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Questioning Fiqh Muamalah of Toleration: Religious Spatial Segregation in the Urban Area of Yogyakarta

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Abstract:

Yogyakarta, despite being declared as the city of tolerance, shows religious discrimination manifested in religious spatial segregation. Discrimination is contrary to divine norms that protect the rights of each party in mu'amalah. The objective of this study is to explain that religious spatial segregation reflects intolerance in the urban community of Yogyakarta. This study relies on data collection through a qualitative approach which includes observation, interviews, and literature review with descriptive analysis considering fiqh muamalah principles on the interfaith relationships. The results suggest that religious spatial segregation may lead to the emergence of intolerant and discriminative acts in the forms of; (1) the presence of housing associated with a certain religious identity as a manifestation of identity labeling in social recruitment (exclusivism); (2) the practice of land trading (property right) only with people from the same faith; and (3) segregation in social acceptance (social exclusion) as seen in boarding houses with a certain religious label. This study concludes that religious spatial segregation has shallowed the relations between community groups and thus raising the potential of discriminative and intolerant acts

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in the urban area of Yogyakarta. This study suggests that there is a need for a policy to regulate space as a common one, hence spatial exclusivism for a certain religion can be eliminated.

Keywords:

Spatial Segregation; Intolerance; Religious Conflicts;
Interreligious Relations; Fiqh Muamalah

Abstrak:

Yogyakarta yang dideklarasikan sebagai the city of tolerance justru memperlihatkan diskriminasi yang mewujud dalam segregasi ruang berbasis agama. Diskriminasi sendiri bertentangan dengan norma-norma yang melindungi hak setiap individu seperti dalam konsep muamalah. Studi ini bertujuan menjelaskan adanya segregasi ruang berbasis agama yang merefleksikan adanya intoleransi pada masyarakat urban Yogyakarta. Studi ini bersandar pada pengumpulan data dengan pendekatan kualitatif melalui observasi, wawancara dan studi literatur dengan analisis deskriptif terhadap prinsip fiqh muamalah hubungan antarumat beragama. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa segregasi ruang berbasis agama yang merujuk pada lahirnya aksi-aksi diskriminasi intoleransi mewujud dalam 3 hal yakni; (1) adanya perumahan dengan identitas agama tertentu sebagai wujud dari pelabelan identitas dalam rekrutmen sosial (eksklusifisme); (2) adanya praktik jual beli tanah (property right) hanya pada orang dengan keyakinan yang sama; dan (3) adanya segregasi dalam penerimaan sosial (social exclusion) yang nampak pada rumah indekos dengan label agama tertentu. Tulisan ini menyimpulkan bahwa segregasi ruang berbasis agama telah menyebabkan pendangkalan relasi antar kelompok masyarakat sehingga berpotensi melahirkan aksi-aksi diskriminasi dan intoleransi di wilayah urban Yogyakarta. Studi ini menyarankan perlunya kebijakan yang mengatur ruang sebagai ruang bersama agar tidak terjadi eksklusifisme atas kepemilikan ruang pada agama tertentu.

Kata Kunci:

Segregasi Ruang; Intoleransi; Konflik Keagamaan;
Hubungan Antar Agama; Fiqh Muamalah

Introduction

Spatial segregation tends to show religious discrimination in urban areas, as seen in Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta government declared the city as *the city of tolerance* in the Regional Long Term Development Plan (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Daerah* or RPJPD) of 2004-2005, which movement reflects the growing common belief by picturing Yogyakarta as a city with high religious tolerance, both within and between religions.¹ This branding, however, seems to be merely a slogan. The slogan “city of tolerance” bestowed to Yogyakarta is in fact a myth and not manifested in the reality of its citizens’ lives. Research by Setara Institute, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that advocates democracy, political freedom, and human rights, indicates that the Special Region of Yogyakarta is included in the top 10 provinces with the highest cases of violation of freedom of religion/belief in Indonesia². In 2019, Yogyakarta was even recorded as one of the most intolerance places with 37 cases of intolerance.³

Studies on social segregation have hitherto the propensity to focus on three aspects. First, social segregation is seen from a resource control perspective.⁴ Segregation reflects social discrepancy, indicating how disparity changes, such as in the debate about urban poverty.⁵ Second, social segregation is caused by cultural differences.⁶

¹ Diatyka Widya Permata Yasih, “Tradisi, Ekonomi-Politik, Dan Toleransi Yogyakarta,” *Masyarakat: Jurnal Sosiologi*, 2010, <https://doi.org/10.7454/mjs.v15i2.4866>: 37-38

² Irwan Syambudi. Intoleransi di Yogyakarta Meningkat 5 Tahun Terakhir, Kata Setara, 2019, <https://tirto.id/intoleransi-di-yogyakarta-meningkat-5-tahun-terakhir-kata-setara-emig>

³ Devina Halim, “Setara: Dalam 5 Tahun Terakhir Terjadi Peningkatan Intoleransi Di Yogyakarta,” Kompas.com, 2019, <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2019/11/24/19300051/setara--dalam-5-tahun-terakhir-terjadi-peningkatan-intoleransi-di-yogyakarta>.

⁴Jing Yao et al., “Spatial Segregation Measures: A Methodological Review,” \ 1. 00, No. (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12305>; Maria Izabel dos Santos et al., “Urban Income Segregation and Homicides: An Analysis Using Brazilian Cities Selected by the Salubral Project,” *SSM - Population Health*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2021.100819>.

⁵ Jing Yao et al., “Spatial Segregation Measures: A Methodological Review,” *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 110, no. 3 (2019): 235–50, <https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12305>

This is often apparent from residential segregation attributed to structural, ethnicity, and religious racism, which leads to the social distancing between community groups and damages the principle of social inclusion or social solidarity as the primary dimension of citizenship.⁷ Third, social segregation is often seen as a political boundary.⁸ The separation of one group from another on the basis of the social and religious parameters happens due to the implementation of space as political boundaries. Segregation is not only a separation of cultural space but also political category as a group identity declaration. Of the three mentioned patterns of study, there is a shortcoming where segregation as a political boundary is seen only as an identity boundary, and not as a means to strengthen self-identity.

This paper responds to the shortcoming of the existing studies by examining religious-based spatial segregation not only as an identity boundary but also as a means to strengthen self-identity. Religious-based spatial segregation that is used to fortify self-identity reflects the existence of structural intolerance in the urban citizens of Yogyakarta. Accordingly, this paper will demonstrate that Yogyakarta as “the city of tolerance” is a setting for various forms of religious-based spatial segregation. Those forms can be seen through first, housing areas labeled with a specific religion; second, the practice of buying and selling land only to believers of the same religion; and

⁶ Emeline Bezin and Fabien Moizeau, “Cultural Dynamics, Social Mobility and Urban Segregation,” *Journal of Urban Economics*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jue.2017.02.004>; Jennifer Scott et al., “Structural Racism in the Built Environment: Segregation and the Overconcentration of Alcohol Outlets,” *Health and Place*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102385>; Tanja Buch, Moritz Meister, and Annekatrin Niebuhr, “Ethnic Diversity and Segregation in German Cities,” *Cities*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2021.103221>.

⁷ Scott et al., “Structural Racism in the Built Environment: Segregation and the Overconcentration of Alcohol Outlets.” *Health & place*, 64, 102385, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102385>: 1

⁸ Sarah Mekdjian, “Urban Artivism and Migrations. Disrupting Spatial and Political Segregation of Migrants in European Cities,” *Cities*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.05.008>; Roni Jayawinangun and David Rizar Nugroho, “Segmentasi Pemilih Pemula Berdasarkan Akses Berita Politik Melalui Media Sosial Di Kabupaten Bogor,” *Jurnal Komunikasi Pembangunan*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.46937/17201926845>.

third, the establishment of boarding houses labeled with a certain religion.

This paper is based on the argument that Yogyakarta, which claimed as a city of diversity and plurality with a high level of tolerance, in fact, is a set of place with much intolerant discrimination. The claim “the city of tolerance” bestowed to Yogyakarta is not directly proportional to the tolerance of its citizens, as numerous spaces in Yogyakarta are still segregated based on religion. Religious spatial segregation between the majority and minority religious groups has the potential to rise intolerant discrimination. Those acts emerge due to the existence of a homogeneous and monocultural environment which leads to the shallowing interaction between groups, hence declining their relations. This lack of interaction is also likely to create stereotypes—with negative labeling—between religious groups which might provoke religious conflicts.

The conflict taking place in the society can be viewed as a threat to the idea of tolerance as part of the practice of *mu'amalah* (relation among humankind). Tolerance is a form of *ukhuwah* (brotherhood) that gives meaning to an attitude that reflects a sense of brotherhood, harmony, unity, and solidarity that is carried out by a person toward other people or groups in interaction.⁹ In Islam, a Muslim is recommended to do *mu'amalah* or interact well and not do wrong to other groups of different beliefs.¹⁰ To achieve this, harmony can only be established by practicing mutual understanding among the members of society on one hand and by keeping social cohesion in everyday interaction on the other hand. Performing mutual understanding and keeping social cohesion constitute the manifestation of *fiqh mu'amalah* in the society, particularly for interfaith relationships.

Method

The locus of this research is the urban area of Yogyakarta, which is acclaimed as *the city of tolerance* that reflects the popular opinion

⁹ Muntahibun Nafis, “Pesantren Dan Toleransi Beragama,” *Ta'allum: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.21274/taalum.2014.2.2.163-178>.

¹⁰ Salma Mursyid, “Konsep Toleransi (Al-Samahah) Antar Umat Beragama Perspektif Islam,” *Aqlam: Journal of Islam and Plurality*, 1(2) 2, no. 1 (2018): 35–51.

that Yogyakarta has a high tolerance for relations within and between religious beliefs. This is interesting because, in reality, there are still numerous acts of religious intolerance in the area. Besides, the prevailing religious-based spatial segmentation indicates a structured intolerance attitude among the citizens. This study uses a qualitative approach with data collection through observation, interviews, and literature reviews. The observation examines how religious-based spatial segregation occurred in the urban area of Yogyakarta. In this observation, a list of various housings and boarding houses associated with religion was made. In-depth interviews were carried out with 4 subjects who have been directly or indirectly involved in some activities that set apart religious-based spaces, such as those involved in land trading and owners of boarding houses that are associated with a specific faith. Meanwhile, the literature study involves reading various kinds of literature relevant to the research topic, especially those discussing religious spatial segregation and its correlation with intolerant acts in Yogyakarta. The literature is from journal articles, thesis, and dissertations exploring the topic of acts of intolerance. The collected literature was then read and reduced by summarizing and selecting important information and omitting less significant information for answering research questions. The collected data were then categorized based on planned categories. The results were then reduced and analyzed using the descriptive analysis technique.

Discussion and Result

Segregation and the Potentials of Intoleration between Religious Believers

Relations between humans and the opposite sex, economic activities, and matters relating to politics and the state are almost all framed in the discourse of *halal-haram* (lawful and unlawful) in other fiqh aspects.¹¹ Relations between religious believers are parts of human social relations or so-called *mu'amalah* in terms of *fiqh*. In Indonesia, there are ups and downs in interfaith relations, especially between Muslims and non-Muslims as the majority-minority.

¹¹ Ahmad Hakam, "Perkembangan Islam Mainstream Dan Peran Signifikan Agensi Sosial Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Online Studi Al-Qur'an*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.21009/jsq.011.1.07>.

Interfaith relations in Indonesia occur in a complex manner wrapped in harmony, tension, misperception, and conflict. This is in accordance with Samsu's opinion that social interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims is not always harmonious due to the religion-related conflicts that still occur.¹² Religious conflict is a complicated and complex form of conflict. This type of conflict occurs due to various factors, such as the interpretation of one single truth as well as domination and hegemony over other believers which rise to a sense of injustice and inequality that further fortifies group sentiment.¹³ Furthermore, religious conflicts also occur because minority group finds it hard to express their belief.¹⁴

Furthermore, such conflict can also be provoked by the presence of spatial segregation based on religions. Spatial segregation manifests various economic, social, and cultural conditions as an interconnected mechanism. In the social sphere, segregation is the act of grouping and or zoning space based on ethnicity, nation, religion, profession, or other aspects.¹⁵ On the other hand, from a sociological perspective, segregation is interpreted as the absence of interaction between social groups.¹⁶ Segregation on certain bases of social structure is commonly highlighted as the source of housing differentiation which causes the increase of social discord in the community.¹⁷

¹² Samsu, "Interaksi Sosial Muslim Kepada Nonmuslim," *Al Munzir* 8, no. 2 (2015): 247-58.

¹³ Siti Raudhatul Jannah, "Kegalauan Identitas: Dilema Hubungan Muslimin Dan Hindu Di Bali," *Ulumuna*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v16i2.186>: 446.

¹⁴ Achmad Faidi, Achmad Fauzi, and Dimas Danar Septiadi, "Significance of Legal Culture Enforcement on Tolerance among Madurese Society through Inclusive Curriculum at IAIN Madura," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pranata Sosial*, 16 (1), 2021: 50-67, 2021:51, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v16i1.4302>

¹⁵ Syamsul Alam Paturusi, "Segregasi Ruang Sosial Antara Pendatang Dengan Penduduk Asli Pada Permukiman Perkotaan Di Denpasar," *Jurnal Kajian Bali* 6, no. 2 (2016): 62.

¹⁶ Amalia Wulangsari, "Tipologi Segregasi Permukiman Berdasarkan Faktor Dan Pola Permukiman Di Solo Baru, Sukoharjo," *Jurnal Pembangunan Wilayah & Kota*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.14710/pwk.v10i4.8166>: 392

¹⁷ Gemal Sigit P, Sugiono Soetomo, and Joesran Alie S, "Ruang Netral Di Kota Ambon (Segregasi Dan Integrasi Ruang Kota)," in *CoUSD, Conference on Urban Studies and Development*, 2015:32, <http://proceeding.cousd.org>

Inter-religious people are required to be tolerant and respectful of existing beliefs.¹⁸ Religious spatial segregation has caused tension that results from the poor quality of interfaith communication.¹⁹ This lacking quality develops into the stereotype of one group to other groups of different religions, thus triggering interreligious conflicts followed by various attempts to attack and kill each other as well as to burn the houses of worship and other important places for the believers.²⁰ Conflicts can trigger opposing attitudes between the two parties, where each party sees the other as a rival or hindrance who will impede them from achieving their purpose and fulfilling their needs.²¹ This is what develops a large number of intolerant actions.

Intolerance is a form of unwillingness and refusal to give the rights of other people or groups who differ in terms of faith, ideology, social status, or ethnicity.²² Intolerance is specifically defined by Prastowo as attitude, perspective, and behavior that do not approve of any differences of other people, groups, and communities; thus, any form of differences is seen as something wrong, forbidden, and deserves to be opposed, fought against, and annihilated.²³ In various cases, acts of intolerance often exploit collective identity to justify their acts.²⁴ Besides, acts of intolerance in religious life are directly or indirectly connected to conservatism, a religious attitude that emphasizes the importance of tradition and past values.²⁵

¹⁸ Fahrudin Ali Sabri, "Membangun Fiqh Toleransi: Refleksi Fatwa-Fatwa Terhadap 'Aliran Sesat' Di Indonesia," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v13i1.1612:163>

¹⁹ Asep S. Muhtadi, "Komunikasi Lintas Agama: Mencari Solusi Konflik Agama," *Conference Proceeding ICONIMAD 2019*, 2019:276.

²⁰ Firdaus M Yunus, "Konflik Agama Di Indonesia Problem Dan Solusi Pemecahannya," *Substantia*, 2014: 227

²¹ Andri Wahyudi, "Konflik, Konsep Teori Dan Permasalahan," *Jurnal Publiciana*, 2015:1.

²² Ahmad Sholikin, "Intoleransi, Radikalisme Dan Terorise Di Lamongan," *Jurnal Polinter: Kajian Politik Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 2018:15

²³ Agus Subagyo, "Implementasi Pancasila Dalam Menangkal Intoleransi, Radikalisme Dan Terorisme," *Jurnal Rontal Keilmuan PKn*, 2020:14.

²⁴ Elma Haryani, "Intoleransi Dan Resistensi Masyarakat Terhadap Kemajemukan: Studi Kasus Kerukunan Beragama Di Kota Bogor, Jawa Barat," *Harmoni*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v18i2.405:2>

²⁵ Luthfi Assyaukanie, "Akar-Akar Legal Intoleransi Dan Diskriminasi Di Indonesia," *Maarif*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.47651/mrf.v13i2.20:28>

Qowaid divided signs of intolerance into two factors, namely internal factor, which originates from the religious understanding that is based on religious teaching interpretation, and external factor, which highlights that intolerance can be triggered by a variety of deprivation variables (negative feelings, being ignored, stressed over the experienced reality).²⁶ In religious life, acts of intolerance are manifested in various forms, such as disapproving the activities of a certain religion, difficulties obtaining permits for building worship houses, easily judging people of other beliefs as the infidels, and justifying the killing of other religions' believers.²⁷ Therefore, in terms of religious life, religion can be a media of integration as well as a media that arises disintegration among society members.²⁸ The emerging disintegration induces religious conflicts that often occur in social reality, where such a condition is often started with excessive fanaticism which leads to fundamentalism.²⁹

Spatial Segregation and Social Recruitment: Religious-based Housing and Building

Urban areas will continue to experience growth and development that lead to the formation of a model. Each model has a different city growth but the same zone. Zones within urban areas are divided into six areas, namely suburban areas, high-class settlements, middle-class settlements, transition zones, industrial areas, and center of activity areas. These zones then give rise to spatial segregation based on social differentiation. In the context of cultural space, segregation is a process of cultural separation that occurs in one group of people or society that maintains its culture and does not

²⁶ Qowaid Qowaid, "Gejala Intoleransi Beragama Di Kalangan Peserta Didik Dan Upaya Penanggulangannya Melalui Pendidikan Agama Islam Di Sekolah," *Dialog*, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v36i1.82:71>

²⁷ Subagyo, "Implementasi Pancasila Dalam Menangkal Intoleransi, Radikalisme Dan Terorisme." *Jurnal Rontal Keilmuan PKN*, 2020:14

²⁸ Dwi Wahyuni, "Agama Sebagai Media Dan Media Sebagai Agama," *Jurnal Ilmu Agama: Mengkaji Doktrin, Pemikiran, Dan Fenomena Agama*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.19109/jia.v18i2.2368>.

²⁹ Imam Hanafi, "Agama Dalam Bayang-Bayang Fanatisme; Sebuah Upaya Mengelola Konflik Agama," *Toleransi: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama*, 2018, <https://doi.org/10.24014/trs.v10i1.5720:48>

adopt a more dominant culture.³⁰ Such cases also happened in the urban area of Yogyakarta, where spatial segregation occurs not only due to certain social or economic levels, but also religion. This religious-based spatial segregation is apparent from the establishment of various housing that associate themselves with certain religions in the last few years. Some examples of such housing are Muslim housing areas and Christian housing areas. These housings are actual empirical phenomena that increase every year. This is as shown by the data from the Development Planning Agency at Sub-National Level or *Bappeda* (2021) which indicate that there has been an increase in the number of real estate in Yogyakarta, from 5,216 units in 2017 to 8,275 units in 2019. The data reveals the tendency of using housing names that are associated with certain religious terms such as Darussalam, Madani, and Bethesda.

Discourses concerning religious-based spatial segregation show the maps of society dynamism that give insight into patterns of characters and differentiators between one community to another.³¹ Religious-based spatial segregation can be seen not only in housing with specific labels but also in buildings with a specific religious label. An example of this is the growing number of *sharia* or *syariah* hotels/lodging in the urban area of Yogyakarta. This type of building implements *sharia* concept/principle for its services which is in accordance with Islamic teaching. Based on observation result, the *sharia* principle can be seen in the Standard Operation Procedure (SOP) of accepting visitors which forbid the visitors from bringing people of the opposite sex out of relatives and family to stay in the same room. This regulation is stated clearly on the website of the *syariah* housing in the figure 1 bellow.

³⁰ Filasias Tiar Martin, Nana Novita Pratiwi, and Vetti Puryanti, "Sekadau Hilir Kabupaten Sekadau," *Jurnal Mahasiswa Teknik Sipil Universitas Tanjungpura*, 6(2), 2017:1

³¹ Paturusi, "Segregasi Ruang Sosial Antara Pendatang Dengan Penduduk Asli Pada Permukiman Perkotaan Di Denpasar." *Jurnal Kajian Bali (Journal of Bali Studies)*, 6(2), 2016: 67

Figure 1. Regulations of Syariah Housing



Source: Agoda Pondok Garini Syariah, 2022

Besides, *sharia* hotel/lodging only provides food, reading materials (magazine, tabloid, book), and architecture that suit Islamic teaching guidelines. Similarly, its financial management also uses *sharia* accounting and builds partnerships with *sharia* banks. Based on the collected data, there are at least 26 housing/hotels in the urban area of Yogyakarta that associate themselves with religion. The list of these housing is presented in Table 1;

Table 1.
Housing/Building with Religious Labels

No .	Name of Housing/Building	Housing/Hotel	Affiliation	Address
1.	Darussalam 3 Muslim Housing	Housing	Islam	Candi Gebang Street, the fourth alley, Jetis, Wedomartani, Ngemplak Subdistrict, Sleman Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55584
2.	Djogja Village Muslim Housing	Housing	Islam	Plosokuning IV Street, Ploso Kuning IV, Minomartani, Ngaglik Subdistrict, Sleman Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55581
3.	Pesona Salsabila Muslim Housing	Housing	Islam	KM 9 Yogyakarta - Wates Street, Tonalan, pereng, dawé, Sleman Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55752
4.	Permata Muslim Ambarukmo Housing	Housing	Islam	Karangbendo Kulon Street, Jaranan, Banguntapan, Banguntapan Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55198

5.	Mutiara Pendowoharjo Muslim House	Housing	Islam	Cepit, Pendowoharjo, Sewon Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55186
6.	Ndalem Nurriyat Syariah	Hotel	Islam	9 Shinta Street, Palagan Tentara Pelajar Km. 7,8 Karang Mloko, Sariharjo, Ngaglik, Sleman Regency, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
7.	Terakota Muslim Melati Housing	Housing	Islam	Jongke Kidul, Sendangadi, Mlati Subdistrict, Sleman Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55285
8.	Terakota (Muslim) Potorono Villa	Housing	Islam	Potorono, Banguntapan Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55196
9.	Jogja Syariah Housing	Housing	Islam	Lereng Wisata Street, Metes, Argomulyo, Sedayu Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55752
10.	Jogja Muslim	Housing	Islam	Kutu Dukuh,

	House			Sinduadi, Mlati Subdistrict, Sleman Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55284
11.	Sakinah House of Muslim	Housing	Islam	Gendeng, Bangunjiwo, Kasihan Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55184
12.	CD Bethesda Housing	Housing	Christianity	Kencuran, Sukoharjo, 55581, Tanjungsari, Sukoharjo, Kec. Ngaglik, Kabupaten Sleman, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 55581
13.	Syariah Hotel	Hotel	Islam	50 Dagen Street, Sosromenduran, Gedong Tengen, City of Yogyakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55271
14.	Limaran Syariah 3 Hotel	Hotel	Islam	33 Taman Siswa Street, Wirogunan, Mergangsan Subdistrict, City of Yogyakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55285
15.	Madani Syariah	Hotel	Islam	1A Cantel Baru II

	Hotel			Street, Muja Muju, Umbulharjo Subdistrict, City of Yogyakarta, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55165
16.	Adilla Syariah Hotel	Hotel	Islam	15 Nogorojo Street, Ambarukmo, Caturtunggal, Depok Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55198
17.	Namira Syariah Hotel	Hotel	Islam	KM 4,5 Magelang Street, Sinduadi, Kutu Asem, Sendangadi, Mlati Subdistrict, Sleman Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55284
18.	Gapura Sitimulya Estate Muslim Housing	Housing	Islam	Wonosari Street, KM 10,5 Karang Anom Street, Karang Anom, Sitimulyo, Piyungan Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta 55792
19.	Atmajaya Krajan Jogja Housing	Housing	Christianity	Krajan Ngori Condongcatur Jogja Street Condong Catur,

				Sleman, Yogyakarta 55283
20.	Puri Syariah Hotel	Hotel	Islam	KM 6,7 No. 272 Wonosari Street, Wirono, Baturetno, Banguntapan Subdistrict, Bantul, Special Region of Yogyakarta
21.	Royal Homy Syariah	Hotel	Islam	Kledokan I Street, Ngentak, Caturtunggal, Depok Subdistrict, Sleman Regency, Special Region of Yogyakarta
22.	Sofyan Inn Unisi Hotel	Hotel	Islam	42 Pasar Kembang Street, Malioboro Street, Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia, 55721
24.	Arrayan Malioboro Syariah	Hotel	Islam	13 Bhayangkara Street, Malioboro Street, Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia, 55261
25.	Madani Syariah Jogja Hotel	Hotel	Islam	1A Cantel Baru Street, Umbulharjo Subdistrict,

				Umbulharjo, Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta Province, Indonesia, 55165
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Source: data processed by author, 2022

From the data above, it can be seen that housing and hotels/lodges with religious labels are scattered in the urban area of Yogyakarta, which includes the Sleman and Bantul areas. In addition, most of these buildings are affiliated with Islam.

The religious spatial segregation that appears from the labeling of housing and hotels/inns with a certain religious identity in the urban area of Yogyakarta is a manifestation of exclusivism in social recruitment. A housing with a certain religious identity prohibits residents of different religions from living in the housing. This reflects the tendency to create an exclusive and homogeneous space. This exclusive attitude will eventually create a discriminatory relationship.³² Religious spatial segregation affects the patterns of interaction and social relations in a society because it has resulted in the shallowing of relations between community groups; thus, it has the potential to provoke any acts of intolerance.³³ In addition, such segregation may result in not only the formation and strengthening of religious identity but also the formation of a *gated community* in which space is represented as a symbol of power and moves dynamically according to what is constructed by the community.³⁴

Religious-based spatial segregation rises segregative space in perception between groups which causes lasting tension in the community. This segregative space is implemented in the forms of mutual suspicion, distrust, and stigmatization. This will create a social

³² Ahmad Zamakhsari, "Teologi Agama-Agama Tipologi Tripolar; Eksklusivisme, Inklusivisme Dan Kajian Pluralisme," *Tsaqofah* 18, no. 1 (2020): 35, <https://doi.org/10.32678/tsaqofah.v18i1.3180>.

³³ Kamil Alfi Arifin, "Perumahan Muslim Dan Politik Ruang Di Yogyakarta," *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.22146/jps.v4i1.23627>; Yelly Elanda, "Komodifikasi Agama Pada Perumahan Syariah Di Surabaya," *Jurnal Al-Hikmah*, 2019, <https://doi.org/10.35719/alhikmah.v17i1.3>.

³⁴ Elanda, "Komodifikasi Agama Pada Perumahan Syariah Di Surabaya." *Jurnal Al-Hikmah*, 2019:41

distance between community groups that causes stigmatization between community groups that is difficult to refute. The emerging social distance is likely to trigger social tension which then creates various frictions of conflict between community groups and leads to community disintegration.³⁵ This happens in the case of the Ambon conflict, where segregation of living spaces separated based on religion (Islam and Christianity) yielded a strong need for a neutral space that can be used together.

The presence of religious spatial segregation in Yogyakarta which appears in the forms of housing and student dormitories has decreased the social interaction amongst groups in society. This tendency stimulates prejudice between one social group and the others. This is evidenced by the existence of certain racial sentiments that surround various conflicts in Yogyakarta, such as the racial conflict experienced by Papuan students in Yogyakarta.³⁶ In response to the situation, a neutral space can bridge the segregated spaces by offering the feeling of caring and respect for each other, especially at the level of interfaith tolerance.³⁷ Tolerance provides an opportunity for everyone to live their life, including doing worship according to their religions and beliefs in religious life.³⁸ Therefore, spatial segregation does not only reflect the existence of social classes but also tension in society.

Segregated Property Right: Selection of Land Trading

Religious segregation in the urban area of Yogyakarta is not only visible from the separation of physical space, but also in community activities. The activity of buying and selling land in this

³⁵ Ricky Santoso Muharam, "Membangun Toleransi Umat Beragama Di Indonesia Berdasarkan Konsep Deklarasi Kairo," *Jurnal HAM*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.30641/ham.2020.11.269-283:280>

³⁶ Sindi Monica Putri, Weli Febrianto, and Yosephine Susanto, "Urgensi Yogyakarta Menjadi Kota Ramah HAM Sebagai Upaya Perlindungan Bagi Mahasiswa Papua Di Yogyakarta," *Jurist-Diction*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jd.v3i1.17639>.

³⁷ Gemal Sigit P et al., "Ruang Netral Di Kota Ambon (Segregasi Dan Integrasi Ruang Kota)," *CoUSD Proceedings Urban Stud*, no. Semarang (2015):40

³⁸ Hanafi Hanafi, "Upaya Preventif Dalam Mengantisipasi Kekerasan Atas Nama Agama (Aliran Sesat)," *Al-Ihkam: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.19105/ihkam.v9i2.476:382-383>

area indicates the presence of religious segregation. It can be seen from the exclusion or limitation of buyer categories based on religious similarity with the seller. This resulted in the fact that only people of certain religions who are able to buy the land. This is in accordance with the statement made by HR (25) who has relevant experience related to the practice of land transactions that impose a category of buyers to have the same faith as the seller as follows;

“I have an experience related to the land transaction between believers of Islam. At that time, coincidentally, my parents wanted to find land to build a house and run a business for retirement in Bantul area. This seller was an acquaintance of my mom. She sold land plots and they were sold only for Islam believers or fellow Muslim and preferred close acquaintances as the prospective buyers” (Interview excerpt, 9 August 2021-translated)

HR’s (25) statement suggests that segregation of space (land) rights has occurred among Yogyakarta residents. The land sellers only choose fellow Muslims and close acquaintances for the land transactions.

The segregation that leads to discrimination seems to have become a normal thing among the people of Yogyakarta. The practice of buying and selling land only to believers of the same faith has also been experienced by NN (35) who bought land in Sonosewu area to build a house as described below;

“Yes, I have (experienced it). The seller was only willing to sell the land to fellow Muslim because his family wanted to divide their inheritance. Therefore, they wanted to find Muslim buyers so that both parties can sincerely agree to the contract just in case a negotiation is needed. They are a Moslem family from lower-middle economy-level so they want to divide the inheritance” (Interview excerpt, 9 August 2021-translated).

In the second case, because the seller wanted to divide the money from the land-purchase to the heirs, they wanted the transaction contract to be carried out in accordance with their religion's teaching. In fact, the reasons why some sellers are picky about finding prospective buyers for their land seem to be diverse. HR, for instance, added that sellers tend to limit the prospective buyer category for same-faith believers because such transaction is considered as an effort to help their same-faith brothers and sisters and thus their sustenance will not cease. Furthermore, they believe in a guarantee that the money they receive from the buyers is *halal* (earned lawfully according to Islamic teaching). This is as stated by HR (25) in the following excerpt;

“So, the seller in Bantul sold his/her land to fellow Islamic believers because thinking that it helps fellow Muslims so that the fortune will not be cut off because of the transaction. By choosing the same fellow, the path of fortune between buyer and seller is not cut off. Also, by selling plotted land to fellow Muslims, they get the guarantee that the money is *halal*. They doubt the *halal* status of money if they sell the land to non-Muslim” (Interview excerpt, 9 August 2021-translated)

Meanwhile, FM (28) also has the same experience regarding the sale and purchase of land where the seller only wants to sell the land to same-faith believers as conveyed in the following excerpt;

“I have an experience of land trading where the seller only wants to sell the land to fellow Muslims. He sold his land to me a couple times ago and mentioned the criteria of his prospective buyer directly. He realized that a lot of people from certain ethnicity have much money to buy land in Jogja easily. However, he was a bit reluctant to sell his land to them because he was actually happier to sell it to me because he believed that my religious practice is good. Maybe because he saw my beard, that's why he thought so” (Interview excerpt, 9 August 2021-translated)

FM's statement makes it clear that the seller's motive is different from the previous two cases, which is because of certain ethnicities. In fact, the particular ethnicity implies differences in religious affiliation with the seller. This is emphasized in further explanation by FM as follows;

“The reason on why he finally chose to sell his land to fellow Muslim is because of *ukhuwah* (brotherhood) reason. So, he preferred that land in Jogja is owned by people from the same religion” (Interview excerpt, 9 August 2021).

FM explanation indicates competition which leads to segregation among the people of Yogyakarta over land ownership.

In a closer look, the land-trade practice to same-faith people is caused by 2 reasons. Firstly, such practice is a result of religious fanaticism. The strengthening of the universalism movement has led to various changes in religious, social, economic, educational, legal, cultural, and political life.³⁹ Religion theologically affects the way of thinking, behaving, and acting of its followers, hence narrowly understanding religious teaching may result in narrowing the subsequent actions as well.⁴⁰ A narrow understanding of religious teachings restrains people in a relationship built on the similarity of religious identity.⁴¹ A grouping based on similar religious identity forms in-group and out-group which often leads to prejudice expressed as negative labeling.⁴² This extreme loyalty and categorization may inflict various aggressive behaviors in society⁴³ as

³⁹ S Huda, “Fpi: Potret Gerakan Islam Radikal Di Indonesia,” *Jurnal Huda.Studi Agama*, 2019: 1

⁴⁰ YUSDANI, “Pengelolaan Konflik Umat Agama Di Indonesia,” *Millab*, 2013; Musa Rumberu and Hasse J, “Radikalisme Agama Legitimasi Tafsir Kekerasan Di Ruang Publik,” *Al-Ulum*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.30603/au.v16i2.37>.

⁴¹ Yosep Yoga Pranata and Gendon Barus, “Peningkatan Karakter Bersahabat Melalui Layanan Bimbingan Klasikal Dengan Pendekatan Experiential Learning,” *Solution, Journal of Counseling and Personal Development*, 2019:3

⁴² Moh Rosyid, “Peredam Konflik Agama: Studi Analisis Penyelesaian Di Tolikara Papua 2015,” *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.18196/aiijis.2017.0067.48-81:52>

⁴³ Kalis Stevanus, “Memaknai Kisah Orang Samaria Yang Murah Hati Menurut Lukas 10:25-37 Sebagai Upaya Pencegahan Konflik,” *BIA': Jurnal Teologi Dan Pendidikan Kristen Kontekstual*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.34307/b.v3i1.99:2>

a form of religious fanaticism which arises from rejection of the diversity of other groups⁴⁴ and indirectly creates a harsh image of religion due to the occurring segregation that makes it look exclusive and rigid. Therefore, a narrow fanaticism is not limited to faith matters but also combined with any efforts to create a mainstream group on the basis of religious similarity.⁴⁵ It induces discriminatory attitudes that lead to acts of intolerance, violence, and prolonged conflict against different groups.⁴⁶

Secondly, the practice of trading land with people of the same faith is caused by competition between the majority and the minority. Segregation occurs due to the increasing competition between the majority and minority triggered by the existing disparity.⁴⁷ Majority-minority competition does not only refer to competition between religious groups but also ethnicities. Prejudice containing suspicions born from individual and group subjectivity is characterized by a sense of superiority from the majority group who views the minority group as inferior.⁴⁸ This competition has led to various attempts from each group to obtain what they want, often detrimental to other groups. The superior attitude in the majority-minority relationship has caused discrimination. This also explains that space is able to guide people's mindset and actions. Space is used for the purposes of control and domination, where its character is closely related to the issue of power rather than neutral.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Yusdani, "Pengelolaan Konflik Umat Agama Di Indonesia." Saadah Cipta Mandiri, Jakarta: 622

⁴⁵ Moh Rosyid, "Mewujudkan Pendidikan Toleransi Antar-Umat Beragama Di Kudus: Belajar Dari Konflik Tolikara Papua 1 Syawal 1436 H / 2015 M," *Quality*, 2015:52

⁴⁶ Hanafi, "Agama Dalam Bayang-Bayang Fanatisme; Sebuah Upaya Mengelola Konflik Agama". *Toleransi: Media Komunikasi umat Beragama* 10(1), 2018:53

⁴⁷ Syarifuddin Latif, "Meretas Hubungan Mayoritas-Minoritas Dalam Perspektif Nilai Bugis," *Jurnal Al- Ulun* 12, no. 1 (2012): 97-116.

⁴⁸ Wawan Hernawan, "Prasangka Sosial Dalam Pluralitas Keberagamaan Di Kecamatan Cigugur Kabupaten Kuningan Jawa Barat," *Sosiohumaniora*, 2017, <https://doi.org/10.24198/sosiohumaniora.v19i1.9543:78>

⁴⁹ Arifin, "Perumahan Muslim Dan Politik Ruang Di Yogyakarta." *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi* 4(1), 2017: 47

Segregation in Social Acceptance: Residential Rental (Boarding Houses)

Religious spatial segregation is evident not only from spatial patterns or land ownership but also from residential rental (boarding houses) as a manifestation of segregation of social acceptance. Residential rental (boarding house) only accepts tenants with the same religion as indicated by certain religious labels implying exclusion towards certain other groups. This can be seen, for example, in boarding houses with certain religious identities which apply regulations based on religious teaching that differs from common boarding houses' regulations. In relation to this, AT (46), an owner of a female Muslim boarding house, mentioned as follows;

“The difference is in its regulations, namely its rules. In a female Muslim boarding house, male visitors outside the family members are not allowed to enter the room. They can only meet the tenant on the front terrace. Male relatives are also expected not to walk around the boarding house. Besides, they cannot bring alcoholic drinks, let alone illegal drugs” (Interview excerpt, 9 August 2021-translated)

AT's statement (46) indicates differences between female Muslim boarding houses and other female boarding houses in terms of ways to enter and exit the building as well as prohibition to bring or drink things forbidden by Islam, namely alcoholic drinks and illegal drugs.

This difference of regulation is further emphasized by HR (25), who also owns a female Muslim boarding house, as follows;

“The regulations of this boarding house don't allow males to get in the room. If they want to meet the tenant, they can meet outside, namely in a provided place to receive guests of the opposite sex. If the tenants buy a gallon (of water), the deliveryman usually just puts it at the front. As for brother or father, they can enter the room, usually in moving time” (Interview excerpt, 9 August 2021).

In addition to the way of entering and exiting the boarding house, regulation is also made on tenant acceptance procedure which is not only based on identification card showing the tenant's religious affiliation, but also on the tenant's appearance attributes, such as headscarf-wearing. This is due to environmental reasons (neighbor's demand) and the trust of the boarding house owner in the tenant who wears a headscarf that she will be well accepted by the neighbors. This is as expressed by HR (25) as follows;

"We are a bit picky about accepting tenants and therefore we ask them to show any proof of identity, at least an ID card. We require them to be Muslim. This is because of relevant neighbors' requests considering that here is an area of NU Islamist. Regular female boarding houses typically accept tenants from all religious affiliation be the Muslim, non-Muslim, or Muslim who doesn't wear a headscarf. Since here is a Muslim female boarding house, I prefer to accept Muslim tenants who wear the headscarf because it seems safer and the neighbors also find it good". (Interview excerpt, 9 August, 2021-translated)

Furthermore, another interview reveals insight into the reason why owners of boarding houses opt to use a religious label as expressed by HR (24) in the following excerpt;

"This is actually my parents' boarding house which is now managed by me. Why my parents ended up preferring to make a boarding house for Muslim women is because they have a prejudice against students from Eastern Indonesia. These students usually look for a boarding house a bit far from their campus, including nearby. And you know, they often bring their lifestyle to the boarding house they live in like drinking alcohol, getting drunk at night, and being noisy. So, we just play safe hereby accepting Muslim or Muslim women".

This is in line with the observation of different locations as shown in figure 2:

Figure 2. Moslem Female Boarding House



Source: Data processed by the author

Figure 2 above shows the community's way to avoid boarding house tenants coming from certain ethnicities who are considered to have an inappropriate lifestyle with the people of Yogyakarta. It is by establishing a rule, through the naming, that the boarding houses only accept tenants from certain religious affiliations. Based on HR's statement (24), it is clear that the reason beyond the owner's choice to name a Muslim female boarding house is because of sentiment against

members of a community group from Eastern Indonesia studying in Yogyakarta. People have a negative stigma that they tend to bring their lifestyle in Eastern Indonesia to Yogyakarta. Therefore, to avoid them, the owner labels their boarding house as a Muslim female one. In fact, this is mainly because the majority of students from Eastern Indonesia are non-Moslem thus indirectly rejected through the label. The owner's motive to avoid these students from renting their place is also conveyed by AT (46) as follows;

"I made a Muslim female boarding house because I'm afraid that the tenants are delinquents, especially if taking boys to the boarding house. If so, the boarding house will have a bad image in the surrounding environment. One of these delinquents is those from Eastern Indonesia. Besides, our area is near a mosque"

The data above indicate the existence of discrimination in terms of social acceptance. This is clearly seen in the religious spatial segregation of boarding houses with religious labels in the urban area of Yogyakarta which refuses people from a certain group from renting their places.

The emerging religious segregation in terms of social acceptance indicates that the country does not have yet a mechanism to bridge these differences. Religious freedom must be seriously considered by the state, especially in violent conflict in the name of religion, as the state has the function of monitoring and maintaining order in a heterogeneous society.⁵⁰ The absence of this effort from the country as a facilitator inflicts societal changes where people become more pragmatic, apathetic, and less caring for society.⁵¹ This paper does not only fill the gap in studies concerning segregation but also criticizes the country's weak contribution as a facilitator in eliminating all forms of discrimination and creating a conducive condition for

⁵⁰ Hanafi, "Upaya Preventif Dalam Mengantisipasi Kekerasan Atas Nama Agama (Aliran Sesat).":367

⁵¹ Muhamad Rusdi, "Penanganan Intoleransi Oleh Pemerintah Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta," *Widya Pranata Hukum: Jurnal Kajian Dan Penelitian Hukum*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.37631/widyapranata.v3i1.266.137>

society.⁵² The mushrooming religious spatial segregation in Yogyakarta rises the threat of emerging discriminative actions that lead to intolerance. What is happening in Yogyakarta shows that there are a number of issues that need to be resolved. Religious spatial segregation has reduced the space for cross-cultural dialogue and has diminished people's solidarity as a result of homogeneous and monocultural life.⁵³ Therefore, there needs an interaction that requires openness, a caring attitude, and balanced expressions of opinion between the different groups.

Conclusion

Religious spatial segregation reflects the structured intolerance in the urban society of Yogyakarta. Intolerance is embedded in social relations and transactions which can be found in the selling of housing and land as well as renting of boarding houses for only the fellow believer. This tendency emphasizes that the understanding of space which has been seen only as static and physical has ignored the more flexible social discourses. The development of spatial segregation has caused shallowing relations between groups, thus raising the potential for intolerant actions. These actions occur due to the lack of interaction between different groups which results in a homogeneous and monocultural life. This paper is limited only to analyzing one area; thus, it does not provide a comprehensive insight into intolerances caused by religious spatial. Due to this limitation, this study suggests the need for further research to accommodate comparative aspects in terms of area and relies on more varied data, thus a more comprehensive understanding can be obtained.

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⁵² Musa, "Optimalisasi Peran Pemerintah Dalam Pemberdayaan Masyarakat: Sebuah Tawaran Dalam Mengentaskan Kemiskinan," *Jurnal Dakwah Dan Pengembangan Sosial Kemanusiaan*, 2017.:120

⁵³ Muryana, "Kebebasan Ekspresi Keagamaan Di Jogja City Of Tolerance (Studi Kasus Toleransi Dan Intoleransi Di Balik Plank 'Terima Kost Putra Muslim/Putri Muslimah')."

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