaidah Tafsir*, (Tangerang: Lentera hati, 2013), 6.

²⁶ Marlyn Robinson Waldman, "Development of the Concept of *Kufr* in the Qur'an", dalam *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol 88.No 3 (Jul-Sep., 1968), 442-455.

²⁷ Toshihiko Izutsu, "Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an" Review by: Motoko Katakura, *Contemporary Religions in Japan*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Jun., 1967), 186-190. Published by: Nanzan University. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30233012>. Diakses: 05/06/2014.

²⁸ "Let not believers take disbelievers as allies rather than believers. And whoever [of you] does that has nothing with Allah, except when taking precaution against them in prudence. And Allah warns you of Himself, and to Allah is the [final] destination".

prohibition on this verse it is meant as a warning so that everyone is careful in alliance with non-Muslims, be careful if you want to appoint them as *auliya'*, and it is also said that people who are given the trust to take care of this natural affairs and matters of creatures. This word is related to the word *region* which means *al-Sultan* i.e. power.²⁹ The word *Auliya'* in the oral dictionary of *al-'Arab*, in plural *al-wali*, means *al-Nasir* (helper).³⁰

Sayid Qutb (1995) in *tafsir fi zhilal al-Qur'an* is very extreme in questioning the identity of religion. He forbids a non-Muslim to be elected leader and put them in a strategic position in a power and state. Even it is forbidden to ally with them in all areas of both social and political affairs, including establishing bilateral relations with them. Qutb in this case assumes a religion other than Islam as an identity of disbelief.³¹

Meanwhile, according to Thabaththaba'i (1991) in *tafsir al-Mizan fi 'ulum al-Qur'an*, the identity of disbelief is not necessarily addressed to the People of the Book (Jews and Christians).³²

That an interpretation of the issue of leadership cannot be separated from the political interests of Islam, so that identity politics becomes an important part in the interpretation. When the interpretation of the above verse is discussed in this political context, it will be a legitimacy of some groups to disbelieve each other's religion. But if it happened to the followers of Islam, then it could also happen to other religious followers who most likely assume that outside of their religion is also a *kafir*. See Amaed vaezi, *Shia Political Thought*,

²⁹ Makarim, Syiraji, *Tafsir al-Amtsāl* (Qum: al-Mathba'ah Amīru al-Mukminīn, 1998), 455-456. Lihat, Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, (Bairūt: Dār S}adr, 2008), Vol. 15, 281.

³⁰ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, (Bairūt: Dār S}adr, 2008), Vol. 15, 281.

³¹ Sayid Qutb, *Tafsir fi zhilālī al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Syurūq, 1995), 385-386.

³² Muḥammad Ḥusain Ṭabaṭṭabā'ī, *al-Mizān fi al-Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Bairūt: Muassasah li al-'Ālam li al-Maṭbū'āt, 1991), Vol. III, 188.

(London: Islamic Center of England, 2004), 183.

Religious identity is used as a black campaign tool that becomes one of the strategies in defeating political opponents. It is dangerous to the continuity of religion itself, especially Islam. As stated by Markus V. Höhne in political identity, emerging state structures and conflict in northern Somalia, that when political conflicts within an area increase at a certain level of violence, then political identity exacerbates divisions on a larger scale and becomes a real threat.³³ How can religion seem to be the cause of division of people, whereas the Quran highlights diversity as a necessity or *sunnatullah*?³⁴

Second, there is in QS.an-Nisa'(4): 144.³⁵

According to Thabaththaba'i (1991) in *al-mizan* that the prohibition on coalition with Jews or Christians is in the context of a moral alliance and affection.³⁶

Meanwhile, according to Allamah Kamal Faqih Imani in *tafsir nurul Quran* who commented on this verse by saying that the believers have no right to accept the leadership of the unbelievers, because they have a close relationship of attributes with the hypocrites.³⁷

Ibn 'Ashur states that the support of a Muslim to a group of unbelievers (non-Muslims) is a sign of hypocrisy. Through this verse, he affirmed that supporting, choosing and entrusting the affairs of the state (*al-Muwalah*)³⁸ to the disbelievers as long as there

³³ Markus V. Höhne, *Political Identity, Emerging State Structures and Conflict in Northern Somalia : The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (Sep., 2006), 397-414 Published by: Cambridge University Press Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3876301>. Accessed on: 03/03/2014 01:2

³⁴ lihat QS. Hūd (11): 118, al-Nahl (16): 93, al-Syūrah (42): 8, al-Mā'idah (5): 48.

³⁵ "O you who have believed, do not take the disbelievers as allies instead of the believers. Do you wish to give Allah against yourselves a clear case?"

³⁶ Muḥammad Ḥusain Ṭabāṭṭabā'ī, *al-Mīzān fī al-Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 5, 116-119.

³⁷ Kamal Faqih Imani (terj), *tafsir nur al-Quran*, (Jakarta: Penerbit al-Huda, 2004), Vol. 4, 232

³⁸ Al-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Āshūr, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, 5/242.

are still Muslims who can be supported is a forbidden act. Supporting the polytheists is a sign of hypocrisy, because hypocrites are the ones who are idle in practicing their religious teachings. His laziness can be seen when he wants to show his worship. This hypocrisy causes them to prefer non-Muslim leaders.³⁹

According to Ibn 'Ashur, it is an obligation to uphold an Islamic state. This is reflected in his assertion that a Muslim should not elect a leader of a non-Muslim (Jewish and Christian) group or circle. The reason is they have different religion from Islam and belie the teachings brought by the Prophet Muhammad.⁴⁰ Ibn 'Ashur forbade the election of non-Muslim leaders because of religious differences. There is, however, another historical reason, that is, as an attitude of retaliation against non-Muslims who also would not be willing to make Muslims their leader.

Third, it is stated in QS. Al-Maidah (5): 51.⁴¹

In his *tafsir* interpretation of *mafatih al-ghaib*, al-Razy interpreted this verse as a general prohibition to establish an alliance with the Jewish and Christian groups, as well as the prohibition of electing them as leaders because of their hypocrisy, in the sense that building an alliance with people, people who have hypocrisy may be detrimental to Muslims.⁴²

Al-Razi (1995) said that the cause of this

³⁹ Al-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Āshūr, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, 5/264.

⁴⁰ Teks aslinya adalah:

« أن السبب الداعي لعدم الموالاة واحد في الفريقين وهو اختلاف الدين

والنفرة الناشئة عن تكذيبهم رسالة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.»

"The reason someone can not support two different groups, is the difference of religion and the attitude of making groups that are both deceiving the message brought by Muhammad message SAW." See, al-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Āshūr, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, 6/229.

⁴¹ "O you who have believed, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are [in fact] allies of one another. And whoever is an ally to them among you - then indeed, he is [one] of them. Indeed, Allah guides not the wrongdoing people."

⁴² Muḥammad Fakhruddīn al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Fakhrurraẓī, (Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb)*, (Bairūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), Vol. 6, 17-18.

verse has varied; first, there is a story that says a group of Jews came to the group of Muslims with the intention to make slander against the religion of the Muslims at that time, then Rifaat ibn al-Mundzir, Abdul Rahman bin Jubair, Said bin Khuzaimah said to the group of the Muslims; stay away from the Jews and take precaution because they want to spread slander among you and turn you away from your religion. While the second narrative says that verse 28 of the surah 'Imran was revealed with regard to Hatib bin Abi Balta'ah, where they appointed Jews and polytheists as their leaders. When they reported this to the Holy Prophet, then this verse came down.⁴³

Meanwhile, according to Ibn 'Atiyyah as quoted by Ibn 'Ashur, Islamic groups who support non-Muslim leadership get the wrath of God even though they believe. This verse at the same time serves as a strong warning to Muslims at the time so as not to ally with non-Muslims. Those who were allied to the followers of both religions were classified as hypocrites, because at that time Muslims were in a confused position where many of them were still weak in faith and hypocrites, so they were very easily influenced (to convert).⁴⁴

⁴³ Muḥammad Fakhruddīn al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr al-Fakhrurrazī, (Maḥāṭib al-Ghayb)*, (Bairūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), Vol. 6, 17-18.

⁴⁴ Ibn 'Ashūr closes the explanation of this passage with an interpretation that the scholars of the Ahl al-Sunnah school agree that the person who has no willingness and has a tendency to the Jews and Christians does not necessarily be excluded from Islamic ties (*al-Ribqah al-Islāmīyah - الربة الإسلامية*). However, the support they provide to these two faiths is a serious apostasy. This misguidance can not be uniformed, because Muslim support against both faiths is stratified according to their social conditions. see: al-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Ashūr, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr*, 6/230. This long explanation of the separation and rejection of the Jewish and Christian group is a matter of identity affirmation. Identity in various groups is so central to its role that each will try to make it happen, and will have a sense of failure when the identity fails to fight for. Ibn 'Ashūr is slowly keen to convey that the condition of Muslim support for non-Muslims will always change its socio-historical background and impact on different legal implications. The issue of strengthening the identity

Ibn Katsī r refers to QS. At-Taubah (9): 23, as the command of Allah not to appoint the disbelieving leader even though they are close relatives because they will surely fight against Allah and His Messenger.⁴⁵ According to Ibn Katsir, what is referred to by the term *al-kuffar* here is *al-musyrikun*, the intention is prohibited to choose the idolaters as leaders. The *Musyrik* is a character against Allah's Sharia law.⁴⁶

Fourth, QS. al-Mumtahanah (60):1 :⁴⁷

The tafsir scholars explain that the reason for the revelation of this verse is concerning the story of Hatib bin Abi Balthaah, one of the Companions of the Prophet who migrated to Medina. When Faṭḥ Makkah Hatib initiated silently communicating with the Quraysh people, Hatib sent a letter to those who told him that the Muslims would attack the Quraysh in Mecca, arguing that he was sorry for the Quraish hoping they would embrace Islam rather than seeing them perish. But the messenger who brought the letter was caught, and reported to the Prophet. So this verse was revealed as a reprimand for him.⁴⁸

of Muslims from inclusive-exclusive, can be found in its elaboration: Mun'im Sirry, *Kontroversi Islam Awal* (Bandung: Mizan: 2015). At the end of the explanation of this verse, Ibn 'Ashūr quotes the story of a group of Malik scholars in Granada, Spain, who were asked about the case of Muslim horsemen from Andalusia who surrendered to a Christian state. The country will demand that Muslims living there to convert to Christianity. The horsemen chose to be next to the country. The question is can Muslims continue to help them? The scholars of the Malik school replied that their participation in the structure of the Christians in the land was the same as to make them join the infidels. See: al-Ṭāhir Ibn 'Ashūr, *al-Taḥrīr wa al-Tanwīr* (Tunisia, al-Dar al-Tunisiyyah, 1984), 6/230-231.

⁴⁵ Ibn Katsīr, *Tafsīr Ibn Katsīr*, (Bairūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1997), Juz II, 362

⁴⁶ See Ibn Katsīr, *Tafsīr Ibn Katsīr*, (Bairūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1997), Juz II, 78

⁴⁷ "O you who have believed, do not take My enemies and your enemies as allies, extending to them affection while they have disbelieved in what came to you of the truth, having driven out the Prophet and yourselves [only] because you believe in Allah, your Lord. If you have come out for jihad in My cause and seeking means to My approval, [take them not as friends]. You confide to them affection, but I am most knowing of what you have concealed and what you have declared. And whoever does it among you has certainly strayed from the soundness of the way"

⁴⁸ See, Ibn Katsīr, *Tafsīr Ibn Katsīr*, Juz 8, 82.

Table: Prohibition on Electing Non-Muslim Leaders

No	Surah	Juz	Ayat
1	Ali 'Imran	3	28
2	Al-Nisā'	4	144
3	Al-Māidah	5	51
4	Al-Mumtahanah	60	1
5	Al-Tawbah	9	23

Politicization of Verses in Political Context in Indonesia

In the context of Indonesia, some of the verses that the above quotation writers often used by politicians in the campaign while fighting for sympathy of voting society. House Speaker Marzuki Ali quoted al-Nisa '(4): 144 when giving a political speech before NU *fatayat* cadres at Hotel Twin Plaza Jakarta in a campaign to support candidate deputy governor of DKI Nachrowi Ramli.⁴⁹ Significantly religious issues will be interesting and influential in the election of voters. For most of the verses that the author describes they represent identity politics in accordance with what is imposed on the Qur'an.

From some of the above paragraphs of the text there is an impression that a Muslim is forbidden to elect an infidel leader. The term "infidel" becomes an important subject in the text of the verses above. The meaning of *kafir* (*al-Kufr*) etymologically is *al-satru wa al-taghtiyah* (obstructing and covering), while the term *al-Kufr* means denying Muhammad's prophethood. Thus, the one who obstructs and conceals something that should be believed from what comes from the Messenger of Allah is a *kafir*.⁵⁰ But there are also exegetes who involve religious identity in the context of *kufr*. Sayid Qutb made a religion (other than Islam) as an identity of paganism so this person should

not be elected as a leader. Whereas modern progressive intellectuals like Ahmed Vaezi, Abdullah Ahmed an-Na'im and others give freedom to choose leaders without involving religious identity.

Gokkir (2007) said that the characteristics of modern exegetes usually read the Quran in contemporary needs frames so that it can be categorized as a kind of "political interpretation". He asserted that politics and *tafsir* play a mutually supportive role in the life of Muslim intellectual traditions. Exegetes often consider the concept of political values in the Quran flexibly.⁵¹

Ahmed (1971) asserted that there is no clear concept of the modern state in Islam, but people still speak of the concept of an Islamic state and the modern terminology of "people and caliphate" is likened to the state and government.⁵²

In general there are two classifications of thought in addressing this issue. First, the supporting and second the rejecting group. An understanding of the term *non-Muslim leader* is often identified with the infidel term, meaning that people outside of Islam are regarded as infidel. This is evident from several case studies that conducted in some areas, for example;

House Speaker, Marzuki Ali, once asked all *Fatayat* NU members to elect a Muslim leader in accordance with Islamic advice. Marzuki Ali quoted surah Nisā verse 144 which enjoins the prohibition of electing an unbelieving leader.⁵³

⁴⁹ Necmettin Gokkir, *Political language of tafsir, Redefining of "Ummah", a Religio-Communal Concept of the Qur'an: Past and Present*, İstanbul Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi, Sayı: 5, Yıl: 2007. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20833021>. Accessed on: 05/06/2014 03:33.

⁵² Manzooruddin Ahmed, asserted in *Key Political Concepts in the Quran*, Source: *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (JUNE 1971), 77-102. Published by: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, Islamabad Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20833021>. Accessed on: 19/05/2014 05:07

⁵³ The statement of Marzuki Ali was delivered in Halal bi halal fatayat NU and vice governor of DKI Jakarta Nachrowi Romli at Twin Plaza Hotel, Slipi, Jakarta

⁴⁹ see, <http://itoday.co.id/politik/marzuki-alie-kutip-ayat-al-Qur'an-larangan-pilih-pemimpin-kafir>.

⁵⁰ Nas}a'at 'Abd al-Jawwāb d}ayf, *z}āhirat al-takfīr* (Al-Qāhirah: Maktabah Ḥusayn al-Islāmī, 1994), 10-11.

Rhoma Irama once delivered a religious lecture at al-Isra Mosque in Tanjung Duren West Jakarta. He conveyed the Islamic prohibition of choosing non-Muslim leaders, according to the order of Quran Surah al-Maidah (5): 51 and 57, due to severe punishment of becoming the enemy of Allah.⁵⁴ The connotation of the term *infidel* with the religious identity will necessarily involve a noble religion with identity politics, so inevitably religion has become a political tool that is vulnerable to cause division of people.

But on the other hand there is a group of Islamic leaders who think that choosing a leader that is not necessarily a Muslim. It can be seen for example in the case that occurred in West Kalimantan, during the Local Elections of Governor in the province in 2012 ago. NU is more accommodating to the incumbent candidate, Cornelis MH and his deputy Kristiandi. General Chairman of the NU Said Agil Siraj stressed to NU members in West Kalimantan to choose the one who pays attention to NU.⁵⁵

Some of the above cases are two different points of view in understanding the verses of choosing leaders. Researchers assume that in addition to political reasons, there is a disagreement among the Muslim intellectuals and politicians of the Islamic political parties against the interpretation of verses that speak of the criteria of choosing leaders. The location of the differences between the two motives above lies in the paradigm of each interpretation formed by the hermeneutical influences of the text and by the impulse of socio-political motivation. So

on Sunday (26/8), see <http://www.itoday.co.id/politik/marzuki-alie>

⁵⁴ Rhoma Irama expression was delivered on his religious lecture at Masjid al-Isra Duren Sawit West Jakarta, on July 29, 2012, Rhoma finally summoned by PANWSALU DKI because accused of doing SARA, visit <http://www.rmol.co/read/2012>. On another occasion Rhoma Irama once mentioned that Jokowi is Muslim but his family is Christian. This phrase as Rhoma's asserted means it is not permissible to choose non-Muslim leaders because they are categorized as unbelievers.

⁵⁵ Jakarta Kompas.com Monday, 13 August 2012

the essence of the term *infidel* contained in the verse concerning choosing a leader is regarded as being not un-humanist and contrary to the reality of pluralism and plurality.

The construct of classical interpretation of the verses above has been for hundreds of years in the books of interpretation. Interpretative opinions are certainly not merely seen from the point of view of history (*bi al-ma'thūr*), but the *tafsir* as quoted from the writings of Islah Gusman that the logical construct of reasoning works has a very close relationship with the epistemology and reason that exist within the exegetes themselves. So that the work of tafsir can be directed by the exegete according to the socio-political construct in which the work was produced.⁵⁶

The involvement of religious scholars in politics makes the interpretation of political verses seem to be led to the discrimination of other religions. Bernstein (2005) argued that the identity politics movement tends to be carried out by scholars who engage in practical politics through cultural, symbolic, or psychological formation in society.⁵⁷

Abdulkader Tayob, for example, in *Politics and Islamization in African Public Spheres* said we must review the various interpretations of the Qur'anic texts from the early days of Islam until now.⁵⁸ Quoting Zaki al-Milad's opinion that there is no single model of reading of the text agreed by all Islamic groups, it means that there is still a great opportunity for anyone to re-read the texts.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Islah Gusman, *Khazanah Tafsir Indonesia; dari Hermeneutika Hingga Ideologi*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2013), xiii

⁵⁷ Mary Bernstein, *Identity Politics*, Source: *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 31 (2005), 47-74 Published by: Annual Reviews Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737711>. Accessed on: 19/05/2014.

⁵⁸ Abdulkader Tayob, *Politics and Islamization in African Public Spheres*, Source: *Islamic Africa*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (FALL 2012), 139-168 Published by: Northwestern University Press Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42636199>. Accessed on 02/06/2014 03:55

⁵⁹ Zaki al-Milād, *al-Fiqh al-Islāmī, Qirā'āt wa Murāja'āt* (Bayrūt: al-Shabakah al-'Arabiyah li al-Abhāth wa al-Nasr, 2012), 182.

Modern progressive exegetes and modern intellectuals contribute to a more secular interpretation that places freedom in understanding the definition of “infidels” in political verses. It is the openness of scholars to the socio-political conditions that occur today, so that Islam remains a religion of *rahmatan lil ‘alamin*. Even if Ibn Khaldun and Al-Mawardi mentioned ethnic identity in the criteria of choosing a leader, it is an interpretation at that time which aimed to meet the demands of socio-politics associated with the level acceptability of society at that time as well.

Urgency of Political Education in Islamic Society

In order for the Qur’an not to be easily dragged into political goals by certain groups with certain interests, Muslims as prospective voters need to get political enlightenment. So political education is something urgent to provide. Political education in the context of political enlightenment among Muslims is the process of learning and understanding among Muslims about the rights, obligations and responsibilities of every citizen in the life of the nation and the state, especially in the political sphere.

Understanding among the Muslims, especially in this country to date is that many of them still assume that politics is not their business but government affairs, so that many have been fooled or given sweet promises, and even indoctrinated with theological arguments. Although, in fact, there is a politicization of verses from the scriptures.

To prevent undesirable things due to the politicization of religion that leads to political deception, it is necessary to provide political education to Muslims. In the case of Jakarta Elections, the condition of religious politicization can serve as a lesson about the importance of political education, so it is important to be given

as an effort of political enlightenment among Muslims.

It is safely assumed that the development of political education among Muslims as part of political education is a series of efforts to improve and consolidate political awareness of the state in order to support positive contribution of Muslims in Indonesia in the political sphere. The revelation of the interpretation of identity politics in practice, as described above, is the reason why the importance of political education should be taken seriously in order to avoid the politicization of religion. Political education is also a concept of part of the process of changing political life that is being done today in order to create a truly democratic, stable, effective and efficient political system.

In the philosophy of education, learning is a lifetime process which means that political education needs to be carried out continuously so that society, including Muslims, can continue to improve their understanding of the evolving world of politics.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that the interests of various political groups have dragged the interpretation on the politicization of religious texts from what should have been holy scriptures then shifted into political scriptures. A number of reasons in the interpretation expressed in this paper are more apologetic and not purely transcendent from God.

Some exegetes who interpret the phrase “infidel” in political verses connoted as a non-Muslim, as Sayid Qutb said, is the result of a profane interpretation rather than divine. Because it is born from the desire to save the Muslims from the oppression of non-Muslims. However, this interpretation needs to be re-examined because it is not in accordance with the sociological conditions of pluralist and multicultural society.

Other exegetes such as Ibn 'Āshūr put forward ideological-apologetic reasons for the prohibition of choosing non-Muslim leaders for Muslims, that no Muslim should choose non-Muslim leaders because non-Muslims would not choose Muslims as their leaders. What Ibn 'Āshūr argued highlights his observation of non-Muslim attitudes that are anti-Islam, and not to the transcendent text argument of Allah.

In the Indonesian context, where *tafsir* is often dragged into the politicization of religion, Muslims as prospective voters need to get political enlightenment. The revelation of the interpretation of identity politics in practice, as described above, is the reason why the importance of political education should be provided in order to avoid the politicization of religion.

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We invite scholars and experts working in all aspects of *Ushuluddin* studies to submit their manuscripts either in the form of research and theoretical papers, prospective, and case studies. The topics of interests include but are not limited to Islamic theology, Qur'anic exegesis, hadith sciences, comparative religion, and sociology of religion. Articles should be original, unpublished and not under review for publication in other journals.

Submissions must be made in English or Arabic contains 8000-12.000 words. The text is single-spaced, uses Palatyno Linotype –latin- (11 pt) Sakkal Majalla -arabic (14 pt), and must include 200-250 words abstract and 5 keywords. Arabic words should be transliterated according to *Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, No. 158 Tahun 1987 dan Nomor 0543 b/U/1987*. References cited are preferred to the latest journal articles and books published in the last 10 years. All citations should be written in the form of footnote following Chicago style. It is highly recommended for the author to use Zotero Reference Manager.

Example of Footnote Style:

1. Fahrudin Faiz, "Sufisme-Persia Dan Pengaruhnya Terhadap Ekspresi Budaya Islam Nusantara," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 17, no. 1 (1 April 2016): 1–15, <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v17i1.1274>.
2. Muhammad Alfatih Suryadilaga, *Metodologi Syarah Hadis Era Klasik Hingga Kontemporer (Potret Konstruksi Metodologi Syarah Hadis)* (Yogyakarta: Suka Press, 2012), 20.
3. Saifuddin Zuhri Qudsy, "Living Hadith in a Family: Reinventing Model of Research in Hadith Using Etnografi Research", *Proceeding International Seminar on Sunnah Nabawiyah and its Contemporary Challenges*, 10-11 September 2014, Brunei Darussalam.
4. Nor Elysa Rahmawati, "Penafsiran Muhammad Talibi tentang *Ummatan Wasatan* dalam al-Qur'an", *Skripsi, Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta*, 2014.
5. Zainal Arifin, "Tradisi dan Pola Perilaku dalam *Maqām-Maqām* Tradisi Tasawuf (Studi Hierarkhi dan Tahap-Tahap Pendidikan Islam Menurut Para Kyai di Daerah Mlangi Nogotirto Gamping Sleman)", *Tesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga*, 2013.
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Rahmawati, Nor Elysa. "Penafsiran Muhammad Talibi tentang *Ummatan Wasathan* dalam al-Qur'an", *Skripsi fakultas UShuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta*, 2014.

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