

Maqasidi Leadership of Minority Religions Figure for Maintaining Tolerance in Manado, Indonesia.

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1 Maqasidi Leadership of Minority Religions Figure for Maintaining Tolerance in Manado, Indonesia

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1 Abstract

Manado's Muslim minority mindset stops social, political, and religious activities. Although Islam is the second-largest religion after Protestantism, this mindset can be seen by the impression that Manado is a 'Christian City' known as the "Tower of a Thousand Churches." This article describes the strategy of minority religious leaders (Islam) in tolerating the perspective of Maqasid al-Syari'ah. The research data was collected through observation and in-depth interviews with religious leaders from the Islamic boarding school Kiai, IAIN Manado lecturers, and Muslim youth. The research findings show that first, the values of religious tolerance in Manado have developed in the form of slogans, such as "Torang Samua Basudara," "Torang Samua Ciptaan Tuhan," and "Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou," second, the strategy of Islamic religious leaders in maintaining tolerance through (1) mutual respect for beliefs, (2) fighting for religious teachers and places of worship (mushola) in public schools, (3) creating dialogue forums between religious communities, (4) enlivening Islamic syi'ar, such as majlis taklim, the graduation ceremony for students from all over North Sulawesi, and (5) halal certification. This finding has implications for the Maqasidi type for religious minority leaders in tolerance to protect Muslims' faith.

Keywords: Leadership, Maqasidi, Minority Muslims, Manado

Abstrak

Mindset minoritas muslim Manado membuatnya bersikap inferior dalam kegiatan sosial, politik, dan agama. Walaupun Islam sebagai agama terbesar kedua setelah Protestan, akan tetapi mindset ini dipengaruhi oleh kesan bahwa Manado sebagai 'Kota Kristiani' yang dikenal dengan "Menara Seribu Gereja". Artikel ini menjelaskan strategi pemuka agama minoritas (Islam) dalam menjaga toleransi perspektif Maqasid al-Syari'ah. Data penelitian dikumpulkan melalui observasi dan wawancara mendalam terhadap para pemuka agama dari kalangan kiai pesantren, dosen IAIN Manado, serta tokoh pemuda Islam. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pertama, nilai-nilai toleransi beragama di Manado telah berkembang dalam bentuk slogan-slogan, seperti "Torang Samua Basudara", "Torang Samua Ciptaan Tuhan", dan "Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou"; kedua, strategi pemuka agama Islam dalam menjaga toleransi melalui (1) sikap saling menghormati keyakinan, (2) memperjuangkan guru agama dan tempat ibadah (mushola) di sekolah negeri, (3) membuat forum-forum dialog antar umat beragama, (4) menyemarakkan syi'ar Islam, seperti majlis taklim, wisuda santri se-Sulawesi Utara, dan (5) sertifikasi halal. Temuan ini berimplikasi pada tipe kepemimpinan Maqasidi bagi para pemuka agama minoritas dalam menjaga toleransi untuk melindungi akidah umat Islam.

Kata Kunci: *Kepemimpinan, Maqasidi, Muslim Minoritas, Manado*

Introduction

The condition of religious minorities in society often creates injustice, conflict, inferiority in social, political, and religious practice in public spaces. Burning churches, mosques, monasteries, and other worship places is a form of conflict between religious communities, often triggered by the majority's interests to control the minority. This study will explain the strategies of minority religious leaders (Islam) in Manado in maintaining tolerance to the perspective of Maqasid al-Syari'ah. In this study, religious leaders were Islamic boarding school Kiai, IAIN Manado lecturers, Islamic youth leaders such as the Masjid Youth Association (Prima) and the Indonesian Mosque Youth Communication Board (BKPRMI).

Religious leaders in Islam are often referred to as scholars (Ulama), ustadz, Kiai, Teungku, or titles given by the community. They have extraordinary influence and charisma in the development of Islamic educational institutions and social change. For example, Horikoshi explains that scholars' role and charismatic Kiai in West Java are very influential in

shaping Muslims' great togetherness¹. Suprpto's research explains that *Tuan Guru* and *Pedanda* (Hindu religious leaders) have a significant influence on social change, which has succeeded in creating peace in several social riots in Lombok, such as calming worshipers, localizing conflict issues, reminding families (communities) to exercise restraint, and socializing harmony values in religion².

This research focuses on the *Kiai* (Ulama) role as supporting actors of tolerance in the minority Muslim community in Manado, North Sulawesi. As a community figure, the *Kiai* has such a central role in realizing religious life's benefit. According to Arifin, *kiai's* leadership pattern is so central and almost glorified³, charismatic⁴, democratic⁵, and as an absolute source of power (authority) in the life of *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school)⁶. The change in *Kiai's* leadership authority from a single charismatic pattern towards the collective⁷ is influenced by the inclusion of the general education system (schools/madrasas in the *pesantren* environment) the Ulama or the *Kiai*⁸ based on the national curriculum⁹. The shift of charismatic-traditional *Kiai* leadership to rational refers to collective leadership, higher levels of community participation, more complex organizational structures, leadership does not lead to one individual but instead leads to the institution, and leadership mechanisms are managed managerially¹⁰.

¹ H. Horikoshi, *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial*, trans. Umar Basalim and Andi Muarly Sunrawa (Jakarta: P3M, 1987), 237-38.

² S. Suprpto, "Religious Leaders And Peace Building: The Role of Tuan Guru and Pedanda in Conflict Resolution in Lombok - Indonesia," *Al-Fami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 53, no. 1 (June 10, 2015): 225-50, doi:10.14421/ajis.2015.531.225-250.

³ Imron Arifin, *Kepemimpinan kyai: kasus Pondok Pesantren Tebuireng* (Malang: Kalimasahada Press, 1993), 154.

⁴ Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren: Suatu Kajian Tentang Unsur dan Nilai Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994), 84.

⁵ Muhtarom, *Reproduksi Ulama di Era Globalisasi: Resistansi Tradisional Islam* (Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), 152-53.

⁶ Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai dan Visinya Mengenai Masa Depan Indonesia* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2011), 93-94.

⁷ Sukanto, *Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Pesantren* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999), 18.

⁸ Nadhirin Nadhirin, "Teaching Supervision of Madrasah Headmaster Based on Pesantren Culture," *QIJS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 5, no. 2 (March 8, 2018): 214, doi:10.21043/qijs.v5i2.3122.

⁹ Sukanto, *Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Pesantren*, 18.

¹⁰ M. Ridlwan Nasir, *Mencari Tipologi Format Pendidikan Ideal: Pondok Pesantren di Tengah Arus Perubahan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2005), 327-28.

The *kiai*'s leadership has an extraordinary impact and influence on the religious understanding of the *santri*. Zainal Arifin explained that traditional *pesantren* had more influence on a religious understanding of *santri* than on modern *pesantren* because the tradition of freedom of thought in modern *pesantren* provided opportunities for *santri* (alumni) to have a different understanding from the *Kiai*¹¹. Besides, the *Kiai* also has a role as a cultural broker, denominator of religious ideology¹² a transformational figure who can select and socialize the values and integrity of *pesantren*¹³. According to Abdurrahman Wahid (Dawam Rahardjo, ed.), the *Kiai* also has absolute power, a source of inspiration, and moral support for their students¹⁴. This power comes from a combination of Islamic education (tradition) and charisma¹⁵ or charismatic leadership¹⁶.

This research focuses on how the *Kiai*'s role is in creating tolerance values in the Muslim minority town of Manado, placing this study with previous studies of *Kiai* leadership. Initially, this study was conducted by interviewing several *Kiai* at the Manado City boarding school. Then the research develops by interviewing several Muslim figures (*Ulama*) involved in several Islamic education organizations and institutions.

This study uses the *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* approach. *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* consists of two words, *Maqasid*, which means goals, and *syari'ah*. The definition of *syari'ah* often overlaps with *fiqh*. *Syari'ah* is (1) the law revealed by God in the Qur'an and Sunnah, (2) is absolute and does not change, and (3) is mainly general, while *fiqh* is (1) law concluded from *syari'ah* to respond to specific situations, (2) changes with the situation and conditions in which it is

¹¹ Zaenal Arifin, "Kepemimpinan *Kiai* Dalam Ideologisasi Pemikiran *Santri* Di *Pesantren-Pesantren Salafiyah Mlangi Yogyakarta*," *Inferensi: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 9, no. 2 (December 1, 2015): 351-72, doi:10.18326/infslj.v9i2.351-372.

¹² Zainal Arifin, *Kepemimpinan Spiritual Pesantren Temboro: Strategi Kebudayaan *Kiai* dalam Membentuk Perilaku Religius* (Program Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2017), 181.

¹³ Pepen Supendi, Aan Hasanah, and Mahmud Mahmud, "Transformational Leadership in *Pesantren* on as Sa'idah, Al Matuq, and Sunanul Huda Boarding School," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 7, no. 2 (2018): 314-15, doi:10.14421/jpi.2018.72.303-316.

¹⁴ M. Dawam Rahardjo, ed., *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan* (Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial, 1988).

¹⁵ Inayah Rohmaniyah and Mark Woodward, "Wahhabism, Identity, and Secular Ritual: Graduation at an Indonesian High School," *Al-Fajr: Journal of Islamic Studies* 50, no. 1 (June 26, 2012): 123, doi:10.14421/ajis.2012.501.119-145.

¹⁶ Sukanto, *Kepemimpinan *Kiai* dalam Pesantren*, 23.

applied, and (3) is specific according to the situation¹⁷. Based on this understanding, *syari'ah* means the laws of God summarized in the Qur'an and Hadith, which are still general, while *fiqh* is the result (product) of the process of understanding (interpreting) the Qur'an and Hadith to answer problems that always change according to the era, place, situation, and tradition.

In this study, the researcher used *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* as a doctrine and method for analyzing the Kiai leadership in realizing the benefits of tolerance in Muslim minorities in the city of Manado. *Maqasid* as a doctrine intends to achieve, guarantee, and preserve the benefit of humans, especially Muslims who have the following three priority scales: (1) *al-dharuriyah* (primary, which includes the protection of religion (faith), soul, mind, wealth, and offspring¹⁸, (2) *al-hajiyah* (secondary), and (3) *al-tahsiniyah* (tertiary)¹⁹. *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* wants to establish that the purpose of *Syari'ah* presence is not for the sake of Allah, but for the benefit of humans to be happy in the world and the Hereafter²⁰. Meanwhile, *Maqasid* as a method²¹ is meant to analyze the *kiai's* leadership model on Muslim minorities in the city of Manado in maintaining the three benefits above.

Abd. H.B Yusuf explained that the Maqasid theory's evolution could be found at the Prophet Muhammad's time, namely a law order based on the concept of "Taysir" (facilitate or facilitate). The scholar (Ulama) who pioneered the study of Maqasid was Abūbākr al-Qaffal al-Shashi (d. 365) from the Syafi'i school of thought with his book "Mahasin al-Syari'ah" to explain the virtues and goals of the shari'ah²². Another scholar who became a pioneer was Abu al-Hasan al-'Amiri (d. 381), who discussed Islam's virtues according to the pillars of worship in the sixth chapter of his book, "al-i'lam bi manaqib al-Islam"²³. "Al-

¹⁷ A. A. B. Philips and M. Fauzi Arifin, *Sejarah & Evolusi Fiqih Aliran-Aliran Pemikiran Hukum Islam* (Bandung: Nuasa Cendekia & Nusamedia, 2015), xvi.

¹⁸ Jasser Auda, *Maqasid Al-Shariah: A Beginner's Guide*, vol. 14 (London: International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), 2008), 6.

¹⁹ Yudian Wahyudi, *Ushul Fikih Versus Hermeneutika: Membaca Islam dari Kanada dan Amerika* (Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawasea Press, 2007), 45.

²⁰ Quraish Shihab, *Islam Yang Saya Anut* (Lentera Hati Group, 2017), 92; M. A. F. Al-Bayanuni, *Fikih Darurat Pegangan Ilmiah Menjawab Persoalan Khilafiyah*, trans. Abdul Majid (Jakarta: Tiros, 2018), 37-41.

²¹ Wahyudi, *Ushul fikih versus hermeneutika*, 48.

²² A. al-Qaffal. Shashi, *Mahasin Al-Syari'ah*, 1992.

²³ A. al-Hasan Al-Amiri, *Al-I'lam bi Manaqib al-Islam* (Dar al-Ishlah Li-Tsaqafah wa an-Nasyr wa al-I'lam, 1988).

'Amiri's contribution was to classify maqasid into five categories, which al-Juwayni and Al-Ghazali later refined²⁴. Imam al-Juwayni developed the Maqasid theory into three categories: dharuriyyah, hajiyyah, and tahsiniyyah, widely accepted by his students al-Ghazali, al-Razi, al-Amidi, al-Qarafi, al-Shathibi, and Ibn Ashur in the period modern²⁵.

The study of *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* as an approach is widely used to discuss Islamic legal or economic practices and human rights. First, Abdurrahman Kasdi explained that human rights studies' focus is a human benefit, which can be classified as the most important, essential, and less critical. This author offers a *Maqasid* approach implemented with Yusuf Qaradhawi's *fiqh aulawiyat* (priority) to implement human rights in Islamic thought²⁶.

Second, Ahmad Wira et al. use the *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* index to measure the Sharia Business Unit of Bank Nagari's performance. The author uses Abu Zahrah's three scales of *Maqasid*, which include (1) educating individuals (*tahdhib al-Fard*), (2) enforcement of justice (*iqamah al-'adl*), and (3) realizing maslahat (*jalb al-maslahah*)²⁷. These three scales serve as the *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* index to measure the Syariah Business Unit of Bank Nagari's performance. This study concludes that (1) the low *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* index of Syariah Business Unit of Bank Nagari (11.52%) is influenced by the low level of financing in the real sector, (2) *zakat* provided by the unit has not been performed optimally, and (3) the intensity of education and research that leads to *Syariah* has also never been performed independently because it still depends on the primary policy²⁸.

Third, the *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* approach can also be used as a tool of analysis to discuss Islamic politics. Maimunah, in her library study, explained

²⁴ A. H. M. ibn M. Ghazali, *Al-Mustasfa Min Ibn al-Ushul*, Tahqiq Dr. Hamzah Bin Zuhair Hafidz, n.d.

²⁵ Abdul Hameed Badmas Yusuf, "A Study of Evolution of Maqashid As-Syari'ah as A Legal Theory," *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 19, no. 1 (June 13, 2014), doi:10.29300/madania.v19i1.21.

²⁶ Abdurrahman Kasdi, "Maqashid Syari'ah Dan Hak Asasi Manusia (Implementasi HAM Dalam Pemikiran Islam)," *JURNAL PENELITIAN* 8, no. 2 (September 27, 2014): 265-66, doi:10.21043/jupe.v8i2.836.

²⁷ M. A. Zahrah, *Ushul Al-Fiqh* (Kairo: Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabi, 1958), 364-66.

²⁸ Ahmad Wira, Hefrizal Handia, and Alfi Syukria, "Pengukuran Kinerja Perbankan Syariah dengan Menggunakan Pendekatan Indeks Maqashid Syariah," *Maqdis: Jurnal Kajian Ekonomi Islam* 3, no. 2 (December 3, 2018): 154-55, doi:10.15548/maqdis.v3i2.186.

that the dimension of maintaining the unity of the *ummah* (*hifz al-ummah*) could be used as a basis in maintaining the integrity and unity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) as a political goal in Islam to create a better society (*maslahah*). The author quotes the concept of *hifz al-ummah* from Hamka Haq that *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* in the state's life requires *hifz al-ummah*²⁹.

From the three studies above, this research has a different focus of study. This study's focus is using the *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* approach to analyze the *kiai*'s leadership model in maintaining the benefits of religious tolerance in minority Muslim communities in the city of Manado. This study's results in describing the values of tolerance and Muslim leaders' efforts (figures) in maintaining tolerance between religious communities offer a model of Islamic leadership in the Muslim minority community in Manado. The perspective of *Maqasid al-Syari'ah* is called the *Maqasid* leader', the leadership model that seeks to preserve the religious minority Muslim community from things that damage the beliefs of Muslims.

The term tolerance in Webster's dictionary means "freedom (to tolerate) the opinion of others and exercise patience with others. In Arabic, tolerance is called *tasamuh*, which means to allow something to allow, to facilitate everyone else³⁰. Tolerance is an attitude that accepts the existence of attributes, attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of other individuals or groups in the political, moral, and social fields³¹.

The definition of tolerance according to UNESCO 1995 in the 'Declaration of Principles on Tolerance' explains that tolerance is respect, acceptance, and respect for the world's cultural wealth ..., tolerance is harmony in differences, not only a moral obligation but also a political and legal

²⁹ Maimunah Maimunah, "Politik Islam Perspektif Maqashid Syariah," *El-Mashlahah* 8, no. 1 (2018): 16, doi:10.23971/el-mas.v8i1.1093.

³⁰ Lis Yulianti Syafrida Siregar, "Konstruksi Hermeneutika Dalam Studi Islam Tenrang Hadis-Hadis Misoginis (Studi Pemikiran Khaled Abou El Fadl)," *TAZKIR: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Keislaman* 2, no. 2 (December 31, 2016): 349, doi:10.24952/tazkir.v2i2.514.

³¹ Laura Kurth and Pieter Glasbergen, "The Influence of Populism on Tolerance: A Thematic Content Analysis of the Dutch Islam Debate," *Culture and Religion* 18, no. 3 (July 3, 2017): 215, doi:10.1080/14755610.2017.1358194.

obligation ... and tolerance is a virtue. It makes peace possible and contributes to the replacement of a culture of war with a peace culture³².

The Al-Quran supports religious tolerance in Islam. The verses of Makiyah explain religious tolerance in persuasive theology that invites peaceful and civilized life. While the Madaniyah verses (Surah al-An'am [6]: 108, al-Rum [30]: 22, QS. Al-Kafirun [109]: 1-6, QS. Saba' [34]: 25 -26) contains the meaning of the prohibition of insulting other religious beliefs and symbols, respecting differences, and respecting the principles of diversity in the form of differences in language, skin color which is a sign of God's power (Muhtador, 2017, p. 196). The Al-Quran prohibits coercion in religion (QS. Al-Baqarah [2]: 256), the mission of the Prophet and apostle is not to impose religion but only convey religious treatises (QS. Asy-Shura [42]: 48), and al- The Qur'an also forbids curse worship of other religions (QS. Al-An'am [6]: 108).

This research is a qualitative research that combines a literature review with field research in Manado City on 24-29 August 2018. Researchers conducted interviews with Islamic minority religious leaders such as Kiai, ulama, community leaders, lecturers. The researcher also made observations about the socio-religious conditions and places of worship in Manado and Minahasa, such as Islamic boarding schools, Islamic universities (IAIN Manado), madrasas, and churches. Using a qualitative approach because it is based on a natural setting, is descriptive, goes through a process, uses inductive data, and looks for meaning³³.

Determination of data sources using purposive sampling technique to the people who are considered best understand the object under study³⁴. In this study, researchers interviewed and observed at Darul Istiqomah Orphanage Islamic Boarding School (KH Muyassir, Lc), As-Salam Islamic Boarding School (KH. Ahmad Junaedy, Lc., M.Pd.), and Hidayatullah Islamic Boarding School in Tomohon. He also interviewed Islamic organizations

³² John Fahy, "The International Politics of Tolerance in the Persian Gulf," *Religion, State and Society* 46, no. 4 (October 2, 2018): 311-27, doi:10.1080/09637494.2018.1506963; Nazlı Çağın Bilgili, "Religiosity and Tolerance in Turkey: Is Islam the Problem?," *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 15, no. 4 (October 2, 2015): 473-94, doi:10.1080/14683857.2015.1063794.

³³ Carol Mutch, "Title: Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods," *Qualitative Research Journal* 6, no. 1 (May 1, 2006): 27-29.

³⁴ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2010), 300.

(Mardan Umar, M.Pd from Prima) and lecturers at IAIN Manado (Dr. Ardianto, M.Pd.). Data analysis used interactive techniques, Miles, and Huberman, by reducing data from literature and field studies, then narrated and concluded³⁵. The conclusions are then discussed with the theory.

This study was conducted by studying several references and field studies in the city of Manado on August 24-29, 2018, by interviewing several *Kiai* (*Ulama*) and observing socio-religious conditions. Determination of data sources is using purposive sampling technique to those who are considered to understand the object under this study best³⁶. In this study, the researcher performed interviews and observations in Darul Istiqomah Orphanage Boarding School (KH Muyassir, Lc), As-Salam Islamic Boarding School (KH Ahmad Junaedy, Lc., M.Pd), and Hidayatullah Islamic Boarding School in Kota Tomohon. The researcher also interviewed Islamic organization leaders (Mardan Umar, M.Pd from Prima) and lecturers at IAIN Manado (Dr. Ardianto).

The Social-Religious Conditions of The City of Manado

Manado is one of the cities that has been dubbed as the "City of Tolerance." Manado has been equated with "The City of Brotherly Love," which has the following slogans since becoming the destination city of conflict areas in Eastern Indonesia (Ambon, Ternate, and Poso), "Torang Samua Basudara (We are all brothers and sisters)" (coined by the Governor of EE Mangindaan) and "Torang Samua Ciptaan Tuhan (we are all creations of God)" (coined by Governor Olly Dodokambey). This slogan is in line with Sam Ratulangi's philosophy, "*Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou*," which means "human beings live by humanizing other human beings," which portrays a tolerant, constructive, secret, and respectful society³⁷.

These values have become the local wisdom of the Manado people who support life of religious tolerance. According to Haryanto, local wisdom can be a social cohesion in life across religions, beliefs, and even cultures to color

³⁵ Matthew B. Miles and A. Michael Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis* (London: SAGE, 1994), 337.

³⁶ Sugiyono, *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan Pendekatan Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Dan R&D*.

³⁷ Frangky Suleman, "Keberagaman Budaya dan Agama di Kota Manado," *Endogami: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Antropologi* 1, no. 1 (December 1, 2017): 55-59.

together dynamically and peacefully in a multicultural society³⁸. Local wisdom that grows in the city of Manado is a form of awareness in diversity that human beings are human brothers and sisters. This awareness of 'unity in diversity,' according to Nurlan Balpanov et al., Strengthens tolerance in a multi-ethnic society, which is not enough just by recognizing differences in culture, religion, and belief³⁹.

Some harmonious socio-religious conditions in the city of Manado can be observed from the many worship places built side by side, especially churches and mosques. The number of churches dominates, for example, the Evangelical Christian Church in Minahasa (GMIM), the Pentecostal Church in Indonesia (GPDI), and the Adventist Church. Therefore, the city of Manado is dubbed the "Tower of a Thousand Churches"⁴⁰. Togetherness between religious communities is also harmonious, one of which is found in the Jalan Roda Manado community, where every religious community can sit together and talk about their teachings without triggering conflict⁴¹.

Religious tolerance in the city of Manado is still available, although it cannot be denied that there is still suspicion among religious communities (Hasan et al., 2018, p. 1). Therefore, to support the life of religious tolerance in multi-ethnic and plural societies, the application of *Wasatiyah* (moderate) values is needed in Islam's teachings⁴². Being moderate is meaningless without having an apparent attitude and truth in religion, but still avoiding excessive attitude in observing religious practices⁴³.

³⁸ Joko Tri Haryanto, "Kontribusi Ungkapan Tradisional dalam Membangun Kerukunan Beragama," *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* 21, no. 2 (December 15, 2013): 366, doi:10.21580/ws.21.2.250.

³⁹ Nurlan Balpanov et al., "The Problem of Religious Tolerance in Kazakhstan: Past and Present," *Space and Culture, India* 6, no. 2 (July 10, 2018): 17, doi:10.20896/saciv6i2.318.

⁴⁰ Lisa Aisyiah Kasyid, "Islamisasi Dan Dakwah Alkhairaat Dalam Masyarakat Majemuk Di Kota Manado Tahun 1947-1960," *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality* 2, no. 1 (February 1, 2018): 27, doi:10.30984/ajip.v2i1.508.

⁴¹ Rukmina Gonibala Musdalifah Dachrud and Ismail Suardi Welke, "Prosocial Behavior of Muslim and Christian Communities in Public Space," *Opción* 34 (2018): 423.

⁴² Khadijah Mohd Khamali et al., "Al-Wasatiyyah in the Practice of Religious Tolerance among the Families of New Muslims in Sustaining a Well-Being Society," *Humanomics* 33, no. 2 (January 1, 2017): 211, doi:10.1108/11-02-2017-0025.

⁴³ Mutawali Mutawali, "Moderate Islam in Lombok: The Dialectic between Islam and Local Culture," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 10, no. 2 (December 1, 2016): 312, doi:10.15642/JIIS.2016.10.2.309-334.

The Government of Manado City also adopted the *Mapalus* (cooperation) culture of Minahasa by forming the Organization of Interfaith Cooperation Agency (BKSAUA) and the Interfaith Consultative Body (BAMAG), which were tasked with working together to build two-way communication between religious leaders and the people. Community organizations that have joined the organizations, among others, are GP Ansor, PMII, HMI, Mangini Brigade, Legium Christum, Chinese Family Association. The result arises the same perception on the importance of a peaceful life built on tolerance. Sympathetic actions often performed by adherents of different religions maintain security and ease and distribute flowers during Christmas worship in the Church and secure Eid Al-Fitr Prayers' implementation⁴⁴. During Eid al-Adha, the As-Salam Islamic Boarding School distributed sacrificial meat to non-Muslims⁴⁵ and some non-Muslims distributed "sembako (the nine basic needs)" Darul Istiqomah Islamic Boarding School⁴⁶.

Muslim Minority

The Muslim minority, according to Taj Al-Sirr Ahmad Harran, is a group of Muslims who live under the authority of a Non-Muslim government in the middle of a non-Muslim majority⁴⁷. Mindset as "Minority Muslims" is still imprinted on some Muslims in the city of Manado. If viewed from the number of Muslims based on data from Statistics Indonesia (BPS) in 2010, the number of Muslims was 128,483 (the second largest number after Christianity), around 37 – 40% are Muslims, and the remaining 60% consisted of Protestant Christians, Catholics, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. In Manado, there are also four *pesantren*: Darul Istiqomah, As-Salam, *Pondok Karya Pembangunan* (PKP), and al-Khairat⁴⁸.

The minority mindset in some Muslims' minds is also pointed out because there is still an impression that Manado is a 'Christian City.' Non-Muslims fill positions (leaders) in local government and state schools, and

⁴⁴ Suleman, "Keberagaman Budaya Dan Agama Di Kota Manado," 59.

⁴⁵ interview with KH. Ahmad Junaedy, August 27, 2019

⁴⁶ interview with KH Muyassir, August 24 2019

⁴⁷ Taj al-Sirr Ahmad Harran, *Hadhir Al-'Alam al-Islami* (Riyadh: Maktabah al-Malik Fahd, 2001), 158.

⁴⁸ Interview with K.H Muyassir, 24 August 2018

there is no mosque (mosque), only a prayer room for all religions⁴⁹. Besides, the ratio of Islamic religion teachers is also inadequate compared to the number of Muslim students⁵⁰.

Minority Religion's Strategy in Maintaining Tolerance

According to Geertz's thesis⁵¹, religion can create social integrity and harmony, and conflict in society. So, religious leaders' role is needed in maintaining the *maslahat* of religious tolerance, especially for minority communities⁵². Tolerance in Islam does not mean being syncretic (a process of combining ideologies, religious traditions, or beliefs), but respecting each other and not considering all religions the same. So, there are common boundaries that can and cannot be violated⁵³.

Muslims themselves tend to be tolerant in their socio-political life, except those with a textualist-traditionalist understanding of Islam. In essence, the Quran teachings, prophetic traditions⁵⁴, and early Muslim rulers support that Islam plays a vital role in promoting tolerance. Dialogue and interreligious harmony⁵⁵. Religious tolerance is a manifestation of moderate Islamic understanding. People who understand Islam in moderation are more tolerant of different opinions, prevent violence and prioritize thinking and dialogue⁵⁶.

⁴⁹ Interview with Dr. Ardianto, 27 August 2019

⁵⁰ Interview with Ismail, August 25, 2018

⁵¹ Hasan Szali and Budi Guntoro, "Penguatan Toleransi Agama 'Analisis Komunikasi Pembangunan Agama'" 08 (2015): 14.

⁵² Ibid., 41.

⁵³ Akhmad Jazuli Afandi, "Best Practice Pembelajaran Toleransi (Implementasi Kajian Tematik Hadith Al-Adyan Bagi Kerukunan Umat Beragama)," *NUANSA: Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Sosial Dan Keagamaan Islam* 16, no. 1 (July 31, 2019): 65, doi:10.19105/nuansa.v16i1.2365.

⁵⁴ Ebru Altinoglu, "Religious Commitment or a Textualist-Traditionalist Understanding of Islam? The Impact of Religious Orientations upon Social Tolerance in Turkey," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 5 (October 20, 2018): 1, doi:10.1080/13530194.2017.1330135.

⁵⁵ Mohammad Elius et al., "Islam as a Religion of Tolerance and Dialogue: A Critical Appraisal," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 18 (April 1, 2019): 96.

⁵⁶ Ilyya Muhsin, Nikmah Rochmawati, and Muhammad Chairul Huda, "Revolution of Islamic Proselytizing Organization: From Islamism to Moderate," *QJIS (Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies)* 7, no. 1 (June 3, 2019): 45-70, doi:10.21043/qjis.v7i1.5076.

In essence, Muslims tend to be tolerant in socio-political life, except those who have a textualist-traditionalist understanding of Islam⁵⁷. However, the essence of the Qur'anic teachings, prophetic traditions, and early Muslim rulers supported that Islam played an important role in promoting tolerance, dialogue, and interfaith harmony⁵⁸.

In essence, all religions teach harmony, peace, compassion, and cooperation between humans in social tasks. Differences in religion, ethnicity, race are part of *sunnatullah*, so that we are required to know each other and compete in goodness. As Allah SWT says in QS. Yunus [10]: 99, QS. al-Hujurat [49]: 13, and QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 148. However, misunderstandings in understanding religion often lead to radicalism and extremism by religious adherents, resulting in phobias and even encouraging people to leave religion (Atheists) because they are disappointed with some religious behavior followers.

In Manado, *Kiai* or *ulama* play an essential role in maintaining the benefits of tolerance between religious communities. In this article, the researcher found the following *Kiai* (Ulama) efforts in realizing the benefits of religious tolerance for minority Muslims: First is respecting each other's religious beliefs. The construction of places of worship in the city of Manado seems to have a form of 'competition,' especially between churches (Christians) and mosques/*pesantren* (Islam). Even so, they can coexist in everyday relationships. For example, the *Kiai* of *Pesantren* Darul Istiqomah strictly forbids students from engaging in Non-Muslim religious processions but is tolerant of association. Even the *pesantren* yard is commonly used for parking by Church worshippers⁵⁹.

The tolerant attitude of the people of Manado City in respecting their respective beliefs is manifested in respect in carrying out their respective worship, such as when the Non-Muslim community guards the Eid al-Adha prayer and when the Muslim community guards Christmas⁶⁰. The culture of tolerance in worship can also be seen when the "Ketupat Day" after Eid is held

⁵⁷ Altinoglu, "Religious Commitment or a Textualist-Traditionalist Understanding of Islam?," 1.

⁵⁸ Elius et al., "Islam as a Religion of Tolerance and Dialogue," 96.

⁵⁹ Interview with K.H Muiyassir, 25 August 2018

⁶⁰ Interview with Dr. Ardianto, August 27 2018

with various activities, even every resident's house, both Muslims and non-Muslims, provides ketupat dishes for all residents. This "Ketupat" culture is similar in Java because Javanese Islam heavily influences Islam's practice in Manado. For example, in Minahasa, it is known as Javanese-Tondano Islam (JATON)⁶¹. Javanese-Tondano Muslims (JATON) are Javanese-Muslim fighters whom the Dutch exiled in 1829 on the northern tip of Sulawesi. In the end, they created a Muslim village in the middle of the Christian Minahasa area, so that it was known as the Javanese-Tondano Muslim settlement (JATON)⁶².

The second supports Islamic Religion (PAI) teachers and prayer rooms for Islamic children in public schools. Non-Muslims lead the majority of public schools in the city of Manado. The unavailability of worship places (prayer rooms) and PAI teachers' shortage encourages students' parents and guardians to provide adequate prayer rooms and PAI teachers. A public school already has a new mosque is SMAN 1, while other schools only provided prayer rooms for all religions⁶³.

The provision of Islamic Religious Education (PAI) teachers and adequate places of worship for Muslim students is critical to maintaining the benefit of religion (*hifd al-din*). The problem of minority communities is that their rights to practice religion are neglected, so it also happens in schools where students are a minority. Maqasidi leaders always fight for students' rights to practice religion properly so that the government or schools need to provide Islamic Education teachers and adequate places of worship.

Religious protection for students who do not get Islamic education teachers and the right worship places is essential to maintain students' diversity. According to M. Quraish Shihab, preservation (protection) of religion requires increasing the understanding of religious people towards their religious teachings and fortifying them from any defilement or the influence of its purity⁶⁴. In the Quran, it has also been regulated how Muslims must maintain their own beliefs while respecting the beliefs of other religious

⁶¹ Interview with K.H. Ahmad Junaedy, I.c., M.Pd., 27 August 2018

⁶² Wardiah Hamid, "Hubungan Masyarakat Jawa Tondano dengan Minahasa," *Al-Qalam* 20, no. 3 (December 16, 2014): 85-86, doi:10.31969/alq.v20i3.345.

⁶³ Interview with Dr. Ardianto, 27 August 2018

⁶⁴ M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbāh* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Umum Islam, 2006), 576.

communities (QS Al-Kafirun [109]: 1-6), and there is no compulsion in religion (QS al-Baqarah [2]: 256).

The third is creating forums for dialogues between religious communities. One of them is a forum for youth interfaith dialogue. The North Sulawesi Regional Police on August 27, 2019, invited a meeting of interfaith youth leaders consisting of (1) Mosque Youth Association (Prima), (2) Indonesian Mosque Youth Communication Agency (BKPRMI), (3) Evangelical Christian Church in Minahasa (GMIM), (4) Pentecostal Church in Indonesia (CPDI), (5) Adventist Churches, and (6) Representatives of Indonesian Buddhists (Walubi) to actively participate in the Manado Fiesta 2018 with the theme "The Role of Interfaith Youth on North Sulawesi in Maintaining Religious Harmony in the Frame of NKRI." The purpose of establishing a dialogue forum for interfaith youth leaders is to maintain religious tolerance and resolve conflicts. The presence of dialogue forums can minimize conflict and eliminate "suspicion" between religious communities. This forum can also be a bridge for mutual dialogue, so every religious community can observe their respective beliefs without fear of being a minority. Thus, the maintenance of religious minority Muslim communities in the city of Manado can be appropriately maintained.

Islam highly appreciates good relations with Non-Muslims as long as they do not fight, antagonize, or expel Muslims (QS. Al-Mumtahanah [60]: 8-9). Jauhar interprets this verse, so Muslims do good deeds and be fair to the Book's People (non-Muslims). Islam allows to feed the people of the book and eat the slaughter as long as Allah does not forbid it. The basis for this action is QS. Al-Maidah [5]: 5⁶⁵.

Islam itself greatly appreciates good relations with Non-Muslims as long as it does not fight, hostile, or expel Muslims (QS. Al-Mumtahanah [60]: 8-9). Jauhar interprets this verse so that Muslims do good and be fair to the Book's People (non-Muslims). Islam allows feeding the book's people and feeding on its slaughter as long as Allah does not forbid it. The basis of this act is QS. Al-Maidah [5]: 5⁶⁶. Prophet Muhammad SAW was also sent to be a blessing for the whole world. (QS. Al-Anbiya '[21]: 107) Moreover, he paid homage to non-

⁶⁵ A. A.-M. H. Jauhar, *Maqashid Syari'ah*, trans. Khikmawati (Jakarta: Amzah, 2017), 7.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Muslim corpses. In a hadith, it is narrated, 'when a group of people carrying a corpse passed in front of the Prophet, he stood up. The Companions asked, "Surely it is the corpse of a Jew, O Prophet? He replied, "Isn't he also a soul (human)?' (HR. Bukhari)⁶⁷.

Fourth is encouraging Muslims to unite in the election of public leaders. Awareness of Muslims' importance in public leadership to support religious benefits as a Muslim minority is essential. However, Muslims always fail to represent public leadership because of the mindset as a minority and the lack of unity between Islamic organizations⁶⁸. However, some scholars allow Non-Muslims to be leaders as long as they are not hostile to Muslims, following QS. Al-Mumtahanah [60]: 8-9 and QS. Ali Imran [3]: 118, for example, Muhammad Abduh⁶⁹ and M. Rasyid Ridha⁷⁰.

Wawan Gunawan explained Muhammad Abduh's opinion that the verses of scholars who refuse to become non-Muslims as leaders (as in QS. Ali Imran [3]: 28, QS An-Nisa [4]: 144, QS Al-Maidah [5]: 51, and QS Al-Anfal [8]: 73) can not be denied the truth at all. What is not mentioned, said Abduh, that those who are prohibited (non-Muslims) from being elected are because they are hostile to Muslims⁷¹. They are not hostile to Muslims, and together with Muslims in one state entity as citizens, they can be elected as head of state. Abduh based his argument with QS Al-Mumtahanah [60]: 7, 8, and 9. According to Abduh, the prohibition of lifting Non-Muslim leaders prohibits that is 'illat, that is, if they are among those who misbehave, fight, expel or help others to expel Muslims. In the Tafsir al-Misbah Quraish Shihab explaining Rasyid Rida's opinion, the choice of a leader in a non-Muslim (close friend) is conditional (non-Muslim) does not interfere and wants trouble for Muslims, and hate speech has emerged from them. M. Rasyid Ridla's opinion is based on Q.S. Ali Imran [3]: 118⁷².

⁶⁷ Muhamad Nurudin, "Peranan Aliran Muja'jah Dalam Membangun Kehidupan Toleransi Di Masa Modern," *FIKRAH* 5, no. 1 (June 22, 2017): 144, doi:10.21043/fikrah.v5i1.1769.

⁶⁸ Interview with K. H Muryassir, 25 August 2018

⁶⁹ Wawan Gunawan Abdul Wahid, *Fikih Kebinekaan: Pandangan Islam Indonesia Tentang Umat, Kewargaan, dan Kepemimpinan Non-Muslim*. (Bandung: Mizan, 2015), 322-23.

⁷⁰ Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbāh*, 566-67.

⁷¹ Wahid, *Fikih Kebinekaan*, 322-23.

⁷² Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Mishbāh*, 566-67.

The fifth is to enliven the spread of Islam. The mindset of “Minority Muslims” often makes Muslims less confident in performing Islam’s teachings amid non-Muslim communities that make up the majority. For example, Mardan Umar once narrated that there had been a viral news story where a pair of [Muslim] husband and wife sang church songs in restaurants. According to Mardan Umar, that was part of his lack of confidence as a minority Muslim in Manado⁷³, although it was reported that the reason for the person to sing Christian hymns was to sustain his life with his wife and even to finance his studies at IAIN Manado. Many members of the person’s own family embrace Christianity ⁷⁴.

The following are examples of the broadcast (*syi’ar*) of Islam that showcase a *Kiai* (Ulama): (1) actively participating in *majlis ta’lim* for Muslim communities, and even sending *ustadz* to remote areas such as in Bunaken to hold Qur’anic recitations or teachings to the Muslim minority community in Bunaken; (2) organizing Santri Graduations throughout North Sulawesi from *Tsanawiyah* (Islamic Junior High level) and *Aliyah* (Islamic Senior High level) from all Islamic boarding schools located in *Graha Gubernur* in collaboration with the Ministry of Religion and several boarding schools as a form of “show of force” that *pesantren* exist. On October 22, 2018 (National Santri Day), there was also held a kirab/parade of *santri* by inviting officials and boarding schools throughout North Sulawesi (approximately 27 boarding schools)⁷⁵; (3) Halal certification on food and beverages. The Islamic leadership of the city of Manado MUI has made efforts to preserve the minority Muslim community’s religion in the City of Manado by providing halal certificates for food circulating among the people⁷⁶.

Maqasidi Leadership of Minority Religions

In the Islamic tradition, such leaders as *Kiai*, *ulama*, or *ustadz* have a religious authority that can be used as a reference for Muslim communities. For Sutiyono, the *Kiai* became a role model (patron) for the students and the surrounding community (client) because of their abilities and religious

⁷³ Interview with Mardan Umar M.Pd., 24 August 2018

⁷⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7p2pouOG-rQ>

⁷⁵ Interview with K.H. Muyassir, 25 August 2018

⁷⁶ Interview with K.H. Ahmad Junaedy, August 27, 2018

knowledge⁷⁷. *Kiai* is a figure who has a strong influence⁷⁸. Hence, the *Kiai* is very instrumental in providing knowledge about the nature of Islamic teachings and how to get along with non-Muslims and preserve religion (*hifd al-din*) from efforts to destroy the Islamic creed (belief) of Muslims as a minority group.

The *Kiai* must understand that the purpose of the presence of Islamic *sharia* (*Maqasid al-Shari'ah*) is to bring benefit, kindness, comfort, or peace to Muslims. On this basis, the *Kiai* (*Ulama*) of minority Muslims must strive to ascertain that Islam's practice can be adequately performed without threats or vices that will befall Muslims. The term of the Muslim minority in this study is emphasized on a group of Muslims living in Manado, where Islam is a minority in terms of the number of followers. The condition as a minority community requires a soft strategy in practicing Islam without inviting horizontal conflicts with followers of other religions.

In this research, the *Maqasid* leader is an Islamic leadership model that seeks to preserve the religious minority Muslim community from things that damage Muslims' beliefs. The following are the *Maqasid* leader's efforts (*Kiai*) in realizing the benefits of religious tolerance in Muslim minorities in Manado. First is respecting each other's religious beliefs by taking care of each other's religious services to be safe from disturbances from people who damage tolerance in the city of Manado, such as non-Muslims safeguarding the implementation of Eid al-Adha prayers conducted by Muslims or vice versa. Second is the strive for PAI teachers and prayer rooms for Islamic children in Public Schools, which Non-Muslims generally lead, and save children who do not get Islamic religious teachers in schools by moving them to *Pesantren* ((Islamic boarding schools). The third is creating dialogue forums between religious communities to strengthen brotherhood amongst religious communities as part of the city of Manado, known as the "City of Tolerance." These forums are also supported by slogans that are always used as an inspiration for the people of Manado in interfaith relations, such as "*Torang Samua Basudara*," "*Torang Samua Ciptaan Tuhan*," and "*Si Tou Timou Tumou*

⁷⁷ Sutyono, *Benturan Budaya Islam: Puritan & Sinkretis* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2010), 48.

⁷⁸ Yanwar Pribadi, "The Klebun, the *Kiai* and the Blater: Notes from Western Madura, Indonesia," *South East Asia Research* 23, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 310, doi:10.5367/sear.2015.0267.

Tou.” Fourth is to strengthen the spread of Islamic Religion with *majlis, tadzkir Akbar*, the graduation of *santri* from North Sulawesi at the *Tsanawiyah – Aliyah* levels from several Islamic boarding schools in North Sulawesi, and fifth is halal certification, especially on food. Non-Muslim entrepreneurs also support this activity by requesting Halal certificates from MUI to be accepted by all Manado City people, mostly Muslims.

Conclusions

Based on an in-depth study of the results of in-depth interviews, observations, literature studies, and documentation, this study can be concluded as follows: First, the tolerance values developed in the city of Manado as “City of Tolerance” are emphasized in several slogans in the city of Manado and Minahasa such as “*Torung Samua Basudara*,” “*Torung Samua Ciptaan Tuhan*,” and “*Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou*” which means “humans live by humanizing other humans” (the philosophy of Dr. Sam Ratulangi’s). Second, the efforts that Islamic leaders have made in maintaining tolerance amongst religious communities in the city of Manado are as follows: (1) respecting each other’s religious beliefs, (2) striving for PAI teachers and prayer rooms for Islamic children in public schools, (3) creating dialogue forums between religions, (4) strengthening the spread of Islamic teachings, such as *majlis taklim* (recitations), *Santri* graduations throughout North Sulawesi, and (5) Halal certification. Third, Islamic leadership’s typology in the Muslim minority perspective of the *Maqasid al-Syari’ah* perspective is called the *Maqasid* leader.

Maqasid’s leadership is a leadership model that seeks to maintain the benefits of religious tolerance in Muslim minorities by protecting from associations that undermine Muslims’ beliefs (aqidah). The *Maqasid* leader seeks to provide knowledge about Islam’s teachings and establish relationships between religious communities to be guaranteed to implement religion following their respective beliefs. Preservation of religion is a primary dimension (*Dharuniyah*) in *Maqasid al-Syari’ah*, which must be maintained to realize the benefits of followers of Islam. From the five efforts made by Islamic leaders in the city of Manado, it can be explained that in addition to maintaining the religious minority Muslim community, the leaders also maintain tolerance between religious communities by establishing interfaith dialogues.

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