

---

# Structural Da'wa in Public Policy (Indonesian Context)

**Tata Sukayat**

Department of Islamic Broadcasting and Communication, Faculty of Da'wah and Communication, Bandung, Indonesia

**Email address:**

tatasukayat@uinsgd.ac.id

**To cite this article:**Tata Sukayat. Structural Da'wa in Public Policy (Indonesian Context). *Social Sciences*. Vol. 8, No. 1, 2019, pp. 12-21.

doi: 10.11648/j.ss.20190801.13

**Received:** October 11, 2018; **Accepted:** January 3, 2019; **Published:** February 13, 2019

---

**Abstract:** The aim of this study is to discuss and analyze the structural da'wa as part of da'wa efforts among government officials by inserting da'wa messages in various public policies. It's as has been applied in Bandung City in the era of Mayor Dada Rosada (the famous mayor of Bandung) who has one of development spirits in Bandung City as "Bandung Agamis" (The religious Bandung) program. The Qualitative descriptive approach is used to explain objectively, detail, and depth to the results that have been obtained in the field. Observation, interview, and documentation are used by the author in collecting the data. The result shows that that religion and state (government) have a symbiotic relationship. The Structural da'wa in "Bandung Agamis" program reflected that substantively religious values could be applied by the government on the public area with no formal labeling of shari'ah Islam as the opinion of integralist madhhab, neither separates religion from the state as the secularists argue.

**Keywords:** Structural Da'wa, Internalization, Public Policy, Bandung Agamis Program

---

## 1. Introduction

One of the functions of da'wa is to reconstruct society in accordance with Islamic teachings. All aspects of human life are the arena of da'wa. To realize da'wa in every human form, all human activities or professions are also a means or instrument of Islamic da'wa. The responsibility of da'wa is not only the duty of ulama, kiyai or ustadz, but it is the duty of economists, politicians, and others. In themselves, there are also responsibilities for carrying out da'wa according to their own abilities.

Thus, da'wa also has a very close relationship with politics or power related to various public policies. The Prophet Muhammad when he was in Medina gave an example of how to play a role in the development of Islam. Politics concerns matters of power and ways of using power. In practice, politics is always linked to ways and processes in the management of a country's government. Therefore politics is one of the important activities in society because almost all people in this world live in a political system. Politics has an important role in determining the pattern and form of regulation of social, economic, cultural, and legal and various aspects of community life.

Politics does not run alone without being escorted by

religion and does not separate it from preaching. The current reality is that da'wa is carried out by ulama and da'i, while political power is by the sultan, king or president. This led to a separation between political implementation and da'wa, whereas the Prophet Muhammad and the khulafa al-rāshidin never separated political practice from da'wa activities.

In reality, historically the role of religion in the public sphere or society cannot be separated from the policies of the authorities, both directly and indirectly. The ability of religious actors to influence and utilize public policy as a process and media for internalizing religious values is strongly influenced by the historical-philosophical relationship between religion and the state. In the Indonesian context, for example, even though Indonesia is not an Islamic country, all of its political policies cannot be separated from the aspirations of the Muslim people [1], because as a population the population is Muslim. However, religious and state relations as experienced by Indonesia always experience ups and downs. Once there was tension and cracking, but at other times the relationship between the two took place harmoniously as happened recently. This is understandable, because relations between the two are not independent, but are influenced by political, economic and cultural issues. So it is very reasonable if the relationship between the two relations is never exhausted, even studies on religious and

state relations are intense enough to be carried out by scientists [2].

In general, there are three paradigms of the relationship between religion and the state: First, the integralist paradigm. Supporters of this paradigm include Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949 AD), Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966 AD), and Maulāna al-Mawdūdī (1903-1979 AD). Second, is the secularistic paradigm. This paradigm rejects the integralist concept between religion and the state. The initiator of this paradigm included Ali Abd al-Raziq.

Third, is the Symbiotic Paradigm. Among the supporting figures of this paradigm are Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), Fazlurrahman (1919-1988), and Jose Cassanova. According to this view religion versus state is symbiotically related. Religion needs a state because with a religious state it can develop. Instead, the state needs religion because, with religion, the state gets moral guidance [3, 5].

In the Indonesian context, religion can be seen as an objective reality and as something that is contextual. The link between religious values and social life eventually becomes a system that influences each other. This proves that the role of the state is still needed to regulate religious life within certain limits. Because if religious life is left without government interference, it is likely that disintegration and disharmony will occur among religious communities.

Politically, basically, the government has the authority to seek the cultivation of these religious values in achieving development goals in general. In other words, the government has religious responsibilities, including (1) Ensuring the security of all its citizens by exercising their religious life freely; (2) Within the limits of its authority, helping all religions to develop themselves as well as possible; and (3) Giving fair treatment and protection to all existing religions, and striving for the realization of both freedom and religious harmony [6].

One effort that can be done by Muslims is to develop structural da'wa through public policy. Internalization of religious values through public policy "forces" religions to self-neutralize through institutionalization which originally became profane religious teaching within a certain policy framework. This situation provides a new space for wider religion, as well as limiting or even reducing the value of religious purity.

Simon Reich in Drache [7] states that there is no public domain that does not control public policy. From this principle, there is an assumption that an agency, a public policy actor, is directed to one actor, namely government agency or official.

The government is considered a public agency that is the driving force of revitalization. Da'wa which also requires perpetrators (da'i) intersects with the needs of the public agency, so it cannot be avoided that proselytizers are now transforming into policy actors, which is the government. While the da'wa requires trustees and self-improvement, even the public actors when carrying out the da'wa values must carry out the same conditions.

Meanwhile, there are several problems with a public

agency such as 'government'. Indonesian government agencies are now filled with corrupt behavior, also experiencing what is called state capture. State Capture refers to symptoms of various public policy paralysis caused by purchases of laws, implementation, and supervision of various public policies. As a result, public policy has increasingly lost its substance as a policy, and it is also not public in character, because it has become just an economic commodity.

If the public space always presupposes 'public policy', even though 'public policy' has become a 'commodity', of course, one of the main causes of the paralysis of the improvement of public space is the commodification of public policy.

If the public policy is not driven by the 'government' (assuming the public policy is not identical with government performance), there are at least two inevitable directions. First, a kind of communitarian politics, in high or low levels, cannot be taken. The communitarian process will also determine what, why, in what direction, and how the revitalization of public space will be carried out. Second, because the process involves coordination regarding legality and management, the revitalization of public space outside the hands of the government cannot avoid the need for the formation of a kind of coordination forum that has the authority as a 'public agency', whatever its name.

Government policies that were phenomenal after the reforms in Indonesia, especially in several regions, included the rampant Islamic sharia regulations. The Islamic Shari'ah regional regulation as a product of public policy is ideally oriented in the framework of realizing the ideals so that the entire text of the Qur'an and al-Sunnah as a provision of God can be a guide to man in life or the right way of Religion. At least 22 cities / regencies and even other sources say there are 50 regions in Indonesia [8].

The various local government policies are nuanced by Shari'ah and lead to the application of integral paradigms (in the context of religious and state relations), and lead to some rejection in the community in the name of humanity which is marked by a series of demonstrations, protests, and lawsuits from several elements of society. This rejection of shari'ah formalization was expressed in various arguments and arguments.

In the midst of the proliferation of Islamic Sharia Regulations in various regions, it is interesting to study the Bandung City Government which explicitly lists the Bandung as an "Agamis" city program. The Bandung City Government is not late in implementing shari'at Islam, - as is done by several other regions - even though the majority of the population is Muslim, it implements religious values accommodatively through its policies as an application of the symbiotic paradigm. This policy formally, contained in the Regional Regulation Number 06 of 2004 concerning the Bandung City Strategic Plan, which specifically establishes the city vision in the period 2004-2008, namely the City of Bandung as a service city that is "Bermartabat", Bersih, Makmur, Taat, Bersahabat (Clean, Prosperous, Obedient, and

Friendly).

Various policies related to religious values were then delegated to Regional Assistant II. Even though there is no specific budget in its implementation, it is an integral policy and various policies in the city of Bandung. It turned out to have the support of residents of the city of Bandung. Some of the policies that have been implemented by the Bandung City Government in relation to this Religious Program include:

Closing the Saritem, the Local Regulation on Zakat, on Alcohol, etc.

"Bandung Agamis" is motivated by the majority of the people of Bandung City who are based on religious beliefs and adherence that are quite thick, so that the potential of religion can be used as one of the abilities, strengths, abilities, and power that is owned. This makes it possible to develop, explore, and serve as a means to build the city of Bandung [9].

And technically, the use of the term "religious" in one of the priority programs of the city of Bandung seems very appropriate, because it will be able to minimize the birth of pros and cons in the community [10].

However, there are a number of dilemmas found in a number of community and religious leaders' responses to the policy of "Bandung Agamis". The main dilemma can be referred to from the nature of public space and its perpetrators today. Some of these dilemmas, in general, are as follows: 1) formalization and impoverishment of religious interpretations; 2) Politicization of religion and simplification of da'wa, and 3) commercialization of religion, religious elites and nearsighted social problems. The occupants of the public space are not only political power but primarily market or economic interests. One of the risks of the transformation of religious values is the adjustment of religious values to market interests or commercialization (this adjustment can be called soft commercialization), while the commercialization of religion occurs when religion is used as a "commodity" of economic interest, resulting in eliteization.

Apart from these dilemmas, "Bandung Agamis" program has proven that da'wa through politics (related to religious and state relations) does not have to be integrated or secularistic, but can be symbiotic (complimentary), namely through the application of religious values in various public policies. In other words, symbiotic Islam is an understanding of Islam that is willing to cooperate with other parties without harming each other [11]. Understanding like this cannot be found in the understanding of Integralistic Islam which wants the integrity of the application of shari'a Islam or the understanding of secularistic Islam which distances itself from the affairs of life.

Theoretically, various discussions involving aspects of religion and public policy as part of political life have already been carried out, even including one that is probably the most studied. The birth of secularism is also inseparable from the thought of the relationship between religion and politics. However, in the context of modern political life, discussions about public policy that can be considered as political acts of

the ruler for the public interest are still limited, especially related to religion.

Existing studies lead to religious and state relations and religious institutions that influence state or government policies. Specifically, the following are some of the works of previous authors related to this research:

Dissertation of Islam and The State: The Transformation of Islamic Ideas and Practices in Indonesia (Effendy, 1994) is a dissertation discussing in depth the relationship between Islam and the State in the Indonesian context, but ultimately Effendy is more directed to the idea of integration between Islam and the State with a mechanism that ensures both of them play a role by not overtaking each other.

The book "Public Religions in the Modern World" [12] which presents the fate of religion in the modern world based on case studies in Spain, Poland, Brazil, Germany, and America.

"Religion Return to the Public Square" book, by Hugh Heclo, Wilfred M. McClay, in which there is a discussion: An introduction to religion and Public Policy [13], is a book that explains that in the initial period of American history, they were not interested in discussing the issue of religion in the public sphere, but lately the uncontrolled moral decadence, and many immigrant residents who obeyed, finally the Americans began to realize and consider the importance of religion in the public sphere.

The book "From Harvard to Mecca" [14] is a book in which there is a discussion about Islam in public policy, which states that in Indonesia Islam is an important factor and is highly considered in various state policies at each level. For example about the rules for opening entertainment venues during the month of Ramadan, the Religious Courts Law, the Zakat Law, the Waqf Law, etc. In fact, according to him, it is not only in Indonesia, in America itself as stated by George Bush and John Kerry, but that religion will also be an important consideration in their policies and decisions.

In contrast to the previous discussions and research, this research actually sees religion as a value that can be internalized into government programs through formal public policy. The public policy portraits of the "Bandung Kota Agamis" in the time of the mayor of Dada Rosada became a worthy case. This theme was taken in addition to no similar research on this theme; it also became academic anxiety for researchers to try to produce a theory of religious values through power (structural da'wa) as a symbiotic form of religious and state relations.

The author acknowledges that this paper was taken from a 2011 research dissertation that examined the "Bandung Agamis" program during Mayor Dada Rosada's time. The author re-adopts this theme, one of which is to provide alternative ideas, especially to the supporters of HTI that have been dissolved, that the concept of Khilafah (integralistic religion and state) seems difficult to implement in the Indonesian state which has the philosophy of Pancasila. The author offers an allertative concept of symbiotic Islam so that it can continue to contribute to the progress of the nation and state, which is practically by

means of structural da'wa through various public policies, as practiced in the "Bandung Agamis" program of Mayor Dada Rosada's era.

## 2. Research Method

The research method chosen in this study is a qualitative approach that aims to describe, reveal, explain and analyze the concepts and practices of public policy relating to the internalization of religious values in the city of Bandung.

While the approach uses qualitative descriptive, to examine the research problem that is still in the form of assumptions so that it can explore more detail and depth of the participants so that they can be described in detail and objectively.

Meanwhile, the techniques used in the data collection process include (1) Documentation Study to collect materials in the form of writings related to research problems which are then correlated with the results of interviews conducted.

This documentation study was also carried out by describing the process of planting religious values through public policy by the Bandung City Government. (2) Observations to explore and observe research objects; (3) Interview with key informants to explore the research points so that additional data are expected to be useful for this research.

## 3. Results and Studies

### 3.1. Overview of Structural Da'wa Meanings

Structural Da'wa is a missionary movement that is in and through power. Structural da'wa activities move to preach Islamic teachings by utilizing existing social, political, and economic structures to make Islam the principle of life, so that religious values manifest in the life of nation and state [15]. In another sense, structural da'wa is the da'wa that seeks to make changes in the rules of law in a direction that is better in accordance with religious teachings.

Structural da'wa is da'wa that makes power, bureaucracy, and political power as a tool to fight for Islamic values. Therefore, structural da'wa is more top down. In other words, the form of structural da'wa tends to have the purpose and purpose of establishing an Islamic state, because the state is considered as the most strategic and promising tool in internalizing religious values (shari'at Islam). Political actors uphold Islamic values in their political behavior, and the enforcement of Islamic teachings is the responsibility of the state and power. In the perspective of structural da'wa, the state is the most important instrument in da'wa activities.

In other words, structural da'wa is the whole activity carried out by the state (government) with its various tools to construct the order of society in accordance with the direction of God and not to be separated from the circle of amr bi al-Ma'ruf and nahy 'an al-Munkar. Da'wa activities cover all aspects and aspects of community life, such as education, social, economic, political and other aspects, so

the da'wa process is not limited to da'wa on the pulpit (verbal) only, but includes da'wa with action, bil hikmah (scientific approach).

The Prophet explained the importance of structural propaganda is da'wa by using power. Social engineering by hand means power or structural, whereby the state with its tools is very likely to act as da'i (da'i), as for the verbal meaning is with cultural movements, and by heart, the meaning is change and social mobility [16].

Structural Da'wa in Indonesia cannot be separated from the symbiotic Islamic concept (related to religious and state relations). But the phenomenon of the "Bandung Agamis" program actually cannot be said to have formed the symbiotic Islamic model.

The tendency to verbalize religious values and nearsighted social problems as a context of value transformation, causing "Bandung Agamis" program's opportunity space not to give birth to a typical symbiotic Islamic model. However, in some aspects of the Bandung City phenomenon, it has shown the first step towards the formulation of the Symbiotic model between religion and government.

The symbiotic model is the right model applied to a country like Indonesia. After Pancasila as a "public religion" lost its influence, the phenomenon of the City of Bandung can be an alternative formulation of the intended symbiotic Islamic model.

For this reason, certain da'wa efforts should be formulated that can encourage the realization of symbiotic Islam in Indonesian public space. Symbiotic Islam is an understanding of Islam that is willing to cooperate with other parties without harming each other. Understanding like this cannot be found in the understanding of Integralistic Islam that wants the integrity of the application of Islamic shari'ah or the understanding of secularistic Islam that distanced itself from the affairs of life.

### 3.2. Bandung City: Utilization and Seizing of Public Spaces

Bandung is one of the cities supporting the capital city of the country which displays many phenomena related to the use of public space. In the book "Semerbak Bunga di Bandung Raya" (H. Kunto, 1986), there are some interesting facts about the origin of the name Bandung: (a) Juliaen de Silva's report (1641) on the existence of a country called Bandong (negrije denaemt bandong) consisting of 25-30 houses, so the area called Bandoeng has been around since 1641; (b) "Nahorij Bandong Map" (1746) in the book "Ouid en Nieuw Oost Indian" by Fr Valentijn (1858) shows the existence of a place called Bandong in the South of Gegerkalong Hilir, (c) there is a "Plan der nagorij Bandong" map (1825), (d) The name bandong as the capital of the Regency was written in the regulation dated March 18, 1811 which contained the order of Governor General Daendeles (1762-1818) for the purchase of livestock as a food reserve to face the possibility of livestock invasion [17].

The public policy "Bandung Kota Agamis" is one form of realizing shared comfort. In contrast to several regencies / cities in several provinces in this country that actually issue

public policies "with Islam" in their regional development programs. Both of these policies may be implemented in the same way, for example after being launched "Bandung Kota Agamis" a brothel complex was dismantled and converted into a pesantren. Another thing, when the city proclaimed itself as "the City of Islam," the creation of the city's young people was awarded as a creative city in the Asia Pacific [18].

The relevance of this research is the peculiarities of the Bandung City government in utilizing public space as a multi-ideological contestation field.

The city of Bandung as a field of various ideological contestations has a history and a number of data and facts related to the development between religion and the state, making it possible to issue public policies relating to the planting of accommodative religious values.

In terms of religion, the city of Bandung has long been known as a city filled with religious zeal. Since the colonial era, the people of Bandung City made the mosque the center of their activities [19].

In terms of religious thought in the city of Bandung is the organization of Islamic Unity (Persis). This organization was born in 1923 in the city of Bandung by Palembang traders who aim to build a more reformist religious pattern. For example, one of the Persis figures at that time was H. Zamzam, a Palembang merchant, who since 1910 had become the pioneer of the Palembang merchant group, which was then institutionalized to become Persis. Because it strictly rejects tradition strictly, a new organization is born, PI (Permoefakatan Islam) which is more able to provide space for the life of the Sundanese tradition [20].

The city of Bandung, thus, is a portrait of Indonesia's metropolitan city that relies on trade and tourism with multi-ethnic and multi-ideological situations. Values in society are not homogeneous, even though they have the same goal in creating comfortable dwellings.

**3.3. Structural Da'wa and Internalization of Religious Values Through the "Bandung Agamis" Program Policy**

To be able to find out what religious values have been internalized to society through "Bandung Agamis" public policy, there are two data that can be put forward. First, documentation of the aspirations of the community through the "Jasmara Agama" which came from the proposals of a number of religious institutions; Second, documentation of

the activity program of the city of Bandung. Both expressed the ideal value that would be achieved by all activities of "Bandung Kota Agamis".

Both of these data sources actually show quite basic differences. First, data on the aspirations of Islamic religious institutions through "Jasmara" are ideal and cover three main areas, namely the aspirations of internal development of Muslims, policy aspirations of relations between Muslims and other religions, and aspirations for improving the pattern of religious relations with the government.

While government programs, such as those found in the new LKPJ, include inter-religious harmony and closure of prostitution localization in addition to alcohol regulations.

But other data shows that "Bandung Agamis" includes a wider range of activities from LKPJ reports, this can also be found in the official statement of the mayor of Bandung in Tribun Jabar [21] in the rubric "Hallo Kang Dada", which states that the "Bandung Agamis" program policy is one of the benchmarks for the achievement of performance indicators to develop reliable and religious human resources.

"To that end, the implementation of religious and social development is directed at improving services, rehabilitation, and social participation towards persons with social welfare problems, as well as fostering faith and piety through various events, religion and provision of infrastructure and facilities for religious activities in order to increase inter-religious harmony in the City of Bandung.

The implementation of development in the social and religious fields is carried out through various program activities, including (1) Increasing Inter-Religious Harmony; (2) Religious Activities Infrastructure and Facilities; (3) Eradication of Illiteracy of the Qur'an, (4) Coordination with the Ministry of Religion of the City of Bandung in conducting Hajj activities, Musābaqah Tilāwat al-Qur`ān, Amil Zakat, Religious Extension Officers, networking of aspirations and community participation in the field of religion (Jasmara Agama), and in the commemoration of public Islamic holidays Islam in the city of Bandung; and (5) Handling of prostitution through the control of women with disabilities (WTS) and the control of homelessness and beggars [21].

Therefore, officially, the "Bandung Kota Agamis" strategic program actually only deals with the five activities above, but the book issued by the City of Bandung shows program orientation that extends to various regions.

While the program found a number of values as contained in the following table:

*Table 1. Number of Values.*

Program	Objective
1. Program for increasing understanding and practice of religion	Increasing the quantity and quality of religious guidance for all civil servants and other community groups The increasing quality of the implementation of religious education in all types, levels of education Increasing the quality and quantity of coaching for people with community diseases
2. The development program of the religious climate of a religious environment, and religious social activities	Increasing the quality of the worship environment Increased religious activity Increasing the quality of religious facilities and infrastructure in public places Availability of potential religious maps
3. Program to increase tolerance for religious harmony	Increased understanding to realize the harmony of life between followers of different religions Increased cooperation between adherents of different religions, as well as with the government

In this program, there is no specific religious value. The implementation program of the policy is directed at providing facilities and infrastructure for the development of religious activities. But in the book "Bandung Kota Agamis", the official book on the matter of the "Bandung Agamis" policy found a description that shows the efforts to internalize the value of religion through public policy as a joint capital. This can be seen in the implementation of "the development program of religious climate of religious environment, and socio-religious activities" which are developed on several themes such as a) Religious in working, b) Religious in neighbors, c) religious in society, d) religious in human relations, e) religion in education, f) religion in the economy, g) religion in politics, h) religious in culture, and i) religious in nature preservation.

On this basis, it can be stated that the word religion is interpreted as religious not religiosity in the category of meaning of Komarudin Hidayat. In the book "Agama Masa Depan Perspektif Filsafat Perennial" [22], Hidayat points out the difference between religion and religiosity. In religious studies, it is often distinguished between the words religion and religiosity. The word religion (which is usually translated as "agama"), was originally more connotation as a verb, based on divine values, but in its development shifted into a kind of "noun" which is a set of doctrines, teachings and laws that have been standardized, which is believed to be a codification of God's command for humans.

When religion is interpreted as religion, this is the value that is internalized trapped in Islam as a "noun" so as to bring about a set of standard doctrines, teachings, and laws, which are believed to be a codification of God's commands for humans. A religion which is meaningfully a religious value or religious substance is actually closer to religiosity or religious nature that is substantive and not trapped in one particular religion [23].

In general, the process of internalizing values in the priority program of "Bandung Kota Agamis" has shown an interesting pattern from the perspective of Da'wa Science. Especially in the case of efforts to "preach" the value of Islam is not on the person but as part of the regulation of an area. The problem is that staying on the submitted value is still a religion and has not led to religiosity.

Thus, the "Bandung Agamis" and "Bandung Bermartabat" programs are the implementation of K3 regulations. For example in article 49, Regional Regulation Number 11 of 2005 concerning K3 states that every person or legal entity that acts in the form of:

- a. Selling liquor without permission
- b. Providing, gathering prostitutes to be called, giving the public a chance to commit immorality
- c. Promote love or behavior that is reasonably suspected to be immoral by being on the road, green lane, park or other public places and places suspected of being used as immoral acts.
- D. Provide a home for immoral places.

Regional Regulation Number 11 of 2005 concerning the

Implementation of Order, Cleanliness and Beauty (K3), stipulating to the person who committed the above act has imposed the imposition of a law enforcement fee of Rp. 50,000,000 (fifty million rupiahs) and or administrative sanctions in the form of detention for a temporary Identity Card, or other Population Identity Card, as well as the installation / attachment of stickers / notice boards for statements as violators and / or announcements in the mass media.

Saritem Closing in terms of its appearance along with the launching of the priority program "Bandung Agamis" appears as a symbolic effort to affirm to the citizens of the city that the "Bandung Agamis" program is a program that will be run seriously. The symbolic value of this activity will be strengthened if linked to the moment of the nomination of the mayor at that time.

Thus, there are three "Bandung Kota Agamis" programs that are used as policies of the Bandung City Government, namely: 1) Program for increasing understanding and practice of religion; 2) Program for developing religious climate of religious environment, and socio-religious activities; and 3) Program to increase tolerance for religious harmony.

The program to increase understanding and practice of religion aims to improve the quality and quantity of religious life in life in society. The program of developing a religious climate for the religious environment and religious social activities aims to realize the quality of the religious environment. While the third program, increasing tolerance of religious harmony, aims to create a religious environment that is full of tolerance, and awareness of multiple lives.

At this point, measuring the success of the "Bandung Kota Agamis" policy is not easy to do, especially because the Bandung City government itself does not determine the standard of success of this policy. At LKPJ in the last three years, 2007-2009, the "Bandung Agamis" program was the only priority program that did not have a target. Even for 2007 and 2009, it was mentioned without a target, only in 2008 there was a target of "Bandung Agamis" in the form of "closing Saritem".

So, "Bandung Kota Agamis" is one of the 4 objectives of the first mission implementation or one of the 22 overall goals of the Bandung City development program. However, despite that, the Policy of the "Bandung Kota Agamis" became one of the 7 (seven) priority agendas for 2009-2013. The seven priority agendas are 1) Strengthening the intelligence of the citizens of Bandung City (Bandung Cerdas), through Mayor's Assistance for Education (Bawaku Sekolah), 2) Strengthening the health of the citizens of Bandung City (Bandung Sehat), through Mayor's Assistance for Health (Bawaku Sehat); 3) Increasing the prosperity of the citizens of Bandung City (Bandung Makmur), 4) Strengthening the development of the city of Bandung is sustainable and environmentally sound (Bandung Hijau dan Harmonis). 5) Strengthening Art Development and Improving the Culture of Bandung City (Bandung Kota Seni

Budaya); 6) Improving Sports and Youth Achievement of Bandung City (Bandung Berprestasi); 7) Strengthening Tolerance and Fostering of Religious People (Bandung Agamis).

The parameters used to achieve the results of the Seven Agenda indicate the existence of an attempt by the City of Bandung to formulate itself as a religious city, but on the other hand, shows a lack of clarity about the realization of it.

Nevertheless, there are several things that can be used as indicators of the success of the "Bandung Agamis" policy. Among them is the level of development participation in the last three years, namely 2007 to 2009. First, community participation that can be collected and recapitulated in 2007 shows a significant increase in 2006 of Rp. 114,425,799,703.00 and in 2007 amounting to Rp. 145,174,291,950.00 or an increase of 26.87%. Second, Development Participation in 2008 the participation of public funds that can be collected and recapitulated in the amount of Rp. 114,259,139,289.00 and when compared with the amount of public fund participation in 2007 which was Rp. 145,174,291,950.00 or a decrease of 7.87%. Third, in 2009, the participation of public funds that could be collected and recapitulated was Rp. 128,352,559,983.00 and when compared with the amount of public fund participation in 2008 which was Rp. 114,259,139,289.00 or an increase of 12.33% (Bandung City Regulation Number 09 of 2009).

Community participation is one of the key factors in the success of development in an area. Community participation is a form of community responsibility to improve the quality and quantity of development oriented to the needs of the community. One form of community participation in the implementation of development is through the participation / self-help of development funds, which each year shows an increase greatly supporting the development in the city of Bandung.

#### **3.4. Government as Implementer of "Bandung Agamis" Public Policy**

The implementation of the "Bandung Kota Agamis" policy is not carried out specifically, for example by the appointment of a special agency implementing the "Bandung Agamis". The implementation of "Bandung Kota Agamis" is part and organized together with other programs, this program is then the responsibility of Regional Assistant II. Regional Assistant II is an echelon II official who is equal to the regional secretary.

Based on Regional Regulation Number 11 of 2009, Regional Assistants have the task of "assisting the mayor in formulating policies and coordinating regional apparatus" (Article 3 paragraph 2). Then, to carry out basic tasks and obligations, Regional Assistant II supervises the fields of (a) economy, (b) development and natural resources, and (c) the welfare of the people and society.

The executor of the "Bandung Agamis" program was apparently not devoted to just one implementer, but all parties. This can mean that the policy of the "Bandung Kota Agamis" is not administered administratively, but only on a

symbolic boundary. However, the emphasis on this symbolic aspect can succeed if it is done by a good government.

#### **3.5. Analysis and Prospects of Structural Da'wa Through Public Policy**

In general, the nature of da'wa is an attempt to turn a state into a better state, according to the standards of Islamic teachings, so that a person or society practices Islam as teaching and outlook on life. In other words, the purpose of da'wa can at least be said, to reconcile human nature with religion, or to awaken human beings to recognize the truth of Islam and practice the teachings of Islam so as to materialize life's piety truly.

Theoretically, there are two kinds of strategies; bi-al-qaul (bi-al-ihsān) and bi-al-af'āl, (including bi-al-khitābah or bi-al-a'māl). The description of the two activities gave birth to four kinds of da'wa activities, namely; first, tablīgh and ta'līm; second, irsyad; third, tatwir, and fourth tadbīr. Tablīgh and ta'līm are carried out in the intelligence and enlightenment of the community through the main activities; socialization, internalization, and externalization of the value of Islamic teachings, using the means of the pulpit, print mass media, and visual audio. Irshād is carried out in the framework of solving psychological problems, through main activities; guidance on personal counseling and family counseling guidance, both preventive and curative. Tadbīr (community development management), carried out in the framework of engineering and empowering the community in a better life, improving the quality of Human Resources, and socio-religious institutions, as well as fostering and developing the economy and welfare of the people. Tatwīr (community development), carried out in order to improve the socio-cultural community, which is carried out with the main activities; Transformation and institutionalization of the values of Islamic teachings in the reality of people's lives, which concern humanity, cultural arts, and social life. In other words, tatwīr deals with da'wa activities through socio-cultural strategies, or cultural da'wa, as well as the process of transforming Islamic teachings into practice in the form of empowerment (taghyīr, tamkīn) human resources (Muslims), the environment, and people's economy [24].

During this time the mission of tadbīr was translated as the establishment of an Islamic state or making shari'a Islam as the basis for the administration of a country. The underlying logic is that by being a source of community rules, religious values can be shared values.

But the change of the world presents a society that is not homogeneous, a country inevitably inhabited by various kinds of interests and religion. This situation led to the establishment of shari'a Islam as a model of tadbīr da'wa which had many challenges. Then another strategy is needed, including by internalizing religious values in heterogeneous public policy. Even when the community consists of a homogeneous belief, religious values still require an internalization process in a form that is acceptable to society and can be applied as a joint rule. Without internalizing religious values, it will not necessarily become public policy,

internalizing religious values will be a public value when those values can become part of public policy.

This research is more used the term value than shari'ah, because it is based on the understanding of al- Asymawi [25] which confirms the fundamental differences between shari'ah and qanūn.

For al-Ashmawi, there is confusion about which is fiqh and which is sharia and which is qanūn (law). This results in confusion about what is divine, the supernatural, and what is human.

Qanūn is different from Islamic shari'a, qanūn is the most obvious aspect of formalization, while Shari'ah is the clearest aspect of the teachings of God. If the rule of God is enacted by the state, then it is called qanūn, which is relative (zanny). On the basis of these considerations, the Sharia law is one form of qanūn, not Islamic sharia.

It is because, essentially, shari'ah is a method or a way of religion. That is the reason, the context is no longer how to implement Islamic Shari'a in total (in the form of formalization / legislation), but rather how to understand the Islamic shari'ah in this life. That is why the word value is used, instead of shari'a.

Another basis for the use of the word value is the thought of Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri in *Wijhatu al-Nazār* [26], which asserts that shari'a Islam is not the entire text that must be applied, but how to interpret it adequately in the present life. This is because sharia is more a methodology or source of law and not the law itself. Because of that, shari'a cannot be promulgated as positive law and will remain a source of normative religious sanctions. In other words, shari'a cannot be accepted or assumed to be a law as positive law.

By following this logic, what is needed is not a total form of shari'ah formalization, but the objectification of the value of Islamic teachings in modern law (national law). That is, the value of Islam is part of national law, which together with other laws is a source of national law. So that the Shari'ah is no longer understood literally to be applied throughout, but through the stages of absorption, verification, and testing it is appropriate to become state law.

In this perspective, shari'a together with other laws, such as customary law and Western law, become a contributor to the national law through stages of objectification based on historical-contextual quality. So that the law is no longer exclusive to Islam, but also becomes the law of all citizens. So what emerges is the law of all property, not the law of a particular people, in the form of public policy.

The internalization of values can also be done by making Islamic values part of political ethics. Political ethics in question is not a set of ethical rules that limit the behavior of politicians but also relate to the practice of social institutions, law, community, social structures, politics, and economics [27].

The scope of ethics that underlies the behavior of politicians and institutional performance are two interrelated things, namely that goodwill needs to be sustained by a just institution, with a symbiosis that the will serves to sharpen the meaning of responsibility while institutions (law, rules,

habits, social institutions) play a role in organizing responsibly.

Political ethics must also contain individual and social aspects, individual ethics because it discusses how the moral quality of perpetrators, social ethics because it reflects legal issues, social order, and just institutions. On the other hand, political ethics must cover institutional ethics and virtue ethics.

The virtue is a stabilizing factor of action that comes from within the perpetrator, while the institution guarantees the stability of actions from outside the self [27].

Based on this limitation, Islamic values can be a value that encompasses all government activities as well as being the basis of the overall activities of the community as well as individual political practitioners [28].

To be able to accommodate the ethics of ethics, ethics has three dimensions, namely political goals, choice of facilities, and the behavior of politicians.

The dimensions of goals are formulated in an effort to achieve community welfare and live peacefully based on freedom and justice. This dimension of purpose underlies the determination of policy, namely that a policy must be clearly explained in terms of priorities, programs, methods, and philosophical bases and then transparent what must be held accountable.

At this point, the value of Islam must be able to be internalized in each of the actors / politicians regarding the purpose of community welfare as well as being the basis for the goals of policy. The underlying value is freedom and justice which gives all citizens the right to get together towards a goal that is a shared dream, not a one-sided group.

The second dimension of political ethics is a means that enables the achievement of goals. This dimension includes the system and basic principles of organizing the practice of state administration and which underlie social institutions. When the system formed underlies the practice of social institutions, the ethical system determines the regulation of people's behavior in dealing with basic problems with normative imperatives accompanied by sanctions.

The dimensions of this mean contain three normative patterns. First, the political order must follow the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity, acceptance of plurality, the social structure arranged according to the principle of justice. Second, political forces are arranged according to the principle of reciprocity (reciprocity, *al-mu'awwadah*).

Islamic values that are the ethical system here act as testers and critics of the legitimacy of decisions, institutions, and political practices to remain in accordance with the norm (solidarity, subsidiarity, procedural justice, and plurality acceptance).

Third, political action. Political action is related to the subject of the perpetrator. Therefore the basic principle of ethics is the rationality of action and virtue (the moral quality of the offender). Political action is called rational if the actor has a situation orientation and understands the problem.

On the other hand, political action must also fulfill the primacy of the self in the sense that it is based on self-

determination and the courage to decide and face the risk of the action taken; it is also fair play and fair in relationships with others. At this point, the action is called ethical when it is rational and meaningful. The significance is found when political actions are based on the feeling and partiality of the weak.

Islamic values can be formulated as ethics that underlie goals, means, and political action if he can formulate concrete universality, encourage the emergence of self-character capable of reconciling, willing to sacrifice for mutual welfare, and acknowledge self-limitation.

Concrete universality theory was put forward by Luc Ferry [29] as part of three types of universality, namely freedom, and concrete empires. The universality of the empire is the sovereignty of universality if it refers to one truth having its group, for example, religion is true, other religions also have their own way to take part in the teachings of that one religion. The universality of freedom is the determination of the minimum likelihood conditions of shared life, although not the meaning of life for the community. For example, the declaration of human rights which is the idea that humans have the right to be respected, therefore everyone must respect this basic principle that will make everyone experience freedom. Concrete universality is when all parties agree on the existence (truth, goodness, beauty) something objectively such as someone's admiration for artwork. Concrete Universality is manifested in concrete individual actions (rooted in and thanks to the particularity of each religion) as well as universal (accepted by all groups) [27].

Islam Symbiosis can occur if it can manifest concrete universality in each individual and society at the level of activity. Muhammad Hatta, for example, is a Muslim figure who is very strict (concrete) but his political actions are recognized and beneficial for all groups (outside his religion). The symbiotic concept of Islam thus directs Muslims to become part of the public sphere and strives for public space for mutual welfare.

In addition, the religious values that might underlie the actors of public space are the willingness to sacrifice humanely, forgive, and recognize self-limitations. First, the spirit of sacrifice taught by religion is needed because it can move someone to do something selflessly and without fear of something. The tragedy of terrorism (up to the suicide bombing phenomenon) is a form of self-sacrifice for higher values but through death. The same type can be a potential capital for the development of public space by transferring transcendent meaning into worldly life. The point is that the arrangement of public space requires people who give themselves up to serve others, even sacrificing their personal interests, but it must for the sake of worldly life (for life) not for life out there (to die). Second, the ability of forgiveness is recommended by religion because the value of religion teaches that starting something new in the future is more important than capturing the past. This ability to forgive is another capital needed to organize reconciliation in the public space. Third, awareness of self-limitation is the ability to separate between normativity and historicity. Normative

religion is indeed unlimited, but when played in life (historicity) can be limited and because it is open to other understandings or other practices.

Borrowing the idea of Sardar [30], concerning the epistemology of Islam, the paradigm of qanūn in public policy, a number of characteristics of the Islamic epistemology can be developed, namely:

a. The Islamic epistemology is based on an Absolute Guidelines Framework (al-Qur'an and Sunnah);

b. Within the framework of this guideline, the Islamic epistemology is active and not passive;

c. Islamic epistemology views objectivity as a general problem and not a personal matter. A science becomes objective when it succeeds in becoming a problem solving for various problems that occur in the community;

d. Most are deductive. One characteristic of the Islamic epistemology is to move from the conceptual realm to the factual domain; the establishment of conceptual ideas;

e. Integrating knowledge with Islamic values. Revelation and potential reason are always in the realm of synthesis;

f. Viewing knowledge as being inclusive and not exclusive, that is, considering subjective human experience as legitimate as objective evaluation;

g. Trying to compile a subjective experience and encourage the search for these experiences, from which Muslims obtain their basic value commitments;

h. Integrating concepts from the level of consciousness, or the level of subjective experience, in such a way that concepts and figures corresponding to one level do not have to be in accordance with other levels. This is the same as the expansion of the range of known "awareness" processes and is included in the field of creative imagination and mystical and spiritual experiences;

i. Not against the holistic, unified and humane view of human understanding and experience. That way he is in accordance with the view that is more integrated from personal development and intellectual growth.

## 4. Conclusion

"Bandung Kota Agamis" phenomenon shows the struggle for public space between understanding Integralistic Islam and Symbiotic Islam. Integralistic Islam wants the arrangement of the public sphere with Islamic shari'a verbally, namely the arrangement of the teachings of Islamic sharia directly with Islamic labels without considering other residents in the public space. Besides, Symbiotic Islam proposes a number of proposals to organize public space as a shared space (even for the economic interests of tourism) with Islamic values.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that in turn these Islamic epistemological values must always be correlated with their axiological framework. To arrive at the above expectations, it would require extraordinary sincerity and accuracy at the operational level. Moreover, the ability of Muslims to read history will also be a determining factor.

If the factors that cause the progress of Islam in the past

and its decline can be formulated appropriately, then read and applied in the present context, it is not impossible that Islam will re-emerge as the controller of civilization.

Future Islam in this framework is Islam which correlates the 'holiness of revelation' with "intelligence of reason" and "human creativity" (as an embodiment of the three sources of Islamic epistemology).

The separation of the three or the inauguration of one of them will only give birth to civilizational inequality; an "epistemological disaster" with serious risks.

## References

- [1] M. Supriyadi, "Mengukur Politisasi Agama dalam Ruang Publik: Komunikasi SARA dalam Perdebatan Rational Choice Theory," *J. Keamanan Nas.*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 387–426, 2015.
- [2] M. Azhar, *Filsafat politik: perbandingan antara Islam & Barat*. Rajagrafindo Persada, 1997.
- [3] D. Syamsuddin, "Usaha Pencarian Konsep Negara Dalam Sejarah Pemikiran Politik Islam," *J. Ulumul Qur'an*, vol. IV, no. 2, 1993.
- [4] Kamsi, "Paradigma Politik Islam," *RIGHT J. Agama Dan Hak Azazi Mns.*, vol. 2, no. 1, 2012.
- [5] M. Dahlan, "Hubungan Agama Dan Negara Di Indonesia," *Anal. J. Studi Keislam.*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 1–28, 2017.
- [6] E. Kristiyanto, "Etika Politik dalam Konteks Indonesia," *Kanisius Yogyakarta.*, 2001.
- [7] D. Drache, *The Market Or the Public Domain?: Global Governance and the Asymmetry of Power*. Psychology Press, 2001.
- [8] S. Kamil, "Perda Syari'ah Di Indonesia: Dampaknya Terhadap Kebebasan Sipil Dan Minoritas Non Muslim," *Pasham Uii Ac Id Diakses*, vol. 22, 2008.
- [9] A. A. Safei, "Toleransi Beragama di Era 'Bandung Juara,'" *KALAM*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 403–422, 2016.
- [10] The Authors of Bandung Agamis, *Bandung Agamis: Landasan, Pendekatan, Indikasi, dan Program Aksi*. Bandung: Sekda Kota Bandung, 2009.
- [11] Z. Misrawi, "Dekonstruksi Syariat; Jalan Menuju Desakralisasi, Reinterpretasi dan Depolitisasi," *Tashwirul Afkar*, no. 12, pp. 6–26, 2002.
- [12] J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*. University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- [13] H. Hecllo and W. M. McClay, *Religion Returns to the Public Square: Faith and Policy in America*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003.
- [14] A. Azra, *Dari Harvard hingga Makkah*. Jakarta: Republika, 2005.
- [15] S. Bungo, "PENDEKATAN DAKWAH KULTURAL DALAM MASYARAKAT PLURAL," *J. Dakwah Tabligh*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 209–219, Desember 2014.
- [16] M. J. Puteh and M. Saifullah, "Dakwah Tekstual dan Kontekstual: Peran dan Fungsinya dalam Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Umat," *Yogyak. AK Group*, 2006.
- [17] S. K. Kartodiwirio, *Bandung: kilas peristiwa di mata filatelis : sebuah wisata sejarah*. Kiblat Buku Utama, 2006.
- [18] KOMPAS, "Bandung, Kota Kreatif di Asia Pasifik," May-2008.
- [19] H. Kunto, "Wajah Bandoeng Tempo Doeloe," *PT Granesia Bdg.*, vol. 66, pp. 300–301, 1984.
- [20] H. M. Federspiel, *Persatuan Islam, Pembaharuan Islam di Indonesia Awal XX*. Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1996.
- [21] Tribun Jabar, "Hallo Kang Dada," *Bandung: Dinas Komunikas & Informasi Pemerintah Kota Bandung.*, 2009.
- [22] K. Hidayat and M. W. Nafis, *Agama masa depan: perspektif filsafat perennial*. Paramadina, 1995.
- [23] M. R. Lubis and A. Barizi, *Cetak biru peran agama: merajut kerukunan, kesetaraan gender, dan demokratisasi dalam masyarakat multikultural*. Departemen Agama, Badan Litbang Agama dan Diklat Keagamaan, Puslitbang Kehidupan Beragama, 2005.
- [24] A. . Enjang, "Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam dalam Sistem Dakwah," *Ilmu Dakwah Acad. J. Homilet. Stud.*, vol. 5, no. 18, pp. 469–482, 2011.
- [25] M. S. al-Asymawi, "Jalan Menuju Tuhan," *Syariat Islam Dalam Pandangan Muslim Lib. Jkt. Jar. Islam Lib. Asia Found.*, pp. 1–17, 2003.
- [26] M. A. al-Jabiri, *Wijah Nadzar, al-Markaz al-Tsaqafi al-Arabi*. Lebanon: Beirut, 1992.
- [27] J. Haryatmoko, *Etika politik dan kekuasaan*. Kompas, 2014.
- [28] R. W. Hefner, *POLITIK MULTIKULTURALISME-Menggugat Realitas Kebangsaan*. Jakarta: Kanisius, 2007.
- [29] L. Ferry, "Human Rights and Democratic Humanism," in *Human Rights in Crisis: The Sacred And The Secular in Contemporary French Thought*, 2005.
- [30] Z. Sardar, *Rekayasa Masa Depan Peradaban Muslim*. Bandung: Mizan, 1991.