The role of islam in revitalizing democracy and multiculturalism after the black friday tragedy

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Abstract. In the aftermath of the "Black Friday" tragedy, which shook Indonesia's socio-political stability, trust in democracy and multiculturalism has seen a marked decline. This phenomenon highlights how social divisions can undermine democratic foundations, intensify tensions, and erode the values of unity within society. This study aims to examine the role of Islam in restoring democratic stability and reweaving the fabric of multiculturalism in the wake of the "Black Friday" incident in South Kalimantan. Using a qualitative-descriptive method, the study explores Islamic concepts as a foundation for reconstructing inclusive social and political dialogue. The findings indicate that Islamic values, particularly those of ukhuwah (brotherhood) and the principle of Islam Rahmatan lil 'alamin (Islam as a mercy to all creation), hold substantial potential to reinforce social cohesion, foster interfaith dialogue, and restore public trust in democracy. In conclusion, Islam can serve as a driving force in the reconsolidation of democracy and the strengthening of multicultural values in a polarized society. This can be achieved through the application of values such as Ukhuwah Islamiyah (Islamic brotherhood), Wathaniyah (national brotherhood), and Insaniyah (human brotherhood), along with the concept of Islam as Rahmatan lil 'alamin. By understanding these concepts, intergroup relations can be improved, and national unity can be preserved amidst the challenges of multiculturalism.

Keywords: Islam, democracy, multiculturalism, black friday

INTRODUCTION

The existence of a nation is the result of the final agreement of the founding fathers who recognized plurality as a fundamental basis for the establishment of Indonesia. The plurality of this nation is clearly reflected in the national motto, Bhineka Tunggal Ika. Throughout history, this diversity has given birth to a harmonious blend of cultures, forming a rich and complex social mosaic. Various ethnicities, religions and traditions have coexisted peacefully, demonstrating a high level of interaction and negotiation in the fabric of society. However, this harmony has begun to be tarnished by exclusive attitudes that arise from narrow primordialism, whether in terms of ethnicity, religion or group (Khotimah, 2017, p. h. 236).

The development of socio-political dynamics in the era of globalization is often tainted by various tragedies that destabilize a nation's society. One such tragedy that has had a significant impact is the event known as Grey Friday (Rosalina et al., 2022, p. h. 33-42). This tragedy not only resulted in material losses and loss of life, but also triggered a crisis of confidence in democracy and multiculturalism that has been the foundation of diversity in Indonesia. The impact of these events reflects the fragility of the social order that is supposed to nurture the diversity of society.

In the aftermath of the Grey Friday tragedy, various aspects of socio-political life have experienced severe shocks (Tholkhah et al., 2002, p. h. 16-17). Democracy, which is ideally an inclusive space for public dissent and expression, appears increasingly fragile amid growing public discontent. Political discourse has become rigid, the space for dialogue has narrowed, and public trust in the government and state institutions has decreased significantly. In addition, social decay in the context of multiculturalism is increasingly visible with the emergence of a widening gap between community groups, especially related to religious and ethnicity issues (Ali, 2009, p. h. 7). Sectarian sentiments are getting stronger, creating a climate of intolerance that threatens national unity.

Various problems arose as a result of the tragedy of Gray Friday. One of them is the fragility of the democratic system, which became apparent as public discontent increased. Political discourse became more rigid, the space for dialog narrowed, and trust in the government and state institutions dropped dramatically. In addition, the social breakdown of multiculturalism can be seen in the widening gap between groups of people, especially in relation to issues of religion and ethnicity. Sectarian sentiments are emerging, creating an atmosphere of intolerance that threatens national unity (Rahayu, 2024, p. h. 47).

This research aims to answer the question of whether Islam can be a guide in restoring social and political stability, as well as strengthening unity in the midst of a crisis caused by inter-group tensions and divisions in society, by emphasizing Islamic principles to nurture multiculturalism after the Grey Friday tragedy. Based on a review of previous studies, it can be concluded that this paper presents a novelty value in the discussion of Islamic discourse related to the gray Friday tragedy. Especially in the context of democracy and multiculturalism, where previous studies have not discussed the specific role of Islam in the tragedy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous studies have tried to highlight the role of religion in the context of socio-political crises. Exploring the social impact of the Grey Friday tragedy on community cohesion, resulting in trauma to the Banjar community (Rosalina et al., 2022, p. h. 33). The message of national politics as a form of reconciliation of kiai after the democratic party, seen from the perspective of coordination of meaning management (CMM), shows that national politics reflects patriotism and nationalism. This attitude should be a reference for every individual to prioritize the humanitarian aspect in order to achieve peace and prosperity in society (Aminuddin et al., 2021, p. h. 135). The role of Islamic education in maintaining pluralism in society (Ar Rahmany & Ummah, 2021, p. h. 46). Meanwhile, there are those who highlight the contribution of Islamic values in rebuilding a more inclusive social order (Hana, & M. Azis, 2023). Islamic education relates to the principles of democracy, equality, freedom, and pluralism. There is no denying that Islamic education serves as a means of communication (Yahdi, 2024, p. h. 71). However, there is no research that specifically and in-depth discusses how Islam can rebuild democracy and multiculturalism after this kind of tragedy.

METHOD

This research is a library research with qualitative research. The issue that becomes the focus of the research is social divisions that weaken the foundation of democracy, exacerbate tensions, and erode the values of unity in society, due to the tragedy of Gray Friday. Data was obtained through a literature review that included primary and secondary data. Primary data is obtained from direct analysis of the Qur'anic text, as well as relevant religious documents, such as QS. al-Hujurat [49]:10 and QS. al-Anbiya' [21]:107, which serve as the foundation in explaining the values of brotherhood and universal mercy of Islam. Meanwhile, secondary data includes scientific journals, books, research reports, articles, e-books, online news, and documents related to the Friday tragedy. These data are then analyzed descriptively-analytically to reveal the relevance of Islamic concepts in addressing the challenges of democracy and multiculturalism in Indonesia. This is expected to provide a new contribution in exploring the role of Islamic values as the basis for the creation of social harmony in a culturally and religiously plural society.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
The Gray Friday Tragedy and its Impact on Democracy and Society

On the eve of the 1997 elections, the people of Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, were shocked by a tragedy that left deep scars. The incident was triggered by a reaction to the disruption caused during Friday prayers at the Noor Mosque by Golkar sympathizers campaigning in noisy motor vehicles. The resulting noise disturbed the worshippers, triggering widespread anger among the masses, including supporters of other parties. This led to a major riot on May 23, 1997, known as Friday Kelabu or Friday Membara (Mas'oed & Budhi, 1997, p. h. 42-44).

On that day, Banjarmasin was engulfed in a massive riot triggered by the Golkar Party's final campaign for the 1997 election. In terms of the scale of the unrest, the number of victims, and the losses incurred, this incident was one of the most significant in New Order history. However, due to the government's closed access to information policy, official and reliable reports on the situation on the ground were not available. Media coverage was very limited, far from adequate to illustrate the huge social and political impact of the events (Mas'oed & Budhi, 1997, p. h. 45-47).

The Gray Friday riots in Banjarmasin were one of a number of conflicts that swept across Indonesia. These conflicts reflected people's deep disappointment with the political and economic conditions during the New Order era. Therefore, these events can be understood as a form of community reaction to the pressure and structural violence they experienced during the regime (Mas'oed & Budhi, 1997).

Islam's Role in Rebuilding Democracy
The concept of Ukhuwah in Islam as the foundation of Multiculturalism

Ukhuwah in Islam is one of the key concepts that describes the social and spiritual bonds between individuals, both in the religious and humanitarian spheres (Anandari & Afriyanto, 2022, p. h. 64-86). The word ukhuwah comes from the Arabic language which means "brotherhood", and in the Islamic context, this brotherhood is not limited to biological relationships, but includes relationships based on religious beliefs, nationality, and humanity. The concept of ukhuwah is the foundation for Muslims in living social life with the principles of mutual respect, cooperation, and maintaining harmony (Arabi et al., 2023, p. h. 1142-1154). In more

detail, ukhuwah in Islam is divided into three main forms: ukhuwah Islamiyah, ukhuwah Wathaniyah, and ukhuwah Basyariyah, each of which has different characteristics, scope, and social implications.

Ukhuwah Islamiyah

According to Abdullah Nashih Ulwan, ukhuwah Islamiyah is an emotional relationship that creates deep feelings of tenderness, affection, and respect among individuals bound by the Islamic creed, faith, and piety. This brotherhood transcends the boundaries of region, tribe, province, and even country. Ukhuwah Islamiyah does not recognize the caste system, does not judge glory from physical appearance or skin color. Its foundation is the similarity of faith, united by the sentence of Allah the Most High, and avoiding worldly ambitions. All individuals are united as commanded by Allah, from this world to the hereafter (Apriyani & Yusuf, 2024, p. h. 77-89). Ukhuwah Islamiyah specifically refers to the bond of fellow Muslims that is based on a common belief and faith. Although Muslims come from different ethnic, cultural, and geographical backgrounds, they are still considered a unified Ummah, or ummah. This principle is explained in Q.S. al-Hujurat [49]:10:

إِنَّمَا الْمُؤْمِنُوْنَ اِخْوَةٌ فَاَصْلِحُوْا بَيْنَ اَخَوَيْكُمْ وَاتَّقُوا اللهَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُرْحَمُوْنَ ء

Meaning: "Indeed, the believers are brothers, so reconcile your brothers and fear Allah that you may be blessed."

At a scientific level, ukhuwah Islamiyah can be interpreted as a form of social solidarity based on religious dimensions. This solidarity not only covers spiritual aspects, but also extends to the social, economic and political spheres. For example, in the economic field, the concept of zakat and alms is a concrete manifestation of ukhuwah Islamiyah, where Muslims who are more prosperous are obliged to help their less fortunate brothers. Furthermore, ukhuwah Islamiyah also plays a crucial role in strengthening cross-border collaboration, connecting Muslims from all over the world through a common bond of faith (Salim dkk, 2023, p. h. 14).

Sociologically, ukhuwah Islamiyah contributes to the establishment of strong social cohesion among Muslims. This enables the creation of a harmonious and solid society, with an orientation not only on individual interests but also on the collective welfare of the ummah. When conflicts or divisions occur, ukhuwah Islamiyah serves as a basic principle in efforts to reconcile disputes, as affirmed in Islamic teachings that advocate islah (reconciliation) when there is disagreement between them.

Ukhuwah Wathaniyah

Ukhuwah Wathaniyah refers to brotherhood in the context of nationality or nationalism (Nurhakim et al., 2024, p. h. 50-61). Although Islam emphasizes the importance of *ukhuwah* among fellow Muslims, *ukhuwah Wathaniyah* also plays an important role as a manifestation of a Muslim's attachment and responsibility to his or her country, regardless of religious differences. The Qur'an affirms that humans were created as nations and tribes not to fight each other, but to know each other and work together (QS. al-Hujurat [49]:13).

Ukhuwah Wathaniyah requires Muslims to play an active role in maintaining harmony and prosperity in the country where they live. This brotherhood includes the responsibility of building a just, prosperous and peaceful society, both in interactions among fellow Muslims and with citizens from different religious backgrounds. In the context of a plural country like Indonesia, *ukhuwah Wathaniyah* is particularly relevant, given that Muslims live side by side with followers of other religions. This principle teaches that religious differences should not be a source of hostility, but rather should be the foundation for strengthening cooperation and creating social harmony.

Ukhuwah Wathaniyah requires Muslims to always maintain harmony and prosperity in the country where they live. This concept of brotherhood includes the responsibility of creating a just, prosperous and peaceful society, both in interactions among fellow Muslims and with citizens from different religious backgrounds. In the context of a pluralistic country like Indonesia, *ukhuwah Wathaniyah* has great relevance, given that Muslims live side by side with adherents of other religions. This *ukhuwah* principle emphasizes that religious differences should not be used as an excuse for hostility, but should be understood as a basis for strengthening cooperation and building social harmony (Diantika, 2024, p. h. 63-75).

Historically, *ukhuwah Wathaniyah* is evident in the contribution of ulemas and Muslims in the struggle for Indonesian independence. Islamic leaders not only fought for religious interests, but also sought to free the country from colonialism for the welfare of all the people. This shows that *ukhuwah Wathaniyah* can be a solid foundation for national unity and development (Nursyahbani & Hanifudin, 2024).

Ukhuwah Wathaniyah can be analyzed through a sociopolitical approach in the academic realm, where religion functions as one of the factors that shape national identity (Hakim & Darojat, 2023, p. h. 1337–1346). Muslim participation in democratic processes and the development of an inclusive and equitable society reflects this. Thus, *ukhuwah Wathaniyah* describes the active role of Muslims in the life of the nation and state, without sacrificing their Islamic values.

Ukhuwah Insaniyah

Ukhuwah Insaniyah (Bashariyah), or better known as the brotherhood of humanity, has a wider reach than the other two forms of ukhuwah. *Ukhuwah Basyariyah* encompasses all of humanity regardless of religion, race, or nationality (Hamidah, 2015, p. h. 335-336). Islam teaches that all humans come from one source, namely

Prophet Adam and Eve, so they have equal rights and obligations to respect each other and coexist peacefully. This is affirmed in QS. al-Hujurat [49]:13 which states:

يٰٓاَيُّهَا النَّاسُ اِنَّا خَلَقْنٰكُمْ مِّنْ ذَكَرٍ وَّاُنْثٰى وَجَعَلْنٰكُمْ شُعُوْبًا وَّقَبَاۤىِٕلَ لِتَعَارَفُوْا ۚ اِنَّ اَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللّٰهِ اَتْقٰىكُمْ ۗاِنَّ اللّٰهَ عَلِيْمٌ خَبِيْرٌ

Meaning: "O people, indeed We have created you from a male and a female. Then, We made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious. Verily, Allah is All-Knowing and All-Absorbing."

Ukhuwah Bashariyah emphasizes the importance of universal human values such as justice, equality, and respect for human rights. Amidst global challenges such as interstate conflict, racial discrimination and social injustice, ukhuwah Bashariyah provides ethical guidance for Muslims to engage in global peace and justice efforts. Islam, as a religion of *Rahmatan lil 'alamin* (mercy for all nature), does not only aim to bring goodness to Muslims alone, but also to all humanity (Arif, 2021, p. h. 2686-2107).

In this context, *ukhuwah Bashariyah* can be analyzed through the perspective of human rights and global ethics. This concept invites Muslims to play an active role in promoting peace, fighting all forms of oppression and preserving the environment. *Ukhuwah Basyariyah* also emphasizes the importance of interfaith dialogue as an effort to create understanding and cooperation in facing common challenges such as poverty, climate change, and human rights violations (Ulva et al., 2021, p. h. 2614-4905).

Islam as a Religion of Rahmatan lil 'Alamin

Islam, as a religion of *Rahmatan lil 'alamin*, means a teaching that brings mercy, peace and goodness to the entire universe. This term refers to QS. al-Anbiya' [21]: 107:

وَمَآ اَرْسَلْنٰكَ اِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعٰلَمِيْنَ

Meaning: *"We did not send you (Prophet Muhammad), except as a mercy for all the worlds."*

This concept underlines that Islam is not only for the benefit of Muslims alone, but also acts as a mercy for all creatures, including humans, animals, plants, and the environment. Islam teaches universal principles that aim to create a harmonious life in a diverse society. In this context, Islam is not only a religion that is exclusive to its adherents, but also has a mission to create peace and prosperity for all components of society, regardless of religious, ethnic or national backgrounds. This principle was emphasized by the Prophet Muhammad on various occasions, one of which was in the Medina Charter which is considered the foundation of the first multicultural state in the world. This charter shows how the Prophet SAW respected ethnic, religious and cultural diversity in maintaining peace and unity in Medina (Adnan et al., 2024, p. h. 63-82).

Tolerance is one of the fundamental values in Islam. In the social context, Islam encourages its followers to be open, respect differences, and coexist with other groups peacefully. This attitude of tolerance is not only a response to the diverse social conditions of society, but also a manifestation of the human values taught by Islam. In QS. al-Kafirun [109]: 6, Allah SWT says, *"For you your religion, and for me my religion."* This verse shows how Islam provides space for religious freedom and respects the beliefs of others without coercion or pressure.

To create multicultural harmony, tolerance taught by Islam is not only about respecting differences in terms of beliefs, but also in aspects of culture, tradition and ethnicity. Islam recognizes that diversity is part of God's creation that must be respected and maintained. The Prophet Muhammad also taught Muslims to treat all people fairly, without discrimination, as he said, *"A person does not believe until he loves his brother as he loves himself"* (HR. Bukhari and Muslim) (Aplikasi Ensiklopedia Hadis, n.d.).

History records many clear examples of how Islam maintains harmony and tolerance between religions and ethnicities. Since the early days of its spread, Islam has shown an inclusive attitude and respect for diversity. Under the leadership of the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs, Islam not only flourished among Muslims, but also created harmonious relationships with followers of other religions.

One of the main examples of the implementation of tolerance in Islamic history is the Medina Charter. This charter is an agreement between Muslims and the Jewish community and Arab tribes living in Medina (Sholikhah, 2017, p. h. 87-102). In the charter, the Prophet SAW established the rights and obligations of each group, and guaranteed religious freedom for all parties. The Medina Charter is clear evidence that Islam respects the rights of minorities and encourages the creation of a just and peaceful society.

In addition, during the heyday of the Abbasid Dynasty, especially in the city of Baghdad, there are clear examples of how Islam maintained harmony between various ethnic and religious groups (Drechler, 2013, p. h. 319-342). Baghdad, which at that time became a center of science and culture, was inhabited by various tribes and religions, including Muslims, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians. Scholars from different religious backgrounds worked together in developing sciences, such as philosophy, mathematics, and medicine (Amin, 2009). This shows that Islam not only tolerates diversity, but also encourages collaboration across religions and cultures for mutual progress.

The story of the Conquest of Jerusalem by Caliph Umar bin Khattab is one of the great examples of tolerance in Islamic history. After conquering the city, Umar bin Khattab did not destroy the places of worship of Christians and Jews, but instead provided security guarantees to them. Umar also refused to pray inside the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, despite being invited by the local priest, to prevent the possibility of Muslims claiming the

church as a mosque in the future. Umar's attitude showed high respect and tolerance towards other religions' places of worship (Luthfi, 2023, p. h. 20-29).

Another story of tolerance can be seen during the Andalusian Caliphate in Spain. Andalusia in the 8th to 15th centuries is known as one of the best examples of a multicultural society living peacefully under Islamic rule. Muslims, Christians and Jews coexisted peacefully, cooperating in science, art and trade. The Caliphate of Andalusia became the world's center of culture and science, contributing to Western civilization (Nasution, 2013, p. h. 147-148).

Islam as a Pillar of Multiculturalism

Islam is a religion rich in humanitarian and universal values, providing a strong foundation for the creation of a multicultural and harmonious society. In this context, Islam acts as a pillar of multiculturalism by promoting tolerance and pluralism, as well as education that encourages respect for diversity. The following is a more in-depth explanation of these two important aspects.

Tolerance and Pluralism in Islam

Tolerance in Islam can be understood as an attitude of mutual respect and acceptance of differences Islamic teachings not only emphasize the importance of faith in Allah, but also invite its people to establish good relations with fellow human beings, regardless of religious, racial, or ethnic backgrounds. One of the verses that reflects this principle is found in QS. Al-Hujurat [49]: 13, *"O people! Indeed We created you from a man and a woman, and We made you into nations and tribes that you may know one another."* This verse affirms that differences are part of God's creation that should be celebrated, not contested.

In addition, the concept of pluralism in Islam is rooted in the belief that every individual has the right to practice their respective beliefs (Fauzi et al., 2024, p. h. 238-248). Islam teaches that there is no compulsion in religion QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 256, thus providing space for adherents of other religions to coexist peacefully. In history, there are many examples where Muslims and non-Muslims coexist harmoniously, such as in Andalusia during the heyday of Islam, where science, art, and culture flourished thanks to the interaction of various religions and cultures.

This harmony is increasingly important in an increasingly diverse and complex society. In the context of multiculturalism, tolerance and pluralism are key to preventing conflict and strengthening social ties. Islam teaches us to always respect others, encourage interfaith dialog, and resolve differences in a peaceful and constructive way.

Islam-based Education for the Restoration of Multiculturalism

Education plays a very important role in shaping attitudes of tolerance and respect for diversity. Islamic-based education does not only focus on teaching religious teachings, but also instilling humanitarian and moral values that support multiculturalism (Anggraini et al., 2023). Through a comprehensive curriculum, Islamic education can facilitate a deeper understanding of the importance of diversity and mutual respect.

One approach that can be taken in Islamic-based education is the integration of materials that emphasize pluralism. In this case, education not only teaches the history and teachings of Islam, but also emphasizes the importance of respecting other religious beliefs and traditions. For example, learning about historical figures from different religious backgrounds who contributed to human civilization can give students a broader perspective (Maulidan & Tarunasena, 2024, p. h. 194-205).

Education can also utilize dialogue and discussion methods to build understanding and tolerance. By encouraging students to participate in interfaith discussion activities, they can learn to listen to and appreciate the views of others, as well as defuse any prejudices that may exist. This is important for building mutual trust and reducing the potential for conflict. Furthermore, Islamic educational institutions also need to play an active role in conducting programs that promote diversity and tolerance, such as seminars, workshops and social activities. By involving students in these activities, they not only learn about diversity in theory, but also directly interact with people from different backgrounds.

CONCLUSION

This research shows that Islam plays a central role in the reconstruction of democracy and multiculturalism in the aftermath of socio-political tragedies such as Grey Friday. Through the concepts of ukhuwah Islamiyah, Wathaniyah, and Insaniyah, Islam serves as a social binder between Muslims while promoting harmony across all levels of society. Evidence of this can be seen in the Prophet Muhammad's practice of establishing the Medina Charter, which created unity between the various tribes and religions in Medina, as well as the application of the principles of justice under the leadership of the caliphs, such as Caliph Umar bin Khattab who was known for his policies in maintaining social justice and the rights of non-Muslims in his domain. These concepts proved effective in addressing social rifts caused by conflict, as well as promoting reconciliation and restoration of social relations. Furthermore, basic Islamic principles such as brotherhood, justice and Rahmatan lil 'alamin have great potential in supporting socio-political stabilization, strengthening tolerance and maintaining unity amidst diversity. As such, these values provide an important foundation for sustainable peacebuilding efforts, and are relevant for

religious leaders, policymakers and the academic community to apply in future reconciliation and social development strategies.

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