The Political Identity of Islam in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the phenomenon of Islamic identity politics. This phenomenon is common in Indonesia because Indonesia is Muslim in that it has the largest population. The purpose of this study is to explain how Islamic identity politics is widespread in Indonesia's political struggle over majority elections. The method used is a qualitative research method or a literature search. Studies show that Islamic identity politics has historically arisen from multiple groups competing to emphasize their existence. The feeling that Indonesia is dominated by Islam, which highlights the intersection of nationalism and religious groups, is fundamentally different from the concept of the state where Pancasila is the supremacy of the state, and thinks that religion is set aside. And that is the issue of identity politics. Another insight explains that the political elite approaches religious figures before the campaign to gain a majority vote to gain power. From this we can conclude that Islam's political identity will continue to be encountered by the general public, either on a daily basis or with some dynamics. The recommendations of this study are that every human being should have a unique identity, which should be a cohesive element, which is in the interests of the political elite to make propaganda and election interests. It means that it should only be used.

Keywords: Identity politics, Islam, politics, political elite

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Indonesia has witnessed a formidable surge in identity politics, with particular emphasis on the intricate role of Islamic identity within its political landscape. This phenomenon has become especially pronounced due to the demographic reality of Indonesia, where a majority of the populace adheres to Islam. The focal point of this study is the eruption of Islamic identity politics, notably catalyzed by the 2016 demonstrations against a Jakarta gubernatorial candidate accused of religious blasphemy. This paper

aims to contextualize and analyze the phenomenon, examining its historical roots, socio-political implications, and the intricate relationship between religion and politics in the Indonesian context.

The genesis of the surge in Islamic identity politics can be traced back to pivotal historical debates that unfolded between Soekarno and Muhammad Natsir. These discussions, which revolved around the separation of religion and the state, have left an indelible mark on Indonesia's socio-political landscape. Soekarno, influenced by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's vision for a secular state, advocated for a clear delineation between religious affairs and governmental functions. In contrast, Muhammad Natsir contested this view, asserting that such a separation was inherently flawed and contrary to the principles of Islamic governance. This historical context lays the groundwork for understanding the contemporary discourse on the relationship between religion and governance in Indonesia.

These historical antecedents are crucial in comprehending the persistent struggle over the intertwining of religion and governance in contemporary Indonesian politics. The echoes of Soekarno and Natsir's debates resonate in the societal polarization witnessed during the 2016 Jakarta demonstrations and the subsequent emergence of the 212 movement. The discourse on Islamic identity became a focal point of contention, reflecting the enduring tension between secular ideals and religious influences in the nation's political arena. This historical backdrop provides insights into the complexity of religious identity and its profound impact on shaping the political dynamics that unfolded in the aftermath of the Jakarta gubernatorial election.

The societal polarization resulting from the 2016 Jakarta demonstrations underscores the intricate interplay between religious identity and political dynamics. The formation of the 212 movement, characterized by a collective defense of Islamic values, marked a significant moment in Indonesia's contemporary political history. The movement not only revealed

the deep-rooted divisions within society but also highlighted the instrumentalization of religious identity as a potent force in mobilizing public sentiment. Understanding these complexities requires an examination of the historical roots that set the stage for the contemporary discourse on the role of Islam in Indonesian governance, providing essential context for unraveling the multifaceted dynamics of identity politics in the nation.

The demographic landscape of Indonesia, where Islam is the predominant religion, forms the basis for the strategic utilization of Islamic identity in political contests. The study draws on theoretical perspectives from scholars like Stuart Hall and Benedict Anderson to analyze the construction and manipulation of identity within the political discourse. The instrumentalization of identity by political elites becomes a critical lens through which to understand the calculated maneuvers made during the 2016 Jakarta gubernatorial election.

This article's analysis employs theoretical frameworks from identity politics, delving into how religious identity, specifically Islamic identity, becomes a salient factor in shaping political dynamics. The concept of imagined communities, as articulated by Anderson, is invoked to explore how shared religious identity contributes to the creation of a sense of belonging and solidarity among certain groups. Stuart Hall's work on identity as a discursive construct is applied to understand how Islamic identity is framed and contested in the public sphere. The study contextualizes the surge in Islamic identity politics against the backdrop of public opinion, particularly the growing emphasis on the perceived imperative for Muslims to elect leaders who share their faith. This societal sentiment has significantly influenced the political discourse, contributing to the elevation of religious identity as a decisive factor in electoral considerations.

Fernandes' analysis of the 2016 Jakarta Governor election provides valuable insights into how political elites navigate the terrain of identity politics. The study argues that strategic decisions, such as candidate selection

and withdrawals, were instrumental moves aimed at securing the support of Muslim voters. This lens illuminates the dual role of identity politics in shaping both public opinion and the strategic calculus of political actors.

The paper discusses the broader implications of the surge in Islamic identity politics for national unity in Indonesia. The heightened focus on religious identity has the potential to deepen societal divisions and raise questions about the compatibility of religious affiliations with the principles of the state, as embodied in Pancasila. This contextualized and theoretical analysis will provide a nuanced understanding of the dynamics surrounding the surge of Islamic identity politics in contemporary Indonesia. By exploring historical roots, theoretical perspectives, and implications for national unity, the study contributes to a more comprehensive grasp of the intricate interplay between religion and politics in the Indonesian context. Future research could further explore the evolving nature of identity politics and its impact on the socio-political landscape of Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research method employed in this study is qualitative research or literature review. In Creswell's perspective, qualitative research aims to explore the meaning of a phenomenon and understand it from the viewpoint of a group of people or individuals considered as sources of social or humanities issues (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019). Qualitative research is also a descriptive and analytical research approach that utilizes empirical data, integrates supporting theories, and generates a theoretical framework. This qualitative method consists of five stages, including "raising the issue, formulating research questions, collecting relevant data, conducting data analysis, and answering research questions" (Mustapa, 2019: 26).

The qualitative research method employed in this study serves as the foundation for exploring the political identity of Islam in Indonesia. According to Creswell's approach, qualitative research allows for an in-depth exploration

of the meaning and complexity of the phenomenon by examining the perspectives of individuals or groups who are central to social or humanistic issues (Kusumastuti & Khoiron, 2019). This research approach is both descriptive and analytical, utilizing empirical data, incorporating supporting theories, and constructing a theoretical framework to deepen the understanding of the research topic.

The qualitative method encompasses five key stages. The first stage involves raising the research issue, identifying the central phenomenon or key issue that will be the focus of the study. Subsequently, the second stage involves formulating research questions designed to guide the research process and outline the aspects to be explored. The third stage entails the collection of relevant data, whether through observation, interviews, or document analysis, to gain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Moving forward, the fourth stage involves data analysis, where researchers organize, interpret, and identify patterns or themes emerging from the data. Lastly, the fifth stage involves providing answers to the research questions, presenting findings, and constructing a theoretical framework as the outcome of the qualitative research (Mustapa, 2019: 26).

In summary, the qualitative research method serves as the underpinning for this study, enabling an in-depth exploration of the political identity of Islam in Indonesia. This approach facilitates an understanding of the context, meaning, and intricacies of Islamic political identity through the analysis of relevant literature.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
MAPPING THE CONCEPTS OF POLITICS, IDENTITY, AND ISLAM

Many interpretations can be found regarding what is referred to as identity, politics, and Islam. Each definition will formulate meaning in a relatively different way from one another. However, what is certain is that each meaning is a complex concept; there will always be a plurality of

meanings, a constellation, a complex succession, and coexistence that makes the interpretation effort an art. All subjugation, all domination points to a new meaning. One's discovery of the meaning of something is about their knowledge of the forces related to it, which are possessed and expressed within it. All forces are an appropriation, domination, exploitation of the quantity of reality (Deleuze, 2002). It cannot be denied that there is an essential plurality in interpreting a phenomenon, just as in interpreting what is referred to as identity, politics, and Islam.

1. **POLITICS**

Politics is a collective effort to achieve a better life (Budiarjo, 2008). This implies that politics requires joint involvement among individuals who agree to build a better life. In other words, politics is not a monopoly of the government alone; it necessitates the engagement of people or society within it who decide to live together to realize the kind of life or conditions they desire.

Politics can also be understood as intersubjective relations within society to achieve harmonious communal living. Politics calls upon individuals to become subjects, to bring forth and display their subjectivity. A crucial point often emphasized in politics is the participation of its members in realizing this common good, or in Jacques Ranciere's words, "part-taking/avoir-part," meaning taking part. However, it should be understood that Ranciere formulates the term politics somewhat differently. For him, politics is not about power (extending, maintaining, and fighting for power); this actually deviates from the essence of politics itself. Ranciere does not want the term politics to be reduced to power alone. He aims to restore the meaning of politics to its original position—a mode of placing actions into practice by specific subjects and derived from certain reasoning forms. In other words, politics is a reality that precedes the subject and subjectivity. It is not the subject that creates politics, but politics that involves the subject and brings forth subjectivity within it. The political relationship expands one's

consideration of the possibilities of political subjectivity, not the other way around. However, the emphasis remains the same: taking part (part-taking/avoir-part) (Takwin, 2011).

Slightly differing from Ranciere, Michel Foucault sees politics as the most important subject for our existence—the society in which we live, the economic relations within which we operate, and the power system that defines the forms of order and routine permission and prohibition of our actions. Foucault does not separate the terms power and politics; he goes further to understand that politics places its power in the hands of the government and channels it through various specific institutions such as administration, police, military, and state apparatus. All these institutions are created to clarify and issue certain decisions on behalf of the nation or state, and then to enforce them and punish those who are disobedient. Political power acts more extensively than we think; there are unseen centers, little-known support points. The true power of political power lies in the fact that people do not anticipate it. Therefore, Foucault's focal point is the critical role in uncovering all forms of corruption produced by power manifested in government/political bodies (Foucault & Chomsky, 2020).

However, from various definitions above, we can understand that the issue of politics is a matter of communal affairs, matters of common good, and something that should involve everyone. Similarly, in the view of Rocky Gerung, he sees politics as a matter of common justice, involving everyone, and for the happiness of the entire people. The issue of politics means the issue of societal order, justice, and freedom (Gerung, 2008).

2. IDENTITY

Identity is the characteristics acknowledged by an individual to define themselves, and when shared by others, it defines their group. Identity is not singular, as each individual possesses multiple identities. In other words, identity is something plural and shaped by various aspects, such as race, preferences, religion, and so forth (Mansbach & Rafferty, 2021).

At the individual level, identity can be understood as an aspect of someone's cognitive map that involves the configuration and structure of oneself in relation to the social world. Identity is an aspect, not a subcomponent, of the cognitive map due to its unavoidable connection with most components of the cognitive map. One's identity is closely linked to their image of the world, perspectives on values, ethics, and so on (Boix & Stokes, 2021).

According to Bambang Sugiharto in one of his lectures on the PIPUNPAR Youtube channel, there are two forms of understanding identity: formal and substantial. In the formal sense, identity is understood only at the level of administrative categories and social categories, similar to a framework, container, or shell. In this sense, identity is always perceived as singular, fixed, quantifiable, and needs to be defended. On the other hand, in the substantial understanding of identity, it is related to one's way of thinking, behaving, and feeling. Identity in this sense is understood as something plural, evolving, qualitative, and relational (PIPUNPAR, 2019).

3. **ISLAM**

a. **Islam as an Etimology**

If examined etymologically, Islam is a masdar form derived from the root word "aslama," which means to submit or surrender one's face or oneself. The root is "salima," pointing to being safe or saving. If we further derive from "salima," it becomes "sallama," meaning to surrender oneself, "salam," meaning peace, and "sullam," meaning ladder. It can be understood that from the word "salima," which means safety, the term "aslama" is formed, meaning to surrender oneself or to submit and obey. From the word "aslama," the term "Islam" is derived (Zarkasyi, 2020).

The concept of Islam is dynamic and can mean obedience, submission, surrender, and salvation. In the context of Islamic natural law, it means submitting to that law, or in Islamic terms, it

refers to "sunnatullah." Additionally, Islam means salvation, indicating an attitude that protects oneself and others. In this sense, Islam can be interprets as the goodness of behavior emanating from a pure heart (Zarkasyi, 2020)..

b. Islam as a World View

The Islamic Worldview is the Islamic perspective on reality and truth. It explains the essence of existence, which accumulates in the human intellect and radiates through all aspects of the lives of Muslim communities worldwide. Islam provides a viewpoint on various aspects of life, including human beings and their souls, material possessions, marital relationships, moral conduct, trade, social interactions, politics, marriage, happiness, destiny, sustenance, and more. These perspectives, rooted in faith in Allah, are interconnected and collectively form what is now known as the Islamic Worldview, a comprehensive outlook on life (Zarkasyi, 2018).

THE CAUSES OF THE EMERGENCE OF IDENTITY POLITICS

Historically, identity politics first gained public attention when discrimination was rampant in the United States, particularly the egregious mistreatment of African Americans by white citizens. This injustice led to a collective movement among those who felt unfairly treated (G. John Ikenberry, n.d.).

Looking at the emergence of Islam in Europe was rooted in the golden era achieved by Muslims in various aspects of life that contributed to the development of civilization. This period of prosperity occurred under the Abbasid dynasty, which ruled from the 8th to the 15th century. The advancements brought about by Islamic philosophers also contributed significant ideas to modern science (Berutu, 2019).

After this period of glory, Islam's history in Europe took a different turn, marking the beginning of its status as a minority religion. This transformation

occurred around the 19th century when Christian rulers initiated campaigns of Christianization and assimilation. These efforts were particularly impactful in regions such as Liberia, Sicily, Southern France, and the Balearic Islands. The fall of Islam in Granada led to the unfair treatment of Muslims by Christian rulers, including forced baptisms and eventual expulsion to North Africa, labeling them as heretical communities. As a result, Islam's influence in Europe weakened, and by the 20th century, the Muslim population in Europe numbered only 18 million, mainly divided between Western and Eastern Europe. During this time, Islam was often associated with migrant communities and considered a less skilled workforce, mainly engaged in small-scale trade (Asy'ari, 2018).

While Muslims were dispersed across Western Europe, their numbers were not as significant as during the golden era of Islam. Nevertheless, they managed to highlight their existence by forming communities that brought together various Muslim ethnicities. These community organizations aimed to facilitate negotiations and communication between different cultures and Muslim groups, aligning them with European society and governance (Berutu, 2019).

Islamic communities in Europe primarily developed in Western Europe, with the construction of mosques based on monoethnic and mono-sectarian foundations. These mosques served as central meeting places for Muslims and played a crucial role in social networking. Furthermore, they provided a space for Muslims to maintain their religious practices, including the observance of Islamic holidays. Mosques played a vital role in educating young generations of Muslims in Western Europe, with approximately 15% of all Muslim children receiving proper religious education (Berutu, 2019).

The development of Islamic education prompted initiatives to establish imam training programs. However, the diversity of Islamic organizations posed challenges in coordinating their development. Competition among various groups within and outside national borders arose. Turkish Muslim

communities in Western Europe pursued specific infrastructure for their community, while international groups, supported by Muslim-majority countries, established Islamic centers in different parts of Western Europe, often under the influence of Saudi Arabia (Berutu, 2019).

The current state of Islam in Europe is intricately tied to constitutional principles in European countries, which generally uphold freedom of belief for their citizens. However, the enforcement of religious law does not intersect with governance. This means that Muslims can establish their religious courts to settle internal disputes, including matters related to marriage, inheritance, and divorce, within the framework of Islamic law (Asy'ari, 2018).

The implementation of religious freedom principles is also influenced by the socio-political landscape in each country. Dominant attitudes and policies toward Islam vary among European countries. For example, while ritual animal slaughter according to Islamic tradition is permitted in Switzerland and Sweden, it is not explicitly legalized in Belgium and France, where the responsibility is delegated to Muslim institutions and leaders (Berutu, 2019).

In Indonesia, the debate surrounding identity politics seems unending. This phenomenon has evolved, not only concerning identity conflicts but also leading to new conflicts between various identity groups, often referred to as a consequence of unchecked democracy. The emergence of identity politics in Indonesia can be traced back to the fundamental theory of identity politics, rooted in a sense of injustice and the pursuit of equal rights. This phenomenon has been present since the colonial period and continued into the struggle for independence. The sense of common identity among Indonesian citizens contributed to a high level of nationalism in establishing the state's structure. It was not only nationalism that played a crucial role in the struggle for independence but also the significant contribution of the Muslim community to the nation's history (Lestari, 2018).

This gave rise to a complex interplay of nationalism and religious

groups. There were differences in dominant perspectives in each country, such as the notion that halal slaughter practices require legislation in Switzerland and Sweden, while in Belgium and France, these practices are not explicitly legalized by the government but rather delegated to Muslim community institutions and leaders (Berutu, 2019).

THE CONSEQUENCES ARISING FROM THE EMERGENCE OF ISLAMIC IDENTITY POLITICS

Islamic identity politics became a prominent topic of discussion following the terrorist attacks that devastated the Pentagon and the World Trade Center (WTC) in the United States. These tragic events gave rise to a negative perception of Islam. The followers of Islam felt marginalized amid various conflicts in the Middle East, exacerbated by the 9/11 incident. Consequently, individuals sought to fortify their faith to build a positive image in the social arena and provide meaning to the world.

Islamic identity politics is a longstanding phenomenon in the continuity of this nation. It began with the arrival of Islam in the archipelago in the 16th century when Islamic kingdoms emerged, symbolizing the strength of Islam in uniting against colonial powers. The peak of Islamic identity politics displayed by Islamic kingdoms was during the Diponegoro War from 1825 to 1830, where various Islamic attributes like turbans and Middle Eastern-style clothing became symbols of resistance against the Dutch.

In the 17th century, as the largest Javanese kingdom, Majapahit, declined, religious identity under the rule of the Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit kingdom gradually diminished, and the process of Islamization in Java began. Therefore, during the struggle for Indonesia's independence, the paradigm and movement towards nationhood were deeply intertwined with Islamic identity politics. According to Ricklefs, from the 1930s to contemporary times, Indonesia's history has always been dominated by the identity of Islam.

Indonesia adopts a democratic system of governance, which is claimed to be a form of Muslim identity politics. Despite its Western origins, democracy was supported by certain early independence heroes, such as some Islamic

scholars like Agus Salim, Muhammad Rum, Muhammad Nasir, Prawoto Mangkusasmito Khalid, and others who advocated democracy and constitutionalism. It is evident that Islamic groups played a significant role in shaping the nation's ideology and governance system during the early days of independence. While democracy originated in the West and is characterized by secularism, in Indonesia, religion coexists with governance. This is evident in the presence of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, local Sharia-based regulations, and various state constitutions grounded in religious principles.

Despite the diversity of dynamics in Indonesia, the nation finds it challenging to disengage from its identity as a religiously inclined society. The reality is that politically motivated violence in the name of Islam through persecution is currently experiencing an ironic state of affairs. The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) has drawn significant attention due to its arbitrary actions against differing opinions.

The predominantly Muslim nature of Indonesia's population places Islam in a superior position, which has led to some intolerance and discrimination against other religions. In Indonesia, identity politics is mainly centered on ethnicity, religion, ideology, and local interests represented primarily by elites with their respective articulations. However, the setbacks resulting from Islamic identity politics are compounded by the emergence of new variants or groups within Islam that prioritize their own interests.

In another context, Islamic identity politics colors politics in Indonesia in the pursuit of identity-based power. This is evident in the lead-up to the 2019 electoral contest when President Joko Widodo chose Kyai Haji Ma'ruf Amin as his running mate, while Prabowo Subianto accommodated several Muslim political elites and gained the sympathy of religious scholars and clerics. Such strategies are the best schemes to secure the majority vote and attain political power. In Indonesia, identity politics revolves around ethnicity, religion, ideology, and local interests, represented by elites with their own articulations.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEPT OF NKRI BERSYARIAH

NKRI Bersyariah is a concept introduced by Habib Rizieq Shihab since 2012 when he wrote a book titled 'National Insight Towards the Concept of NKRI Bersyariah.' The main motivation behind this concept is to restore the 7 words in the Jakarta Charter that have disappeared. However, for me, it is somewhat confusing when a country asserts the obligation of a religion in its foundational principles. Consequently, if its citizens do not follow the religious commands, in this case, Islamic Sharia, the state would punish them.

The first confusion arises from the question of why there are two terms: state and religion. If the state is reduced to religion, then its geographical boundaries become unclear, and the concept of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) loses its meaning. The second confusion lies in the historical context. Indonesia, as a nation, has never been anti-thesis to any religion, particularly Islam. In fact, this assertion suggests that the concept is ahistorical.

The final confusion arises from the fact that reality is never entirely represented; there are always unexplained fragments that remain unseen in political data. Consequently, it can lead to a monologue by a leader who feels most legitimate in deciding laws to forcibly align the government's thoughts with those of its citizens, without rational intersubjective dialogue. This is the beginning of totalitarianism. However, the primary goal of democracy, the political system embraced by Indonesia today, is to eliminate totalitarianism. I am concerned that this noble goal of making Indonesia a nation of devout citizens might actually lead to structural oppression against groups whose main goal is not religiosity.

The concept of NKRI Bersyariah was elucidated by Habib Rizieq Syihab during his speech at the Alumni 212 Reunion on December 2, 2017. The following are the key points:

1. Embrace a religion, not atheism or communism.
2. Ensure that all religious communities can practice their rituals and follow their respective religious laws.

3. Protect the Muslim majority from consuming products that are not halal, including food, beverages, clothing, cosmetics, hygiene products, and medicines.

4. Respect and love religious scholars and students, rather than criminalizing or terrorizing them.

5. Value and safeguard Islamic boarding schools and pesantren, rather than marginalizing or suspecting them.

6. Empower indigenous people to be masters in their own country.

7. Reject both neoliberal socialism and neoliberal capitalism to achieve social justice.

8. Preserve the nation and state from usury, which has been prohibited by God and His Messenger.

9. Combat corruption, alcohol, narcotics, gambling, pornography, immoral acts, prostitution, LGBT issues, terrorism, separatism, slander, falsehood, wrongdoing, and oppression.

10. Base the concept on Pancasila and the original Constitution of August 18, rooted in the Jakarta Charter of June 22, 1945, as per the decree of the president on July 5, 1959.

From these points, there are several critical remarks that I would like to express:

It is true that Indonesia is based on the belief in the One Almighty God (Article 29, Paragraph 1 of the 1945 Constitution), as often emphasized in debates to convince the audience that atheism is prohibited in Indonesia. However, the intention is not to force everyone to believe in God within a religious framework. This can be seen in Paragraph 2, which guarantees the freedom of every citizen to embrace their respective religions and practice their beliefs. Article 28E also states that religion is a right, not an obligation. The background for the creation of this article suggests that in the future, there might be attempts by the government or other parties to force citizens to convert to a religion or abandon their beliefs. More importantly, it aims to

prevent propaganda that fuels hatred towards religious and non-religious individuals. Therefore, the key term in this article is 'guarantee' and 'right,' which fosters voluntary acceptance from various parties. So, can an atheist live in Indonesia? Clearly, they can, as expressed by Yudi Latief. However, paradoxically, every citizenship document in Indonesia includes a religious affiliation, making it administratively impossible to register as an atheist. Thus, it is reasonable for some to request the removal of the religion column in the national identity card (KTP). As for this idea, we have not thought it through in detail, although it is feasible. Nevertheless, there will be many who disagree.

The point about respecting and loving religious scholars and students, rather than criminalizing or terrorizing them, is, in my opinion, a form of social stratification and may lead to social envy. In a predominantly Islamic society, this might seem acceptable from a societal standpoint, but not from a governmental one. Furthermore, it should be based on willingness, not coercion. The terms 'criminalizing' and 'terrorizing' are ambiguous and could lead to unfounded suspicions from all parties. Moreover, this point seems to resemble a theological concept more than a legal one. Sunni Islam, the majority sect in Indonesian society, rejects this notion, albeit possibly in a theological context. Nevertheless, this is not endorsed in a legal context, as even Ali bin Abi Thalib was convicted of wrongdoing in a case involving a non-believer regarding his war attire in his time, despite being a knowledgeable caliph.

This is not a denial of the flawed law enforcement in Indonesia, which often appears discriminatory and targets only a specific group like the 212 Movement. It is true that justice has been wounded, and I cannot deny that. This is what is felt by Habib Rizieq and his sympathizers. This point is more or less a solution to address this issue. In this context, I agree with the pre-solution but criticize the proposed solution. By pre-solution, I mean that I approve of the way HRS understands reality, but I disagree with the subsequent interpretation.

As for the idea of returning the Jakarta Charter, which is the core of the

NKRI Bersyariah concept, I believe the answer is clear: it is not possible. Returning those 7 words would sacrifice national integration. It is evident that the subject here is the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), signifying unity rather than division. This return would automatically negate unity. Therefore, it is evident that this concept has failed, even if there are logical inconsistencies in its title alone.

Regarding the other points, they are already included in Indonesia's positive laws, and there is no need to address them, except for the issue of LGBT, which has not been explicitly mentioned in the legal framework due to the complexity of the matter. Consequently, it can be observed that this concept is not ready for implementation, primarily because its proponents are unable to provide a comprehensive explanation.

CONCLUSION

The emergence of Islamic identity politics can be attributed to a sense of perceived injustice experienced by the Muslim community within the legal system. This perception has driven many Muslims to seek a more prominent role for their faith in the political landscape. Additionally, when examining the state of Islam in the Western world, historical factors have played a significant role in shaping its trajectory. Internal conflicts within the Muslim community have further complicated the path towards reestablishing the prominence that Islam once held.

In Europe, the dynamics of Islamic identity politics are often entangled with group interests, making it challenging to forge a unified approach. The presence of diverse Muslim communities with varying beliefs and practices adds complexity to the political landscape. Moreover, issues related to cultural integration, discrimination, and stereotypes have contributed to the multifaceted nature of Islamic identity politics in Europe. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the political landscape is characterized by a division based on two primary categories: religion and nationalism. This dichotomy has occasionally led to tensions and polemics, particularly when these categories clash. The

resulting disruptions can potentially undermine the stability of the nation, eroding public trust in the government and institutions. Consequently, the politics of Islamic identity remains a prominent and recurrent theme in the daily lives of Indonesians, surfacing not only in routine interactions but also during pivotal moments in the nation's history..

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