

# Daimler und Benz Stiftung





## NATION-STATE-IZING RELIGION: BUREAUCRATIC ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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# RESEARCH GROUP "THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF ISLAM AND ITS SOCIO-LEGAL DIMENSIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA" (2016-2021)

- (Partly) Shared Meta-Conceptual Framework, Individual Sub-Projects
- 1 Principal Investigator (Brunei, Singapore)
- 3 PhD candidates (Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines)
- 1 UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT
- REGULAR WORKSHOPS, GUEST LECTURES SERIES, CONFERENCE PANELS
- Various Publication Formats
- Institutional Cooperation Partners
  - Centre for Asian Legal Studies, National University of Singapore
  - ASIAN STUDIES CENTRE, ST ANTONY'S COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

## PROJECT FOCUS: ISLAMIC DISCOURSE IN THE CONTEXT OF STATE POWER

- SOUTHEAST ASIAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE EMPOWERED "ADMINISTRATIVE" BODIES TO "GUIDE" AND REGULATE ISLAMIC DISCOURSE
  - NATIONAL HISTORIES AND DISCURSIVE SUBSTRATA DIFFER...
    - ...BUT STATE ACTORS TRY TO EXERT CONTROL OVER THE DIRECTION ISLAMIC DISCOURSE IS TAKING IN THEIR TERRITORIES
  - TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SPHERES UNDERMINES ESTABLISHED STRUCTURES OF AUTHORITY...
    - ...But states respond through bureaucratization strategies and the establishing of "state-brands" of Islam!
- SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, SOCIETAL STATUS, AND LOCAL MEANING-PRODUCTION OF STATE-BASED ISLAMIC BUREAUCRACIES DIFFER....
  - IDENTIFY "FAMILY RESEMBLANCES" OF THE B.O.I. IN SOUTHEAST ASIA
  - Take Bureaucratic Form Serious In a Non-Formalistic Way!
- GO BEYOND ESTABLISHED PERSPECTIVES

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK / SOME INITIAL ASSUMPTIONS

- BOI AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON TRANSCENDS ITS FORMALIZED ORGANIZATIONAL BOUNDARIES, WITH SIGNIFICANT IMPLICATIONS FOR...
  - ...THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF VARIOUS AFFECTED SOCIAL ACTORS
  - ...FORMATION OF MUSLIM SUBJECTIVITIES
  - ...THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN PUBLIC LIFE AND DISCOURSE
  - ... THE VERY MEANING(S) OF ISLAM IN STATE AND SOCIETY
- BOI IS INTEGRAL TO THE STATE'S EXERCISE OF CLASSIFICATORY POWER (..CO-PRODUCED AND CONTESTED IN SOCIETY)
- BOI OPERATES WITH ITS OWN CHARACTERISTIC CODES, PROCEDURES AND SYMBOLS, A "LANGUAGE" OF BUREAUCRACY:
  - "TRANSLATION" / TRANSFORMATIVE RE-WRITING OF ISLAM
  - CHANGING FORMS CHANGES ON THE LEVEL OF MEANINGS!
  - CONSEQUENCES OF THIS "TRANSLATION" SHOULD BE STUDIED IN FUNCTIONAL AND HERMENEUTIC TERMS

### PROJECT FOCUS

- BUREAUCRACY SOCIETY STUDY INTERFACE SITUATIONS! ("BLURRING BOUNDARIES")
- HOW DOES THE IMPOSITION OF "CATEGORICAL SCHEMES" RESONATE WITH SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS?
  - HOW DO SOCIAL ACTORS RESPOND/APPROPRIATE/ADAPT/CIRCUMVENT/RESIST?
    - CLASSIFICATORY SCHEMES MAY (OR MAY NOT!) "ACQUIRE A COMMONSENSICAL, TAKEN-FOR-GRANTED CHARACTER" (HANDELMAN 1991)
    - RE-SIGNIFICATIONS (ASCRIPTIONS OF NEW MEANINGS)
- HOW CAN THE EMPIRICAL STUDY OF MUSLIM POLITICS IN SEA BE BROUGHT IN A FRUITFUL DIALOGUE WITH THEORETICAL DEBATES IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF BUREAUCRACY?
- MICRO-LEVEL: LONG-TERM RESEARCH WITH INVOLVED ACTORS
- Two field sites: 1.) Bureaucracies; 2.) Affected/Involved "Non-Bureaucratic" Groups
- PHD STUDENTS: FIELD ORIENTATION TRIP (JULY 2017), FIELDWORK (DEC. 2017 NOV. 2018)

### PHD PROJECTS

Fauwaz bin Abdul Aziz The Bureaucratization of Islam in a Christian Majority State: An ethnography of the National Commission on Muslim Filipinos



Timea Gréta Biró The Bureaucratization of Zakat: An ethnography of the culture of giving in Malaysia



Rosalia Engchuan Budaya Sensor Mandiri: bureaucratic film censorship in Indonesia



### **AFFILIATED PROJECTS**

### MOHAMMED WASEEM NASER (PHD, DAAD PROJECT):

"NEGOTIATING SOCIO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AT THE MARGINS OF AN 'ISLAMIC STATE': THE CASE OF INDIAN MUSLIMS IN MALAYSIA"

### ANNIKA BENZ (UNDERGRADUATE, EMMY NOETHER PROJECT):

"Hui Muslims and the Chinese Dream: Approaching meanings of Chinese Islam through museum research"

### **BRUNEI DARUSSALAM...?**

## ISLAMIC GOVERNANCE AND NATIONAL IDEOLOGY MELAYU ISLAM BERAJA

- "ISLAMIC STATE"
- ABSOLUTE MONARCHY
- National Ideology: Melayu Islam Beraja ("Malay Islamic Monarchy"), <u>MIB</u>
  - •THREE PILLARS
    - ♠ M: MALAY SUPREMACY (66% MALAYS)
    - 🕆 🛚 I: Islam (78% Muslims)
    - **B**: MONARCHY



SULTAN: MIB AS A "FIREWALL" VIS-À-VIS GLOBALIZATION

#### COMMON PERSPECTIVE:

Brunei as a vanguard of "conservative Islam" and Muslim orthodoxy in Southeast Asia...

## MIB KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION: NATIONAL IDEOLOGY CLASSES AT SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

- dalam konteks keluarga di Negara Brunoi Darussalam. Bincangkan.
- Melayu Islam Beraja adalah rumusan ideal mengenai cara hidup bermasyarakat di Negara Brunei Darussalam. Huraikan.
- 3. Masyarakat adalah teras kekuatan dan kelangsungan Melayu Islam Beraja. Huraikan
- 4. Melayu Islam Beraja adalah rumusan ideal mengenai cara hidup berkeluarga di Negara Brunei Darussalam. Huraikan

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5. Melayu Islam Beraja telah dihayati sepenuhnya dalam konteks masyarat di Negara Brunei parussalam. Bincangkan

### **Trends in MIB Teaching:**

- "activate students"
- "critical thinking"
- "empowering multipliers"...
- "five year plans"; statistics for "success rates"...

2011





- PRE-COLONIAL ERA: HUKUM KANUN BRUNEI
- British Residency: "Modern" Codification of Islamic Law; Separation "Civil" & "Islamic Law" (Dual System)
- POST-COLONIAL ERA: EXPANSION OF SHARIA LAW SECTOR

### NUMEROUS ISLAMIC INSTITUTIONS

- MINISTRY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS
- STATE MUFTI DEPARTMENT
- RELIGIOUS COUNCIL ("HIGHEST AUTHORITY")
- •ISLAMIC LEGAL COMMITTEE (HEADED BY STATE MUFTI)
- SYARIAH AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
- Islamic Da'wah Center
- AQIDAH CONTROL SECTION

EACH PURSUING A "VISION AND MISSION"





Laksanakan Segera Akta Undang-Undang Jenayah Syarak

Jangan kata 'Tidak' atau 'Tunggu Dulu'



## DOCTRINAL "PURIFICATION": CATEGORICAL SCHEMES OF TRUTH AND DEVIANCE

- TOP-DOWN DEFINITION OF ISLAM: NO SPACE FOR DISSENT OR "ALTERNATIVE"
   MUSLIM VOICES/ORGANIZATIONS/PUBLICATIONS/MOSQUES...
- POLICIES TO "PURIFY" MUSLIM BELIEFS AND PRACTICES (VS. SESAT & KHURAFAT ELEMENTS) SINCE 1970s
- Categorizing "Deviant Teachings" (Ajaran Sesat)
  - BAHAI (SINCE 1970)
  - AL-ARQAM (1991, BEFORE MALAYSIA IN 1994!)
  - AHMADIYA (MIRZA GHULAM AHMAD)
  - CERTAIN SUFI GROUPS (AHMADIYYAH IDRISSIYA / TARIQAT MUHAMMADIYA; TARIQAT MUFARADIYAH; TARIQAT ABDUL RAZAK; SHEIKH MAHMUD AL-MAJZUB'S GROUP..)
  - SILAT LINTAU
  - •

## DEVIANT-DECLARED TRADITIONS: MALAY KERAMAT GRAVES

















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### ABANDONED KUBUR KERAMAT SHRINES



FORMER "KUBUR KERAMAT" OF THE (NOW FORGOTTEN) MYTHICAL FOUNDERS OF THE BRUNEI KEDAYAN, 2017



Picture below:
A grave with demolished roof, once viewed as *kubur keramat* (Tutong, 2014)

## THE CRIMINALIZATION AND SOCIAL MARGINALIZATION OF BOMOH / ORANG PANDAI / ORANG PEMANDAI

#### Lamon Otalia ) Milida ) Ruman Domon ...

#### Rumah 'bomoh' lelaki diserbu

Minuta Mar 11, 201



BANDAR SERI BEGAWAN, 1 Mac 2007 – Seorang 'bomoh' dipercayai menjalankan perubatan secara menurun dengan 'bantuan jin atau makhluk halus' terkejut besar apabila penguat kuasa agama Bahagian Kawalan Akidah menyerbu tempat operasinya.

Serbuan yang bermula pada pukul 8 malam itu dilakukan ke sebuah rumah sewa sekitar Kampung Kilanas dan ketika kejadian, lelaki warga asing berusia kira-kira 50 tahun itu sedang mengubati

beberapa orang pesakit yang datang ke rumah sewanya itu.

Dalam serbuan itu, penguat kuasa agama Bahagian Kawalan Akidah menemui beberapa 'barangan perbomohan yang mencurigakan' seperti minyak urut dan 'minyak sunti' yang tidak diketahui asal-usulnya.

Penguat kuasa agama juga menemui beberapa keping gambar pasangan lelaki dan perempuan, termasuklah gambar yang didakwa oleh bomoh itu sebagai gambar pasangan suami isteri.

Bomoh itu mendakwa semua gambar berkenaan ditinggalkan oleh pelangganpelanggannya. Serbuan diketual oleh Ketua Bahagian Siasatan dan Operasi, Awang Mohammad Haji Abdul Rashid bersama dengan 11 orang anggota penguat kuasa.



Operasi turut disertai pegawai penguat kuasa undang-undang Jabatan Imigresen. Menurut Awang, bomoh berkenaan dipercayai sudah menjalankan kegiatan perbomohannya sejak 20 tahun lalu. Namun tidak jelas sama ada sepanjang tempoh itu dia bergiat di Brunei atau termasuk negara asalnya.

Serbuan adalah untuk siasatan lanjut cara perbomohan lelaki itu yang disyaki menyalahi Akta Mailis Agama Islam dalam Bab 186, iaitu terkeluar dari ajaran akidah Islam.

Bomoh berkenaan itu dilepaskan dan akan dipanggil kemudian ke Bahagian Kawalan Akidah bagi penyiasatan lebih terperinci mengenai cara serta bahan-bahan yang digunakan dalam keciatan perbomohannya.

# STATE-IN-SOCIETY: REPORTING BOMOH TO THE AUTHORITIES AS GOOD MIB CITIZENSHIP



# "DOCTRINE CONTROL" (KAWALAN AKIDAH) AND EDUCATION: A PERMANENT EXHIBITION ON "OBJECTS LEADING TO DEVIANCE" MINISTRY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS



## PUSAT DA'WAH ISLAMIAH (@MINISTRY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS) EXHIBITION ON DEVIANCE (2014)



## CONTROLLING INVISIBLE FORCES OF EVIL: A STATE AFFAIR

- 2010: "MASS HYSTERIA" AT THREE SCHOOLS SIMULTANEOUSLY, EVEN TEACHERS AND A SCHOOL COOK WERE "POSESSED" (KERASUKAN)
- STATE PRESS: ACTING MINISTER OF EDUCATION ADVISING "SCHOOL AUTHORITIES
  TO CLEAN THE RESTROOMS, BELIEVED TO BE THE FAVORITE SPOT FOR THE SPIRITS"

## SYARIAH PENAL CODE ORDER 2013 ADDRESSING BOMOH, AND MAGIC PRACTICES (ILMU HITAM, SIHIR)

"(CLAIMING TO KNOW) AN EVENT OR A MATTER THAT IS BEYOND HUMAN UNDERSTANDING OR KNOWLEDGE; WORSHIP "ANY PERSON, PLACE, NATURE OR ANY OBJECT, THING OR ANIMAL IN ANY MANNER (CONTRARY TO ISLAMIC LAW)", E.G. "BELIEVING THAT OBJECTS OR ANIMALS POSSESS CERTAIN POWERS", "INCREASE WEALTH," "GRANT WISHES," "HEAL DISEASES" OR "BRING GOOD LUCK" (MAX, 2 YEARS JAIL; FINE; "COUNSELLING"; SPCO SEKSYEN 216)

... ALONGSIDE OTHER SECTIONS, SEE MPI FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY WORKING PAPER 187 (2018)

Previously: Akta Majlis Ugama Islam Dan Mahkamah-Mahkamah Kadi (1986), Bab 186 ("Ajaran Sesat" / English Version: "False Doctrine")



Social imaginaries and actual practice

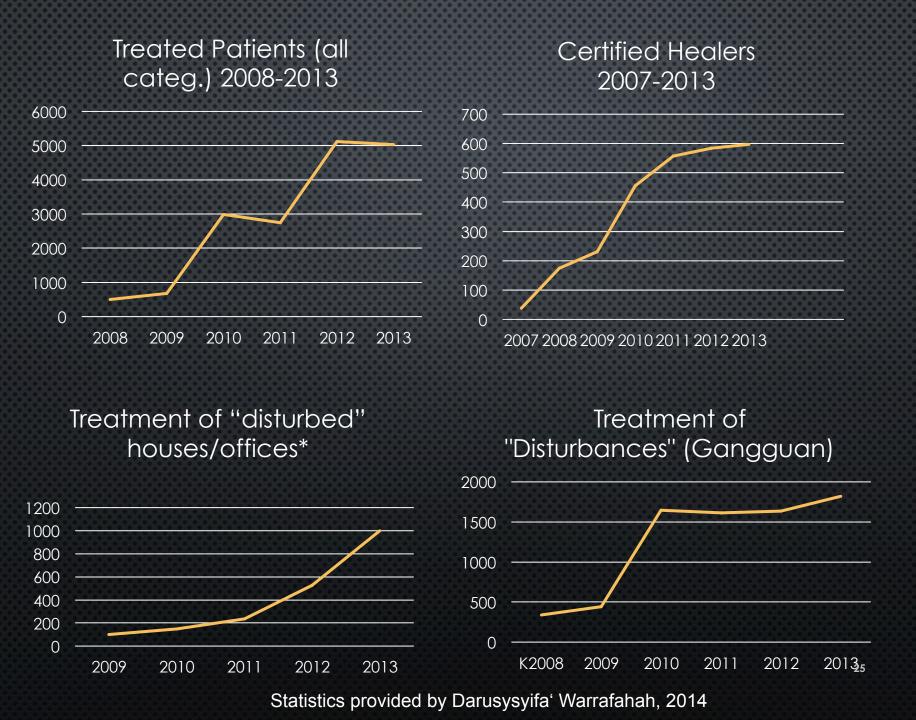
## SHARIA-COMPLIANT EXORCISM RE-FRAMING BOMOH PRACTICES IN THE PARAMETERS OF STATE POWER

## SHARIA-COMPLIANT EXORCISM RE-FRAMING BOMOH PRACTICES IN THE PARAMETERS OF STATE POWER









## JAPANESE WATERCRYSTAL-PHOTOGRAPHY MEETS SHARIA-COMPLIANT EXORCISM





## SHARIA'IZATION AND "PURIFCATION" POLICIES IN THE MIB STATE: A RADICAL SHIFT?

- •"THE ORGANIC PART PLAYED BY SYMBOLS IN CREATING THE NEW ORDER OUT OF THE OLD" (HERZFELD 1992)...?
- THE MIB-STATE IS DRAWING UPON MULTIPLE OTHER CULTURAL REGISTERS:
  - VOCABULARIES OF MODERN STATE BUREAUCRACY, THE MARKET, NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY, STATISICALIZATION, STANDARDIZATION; PEDAGOGICAL TRENDS, FUTURE-ORIENTED CORPORATE GOVERNANCE, NEW MEDIA, "TRADITIONS".... QUEST FOR "SCIENTIFIC" (AND VISUALIZED) EVIDENCE-MAKING (SCIENTIZATION) HYBRIDIZED WITH THE SUPERNATURAL (MALINOWSKI: "MAGIC IS FUNDAMENTALLY AKIN TO SCIENCE")
    - A FIELD OF FORCES!
- •"Objectification" of ways of being Muslim (Dale Eickelman): earlier practices and social institutions are systematically re-examined vis-a $\square$ -vis their (un)Islamicness
  - BUREAUCRATIZATION OF ISLAM BUREAUCRATIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE
- •"ABANDONMENTS" ARE CULTURALLY PRODUCTIVE ENDEAVORS (VS. SELF-IDEALIZING LOGICS)
- •On a deeper level of cultural and symbolic analysis, Pathways towards realizing MIB-State's orthodoxy are remarkably hybrid!

### **Bol in and Beyond Brunei**

- BUREAUCRATIZATION OF ISLAM PRO FORMA CONTROLLED BY "DIRECTORS", "CEOS", STATE MUFTIS,
  "CENTRAL COMMITTEES", "GOVERNING BOARDS", POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS); STAGING TO BE IN
  CHARGE OF THINGS
  - ...ALSO SHAPED BY FORCES THAT IT CANNOT (ENTIRELY) CONTROL
  - MIB's "Firewall" Discourse of national Protectionism is Expressed by Thoroughly Globalized Means
- Bureaucratization of Islam seeks to eradicate spaces of informality.
  - ...It Also generates new ambiguities and informalities of the formal
- DIALECTICS: TOP-DOWN & BOTTOM-UP; MAKING & UNMAKING OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY;
   BUREAUCRATIZATION & DE-BUREAUCRATIZATION; MUTUAL APPROPRIATION/MANIPULATION
- BOI IN BRUNEI AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON: MUCH MORE THAN "PAPERWORK", INSTITUTIONALIZATION, CO-OPTATION, NEUTRALIZATION, TECHNIQUES OF CONTROL, GOVERNMENTALITY...

## SOME COMPARATIVE GLIMPSES CASE STUDY II: SINGAPORE

## CATEGORGICAL SCHEMES OF ISLAM IN SINGAPORE: SMI – SINGAPORE MUSLIM IDENTITY





# KERAMAT SHRINES IN SINGAPORE: "CULTURAL HERITAGE"



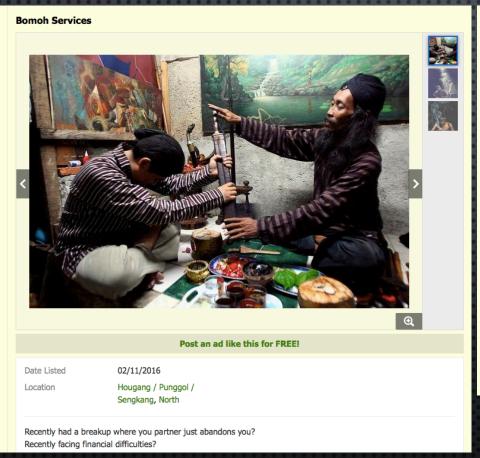
### Keramat Shrines in Singapore

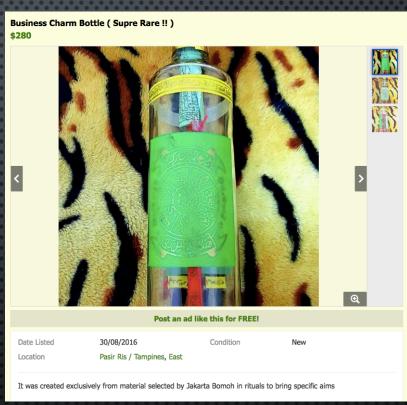






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### **ACCOMODATING INTRA- AND INTER-RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY**

## PHILIPPINES & MALAYSIA PROJECTS

## **INDONESIA PROJECT**

### FAMILY RESEMBLANCES OF BOIL

- BOI AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON TRANSCENDING ITS ORGANIZATIONAL BOUNDARIES
- Where Islam is bureaucratized, it is translated into the "language" of bureaucracy, a reconfiguration of interrelated forms and meanings with structuring effects on other transformative processes
- LANGUAGE OF BUREAUCRACY IMPLIES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CLASSIFICATORY TAXONOMIES AND OF TAXONOMICAL THINKING (BUREAUCRATIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE)
- CLASSIFICATORY POWER: EXCLUSIVE "RIGHT TO DEFINE THE SITUATION" (GRAEBER 2015)
- "GOD TRICK PERFORMED BY UNIVERSALIZING AUTHORITATIVE BUREAUCRACIES" (HOAG 2014: 88)
  - ...FAMILY RESEMBLANCES EXIST IN MANY, BUT NOT NECESSARILY ALL SETTINGS
- "IMPOSITION OF SIMPLE CATEGORICAL SCHEMES": BOI AS TECHNIQUE OF POWER OPERATING THROUGH STANDARDIZATION, AIMING TO ERASE AMBIGUITIES, GREY ZONES, AND UNREGULATED SPHERES (STANDARDIZATION, FORMALIZATION, "STATE-SIMPLIFICATION"), ESTABLISHING TAXONOMIES AND CATEGORICAL SCHEMES OF ISLAM
  - BOI SEEKS TO IMPOSE FORMALIZED (=SUPPOSEDLY CONTROLLED) REGIMES OF GOVERNING THE POPULATION – OFTEN WITH LITTLE SUCCESS, AND GENERATING UNINTENDED OUTCOMES
- PROXIMITY TO THE STATE DOES NOT PER SE ENHANCE/UNDERMINE RELIGIOUS LEGITIMACY LOCALLY
  UNIQUE "DISCURSIVE SUBSTRATES"!
- (IN-) COMPARABILITY AND UNIQUENESS? IT DEPENDS...

## **QUESTIONS & ANSWERS**



### FOR PUBLISHED VERSIONS OF THIS TALK, SEE

DOMINIK M. MÜLLER 2018:

THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF ISLAM AND ITS SOCIO-LEGAL DIMENSIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CONCEPTUAL CONTOURS OF A RESEARCH PROJECT

MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY WORKING PAPER 187

URL: http://www.eth.mpg.de/cms/de/publications/working\_papers/wp0187

AND

SPECIAL ISSUE:

THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: TRANSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES, (CO-EDITED WITH KERSTIN STEINER) JOURNAL OF CURRENT SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS, VOL. 37 No 1, 2018

URL: HTTPS://JOURNALS.SUB.UNI-HAMBURG.DE/GIGA/JSAA/ISSUE/ARCHIVE